“THE MITHER TONGUE”: THE SCOTS LANGUAGE AND ITS USE IN

DRAMA

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my patient husband, Jean-Mariq Cummins, who told me I could do anything I put my heart and mind to.
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

“The Mither Tongue”: The Scots Language and Its Use in Drama
by
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In order to understand a country's drama, one must understand the world of the play as well as that of the playwright. In the case of sixteenth-century Scotland and its two extant plays (Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis and Philotus) in the native tongue of Scots, one must look at the political and economical history of the country at large and the local area, as well as the personal history of the playwright. When it comes to a play written in a native tongue, such as Scots, one must also examine that tongue and its development. This thesis traces the histories of Scotland and the Scots language, while analyzing native-written plays. The major focus is on the first two extant plays and how their creation shaped Scotland’s drama, while also being shaped by Scotland’s politics.

These two plays are from the Royal Court of Scotland at the cusp of its departure to England. Had the Crowns of England and Scotland not united when they did, we might have had more extant plays. Had the Royal Scottish Court not respected Scots as its own language, we would have no plays. These plays mark both a beginning and an end to Scots plays and are therefore unique and important to the study of Scots literature as a whole.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Scots language has existed for centuries, side-by-side with the official language of English. At times, it was viewed as a dialect of English. At others, it was considered a separate language. Many Scottish writers have chosen to compose in what they consider their language. In my thesis, I will explore specific theatrical works written in Scots from the sixteenth century and compare them to the linguistic and political conditions in which they were written. Only two plays survive from the sixteenth century, though there is evidence of drama from previous times. This was a time when Scots was considered the national language. However, it was not until after the eighteenth century that English was declared the official language and also when we see more plays written in Scots. That growth in numbers continued. Most extant plays in Scots have been written in the latter part of the twentieth century. Why has there been that upsurge in Scots drama? In today’s world, there is a focus on globalization and the sameness it brings. In smaller communities, there is a backlash against this hegemony, brought by the desire to retain cultural identity. One of these groups is the Scottish Nationalists. I believe there is a correlation between the abundance of Scots texts and feelings of Scottish Nationalism and pride in Scots as a literary language.

The rarity of early Scots texts intrigues me, since Scotland has not always been aligned with England and the two nations’ languages, though alike, developed differently. As part of this thesis, I will write briefly about the history of Scotland in relation to England, as well as the developmental histories of the Scots and English languages. The purpose is to give background circumstances to the plays and the times in which they were written. In order to understand a country like Scotland, one must see its cultural and historical context. The difference between the two languages and their development must be addressed.

Writing about Scots plays is valuable because there is an entire community that has sought recognition since England and Scotland were joined, in 1603, when Scotland’s James VI became England’s James I. Today, there are societies dedicated to sustaining the Scots language and its users’ culture. Though I have found anthologies and studies in periodicals
dedicated to poems and fiction written in Scots, I have not seen much work dedicated to drama. Why is that? There are certainly plays written in Scots. The earliest one found is Sir David Lindsay’s *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites* from the middle of the sixteenth century. Yet, it and other plays in Scots are not being anthologized. Why are these pieces being ignored? Rather than disregard them, I am choosing to explore them. Perhaps this work could start a trend of acknowledging theatre’s place in the Scots community. My paper would definitely be part of the growing trend of acknowledging the arts’ function and utility in marginalized communities.

I will define theatre terms, such as “stage directions” for those whose background is not in the theatre. My basic assumptions are that there is a language called Scots; that people write in it; and that plays exist in it. I will conduct research, mostly from books, on Scotland’s history, languages, politics, and culture. I will assemble these by topic starting with a brief history of Scots, followed by chapters dedicated specifically to the two, earliest extant plays, then ending with a chapter on what came after the Crowns of Scotland and England were united. In the middle chapters, I will add to my play analysis by also looking contextually at the world in which the playwrights wrote. I will not look at plays that are Scots translations or those in which only a small number of characters are speaking in Scots. I am concerned only with original work, though the meaning of the word "original" takes on a different sense in the fourth chapter on *Philotus*.

There are a few odd aspects to this research. Scots is considered by some linguists to be a dialect of English, which diminishes its literary and linguistic value. Pieces written in Scots are sometimes seen as inferior, full of English spelling and grammar mistakes. These ideas will be explored in later chapters.

Chapter Two will be a further introduction into my research, containing a summarized history of Scotland in relation to England. I will then give a developmental history of the Scots language, along with the places in Scotland where it spread. I will compare this to the developmental history of English to show a distinction between the two. There are many writings, both historical and modern, on Scots and its value in literary use. I will give a quick overview of these writings, but will delve further into the specific attitudes in subsequent chapters as they come up. All of this summarizing is to give a contextual basis for reading and understanding the plays and their respective worlds.
Chapter Three will be devoted to the earliest extant drama during the reign of the Stuarts in Scotland. Though the Stuart line started in the late 14th century with Robert II (son of Robert the Bruce), there were no extant plays written in Scots until the reign of Mary. This play from that time is *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1552).

Later in that century came another play, written anonymously, called *Philotus*. Though not published until 1603, there are many arguments as to the year in which it was originally written and by whom. It will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four will discuss these two plays in relation to one another and the post-Stuart years through to today. Though the reign of the Stuarts ended in 1714, there was an uprising in belief that the crown still belonged to them and not to the Hanovers, who came next. The Stuart sympathizers were called the Jacobites, in honor of James VII/II, and under their campaign a revival of Scots occurred. Due to religious suppression of the arts, there are no plays from the seventeenth century and only four extant plays from the eighteenth century. The paper will end with a discussion of today’s Scots drama within the context of its political scene. As we are still in this era of Scots drama, I will look at it more broadly, highlighting trends and milestones.

I hope to find that attitudes have changed towards Scots and its literary and cultural value. In a world where the focus is continuously on globalization and a global hegemony, I believe it is essential to remember all the different kinds of people and the value they and their creative works bring into the world.
CHAPTER 2

SAIPRIT KINTRAS WI SAIPRIT HISTORIES AN LEIDS

The purpose of this chapter is to give a better introduction into the world of this thesis: of Scotland and its languages. To jump into the middle of a country’s history with no explanation of how it got where it is would be unfair to the reader who may not know about Scotland’s past or its languages. This chapter will give enough context in order to understand following chapters.

As the subtitle suggests, England and Scotland are two separate nations with different histories and languages (leids). There are actually more than two languages spoken in Scotland. Besides Standard English (StE, also referred to only as English) and Scots, there is also Scots Gaelic, spoken mostly in the Highlands and islands. I will not delve into Scots Gaelic as the culture that uses it has many differences from that which uses Scots. Also, its status as a language is not as hotly contested as that of Scots, something I find very interesting.

But to understand fully how different the nations are, let’s go back. Scotland has been inhabited by humans since at least 6,000 BCE.¹ It is from this time that we find buildings by Neolithic people. The buildings are known as brochs and are towers with small rooms and passages with stairways to the top. The best preserved one is found at Mousa, in the Shetlands. Skara Brae on the main island of Orkney is probably the best known of another type of settlement, with nearly intact underground houses and walkways. Both types could have been made by the same group of people, or by different groups. Who these people were is a mystery.

By the early 3rd century CE, a band of Celts from Ireland started coming over into Scotland, called the Scoti (or Scotti). This was by no means the first group to come over, but it is the one of which we know the most. They inhabited a part of western Scotland now known as Argyll (“Land of the Gaels”), which they called Dál Riata (Dalriada in its Anglicised form, “the tribe of Riada,” after their king, Car bri Riada). This started out as an extension of their kingdom of the same name in Ireland, but eventually the peoples grew apart and around 595 the Scottish half of the kingdom broke away.2

At the time of the Scoti’s settlement, there was another major band of people called the Picts3 (Picti, “painted people,” in Latin), so-named by the Romans because of the blue paint they wore. “They used horses on farm and battlefield, wore tunics and cloaks of brightly colored woven wool, and created kings and aristocrats from the ranks of superior warriors.”4 Little more is known of them besides the fact the Romans considered them barbarians and built two walls to keep them out of their colony of Britannia.5

The next two groups of people to immigrate into Scotland were the Britons, who had been colonized by the Romans, and Germanic peoples who were moving northward (most especially the Angles), starting in the 4th century.6 They settled in the southern part of today’s Scotland in what became two separate kingdoms: Strathclyde, made of Britons in the west; and Northumbria (by 638, an English kingdom that extended north past Edinburgh and which split later into two smaller kingdoms),7 made of Anglo-Saxons in the east. For the next few centuries, all four groups were in and out of wars amongst themselves.8 In the late 8th and

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3 “It may have been only a nickname given by the Roman soldiers . . ., but it soon came to include all the tribes of the north, who had so long resisted Rome.” J. D. Mackie, A History of Scotland, 2nd ed., edited by Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1978), 16.
4 Campbell, “The Picts.”
5 Alistair Cruickshank and Richard V. Smith, “Alba Scotland,” Focus New York 46, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 10. The first and more successful wall being Hadrian’s Wall between the Solway Firth and the opening to the River Tyne (very close to the present-day border), which was begun in the 120s CE. The second, Antonine’s wall, was begun in the 140s, between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth, farther to the north.
7 Ibid.
8 Mackie, History, 19-22.
early 9th centuries, Scotland saw its first raids, and then settlements, by the people known as the Vikings. They settled mostly in the islands of the north and west and the northern part of Scotland encompassing present-day Caithness and Sutherland. These parts were not brought back into Scotland until 1202 for Caithness and Sutherland, and 1266 for the Hebrides and Isle of Man from Norway; and 1469 for Orkney and the Shetlands from Denmark.

In the 840s CE, Kenneth mac Alpin, who may or may not have had Pictish blood through his mother, became king of not only his Dalriada but also “Scotland,” by uniting the Picts and Scots. The Scottish identity his dynasty helped to create was constantly under threat by not only the men of Moray, who broke away from Scotland and refused for three centuries to see the mac Alpin kings as theirs, but from the threat of ambitious English kings who wished to rule all the British isles and tried many times, successfully and not, to conquer the Scots. Often, the men of Scotland would sign a treaty proclaiming the English king as their overlord, but only as a formality. The stubbornness on both sides brought about a great deal of animosity which would erupt in battles. In 1320, many of the barons and

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9 John Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 8. This is a slight misconception. Those who raided were Vikings, as the word for raider, or plunderer, in Old Norse is *víkingr*, one who goes *í víking*, plundering. Those who settled were still Scandinavian, but did not plunder as part of their settlement.


11 Haywood, 15, 130.

12 Sources differ on whether it was 843 or 847.


14 Ashley, 179, 181. This was done before by the Pictish kings Angus I in 736 and again in 811 by Constantine mac Fergus, but their lands did not stay united as Kenneth’s did. Hence, royal genealogies list Kenneth as the first king of Scotland.

15 “... (a large and ill-defined area encompassing the lands around Moray Firth, stretching from the Grampians to the western seaboard) ...” R. Andrew McDonald, “‘Treachery in the Remotest Territories of Scotland: Northern Resistance to the Canmore Dynasty, 1130-230,’” *Canadian Journal of History* 34, no. 2 (1999): 161.

16 Ashley, 413.

17 N. Harris, *Heritage of Scotland*, 20, 22. Such as the one signed by King Constantine II in 921 and the Ragman Rolls signed by 2,000 Scots nobles to Edward I of England in 1296.
lords of Scotland signed the Declaration of Arbroath, declaring Scotland’s independence from England. This declaration and the successful battles led by William Wallace at Stirling Bridge in 1297 and Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314 are in recent national memory when the dynasty of the next chapter, the Stewarts, is established in 1371.

England, like Scotland, has been inhabited for several thousand years, the first being the Celts who had migrated from Gaul around 800 BCE and settled across England in different tribes. It is these tribes the Romans encountered when Julius Caesar decided to explore this land to the west of his empire. It was with Claudius’ later conquering that England was brought into the empire and modeled after the rest of the conquered lands. When the Rhine was crossed by Germanic tribes in 410 CE, the emperor’s interests in Britannia were lessened and aid was dropped. As Ashley states,

> The release of Roman authority had the same effect fifteen hundred years ago as the end of Communism in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia. The tribalism and the local cultures which had for so long been repressed and restrained by Roman rule erupted. Warfare spread right across Britain.

England was in chaos.

At this point, many kings established themselves in their own communities, though there was no central control over the island. In the early to mid 5th century, a man named Vortigern (High King) asked for aid from two Saxon men named Hengest and Horsa. “The Vortigern’s solution was the oldest one in the Roman repertoire – to tame the barbarians with the help of other barbarians.” This led the way for other Saxons and Germanic tribes to invade Britain. By 626 most of present-day England was settled by Anglo-Saxons, creating many different kingdoms.

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18 “. . . As long as even a hundred of us remain alive, we shall never on any conditions submit to English rule. In truth it is not for glory, or riches, or honour that we fight, but for freedom, which no honest man will give up except with life itself.” N. Harris, *Heritage of Scotland*, 24.


20 Ashley, 44.


22 Ibid., 152.
Following the Germanic peoples were the Norse Vikings and settlers. They arrived on the island in the mid-8th century. In 865, the Danes invaded.\textsuperscript{23} Control over Northumbria and then York (\textit{Jorvick}) passed between both groups. But, while the Vikings were superior seamen, they could not compete as well on land with the Danes.\textsuperscript{24} The Danes gained more and more land, and it seemed the country would forever be under their rule. From the fighting against the Danes of Alfred, King of Wessex, to Edward the Elder’s winning of all land south of the Humber, we see the birth of a nation in the 10th century called “Engla land” (England) named after the victorious Anglo-Saxons. This nation was by no means homogenized, as King Edgar’s law pertained to “all the nation, whether Englishmen, Danes, or Britons,”\textsuperscript{25} but it is the first time we see many people being grouped under one realm. This was not to last. The Vikings and Danes returned for raids in the 10th and 11th centuries. The Danes regained control and Cnut (\textit{Canute}) was crowned king of England in 1017. The Danish rule over England was also to be short-lived. In comparison, Denmark settled little in Scotland. Her interest was in England.

Edward the Confessor of Wessex regained the throne from the leaderless Danes and brought with him a Norman court from where he had been raised, educated, and later exiled. This was a “Trojan horse” for the invasion from Normandy.\textsuperscript{26} The Normans were of Scandinavian heritage who had been granted land in France by the king, Charles III, in return for their leader Hroth becoming the king’s vassal. This land was named Normandy ("Land of the Northmen"). By the 11th century, they had few Norse ways, except for the desire to conquer other lands, which brought about the invasions of that century. When Edward died without an heir, his cousin Guillaume le Bâtard (William the Bastard) took his cue to invade in the famous year of 1066. It took two months for Guillaume, now le Conquérant (The Conqueror), to be crowned and a further three years to gain control over the island. The Norman kings brought much of the French court with them, and for some time England was part of an Empire that included Normandy and other parts of western France. The kings were

\textsuperscript{23} Haywood, 13.

\textsuperscript{24} Davies, 252.

\textsuperscript{25} As quoted in Davies, 269. No source given.

\textsuperscript{26} Davies, 273.
often back in France conducting business, rather than spending any time in England. There was unrest when Henri I’s heir died in 1120.  

With the death of Étienne (Stephen) in 1154, England now saw the reign of the Plantagenets. The Plantagenets were also embroiled in French affairs, one of the reasons that brought about the Magna Carta of 1215. Edouard III had a claim on the French throne through his grandfather, but was rejected by the Parlement of Paris. When, in 1336, Edouard III secretly entered France, accepted lordship over Flanders, and “declared himself to be the lawful King of France”, England saw itself entered into the Hundred Years’ War, which lasted from 1337-1453.

With different settlers and their spheres of influence come different languages. With the case of English, its roots come not from the languages of the early Celts, nor do they come from Latin after being under the thumb of Rome. English’s roots are found in the old Germanic tongues of the Anglo-Saxons. The word English comes from the first of those groups: the Angles. Why are there very few surviving words from the previous settlers? Davies believes it was a slow choking of one culture by another.

Ever-expanding areas of solid Germanic rural colonization, created and fed by the plantation of strings of nuclear villages on the heaviest of soils, resulted in a settlement pattern where the Germanics came to live alongside the British, not to intermingle with them. Existing British settlements and cities were not so much destroyed as steadily surrounded and slowly strangled.

At first, the various Germanic groups spoke different languages. But, with accepting Christianity the people became literate and there was a need for a common script. The language that developed became Old English (OE).

Ruling groups changed the language of the land. When the Danes took over the country, so did their language. A form of Old Danish became the official language of the Danelaw (the lands under Danish rule). This helped change OE into Middle English (ME).

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28 Davies, 361.
29 Ibid., 413.
30 Ibid., 197.
31 Ibid., 204-5.
According to Haywood, we get such basic words as sky, sister, and egg from Old Danish. When the Normans came, they introduced French. French became the language of the court and the educated. If a person wished to be seen as educated, they should know French. English continued to be spoken by the lay person, but it was considered inferior by the Court and was used very rarely in official business.

Around the time of Chaucer, English once again regained importance. This can partly be blamed on the Hundred Years War with France, which started in 1337. People did not want to speak French like their enemies. In 1348, the worst year of the Black Death, English replaced Latin as the language taught in schools, apart from Oxford or Cambridge. Because so many people died during the plague, those who survived could quickly rise in status. McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil state, “It caused so many deaths in the monasteries and churches that a new generation of semi-educated, non-French and Latin speakers took over as abbots and prioresses.” In 1362, the language of the law courts was officially changed to English. Though it is not the English of today, the changes between ME and today’s Standard English are not as great as those between ME and OE, making Chaucer’s writings intelligible even today. In comparison: “. . ., little or nothing of OE could have been intelligible to Chaucer only 300 years after the Norman Conquest.”

The status of Scots as a language is disputed by linguists. To some, it is “quite clearly a group of dialects standing in a subordinate . . . relationship to . . . Standard English (StE).” This is the common view, since schools teach in StE. Many scholars are trying to reverse the effect of having StE as the official language, a process that started in the 16th

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32 Haywood, 53.
35 McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, 61.
37 Bolton, 473.
century and only gained momentum when James VI of Scotland became James I of England in 1603. Yet, according to Jeremy J. Smith, “it is an axiom of descriptive linguistics that no language is superior to any other: . . .” Or, as John Thomas Low states, “Ye juist cudna caa’t a form o English, ony mair than ye can caa a Scot an orra Englishman!” McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil state diplomatically that Scots, like many other languages, is a “variety” of English. “Using variety, we avoid the pejorative overtones of dialect. As countless scholars have pointed out, Standard English is itself only a dialect, albeit a prestigious one.” Standard English is one of the many dialects, or varieties, of the English spectrum, as illustrated by McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil’s choices of chapter topics, from StE to the English spoken in India. Alex Agutter tells us, “a language can be defined by its literary uses. Since it was used for Parliament, the Court, as well as provincial uses, Middle Scots can be seen as a different language than English. Today, Scots is not used in ‘official’ functions, so it is not as separate as it had been.”

Scots is a cousin of modern English – they have the same roots, but grew up differently.

What makes Scots similar to present-day English, is a shared origin in the related, or ‘cognate,’ Germanic language varieties introduced to the British Isles by Angle and Saxon invaders and settlers from the fifth to the seventh centuries. What makes Scots different from present-day English is partly that it owes more to the Anglian than the Saxon variety of Old English, and partly that, over the generations, the different kinds of contact that Scots and English have engaged in with other languages (and with each other) have given them distinctive linguistic characteristics.

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42 McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, xv-xvi.


44 Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith, 4-5.
The Angle influence is not just seen in the similarities between the languages, but also commonalities between Scottish and English place-names. They both have many OE suffixes, but those that end in –ham/holm (village), –wick (farm) and –side (side of a hill) are commonly found, like in Twynholm, Hedderwick (heather farm), Birkenside (hill-side with birch trees).45

When the Norse invaded and settled in the 8th century, they brought their culture. But, unlike in England, their language (Old Norse) and culture was assimilated46 to eventually create Anglo-Scandinavian.47 Some Scots words with Old Norse (ON) sources include “kyauve” (to struggle or tumble) from the ON “kafa” (to plunge or dive); “kemp” (contend) from “kempa” (contender); and “knap” (munch or eat greedily) from knappa (to eat noisily or greedily).48 ON also influenced pronunciation of words. The English “ch” sound is replaced by a “k” sound, as in “kirk” instead of “church” (also directly from the ON “kirkja” meaning “church”).49 The English “dg” sound is replaced by a “g,” as in “rig” for “ridge.” Vowels were changed, as well. “Lowp” is the Scots form of “leap.” “Cowp” replaces “cheap.”50

One of the next linguistic influences was French. It, unlike in England, was also assimilated. This influx of French occurred when David I (son of the English princess Margaret, who fled north when the Normans invaded) “granted land to the Norman French-speaking barons.”51 Corbet and colleagues tell us, their influence can be seen in Scottish surnames which came from Norman place-names from where the families originally hailed: Bal(l)iol (Bailleul), Bruce (Brix), and Colville (Coleville), to name a few.52

Then came the Dutch and Flemish because David had also “established burghs, towns with trading privileges, . . . [which] became magnets for immigrants” from much of western Europe.\textsuperscript{53} This, again, is evident in surnames, most specifically Fleming.\textsuperscript{54} The final language to enter Scotland and help form Scots was Latin, in which the church clerics wrote.\textsuperscript{55} The language of Gaelic still existed in Scotland, but gave very few loan-words.\textsuperscript{56}

As can be seen, the language that became Scots did not form overnight. Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith illustrate:

The Anglo-Scandinavian ancestor of Scots would originally have been restricted to certain contexts of use, mainly speech, and possibly (in some cases) for trading purposes between native speakers of other languages, like Gaelic, French, and Dutch. However, . . . it began gradually to spread into a broader range of communicative functions, written as well as spoken. It became the everyday language of the aristocracy as well as the bourgeoisie and peasantry. It continued to spread north and west. Over time, it also gained a name, \textit{Inglis}, a term used initially by Scots to refer to Scots and English. . . .\textsuperscript{57}

This language was called Inglis because it had derived directly from the Northern variety of OE. It was not until the Scots became more familiar with London’s English that they saw their language was very different and changed their term for it. This Inglis is the direct ancestor of today’s Scots and is the language spoken and written in the days of the Stuarts, where we find our first two extant Scots plays, \textit{Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis} and \textit{Philotus}.

\textsuperscript{53} Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith, 7.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 42.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 8.
CHAPTER 3

KINGLIE WYSDOME

Be now assurit of reformatioun.\textsuperscript{58}
—Lindsay, \textit{Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis}

The period of 1371-1603 was the reign of the Stewarts (later, Stuart)\textsuperscript{59} in Scotland. Though the reign continued after James VI became James I of England in 1603, that year is the last when Court was held in Scotland. This is the period of religious revolution, continued antagonism with England, and flowering creativity.\textsuperscript{60} It is in this period that we come across a play concerned with the country’s well-being as the rightful responsibility of its king.

The Stewart era started with Robert II, grandson of Robert the Bruce and son of the Steward of Scotland (a post in which he was responsible “for the royal household”).\textsuperscript{61} His son, John, came after him, but chose the name Robert because he considered the name John to be bad luck.\textsuperscript{62} Indeed, the reigns of the Stewarts are marked with unfortunate accidents, untimely deaths, and long minorities (whereby a monarch has regents to rule in their stead until they reach the age of maturity). Robert III’s firstborn son, David, was murdered, allegedly by his uncle the Duke of Albany,\textsuperscript{63} and James I was captured by England’s Henry IV, but did not reign until eighteen years after succeeding his father at the age of 30.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[58] “Be now assured of reformation” (translation mine).
\item[59] Davies, 447. This spelling comes into play after Mary returns from France in 1560, as this is how she spelt her name, based on French rules of spelling. Ashley uses the spelling “Stewart” throughout the era, as does Magnusson.
\item[60] Unless otherwise noted, the facts and figures come from Ashley, 538-44, 552-80.
\item[61] Mackie, \textit{History}, 51.
\item[62] Magnusson, 221. He also chose it because if he had remained John, he would have been crowned John II, making John Balliol a legitimate king of Scotland, something the Bruces and Stewarts were very much against as it would have brought English claimants to the throne.
\end{footnotes}
imprisoned and executed several Lords of the Isles and was assassinated. His son, James II ruled much like his father, from the age of seven. James II was not assassinated, but instead killed by a freak accident with one of his favorite cannons. James III, aged eight when he was crowned, supported England and was subsequently killed by his rebellious earls. In 1503, James IV (fifteen at coronation) married Margaret Tudor - the alliance which brought the crowns together in the following century. This union proved difficult for him, as he often changed sides in the fight with England. While in battle against the English, he died. James V was only 17 months old when he gained the throne, and there was a great deal of unease over who would be regent, especially because his mother was English and the sister of England’s Henry VIII. He did not have a lot of support during his rule, nor did any sons survive past infancy. He died from a bout of depression just after hearing the news of his daughter, Mary’s birth. He is said to have declared on his deathbed, “It cam wi’ a lass and it will gang wi’ a lass”, remarking on how the Stewart line started with the granddaughter of Robert the Bruce, and would presumably end with his own daughter.

It is also during the Stewart era in Scotland that we see a great deal of creative and scientific expansion. Robert II’s court poet, John Barbour, wrote the *Brus* (Bruce) in 1375 and was seen as Scotland’s Geoffrey Chaucer. While in captivity in England, James I studied and wrote poetry, the most famous poem being *The Kingis Quair* (The King’s Book). It is during his reign that the first college was founded: St. Andrews in 1411. James II founded Glasgow in 1451 and James II’s wife, Mary, founded Trinity College in Edinburgh, in

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64 The Lords of the Isles were men who ruled the Orkneys and Western Isles until the islands were given to Scotland as a wedding “gift” in in the late 1460s. Ashley actually gives three dates: 1468, 1469, and 1470. Ashley, 546, 535, 544. Haywood gives the date as 1469. Haywood, 15.

65 James was known as not only the “poor man’s king” who went about in disguise to see how his people fared (and for sexual escapades); he also was vindictive, and burned Lady Glamis for “treason” in 1537 and hanged John Armstrong for being a “robber baron.” Cherry, 31.

66 “His firstborn, son, James, died after eleven months in April 1541. Three days later his second born son, Robert, died aged only eight days.” Ashley, 570.

67 Cherry, 37. Indeed, Mary’s son, James VI was the last to reign in Scotland. The Stuart reign over England and Scotland did not “gang wi’ a lass” until the death of Anne in 1714. Somerset Fry claims James made a pun on the words “a lass” and “alas.” Somerset Fry, 137.

68 This date is given in Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith, 5; though Cherry states it was written 1371-7. Cherry, 13. McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil give the date of 1376. McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, 127.
1460. James III liked the arts, at a time when they were seen as frivolous. He was assassinated by a group of rebellious earls. Under his son, James IV, Scotland entered the Renaissance. His interests in the arts and sciences were, fortunately, not against those of his people. In 1495, he founded King’s College in Aberdeen. In 1498, James IV created an act, which declared that all barons and gentlemen must send their sons to school from the age of eight until they mastered Latin. When he married Margaret Tudor, “the festivities lasted for five days and included pageants, banquets, bonfires, jousting, acrobatics and dancing.” Dunbar wrote his piece *The Thistle and the Rose* in celebration. The Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh was founded in 1506. According to Cherry, one year later, a royal charter was made, establishing a printing press at Cowgate in Edinburgh. Though not much remains from these first printing days, a volume of poetry from 1508 contains many priceless works written by William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, the major poets of the day. It is throughout the reign of James V that a great deal of building took place which was “the most ambitious ever undertaken by a Scottish monarch.” It is during the reign of James V, or his daughter Mary, that we come across the first extant play written in Scots: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount’s *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis.*

Scotland, like many western European countries, had drama from the medieval period onwards, though it met with disdain from Reformers. There were pageants and masques, and even May Day celebrations involving the Abbot of Unreason and later Robin Hood, who was crowned out of the lay people, paid by the town, and who welcomed in the summer.

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69 Cherry, 10; It was demolished in 1848 “in the name of progress.” Cherry, 19.

70 Cherry, 23. “Throughout his comparatively long reign he maintained a degree of peace and stability in his divided country that had not been known for generations, thereby providing the necessary conditions for a flowering of the civilized arts.”

71 Cherry, 25.

72 Ibid., 23.

73 Ibid., 36.


75 Two entertainments in which (1) plays were performed on wagons, much like our parade cars, throughout town; and (2) plays were performed in mask for a royal audience.

The May Day celebrations were banned by an Act of Parliament in 1555, but continued well towards the end of that century.\textsuperscript{77} Mill adds, there were also Acts of Parliament in 1449 and 1457 against wandering minstrels and the like, as they were seen as lazy.\textsuperscript{78}

Plays were performed for many reasons and on many different occasions. The earliest references to plays in Scotland are in 1440 and 1445, when Aberdeen saw a “Haliblude” (“Holy Blood”) play,\textsuperscript{79} performed at Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{80} Mill tells us, these Corpus Christi plays were important parts of their towns’ calendar and everyone was expected to participate. If a craftsman did not participate, he was fined.\textsuperscript{81} Several playwrights, including Friar Kyllour, James Wedderburn, and John Davidson used the old forms to give these new messages.\textsuperscript{82} Plays were also acted in schools, for instruction on religion.\textsuperscript{83} A play, “Galoshans” (or “Galatians”) exists, but only in fragments.\textsuperscript{84} The song “Pleugh (Plough) Song” or “My Heartly Service” is thought by some\textsuperscript{85} to be a script of sorts, since several “characters” are named and the singer is “speaking” to a person of higher rank. The same is speculated over the poem “The Passioun of Crist”, which seems to have several speakers, but none of the speeches are given directly to a character, as in a script.\textsuperscript{86} In the \textit{Papyngo}, Lindsay says a Sir James Inglis wrote "ballatts, farses, and . . . plesand playis", of which we have no extant copies.\textsuperscript{87} Indeed, the only thing that completely resembles an original play

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78 Ibid., 36-37.
81 Ibid., 64.
82 Ibid., 88-89.
86 Findlay, 11-14.
87 Lines 40-42 of \textit{Papyngo}, as quoted in Carol Edington, \textit{Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir
script is Lindsay’s *Ane Satyre*, which has stage directions (directions written in for the characters to follow, such as how to say a speech, or where to walk) and (mostly)\(^{88}\) clearly-indicated speeches for different characters.

There is much controversy over the date of Lindsay’s *Ane Satyre*. In 1540, an interlude was performed in front of James V and his court at Linlithgow involving a Parliament and several characters with parallels to those of *Ane Satyre*. However, the differences are great and we have no manuscript from that date. In fact, all we have is a description of the interlude from a “scotts man of our sorte”, given in a letter from Sir William Eure to Thomas Cromwell.\(^{89}\) It involved the Parliament; a lament by a Poor Man; the characters of Solace, Flaterye, King; and the estates of Temporality and the Burgesses, like in the play. But, the differences are greater: the interlude does not seem as complex; the King did little until the end;\(^{90}\) there are no characters named Sensualitie, Taylour, Sowtar, John the Common-weill, or Divyne Correctioun; Solace was the presenter, not a courtier; and there were characters named Experience (possibly like our Gude Counsall) and Pikthanke.\(^{91}\)

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\(^{88}\) I put “mostly” because Lyall in his revision of the text indicates several places where a certain speaker is assumed, but was not originally named, such as in lines 1572-1573, 2172-2173, and 3005-3007. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, ed. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing, 1989).

\(^{89}\) “Of our sorte” means someone who is a Protestant. Eure’s letter and copy of the “nootes” are printed in Kantrowitz. Sir William Eure to Thomas Cromwell, 21 January, 1539/40, in *Dramatic Allegory: Lindsay’s “Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis,”* by Joanne Spencer Kantrowitz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 147-51.

\(^{90}\) Kantrowitz, 30. The King’s fall from grace in the first part of *Ane Satyre* is seen as another indicator of 1540, since that is when Scotland still had a king (Mary reigned from 1542-67), and one who had been led astray by courtiers, though Kantrowitz points out that this Rex Humanitas could also have represented the Duke of Arran who was the regent in 1552 and also fell. There is no reason Rex Humanitas has to be a representation of any one person, since most other characters in the play are allegorical. One character based on a real person is Fund-Jonet (“Foundling Janet”), whose small role is one of Dame Sensualitie’s ladies in lines 312-326. A real woman at the court of Mary of Guise of 1544-45 did have this nickname. Thomas Dickinson and Sir James Balfour Paul, eds., *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877-1916), 8:355, quoted in Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, ed. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing, 1989), 180n to line 312.

\(^{91}\) Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, x-xi.
Many believe the first performance of *Ane Satyre* happened on 7 June, 1552 in Cupar (Fife). 92 This is supported by textual references to recent events. Mill is cited as stating that Foly’s lines of 4599-602 talk about war with England, which lasted from 1542-1550 and “left the country economically weakened and politically divided.”93 Lines 3593-6 and 4603-16 talk of the Smalkaldic War of 1551-3, which involved France, the Empire, and the Papacy.94 Lines 4609-11 cannot be ignored: “All the princes of Almanie (Germany), / Spainye, Flanders and Italie / This present yeir ar in ane flocht (flutter) . . .” Though a truce was declared in April of 1552, “it was probably not known in Scotland by the beginning of June.”95 Kantrowitz (17-22) points out lines 4638-9 refer to a controversy of 1551 over whether the *Pater noster* (“Our Father”) prayer should be directed to God and the saints, or God alone. There are no parallels to these events to match these lines for a performance of 1540. The final reason 1552 is believed to be the year is that a “proclamatioun” was made in Cupar before the performance of *Ane Satyre*. It used some of the bawdy humor of the play, but the main thing pinning this play to *Ane Satyre* is that it states at the end, “On Whitsonetysday cum see our play, I prey yow. / That samyne (same) day is the sevint (seventh) day of June . . .”96 According to Lyall, the only year (from 1541 until Lindsay’s death in 1555) in which the Tuesday after Whitsunday fell precisely on 7 June, was 1552.97 Though Lindsay probably wrote the interlude of 1540 (especially since he got paid handsomely after its production),98 there is nothing remaining of it to say definitively that it

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92 The county of Fife is especially important because it was there in 1546 that “a group of lairds with Protestant sympathies had assassinated Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews.” Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, vii.

93 Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, vii.


95 Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, xiii.

96 Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, “Proclamatioun Maid in Cowpar of Fyffe,” in *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, ed. Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing, 1989), 175, lines 271-72. They also make clear that this will last a long time, “Thairfoir get up richt aurly (early) and disjune (breakfast)” (line 273) and “. . . faill nocht (not) to teme (empty) your bleddir (bladder)” (line 275).

97 Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, xii.

98 Dickinson and Balfour, 8:315, quoted in Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, xln11.
is an early version of *Ane Satyre*. Kantrowitz makes a wonderful point on this “Version 1” debate:

James Joyce, after all, wrote an earlier version of *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, just as Proust wrote an earlier version of *Remembrance of Things Past*. Yet, valuable as they are for studying the growth of the final masterwork, we do not confuse *Stephen Hero* or *Jean Santeuil* with the later work when undertaking a critical study of the texts for which their writers are valued and remembered.99 Yet, the date controversy lives on.100

Lindsay’s play, as Lyall points out, has many French-inspired parts.101 The first example is that of *sotties*, in which fools behave as regular people. Foly pretends to be a preacher, Flatterie even calls himself “your awin fuill” (line 629), and the Lords of Spiritualitie are shown as “bot verie fuills” (line 3756). Foly’s sermon “is very firmly a sermon joyeux of the kind widely used in the sotties, and it is probably his awareness of this lively, anarchic but ultimately corrective genre that we owe his superficially somewhat bizarre decision to subvert the positive tone of the reforming Parliament with a reassertion of the power of vice.”102 Vice and sin were everywhere, and would take a long time to disappear. Another French convention is that of the *farce*. This word was used in Scotland to describe many types of theatrical entertainments.103 In France, *farces* were not only “short racy comedies”;104 they also had characters who behaved as fools, such as the Sowtar and Taylor.105 The French influence has much to do with the fact that Lindsay went on several diplomatic adventures to France, his first from February through November, 1532.106 But,
Lindsay knew his audience was not a fan of France, due to its Catholicism. “As the audience of this play, we are protestants, not as yet fixed in our separate factions, but united in our opposition to moral wrongs and papistical adversaries.”

So, he made unkind references to France, including having Flatterie be newly arrived from there (stage directions between lines 601 and 602).

The program of reform enunciated at the end of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (1552) provides for profound changes in the government of the Church, short (but only just) of a formal break with the Papacy; but it is important to recognise that here too Lindsay blends political, religious and social satire with a broader moral statement about the consequences for the human soul of a surrender to the seductive appeal of Sensualitie, a double purpose which is well conveyed by the name of the protagonist, King Humanitie.

Carol Edington agrees, “Lindsay, for one, although a vigorous critic of the Church, was never a confessed Protestant.” She continues:

If, . . . , we view Lindsay as a man groping toward understanding in an uncertain religious climate, then the complexities of his thought are more readily understandable and the contradictions in his writing easier to explain. The tensions in Lindsay's thinking may make for a more complex study than has sometimes been thought but, seen in this way, he presents a more accurate reflection of religious culture in Renaissance Scotland.

The social satire itself is nothing new. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1387) is a good example of the form. As with the *Satyre*, Chaucer and others have the most to say about the Church and its corruption. Unlike with Chaucer, Lindsay puts even the Parson in a bad light (lines 40, 45). Chaucer and Lindsay also treat the Merchant and Sargeant(s) in a much better light than most satirists. In both, the clerk is "an ideal representative of the life of

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107 Kantrowitz, 31.
108 Ibid., 41.
110 Edington, 53.
111 Ibid., 146.
113 Mann, 86; Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, 86, 90-91, 93.
The major difference between the two is that Lindsay uses allegorical characters more than those based on professions. Chaucer has no allegorical characters.

As Kantrowitz points out, this play is not like our modern plays in which we follow one character through a journey. This play is on a theme: that of Scotland being ruled by Sensuality. We are shown the King first since he is the head of the state. He is used as “a vehicle for the argument,” a way of demonstrating Sensuality’s pervasiveness. Once this idea of a play on a theme is understood, the play’s action is also easily understood. Characters come in and out to further demonstrate Sensuality’s hold. It is also not like our modern plays in that it took a day to perform. In Lindsay’s time, plays could last several days (like the pageant cycles), a whole day, or just an evening. Findlay states *Ane Satyre* started at 7 a.m. with a break at 11 a.m.

*Ane Satyre*’s narrator is Diligence, a character who keeps the King’s and our interests at heart, even when it is foolish, like wanting to send away the Pauper when he comes for assistance (paupers were often not welcome, being seen as lazy and potential thieves). His role is much like that of a herald. He introduces and wraps up the play, as well as gives much of *Satyre*’s political message and, yet, dismisses the play as just that. This role may probably have been played by Lindsay himself, as it is almost certainly an authorial role.

The Three Estaitis are: Spiritualitie, Temporalitie, and Merchand. Spiritualitie’s concern is religion; Temporalitie, the state’s laws; and Merchand, everything regarding trade.

The main character of our play is Rex Humanitas, the King. It is important to note that Rex Humanitas is a grown man.

Age and gender were frequently identified by medieval commentators as the criteria of sovereign rule and . . . Lindsay was no exception to this. By the

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114 Mann, 74; Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, 119, 123-27.
115 Kantrowitz, 82.
116 Ibid., 96.
117 Ibid., 128.
118 Findlay, 26.
119 Edington, 29.
In the sixteenth century, Scotland has become peculiarly accustomed to royal minorities with the period 1406-1528 witnessing over fifty years of regency government. In fact, Edington tells us, over the course of Lindsay's life, four Stewarts held the throne.

Humanitas wants to do what is right, but without the help of Divyne Correctioun and Gude Counsall, he can get lost in sin. The gravest of these sins is lodging with Dame Sensualitie, after being cunningly misled by his courtiers, Wantonnes, Placebo, and Solace. All he can think of is sex and only wants to please Sensualitie. She is depicted as a beautiful creature, almost a goddess. Any who lays eyes on her, wants to be with her and do her bidding. Her counterpart is Chastitie, who tells us of her woes, being banished from town to town and nunnery to nunnery. No one wants to be near her, though she is equally as fair (lines 1420-23). What she brings is less desirable than what Dame Sensualitie brings.

The Lords of Spiritualitie were seen as the main culprits in the game of lust. As stated earlier, Chastitie was not allowed near nuns or abbots. When Spiritualitie enters in the second half, he walks backwards with his vices: Flatterie/”Devotioun”, Covetice, and Sensualitie. Covetice and Sensualitie are then placed in captivity – their parting from Spirituality is very bitter. When Pauper speaks his case, he rages against the lust of the “holy” men: “Bot thay lyke rams rudlie in thair rage / Unpysalt rinnis amang the sillie yowis, . . .” (lines 2769-2770). The Persoun replies that this is false and that anyone who speaks ill of priests will burn. But, this does not stop the complaints against lechery. The question of intermarrying arises. Bishops would marry their daughters to barons, leaving some daughters of the State without suitable husbands.

These points are illustrated when Correctioun asks Spiritualitie what good things he has done. Spiritualitie replies that he has been good and paid all fines, including the “buttock-maill” (line 3382), a fine for fornication. He has also never married, according to the law, but has kept concubines and given his sons great gifts and married his daughters off well. He would also ride on a mule, like Jesus, to show his humility. An Abbot and a Prioress are brought out for questioning. The Abbot states much the same thing. When

120 Edington, 75.
121 Ibid., 69.
122 “But they like rams roughly and enraged with erections run among the weak ewes, . . .” (translation mine).
123 Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, lines 3194-3209.
asked why she would not take in Chastitie, the Priores replies that it went against her “complexioun” (temperament – line 3454) and refuses to say more. Perhaps she knows what she did is wrong, but does not want to publicly admit it. After the Doctor of Divinity is brought out to preach and speaks against the seven Deadly Sins, the Persoun defends them. “The naturall sin of lecherie / Is bot trew luife (love) . . .” (lines 3570-3571). He speaks of trading in their round hats for more fashionable "four-nuickit" ones (line 3445). After the sins of the Church have been brought out, a Batcheler\(^{124}\) states that those who are counseled by such friars would be led astray and requests all crooked friars and prioreses should be banished. 1\(^{st}\) Sargeant starts to disrobe the friar, who was Flatterie all along and who now repents his ways and says he will help hang his friends, despite the pact he made with them in the first part. The Priores is wearing a silk nightie under her robe, much like a whore.\(^{125}\) She proclaims her friend made her become a nun and now she is going to find some nice man to marry. Correctioun tells us the three Lords of Spiritualitie (Spiritualitie, Abbot, Persoun) will be replaced by the clerics who Diligence found to be true holy men. The replaced men try to lodge with Sensualitie and Covetice, but they will have nothing to do with them. The Lords depart to be with people who don’t know them. Spiritualitie’s sin of lechery has now been stamped out. The final two Acts of the Parliament state that priests are allowed to marry, in the hope that their lusts will be satisfied by their lawful wives, and there will be no mixing of noble and religious blood.

It is interesting to note that the saints are invoked by many characters, both good and bad. For instance, in line 191, Solace invokes "sweit Saint Marie", the Virgin Mother. Wantonness calls on Saint Michael twice in the same speech (lines 459, 470). Johne the Commonweal mentions "Sanct Paull, that pillar of the court" (line 2602). Roman mythology is brought up as well, especially Venus, as in line 272, of whom Sensualitie calls herself "the naturall dochter". Pluto is compared to Satan by the Pauper in line 3069, and his "band" (line

\(^{124}\) He is omitted from the Dramatis Personae, but does have an assigned speech in lines 3621-3644.

\(^{125}\) “. . . the ecclesiastical authorities repeatedly emphasised the need for proper clerical garb, including the round biretta. An act to this effect was passed by the provincial council of 1549, v. Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticae, ed. J. Robertson (2 vols, Edinburgh 1866), II, 89 (202 n. 3445)”; Edington, 180. “Likewise, while the council had stipulated that wool and not silk was to appropriate for clerical dress, Lindsay’s Prioress is revealed to be wearing a silk kirtle beneath her habit.”
are the Lords of Spirituality. While there are classical references throughout, there are many more references to religious lore than to classical mythology.

The sins of Spiritualitie do not end here. The other main sin of the Church is represented by the character Covetice. The first time we hear of the Church being greedy is in the case of the Pauper, who we meet during the Interlude. The Pauper appears asking for alms and a way to St. Andrews. He is at first dismissed by Diligence. After a fight over his presence, we finally hear his tale of woe: all three cows have been taken from him as his father, mother, and wife died, respectively – this is the death duty. Then, his landlord took his mare. He has nothing left to feed his several young children by. Then, his vicar (priest) took away the clothes from the dead and Pauper’s right to communion at Easter until he has paid his tithe (one-tenth of his estate) to the Church. This is why Pauper wants to go to St. Andrews – to talk to a lawyer. Since no one in the Spiritual realm will hear his case, maybe a lawyer can help him. Diligence tells him that lawyers can do nothing – there is a separation between Church and State. During the Parliament, Johne says that idle men are bad – whoever does not work does not eat, according to Paul (line 2607). This should include Friars. He praises Diogenes and other hermits for being true to their vows of poverty (lines 2632-51). Divyne Correction declares that land will be given to people who work, with which Spiritualitie is not happy. Another of Johne’s complaints is against the corspresent (death duty), with which Pauper agrees. Johne also says that parsons are happier to take money than to preach. A fight ensues between them and the Persoun with Spiritualitie. Pauper cries for his cows back. Persoun replies that since it’s the custom, it’s good. Gude Counsall steps in to say they did not come to fight but to make remedy. The Estaitis decide (after a fight with Spiritualitie) that they will ask the Pope about getting rid of the corspresent. Johne then asks if they can get rid of the custom of sending money to Rome – local churches need it more than they, and neither Peter nor Paul received wealth. After some more complaints against the Church, Johne asks what would happen if King David (reigned

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126 2 Thess. 3:10. “For when we were with you, this we warned you of, that yf ther wer any which woulde not worcke, that the same should not eate” (Matthew’s Bible, as printed by Nicholas Hyll in 1551, which was based on the Tyndale translation and was probably widely used throughout Scotland at this time; used by Lyall as source of Biblical verses - xxxviii).
had seen this deprivation in the abbeys he founded? The Abesse says it is heresy to speak ill of such a holy man, since no other king built churches that brought in so much money. When the Persoun defends the seven deadly sins, he proclaims that Covetice is wisdom and Gluttony is “lyfis fude” (line 3569). Shortly thereafter, The 1st Licent asks Diligence if Jesus owned land. Why, of course, since he was king of Israel. 1st Licent replies that indeed, he did not, though he was king above all kings. Christ declared he owned nothing. This means that the Church should not possess so much, either. It was declared early on that there will be a separation of Church and State (formalized in Act Seven), so that Spiritualitie would have no control over Temporalitie’s affairs. The other Acts that correct the Church’s Covetice are number Six: the money made by the nuns will be redirected to each Senator of the College of Justice and its chancellor; number Eleven: no death duties; and number Thirteen: no money to go to Rome.

The Church is not let off yet, though. The final straw is incompetence coupled with absences due to holding offices elsewhere. The incompetence is lampooned greatly. Our first glimpse at this is when Veritie (Truth) enters with a copy of the New Testament. The Abbot declares at her entrance that Veritie should be placed in the stocks until the third day of Parliament, when they will accuse her of heresy and banish her. To Catholics, represented by the Lords of Spiritualitie, the New Testament was heresy, as it helped people to know for themselves what the Bible said. If people could read the Word of God, what good were priests? People could also see how bad a job the priests were doing. During the Parliament, Gude Counsall declares that there should not be more than one benefice (a position in the Church). It is agreed and Gude Counsall says they must find a way of getting rid of all the false priests and prelates. Spritualitie declares he never read the New Testament, which leads to fighting. Spiritualitie asks “Devotioun” (who has not been found out yet as Flatterie) to examine Johne’s faith in a mini heresy trial.

Johne replies by reciting the Apostle’s Creed

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127 “He founded the bishoprics of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane and Ross as well as the monasteries at Holyrood, Melrose, Kinloss, Newbattle and Dundrennan.” Ashley, 404.

128 Yet, Flatterie does not cry “heresie” until after he notes it was printed in England in the English tongue. Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, lines 1154-55.

129 Kantrowitz, 125; Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, lines 3005-43.
(only without the “Catholic” part).\textsuperscript{130} Correctioun proclaims Johne a good man and declares that priests must be able to preach and not be absent from their one office. Veritie and Chastitie next plead against Spiritualitie, claiming that craftsmen are more pure than bishops. The Taylour and Sowtar prove they are better at their jobs than Bishops. When Spiritualitie praises his own “good works”, Correctioun retorts that he thought Spiritualitie’s job was to preach. Spiritualitie replies that he has a friar to do that and that he only works on Easter. The Abbot states proudly that his companions do not need anything. Can he preach? No, but he can play games and always dresses fashionably (lines 3440-48). When Foly enters, notices the pulpit, and is told a new bishop spoke there, he exclaims, “For I herd never in all my lyfe / Ane bischop cum to preich in Fyfe!” (lines 4472-73). If Bishops preach, what will happen to friars? How will they drink and get fat?

To correct things, Diligence is sent out to find holy men, even amongst Doctors of Divinity. When Diligence returns from his journey, he brings three clerics: a Doctor of Divinity and two license-men (men with Master’s degrees, and therefore able to teach).\textsuperscript{131} Divyne Correctioun advises these men to find all crooks amongst the priests. Whoever does not repent his ways will be replaced. Now the clerics are asked to preach and the Doctour does, telling us that as humans we are incomplete, but should consider ourselves blessed that Jesus was sent to us. His blood saved 1,000 worlds from Satan. If we follow God and his ten commandments, we will enter Heaven. Then, he says there are only two that people must heed to get to Heaven: love God and love thy neighbor. If you follow one, but not the other, you will surely fall to Hell. The Persoun speaks out saying that there are at least 10,007 miles between the two steps and that no “schort-leggit men” (line 3548) would be able to make it. The Abbot chimes in, saying that a crooked man or a blind man could not make it. And what if he falls? Being unable to understand metaphor is further proof of their ineptitude. Several Acts correct these problems: Act One - to protect and defend the church; Act Eight - only men who are learned in the Scriptures shall be able to preach and teach them; Act Nine - no priests shall be declared unless they are “of gude eruditioun” (line 3909); Act Ten - no

\textsuperscript{130} Lindsay, \textit{Ane Satyre}, line 3037: “I trow Sanctum Ecclesiam” (“I know the Holy Church” – translation mine).

\textsuperscript{131} Lindsay, \textit{Ane Satyre}, 201n to line 3339.
pluralism; and Act Twelve - bishops and priests should know and teach their own parishioners.

The Church’s corruption had many permutations. People only had to dress up in holy clothing to pass themselves off as holy men. Our three vices from the start of the play: Flatterie, Dissait, and Falset do that when they see Gude Counsall. They decide to dress in the clothes of holy men, and baptize themselves as Devotion (Flatterie), Discretion (Dissait), and Sapience (“knowledge” – Falset).\(^{132}\) They approach the King and bamboozle him into taking them in to his court. When he notices Gude Counsall, he asks them to approach him and find out why he is there. They approach and banish Gude Counsall with nasty words, claiming he is a villain. When the King asks them why they sent the guest (Gude Counsall) away, they claim he was a burglar. They are also worried when they see Veritie enter. At the entrance of Divyne Correctioun, Flatterie, Dissait, and Diligence decide to flee and live with Spiritualitie, the merchants, and the craftsmen. When the King asks for “Sapience,” “Devotion”, and “Discretioun” and is told the truth about them by Veritie and Chastitie, he curses them for having tricked him. Flatterie continues to bamboozle people by staying with Spiritualitie and entering with him in the second part.

Our next imposter is the Pardoner from the Interlude. He enters with plenty a relict, including Finn Mac Cumhuill’s (a legendary hero) jawbone, the rope that hanged John Armstrong (a border reiver),\(^{133}\) the anus of St. Bridget’s cow, and the snout of St. Anthony’s pig. In this period, Pardoners claimed to have been given the right by the Pope to give people pardons for their sins. If a sinner came and paid for a relict, their sins would be forgiven. Of course, this little list of the Pardoner’s goods lampoons the supposed relics real pardoners kept. Pardoner claims to grant divorces (which they could not), and the Sowtar from the first part of the play approaches him. Sowtar’s Wyfe also approaches and offers two shirts in payment. They are given a divorce, which is sealed by their kissing of one another’s behind. His servant, Wilkin, enters with a bridle that could have been St. Bridget’s and can be used as

\(^{132}\) Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, lines 719-807.

a cure against fever (Pardoners also offered cures for ills). Wilkin tells Pardoner what the
townspeople call him: a loon, a Papal legate, a “fals Saracene” (Muslim), and the Devil
Incarnate (lines 2200-204). He also warns Pardoner to keep away from Divyne Correctioun,
or he’ll be hanged. He can lodge with a prostitute named Christiane Anderson. When Pauper
wakes, crying for his cows, the Pardoner offers to sell him a pardon and bless him. Without
knowing what he will get, Pauper offers the only thing he had, a groat (an English coin,
worth four pence), which he intended on paying a lawyer. He is granted his pardon: 1,000
years off his time spent in Purgatory. What good does that do him now? They fight, and
Pauper casts the relics into the water.

There is, in fact, little evidence for the activity of pardoners in early-sixteenth-
century Scotland, and it has been suggested that Lindsay’s creation was
influenced by Chaucer or, alternatively, by the French work *La farce d’un
Pardonner*. . . . Lindsay’s pardon would have recalled, for some at least, Friar
Tetzel and the controversy that sparked the Lutheran Reformation. . . . Not only
does he condemn the Reformers Luther, Bullinger, and Melanchthon, but he also
goes so far as to lament the birth of St. Paul. The audience’s expectations of this
papal representative are further confounded by the unnatural, not to mention
illegal, ‘divorce’ ceremony over which he presides. Instructing the Sowtar and his
soon-to-be-former wife to kiss another on the arse may have provided the
audience with much scatological amusement but, more sinisterly, it conjures up
visions of the diabolic pact, worthy indeed of ‘Baliels braid blissing’ . . .”

The final imposter is Foly, our fool. After hearing that a new bishop has just preached
at the pulpit, Foly then proclaims he, too, should preach. The King and Diligence play along.
So, he proclaims in Latin, “Stultorum numerus infinitus”. He states we are all fools and
says he has known several people who wore the hats in his possession: merchants, old men
who take young girls for wives, “holy men”, and even kings, due to their pride. No saints
ever raised armies against other Christian men, after all. He then mentions an odd prophesy

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134 Kantrowitz, 53. Kantrowitz points out that only the archbishop of St. Andrews held this title.

135 Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (New
York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 9, quoted in Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir
David Lindsay of the Mount* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 191-92; Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*,
192; Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, line 2185.

136 “The number of fools is infinite.” (“The Latin comes from the Vulgate test of Ecclesiastes 1:15.”
Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, 208n to line 4502.
that his grandmother, Hecate ("the Gyre Carling")\textsuperscript{137} apparently told him involving the rise and fall of nations and the dirty business of someone crapping in a can of which you will eat (lines 4631-34, translated in footnotes, p. 162). Though these characters lampoon the Church, they also illustrate that it will be a long time before all the corruption and its effects will be stamped out.

Of course, the Church wasn’t the only corrupt institute. As seen very early on in the play, even Kings who vow to do good, can also go astray. Yet another group of perpetrators is that of landlords. Before Johne can tell his story to the Parliament, Diligence gives a fitting prologue about the fate of all common men: not only do their prelates raise the tithes due, the tenants must also pay rent, or be forced to leave. Pauper endorses everything Diligence tells the Parliament. Though it is complained against earlier, it is determined in Act Three that it would be best if all lands will be set in feu (a system whereby their tenants’ land is enclosed for pasture), like in France. Act Four declares that landlords will be punished for holding wrongdoers among their people. Though this problem was not stated directly elsewhere, it was a way to stamp out crime. No landlord wants to be caught harboring a criminal.

Craftsmen and merchants were also not without sin. In the Parliament, the Merchant enters with Falset and Dissait. When Dissiat is hanged, he says goodbye to merchants whom he taught many tricks (including lying about whether their goods were rotten – lines 4073-75, mixing old and new wine – line 4083, or being short on something that was supposed to weigh a pound – line 4092), and names Cupar burgess families (families of the burgh). When Falset is hanged, he bewails his condition and asks how craftsmen will live without him. He taught butchers to blow their meat\textsuperscript{138} and tailors how to create a gown from 1 ¼ yards of material (line 4149). He, too, names friends and bewails the others’ deaths. He tells the audience that if anyone wishes to do as he did, they will also be hanged. He is hanged and a crow or jackdaw is thrown up, to represent his repentant soul. Early on in the Parliament

\textsuperscript{137} "The Gyre Carling was a popular names [sic] for Hecate, conceived of as a grotesquely horrible witch." Lindsay, \textit{Ane Satyre}, 209n to line 4627.

\textsuperscript{138} "... a common piece of sharp practice to inflate the cellular membrane of meat in order to make it more attractive to the customer." Lindsay, \textit{Ane Satyre}, 206n to line 4143.
(stage directions between lines 2721 and 2722), Marchand hugs Johne, along with Temporalitie, atoning for their sins against the commonweal.

Good common men are represented by Johne the Common-weill and Pauper. Johne has appeared in Lindsay's writing before. In his *Dreme* (ca. 1528), he vows to leave Scotland and not return until "ane gude auld prudent king" rules it (line 1005).\(^{139}\) Rex Humanitas is an adult, so Johne has returned. Johne is the first to speak before the Parliament, and is very excited to do so. He asks that the sins be taken away from their Estaitis, so that things can be put aright “Or els John the Common-weill man (must) beg on the bordour” (line 2465). Johne next asks of them that the Border be made more secure and less corrupt, “For how can we fend us aganis Ingland/ Quhen we can nocht within our native land/ Destroy our awin Scots common trator thiefis,/ Quha to liell laborers daylie dois mischeifis?” (line 2588-91).\(^{140}\) Johne also has a problem with the Justice Airs who hang a thief of one cow, but fine a thief of a herd. Pauper, another good man, asks if the way of the courts could be changed since it took over seven months to settle a case over one stolen mare. And, though the court had ruled in his favor, he never got his mare back. Temporalitie sympathizes and says that no one is above the law and shall be punished for thievery. One Act addresses this complaint: Five - that another college of justice should be introduced into the farther-out regions. According to Lyall, “Delays in the execution of justice were commonplace in the sixteenth century, and greatly exacerbated by problems of distance and poor communications” (note to line 3857, p. 203-4). If another court were established, many cases would not be delayed as long.

This passage also lampoons the consistorial court system and its many confusing processes with Latin names.

As well as supporting the call for a vernacular Bible and liturgy, Lindsay also advocated a greater use of Scots in the conduct of legal affairs. . . . Lindsay’s desire for a more readily comprehensible system had a precise social justification: Not only will it minimize the type of bewilderment instanced by the Pauper, but by advertising its penalties it will help deter crime (*The Monarche*, 666-67), and by removing ambiguity it will eliminate the need for greedy lawyers. . . . The provision of an accessible corpus of Scottish law had been one of the principal

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\(^{139}\) Quoted in Edington, 24.

\(^{140}\) “For how can we defend ourselves against England when we can’t within our own native land destroy our own Scottish common traitor thieves, who do mischief daily to loyal laborers?” (translation mine)
reasons given for the establishment of the first Scottish printing press in 1507 and, indeed, Lindsay’s lines forcefully recall the 1540 statute requiring the printing of all ‘actis safar as concernis the comoun wele.’ . . . Lindsay’s demand over a decade later suggests that ignorance was still widespread. The example of men like Lindsay . . . provides a telling illustration of the important role play by the vernacular—and in particular by the notion of the commonweal, itself a vernacular term—in the development of political discourse in Renaissance Scotland.141

Of course, not all common men were like Johne, “ane gude Christian man” (line 3043) or the Pauper. Common Thift (Thief) is a minor character who shows how rotten the entire state is. He enters presumably from the audience, as he remarks on the “thrang” (throng) gathered (line 3215). He complains that if the King makes things in the land good, he’ll have no life. He then asks for the Earl’s horse,142 and tells of his getaway plans. He notices Oppressioun in the stocks and asks him what he did. Oppressioun says he has been placed there, but needs to leave for a little bit. “Put in your leg into my place, /And heir I sweir, be God[di]s grace, / Yow to reliefe, within schort space, / Syne let yow wend” (lines 3282-85).144 Thift is deceived by this and ends up in the stocks, as Oppressioun runs away free. Oppressioun oppresses anyone, even those who think like him. After the Acts are declared, the prisoners are led to the gallows. Thift tries to get out of it by asking for a drink. When he realizes it’s useless, he tells all oppressors in the audience to repent. He then bids adieu to prominent reiving families and is hanged.

Not all was lost for Scotland from the beginning of the play. There are several virtues who help out the State. Gude Counsall appears first and remarks in front of us that because kings of the past did not heed him, they died at early ages (lines 579-81). He laments Rex Humanitas’ choice to lodge with Dame Sensualitie. But, because he fears he will not do good alone, he waits patiently, “. . . till I se God send mair of His grace” (line 600). He is a


142 “George Leslie, earl of Rothes (c. 1495-1558) was a notable Fife magnate, sheriff of the county from 1540 and perhaps, . . . a member of the Cupar audience.” Lindsay, Ane Satyre, 200n to line 3250.

143 The two, earlier printings of Ane Satyre differ on spelling of “God’s”. Lyall uses both in his edition.

144 “Put your leg into my place, and here I swear, by God’s grace, to relieve you within a short space, and then let you go” (translation mine).
fearsome fellow, if the actions taken by Flatterie and his fellows are any indication. It is Gude Counsall who says that Johne the Common-weill must be clothed in a beautiful garment, for Johne stated at the beginning that he had no clothes (line 2445) and had been overlooked (line 2447). It is not until after Divyne Correctioun appears (line 1580), that Gude Counsall decides to act. His first act is to ask Divyne Correctioun to release Veritie and Chastitie, and to tell him of Flatterie, Falset, and Dissait. Correctioun, in turn, then instructs the King to take in Gude Counsall, along with Chastitie and Veritie. Gude Counsall becomes the rightful counselor of the King and his advice is that the King must fear God, first and foremost, and then to treat everyone fairly. If the King does both of these and rules well, he will be immortalized. Interestingly enough, he has been immortalized, due to Lindsay’s fame, and to this play’s existence.

The next Virtue to enter is Veritie (Truth) with a copy of the New Testament, who tells us to love justice and for princes to be good, as their subjects will follow them. Flatterie sees Veritie and tells the others, including the Lords of Spiritualitie, that if Veritie is allowed near the King, they are all doomed. Before Veritie is placed in the stocks, she gets down on her knees and prays that God will awaken and set things right (line 1168). It was believed at this time that when things went wrong, God was asleep. When placed in the stocks, she tells Chastitie not to worry, as Divyne Correctioun is at hand.

At line 1200 Chastitie enters, bewailing her misfortune of finding no place to sleep. Diligence asks her to stay with nuns and tells her to prove they will not keep her. The Priores will not, and suggests abbots, monks, or prelates, who in turn, tell her to go to a nunnery. Temporalitie says he would take her, if it weren’t for his jealous wife. Finally, a Sowtar (shoemaker) and a Taylour take her in. This is one of the many comic moments in the play. The Sowtar and Taylour only mean well, but their jealous wives find out about them drinking with Chastitie and become angry. They claim that it’s all Chastitie’s fault that they are so desperate, as they have not had sex in a long time. They drive her out, beat their husbands, and celebrate with a drink. Diligence returns to ask how Chastitie has fared, and suggests she go to the King. He sends Solace to give the message of a fair lady who wishes to see him. After Rex Humanitas is told by Sensualitie that she and Chastitie cannot exist together, Chastitie is put in the stocks. Divyne Correctioun frees her and instructs the repentant King to embrace her until he weds a woman of royal blood.
The final virtue to enter is Divyne Correctioun. Though the King declares a Parliament, it is because of Divyne Correctioun. The King may be the head of the body politic, but God is above even him. Wantonnes describes Correctioun as a king of Angels (line 1678-79) and wonders if his presence is a god or bad omen. After bringing the other Virtues with him to the King, he corrects the King for his insolence (line 1721-27). Then, Correctioun calls Wantonnes, Placebo, and Solace forward, saying they will be punished for leading the King into a life of sin. They claim innocence, saying that (with the prevalence of lechery), how were they to know it was a sin? Could they, please just play chess and games with the King instead (lines 1829-46)? Correctioun deems this a good alternative, for these, along with hunting, will keep the King’s skills honed in case of war. During the Parliament, Divyne Correctioun declares Johne must be placed in Parliament, as well as being beautifully clothed in silk, damask, or velvet (line 3801). It is through Divyne Correctioun that Scotland gets turned to rights.

The only other Act proclaimed was number Two, which stated that all the laws of the former Parliament were good and should be obeyed. The fifteen Acts at the end of the play had some similarities with those passed by the Provincial Council in 1549: the clergy must be well-qualified, the clergy must preach, and there should be no pluralism. However, Lindsay went farther by calling an end to death duties, asking money be returned to Scotland and not sent to Rome, calling for an end to celibacy, and declaring the dissolution of nunneries.

Lindsay knew that what he would say in his play would be controversial, though his audience would be somewhat receptive after all it had gone through in previous years. Still, at the beginning and end of the play through the character of Diligence, he does ask that people not take the play so seriously (lines 70-77 and 4648-55). Even Divyne Correctioun’s Varlet says something of the sort in his speech:

Sirs, thocht we speik in generall,
Let na man into speciall

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145 Satin and velvet are familiar, expensive materials. Damask was definitely an expensive material, as it was good enough for King James IV’s wedding attire: “The Kyng was in a Gowne of Whit Damaske . . . .” John Young, *Account of the Marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor* (Edinburgh, 1503), quoted in Iona McGregor, *Getting Married in Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Publishing, 2000), 15.

146 Lindsay, *Ane Satyre*, xxx.
Tak our words at the warst:
Quhat ever wee do, quhat ever wee say,
I pray yow tak it all in play,
And judg ay to the best (lines 1506-11).\footnote{147}

The 1552 performance was not the only one. We know that \textit{Ane Satyre} was replayed in Edinburgh in 1554 for Mary of Guise, the new regent. It may have been performed at others occasions, but we have no record of them. We do know that the Catholic clergy was offended by it and three years after Lindsay’s death, they called for its burning. Manuscripts did survive, however and it was first printed and edited in the 1560s by George Bannatyne. Its total length was 3,377 lines. In 1602 it was republished by Robert Charteris, with 4,630 lines.\footnote{148} Lyall’s new edition (a composite of both) is 4,670 lines. It was not until 1948 that it was successfully revived at the Edinburgh International Festival, though the playscript by Robert Kemp was significantly shorter than Lindsay’s. It has seen subsequent revivals at the Festival in 1949, 1951, 1959, 1973, 1984, 1985, and 1991.\footnote{149}

Along with the abundance of creativity came language change. The Stuart dynasty straddled two phases of Scots’ development: Old Scots and Middle Scots. The start of Early Scots is given as 1375, the date for Barbour’s \textit{Brus}.\footnote{150} The first year acts of Parliament were written in Inglis was 1390. In 1425, previous Acts were translated into Inglis from Latin. Scots took words from the Norman form of French early on. Later, borrowings came from the court in Paris, which spoke a different form of French. The “Auld Alliance” between the two countries officially lasted until the Reformation of 1560, though it had gotten shaky earlier than that date, as evidenced by Mary’s ordeals.

D. Murison states: “The years 1460-1560 can be considered the heyday of the Scots tongue as a full national language showing all the signs of a rapidly developing, all-purpose speech, as distinct from English as Portuguese from Spanish, Dutch from German or Swedish

\footnote{147} “Sirs, though we speak in general, / Let no man especially / Take our words at the worst: / Whatever we do, whatever we say, / I pray you take it all in play, / And judge always to the best” (translation mine).
\footnote{148} Findlay, 27.
\footnote{149} Ibid., 24.
\footnote{150} Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith, “A Brief History,” 8.
from Danish. The Spanish ambassador at the court of James IV described the distinction as like that between Castilian and Arogonese”.

_Ane Satyre_ was written during what is called the Middle Scots period (1450-1700). In the article “Scottish Place-names” we find a shift in spelling. Stirling ended in –lin, -lyn, and –line. In the fifteenth century, these spellings coexisted with –ling and –lyng. From the late sixteenth century, only the –ng endings existed. The same can be shown for Falkirk, which was originally spelled Faukirk in 1298 and Fawkirk in 1391. There was no “l” in the name until 1458. The printing presses of England produced more works than their Scottish counterparts, helping the Anglicization of Scots. Görlach states that, “With Edinburgh printers, books in English had begun to outnumber those in Scots by around 1580” twenty-three years before James VI’s departure. Meurman-Solin traced spelling conventions found in documents. For example, the synonyms “or,” “afore,” “ere,” and “before” were charted. From 1450-1500 almost all documents used “or,” with one exception using “before.” By 1570-1640, 72% of all texts used “before.”

In “The Language of Older Scots Poetry”, Smith asserts that the Reformers’ choice of a vernacular Bible (in English) had a great deal to do with the Anglicization of Scots (208). “It is no coincidence that Anglicization of writing appears first in Scottish texts concerned with religion.” Indeed, in 1579, a law stated that “every householder worth 300 merks had to

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possess ‘a bible and psalme buke in the vulgare language’.\textsuperscript{156} By considering written English as the “vulgar” language, it’s conceivable that the Reformers considered the written languages the same, and only differed in pronunciation.

Yet, there was also, at the same time, a drive to write in a language everyone understood:

\ldots the example of the humanist translators and the same drive to inform—what had been dubbed ‘the popularizing mood of the time’—persuaded numerous authors to turn to the vernacular. It is no accident that this flowering of Middle Scots coincided with that brief period when the language of the court and of government was familiar even to the most humble member of the population.\textsuperscript{157}

This heyday of Scots literature was not to last. Edington tells us, "Only recently the language of government had been Latin and after 1603 the use of English would distinguish popular and elite culture."\textsuperscript{158} Cherry adds, “The departure of the court from Edinburgh in 1603 meant that the status of Scots as the language of learning and creative writing would inevitably diminish . . . .”\textsuperscript{159}


\textsuperscript{157} Edington, 131.

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., 250n51.

\textsuperscript{159} Cherry, 65.
CHAPTER 4

LUSTIS FOLEIS

Sen age thairfoir suld governit be w⁴ skil
Let countenance accord with your gray hairis:
Jë auncients all, let resoun rewll your will,
Subdew your sensis till eschew thir snairis:
Gif ye wald not incombred be with cairis,
Be maister over your awin affections haill:
For hailillie the praise is only thairs,
That may against sik passions preuaill.¹⁶⁰

—Anonymous, Philotus

In the late 16th century, Scotland had gone through great changes, especially in the religious sphere. It experienced a revolution, starting the year 1560, lead by the bombastic John Knox. Through his and his followers’ religious zeal, Scotland slowly changed from Catholic to Calvinist. Due to this religious fervor, a queen would be decapitated, and a nation would be plunged into a world of changing allegiances. During this period, the Court would be entertained by an age-old comedy of an old man who lusts after a young girl, complete with the popular themes of mistaken identity and cross-dressing.

The end of the sixteenth century saw two more Stewart monarchs. It is in Mary’s reign that we see, perhaps, the saddest instance of the Stewart misfortune. Mary was six days’ old when crowned. Because of arguing between pro-French and pro-English forces, Mary had to flee to France for her own safety. During Mary’s absence, her mother, Mary of Guise, persecuted Protestants, creating more animosity against her and her “French” daughter. When her husband Francois died and the new king made clear he did not like her, Mary had to flee France. She was not welcome in her own country. John Knox, one of the first Protestant Reformers, considered her a threat to the country. Though she allowed

¹⁶⁰ “Since age should be governed with skill / Let countenance come in accord with your gray hairs / All ye ancient men, let reason rule your will / Subdue your senses to avoid their snares / If you do not want to be encombered with cares / Be master over all of your affections / For wholy is the praise theirs / Who against such passions may prevail” (translation mine).
religious freedom, she would hear private masses. Her support continued to wane after she
wed her second-cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, and baptized their son in Catholic ceremonies.
Her secretary, David Rizzio, was murdered by Darnley and his men in the Queen’s
quarters. Then, Darnley was murdered under mysterious circumstances. Shortly thereafter,
Mary married one of the accused murderers, the Earl of Bothwell. Mary and Bothwell were
chased by a group of angry lords. After being seized, Mary abdicated her throne and entered
England, seeking support from her cousin, Elizabeth. Elizabeth instead imprisoned Mary,
“for her own safety.” Mary had Catholic supporters, who plotted several times to dethrone
Elizabeth and crown Mary (because Henry VIII had divorced Elizabeth’s mother, she was
seen as illegitimate by Catholics). When Mary became involved in these plots and
romantically entangled with one of the conspirators, her fate had been sealed. Though
Elizabeth did not want to execute Mary, she signed the order (and claimed later to have been
tricked).

The final monarch in the Stewart era was James VI, who was never expected to live
long. He was very sickly from birth and was seen as a threat to the country because of his
mother. He never knew her, however, because Mary abdicated when James was only thirteen
months old. By 1586, James had reached an agreement, where he was made the heir to
England’s Elizabeth I, so long as he did not endanger her reign. To keep this agreement,
James remained silent during his mother’s ordeal and eventual execution, and was neutral
during the Armada episode, a time during which Spain and its Catholicism were seen as a
threat to English Protestantism. Though not all Scottish Protestants supported him as the head
of the Kirk, James bided the times well. On 26 March, 1603, Elizabeth died and two days
later, James was declared her heir. Shortly thereafter, he rode to London to begin a new era.

The building of the earlier Stewart monarchs continued in this period, as did
engagement in the arts. In 1582, Edinburgh University was firmly established, though it had

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161 Magnusson, 351-52.
162 Ashley, 574.
163 R. Fraser, 292-93.
164 Magnusson, 381.
165 The Scots word for “church”.

been begun in 1556 when Mary of Guise appointed lecturers to teach “civil and canon law, Greek, and the sciences.”\textsuperscript{166} By this time, England, with a population five times that of Scotland, only had two universities.\textsuperscript{167} As for the arts, we have several key dates. In 1558, a play celebrating Queen Mary’s wedding to the French Dauphin was performed, though she was in France.\textsuperscript{168} Acts of 1574-5, and 1581 killed much of the play-going by prohibiting Sunday plays and the observation of saints’ days, respectively.\textsuperscript{169} George Buchanan, James VI’s tutor, wrote masques in Latin for the court.\textsuperscript{170} However, with the Reformation and its subsequent disposal of all things “heretical”, we are left with very few sources like manuscripts.\textsuperscript{171} If the subject matter was against the Pope and abuses of the Catholic Church, then the plays were permitted, like Buchanan’s. One other play from the time 1590-1601, is called \textit{Pamphilus Speakand of Lufe (Pamphilus Speaks of Love)}, a verse translation into Scots of a Latin comedy, \textit{Pamphilus de Amore}, by John Burel.\textsuperscript{172} In 1599, a ban was placed specifically on traveling English companies. Only the King and families large enough to pay for them had minstrels as part of their entertainment.\textsuperscript{173} In fact, Parliament had to recant its ban on English minstrels that year so that James VI could have traveling English companies play throughout Scotland. According to Mill, only when the court left for London did the ban go up again.\textsuperscript{174} The Court’s masques were even participated in by those for whom they were supposed to be performed. Mary, her husband Lord Darnley, and her secretary Riccio\textsuperscript{175}

\textsuperscript{166} Cherry, 10.
\textsuperscript{168} Mill, “The Records of Scots Medieval Plays,” 141.
\textsuperscript{169} Mill, \textit{Mediaeval Plays in Scotland}, 93.
\textsuperscript{170} Magnusson, 347.
\textsuperscript{171} As Cherry states, “ . . . of the royal library which the German bibliophile, Marcus Wagner, lavishly praised on his visit to pre-Reformation Edinburgh little now remains that antedates the reign of James VI.” Cherry, 10.
\textsuperscript{172} Findlay, 47.
\textsuperscript{173} Mill, \textit{Mediaeval Plays in Scotland}, 39.
\textsuperscript{174} Mill, \textit{Mediaeval Plays in Scotland}, 110.
\textsuperscript{175} Mill’s spelling.
often participated. In 1588, James VI wrote a masque for a wedding celebration.\textsuperscript{176} He also wrote many poems and books. His published works included \textit{Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie} (1584), \textit{Ane Schort Treatise, conteining some reulis and cautelis} (tricks) \textit{to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie} (1584), \textit{His majesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres} (1591), \textit{Lepanto} (1591), \textit{Daemonologie} (1597), \textit{Basilikon Doron} (1598),\textsuperscript{177} and \textit{True Lawe of Free Monarchies} (1598).\textsuperscript{178}

The anonymously-written \textit{Philotus} is of this period. There is less of a Medieval character than that which is found in \textit{The Thrie Estaits}, though both are moral in nature. Yet, the world is still familiar and the language is much the same. The focus has changed from the country at large, to a group of twelve people in one city/town,\textsuperscript{179} from a focus on each estate and its needs to foci on the old battles between youth and age and between personal choice and familial duties. In many ways, \textit{Philotus} could have been written in any late-sixteenth century European country.

\textit{Philotus} opens up with an old man, the play’s name-sake, trying to woo a fourteen-year-old girl, Emily. Emily will have none of his advances, and our mirth at this circumstance is shared by the character Plesant, a court jester/Greek chorus mix.

\textit{Philotus} next seeks the aid of Macrell, an old, deceptive woman, “employed in pandering to sexual debauchery.”\textsuperscript{180} Macrell agrees to try her luck at wooing Emily. Over more than one hundred lines, she describes to Emily what kind of life she would lead if she only gave in to Philotus’ demands and marry him. By these descriptions, we can tell that Philotus is a wealthy man, and Emily’s life would improve drastically through marriage. Emily has no interest in material goods or old men. To every one of Macrell’s enticements

\textsuperscript{176} Findlay, 36.
\textsuperscript{177} “The Kingly Gift”, according to Magnusson, 394.
\textsuperscript{178} List compiled from Davies, 540-41; Cherry, 70-75. When the sources differed on spelling, I chose Cherry’s.
she has equal-and-opposite turn-offs. Emily may be young, but she is wise, yet another contrast to Philotus.

Then, Philotus approaches Emily’s father, Alberto, calling him “Gude Gosse” (friend)¹⁸¹ and heaping compliments on him and his family. He promises the heir of their union would have a great heritage behind him. He promises enough money to provide for his daughter and, "Ane pairt to leaue sum freind asyde / Quhen deith sall vs disseuer" (line 343-44). Everything would be paid for, and she would have a sizeable “conjuntfie” (line 334). R.D. S. Jack and P. A. T, Rozendaal tell us, “Alberto is not to 'spare' in minimising his daughter's dowry rights so that he may gain as much from the deal as possible.”¹⁸² By this he successfully seduces Alberto with the life to which he would rather become accustomed. Reid-Baxter has this reading: "By waving any dowry and specifically promising his entire inheritance to Alberto's putative grandson, he literally buys Alberto's agreement."¹⁸³

Alberto then tries his luck at wooing Emily. Telling her that a powerful man in the town has taken a liking to her. At first, she is obediently happy at the idea and asks to see the man whom he intends her to marry. When she finds out it is the old man, Philotus, she pleads with Alberto, calling marriage "thraldome free" or "slavery." She asks, "How can I giue consent thairfoir, / Or зit¹⁸⁴ till him agree ?" (lines 387-88).

Alberto then orders her to marry Philotus, using his right as father over her: "The Impyre Parents hes be law, / Abuif thair children ay" (lines 399-400),¹⁸⁵ since she stands in "sa lytill aw" and does not fear him. That is: parents rule forever over their children. He even mocks her "stomach stout" (line 412), or rather, her pride. Emily begs him to "mitigate" his

¹⁸¹ Mill, Philotus, line 321. All further quotations of lines come from this edition, unless otherwise specified. DSL-DOST, s.v. “Gosse,” http://www.dsl.ac.uk/index.html (accessed on October 31, 2010).


¹⁸⁴ In this, and other cases, I have kept the symbols used in Mill’s edition. This character, for example, is in place of a “y”.

¹⁸⁵ “Parents should always rule above their children” (translation mine).
"rage" (line 417), and "Tak vp and lenifie zour yre" (line 429). To "lenifie" is to soften. She is locked up, instead, in his house.

Flavius now enters the picture. He falls in love with Emily, and over eighty lines, pleads for her to love him in return. At first, she is not impressed, likening him to all men who only want one thing. Flavius insists he truly loves her, and proposes. While she coyly rejected him before, his offer of marriage gets her consent. When Emily is finally wooed by Flavius, she asks him to get a page’s clothes to dress up in. She then escapes with him to his house. She did not leave unnoticed, however. Stephano, their servant, informs Alberto of what he saw: "Scho schiftit hes hir self asyde, / And in sum hous sho did hyr hyde,186 / Na sir, quhat euer sall betyde, / It will be hard to get her" (lines 653-56). Alberto is enraged. Just then, Emily’s brother, Philerno, returns from war. He approaches Philotus and Alberto asking if they know where the latter lives, "For thocht I be his Sone and Heyre, / I knaw him not a myte the mair, . . ." (lines 701-702).187 Ironically, he is immediately mistaken for his sister in drag and berated.

Philotus tries to calm Alberto down, asking him to forgive her this once for him, for "I wald be laith to wit hir dung" (line 715).188 He will pledge for her himself. Then, she will agree this should all be mended. Philerno, the dutiful son, admits he has worn these clothes to run off, and asks forgiveness and proper instruction. Alberto softens and asks only one thing: that Philerno marry Philotus. Philerno agrees, for he would be hate to be "zow gainstand."189 With Philerno mistaken for Emily, he is taken to bed by Philotus. Plesant, along with us, has a good, bawdy laugh:

Auld guckis the mundie, sho is a gillie,190
Scho is a Colt-foill, not a fillie,
Scho wants a dow, bot hes a pillie,

186 That is, she changed clothes and is staying in another house.


188 "I would be loathe to have learned she was struck down" (translation mine).

189 That is, to stand against Alberto.

190 The first is a difficult phrase. According to the DOST, “guck” is “a jocular title.” DSL-DOST, s.v. “Guk, n.,” http://www.dsl.ac.uk/index.html (accessed March 7, 2010). Jack and Rozendaal say it means "fool".
That will play the ane passe:
Put doun thy hand vane Carle and graip,
As they had wont to cheis the Paip,
For thow hes gotten ane jolie jaip,
In lykeness of ane Lasse. (lines 769-76)\(^{191}\)

While Philerno is mistaken for Emily, he is sent over to Philotus’ house to spend the night. There, Philotus tells Philerno (as Emily) that his daughter, Brisilla, will sleep with her tonight and instructs her to “pleis hir sie thy pair throw pruif, With wit and all devoir” (lines 783-84). That is, she is to do everything she can to please “Emily” with all wit and duty.\(^{192}\) In the morning, Philerno is due to marry Philotus.

While locked up, both Brisilla and Philerno-as-Emily bewail their fortunes as women. Brisilla is likely also to be wed to an older man. Philerno-as-Emily tells her that if they pray hard enough, he could be turned into a man, making all things right. She agrees. Then, Philerno prays and falls on the bed as if dead, writhes as if in a trance, and then awakens as the man we know him to be. This makes Brisilla quite happy.

It is now morning and time for the wedding ceremony between Philotus and Philerno-as-Emily, for Philotus knows not what transpired the night before. Flavius witnesses the wedding ceremony of Philerno to Philotus, and thinks that the woman in his house is a ghost. When Emily attempts to tell the truth, he tries to exorcise the spirit in the name of almost anyone he can think of from Archangels to well-known and obscure saints, to modern prophets and even to classical mythological entities, "Throw power I charge the of the Paip" (line 985).\(^{193}\) Emily is ejected from her true love's house and runs back to her father.


\(^{191}\) A “pillie” is a penis. A “Paip” is a nipple.


\(^{193}\) “I charge thee with the power of the Pope” (translation mine).
When alone, Philerno asks first to talk with Philotus, "befoir we sched" (1064). Philotus asserts his power: "We will not for the maistrie stryue, / We mon grie better and we thryue" (lines 1065-66). Philerno will have none of this, and beats up the old man, saying ". . . Carle take thair a reuell, / Than do as I command". The Plesant laughs with us, and says how funny it is that “ye trowit to get ane burd of blisse” (line 1083), that is, a happy woman. He soon found out just how unhappy she was! Philerno has turned the tables and is now in charge. He sneaks off to pay a whore to sleep with Philotus. Philotus will unknowingly cuckold himself.

When Emily returns to her father, Alberto is incensed that Philotus would eject his new bride from his house. Philotus says that he had married a monster, but Emily insists she married Flavius, not Philotus. They send for Flavius, who argues with Philotus as to who married a devil. Then, Philerno and Brisilla enter the scene to 'red the stryfe' (line 1225). In the end, the old men’s folly is discovered, everything is set aright, everyone has a laugh, and the two young pairs are married.

In Philotus we get a vision of life for the well-to-do that focuses mostly on morals. Though we are given a character's name as the play's title, Philotus is not our protagonist. His object of desire, Emily, is. This strong, female focus is worth noting. Emily thinks with her head and heart, Philotus with his loins. When Macrell tries to woo her, Emily starts her rebuke by admitting that any lady would love to have as much as she could as his wife, then adds that she is not one of those ladies. She shows calm and grace in contrast to Philotus’ and the Macrell’s urgency. When Philotus first approaches her, she is polite in her refusal, but is not afraid to say he is much too old for her (lines 42-48). Emily cares little for worldly goods. She will not be swayed by Macrell's imagery. She knows what gifts and honors she would receive, that she would be placed high above others. But, after all that, “quhat in treatment sall I get, / I pray ow in my bed?” (lines 275-76). She will deny all her days his auld, cold,

194 “We will not fight for the upper hand / we must get along better so that we may thrive” (translation mine).
195 “Villain, take a blow, / Then do as I say” (translation mine).
196 Jack and Rozendaal have two other, possible readings of this: “You thought to gain a blissful home-life” or “You thought to win a blessed maiden.” Jack and Rozendaal, 423.
dry body to “sched” her “shankes” (line 280). She wants none of his diseased body or his “Venus games”. She lists off things about him she dislikes, and ends with "I could weill of his maners ma, / Gif I list till indyte" (line 294),\(^{197}\) her way of dismissing the whole thing as not worth her time. The Macrell suggests that Emile take young lovers. Emily is appalled.

Emily is quite cultured and book-smart. When Flavius tries to woo her, Emily is at first not impressed. She shows her knowledge of the classics, however by likening Flavius’ skill to that which would be brought up in “Cupids Court” or on “Parnassus forkit Hill” (l.514-5), having tasted of Helicon’s sweet waters. Emily also shows she is nobody’s fool:

> With lousing language tending till allure,  
> With sweit discourse the simpill till ouirsyle,  
> ʒe cast ʒour craft, ʒour cunning and ʒour cure,  
> Bot puir Orphanes and Madynis to begyle,  
> ʒour waillit out words, invented for a wyle,  
> To trap all those that trowis in ʒow na traine.  
> The frute of flattrie is bot to defyle,  
> And spred that wee can neuer get agane (lines 521-28).\(^{198}\)

This whole scene with Flavius is an important one. Emily shows herself to be smart and strong. "Again, the moral element of the play is seen in the way she carefully elicits marriage vows from Flavius, and then - characteristically - solves her own problem . . . ; it is worth noting that the playwright has made Emily the stronger character, . . . ."\(^{199}\) Indeed, her strength is shown in the short speech she makes regarding her plan:

> For all occasions me besyde,  
> Against I haue ado :  
> Let thame euin as thay list me call,  
> Or quhat sumeuer me befall,  
> I hope within thrie dayis I sall,  
> cum quyetly ʒow to (lines 611-16).\(^{200}\)

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\(^{197}\) “I could say more about his manners, if I wanted to,” translation mine.

\(^{198}\) “. . . / With sweet discourse to deceive a simpleton/, . . . / To trap all those who know no treachery in you/. . . “ (translation mine).


\(^{200}\) “For everything pertaining to me, / I'll have none of it / Let them call me what they will / Or (let) whatever shall happen to me / . . . (translation mine). The first two lines indicate that she will disguise herself and won't behave as herself.
There are several characteristics of Philotus that we know. The main one is that he is rich. When he approaches Macrell to woo Emily, Philotus tells her that if she is successful, she "sould not want rewaird" (line 52). Emily would not want for gold or "geir", that is, any possessions. He gives the Macrell a tablet, a “flat, relatively thin ornament worn on a chain, a pendant or locket; . . .” to woo her with, along with a purse of gold and a ring. Through Macrell's description of her future life, we find out just how rich Philotus is. Emily's life would have no toil or hunger. Philotus is old. During the scene with Macrell, Emily lets her disgust come through by describing him in “Hude, / and Mittanes” (line 115). She claims to be a better match as one of his grandchildren than his wife (line 118), an echo of her short speech to Philotus. Philotus is less prone to anger than Alberto. Philotus delicately agrees that women are false, refraining from using the same coarse language of his friend. He advises Alberto to seek out information on Emily's whereabouts. "Gif of hir moyen wee get ane meine, / It war ane happie grace" (lines 695-96).\(^{201}\) This also shows how conniving he can be. "Bot Gossop go, quhill it is greine" (line 693) Green is a symbol of lust and foreboding, according to McDiarmid.\(^{202}\) We get much more information about Philotus through other people's descriptions. He is ugly. Plesant compares Philotus’ pocked face to the skin of the haggis (l. 1088). He is also a fool. When they are due to be wed, Philerno calls Philotus a “Gus-heid” (line 926). Yet, no one seems to notice the jab.

Macrell is also conniving and occupied with sex and wealth. When she approaches Emily, she uses the words of a lover: “Leise me thay lips that I on luik” (line 74). As she attempts to get Emily's interest, she first tries pity. Philotus would give up his "gowne" (in this case, "a loose flowing upper garment").\(^{203}\) According to M. Channing Linthicum, gowns “were the usual wear of old men.”\(^{204}\) He would make himself poor if she would take him as

\(^{201}\) “If from her steps taken we get a method [by which to find her], / that would be a happy thing” (translation mine).


her husband. When this does not work, Macrell switches to telling Emily how her day would run, full of food, leisure time, music, and servants. She would also wear the latest fashions. She would have precious items, whether craved or not. After all this, Plesant calls Macrell a “rowan” and a “trottibus”, both terms for an old woman, and she is also a “trowane”, a rogue. Next, he remarks nastily upon her looks. She has a “beird,” and her tongue has been “doubill gilt” with nurse’s dung (lines 257-63). Clearly, she is not a likeable, trustworthy person.

Alberto is an angry, controlling, and foolish old man, also pre-occupied with sex and wealth. When he discovers she has disappeared, he asks, has she played this game on him? "To God I vow cum I athort, / And lay on hir my handis” (lines 659-60).²⁰⁵ He will make an example of her. He rages on about her: a harlot and a vagabond.

³sea harlote, trowit thow for to skip ?
Sen I haue gottin of the ane grip,
Be Christ I sall thy nurture nip,
Richt scharply or wee sched :
For God nor I rax in ane raip,
And euer thow fra my hand escaip,
Quhill I haue pullit the lyke ane Paip,
Quhair nane sall be to red. (lines 705-12).²⁰⁶

When Emily is trying to assuage her father’s rage, she asks for his pity (l. 417-32), though she ends up being locked into her father's house, anyway. As a father, he does have the right to control and give his daughter to an old man. Brisilla bewails women's lot to Philerno-as-Emily. Regarding old men and their lust Brisilla asks Philerno-as-Emile rhetorically, "Is it not doittrie hes зow dreuin, / Haiknayis to seik for haist to Heauin ? / I trow that all the warld euin, / sall at sour guckrie geck" (lines 821-24). She continues:

²⁰⁵ “I vow to God, if I come across her, in turn [I will] law my hands upon her” (translation mine).

²⁰⁶ “You whore, did you think you could run off? / Now that I've got a hold on you, / By Christ, I'll nip your bad behavior / . . . before we depart / For Neither God nor I will be hanged by a rope / And if you ever escape from my hand, / While I have pulled you like a picked-clean cherry-stone, / Here no one can intervene.” (translation mine). Anna Jean Mill, "Paip," "Rax," and "Raip," in glossary to Philotus, Miscellany Volume, Scottish Text Society, 3rd ser. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1933), 4:157. Jack and Rozendaal have this reading of line 707: “By Christ, I shall take your education severely in hand.” Jack and Rozendaal, 412.
Solace to seik them selues to sla,  
Ane myre to misse thay fall in ma :  
Thay get bot greif quhen as thay ga,  

To get thair gretest game :  
And wee 3oung things tormentit to,  
Thair daffing dois vs swa vndo.  
Gif thay be wyse, thair doings lo,  

Will signifie the same. (lines 825-32)  

Flavius is the first young man we meet in the play. Like Emily, he is educated and cultured in the classics. He uses many classical allusions to her beauty and his plight of loving a woman who will not return his love. He is smart, but Emily is smarter. She sarcastically says that his mind would never come up with a thousand "shifts" (line 534), or deceitful plans, to woo her. She even is the one to devise her escape. We like him because he is a lover. After the plan for Emily's escape has been devised, Flavius is overjoyed, saying  

My onlie luif and Ladie quhyte,  
My darling deir and my delyte,  
How sall I euer the requyte,  
This grit gude will let see :  
That but respect that men callis schame,  
Nor hazart of thy awin gude name,  
For brute, for blasphemie nor blame,  
Hes venterit all for me (lines 633-40).  

He is, however, also an emotional, foolish man. After seeing "Emily" marry Philotus, he thinks that the woman in his house is a ghost and tries to exorcise her, calling on as many entities as he can name. As with her father, Emily cannot mitigate his rage.  

Philerno is either a hapless buffoon or a wily devil like his father. He enters the play, asking for his father, who he has not seen in many years. Upon finding out one of the old men is his father, he plays the role of Emily, and dutifully, or jokingly, puts on her clothes.

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207 "Isn't it foolishness that has driven them / to use a hackney horse to get to Heaven quickly? / I know that all the world / Will laugh at your misfortune / Seeking solace they kill themselves, / trying to miss swampy ground, they fall in more / They only get grief when they go, / . . . / Their foolish behavior undoes us so, / . . ." (translation mine).

208 The first stanza is easy enough. But, the second is described as "elliptical" by Jack and Rozendaal. "(repay you) Who have ventured all for me without taking into account either what people might call shameful, or the risk to your own good reputation through rumour, slander or censure." Jack and Rozendaal, 410.
McDiarmid believes the latter to be the reason Philerno complies so easily with the old men's orders,\(^{209}\) in order to fool them and to show them up. When Philotus leaves the room after telling Philerno-as-Emily to sleep with Brisilla that night, he bewails the situation. Brisilla doesn't know completely what the problem is. He cries, "Hard is our hap and luckles chance, / . . . / I haue been threatnit and forflittin, / Sa oft that I am with it bittin, / Invent a way or it be wittin, / And remedie thairfoir" (lines 801-808). He is also educated in the classics like his sister and her suiter. He shows this when he tells Brisilla there is a way out of their situation: by praying to God to change "her" into a man, as was granted to Iphis. The comic irony reaches a new height as he continues:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Behald how wee puir Madynis murne,} \\
&\text{For feir and luif how baith wee burne,} \\
&\text{Thairfoir intill ane man mee turne,} \\
&\text{For till eschew this cace.} \\
&\text{Behald our Parents hes opprest,} \\
&\text{And by all dew thair Dochters drest,} \\
&\text{With vnmeit matches to molest,} \\
&\text{Us sillie saullis зe sie :} \\
&\text{Thairfoir immortall Goddes of grace,} \\
&\text{Grant that our prayeris may tak place,} \\
&\text{conuert my kynde, this caifrull cace,} \\
&\text{With solace to supplie. (lines 869-80)}
\end{align*}\]

Plesant observes another reason for Philerno's obedience to Alberto and his prayer to be changed: "Thy bedfallow for to begyle, / The bonie Lasse but to defyle, . . ." (lines 886-87). Whether he is more wily than mild, we do want to cheer him on when he beats up Philotus and then tricks him into cuckoldling himself with a whore.

Brisilla is a sweet, young thing. As Philotus' daughter, she is an owned woman. We first meet her after Philerno-as-Emily is brought back to Philotus' house. She is dutiful to her father, but knows life is not so wonderful for daughters. She, too, will probably end up with a much older man. Still, she does not know that Philerno has strung her along as Emily. Brisilla completely believed in the magical transformation.
The four young characters can be easily summarized: "Where Flavius is indeed obtuse, confused, and rather passive, the much wronged Emily is active, sympathetic, and astute; this is part of the chiastic play whereby Flavius and Emily mirror the naïve, passive Brisilla and the active, astute Philerno."210 The play can be summarized similarly. Brown says, “It was . . . about the stupidity of a father who tried to force his daughter to comply, and how the young people in the tale succeeded in circumscribing paternal authority by showing up the foolishness of the older generation.”211

The play is definitely a product of the Renaissance. First of all, there are several stock characters in *Philotus* that are also found (albeit with different names) in other plays from the 16th century. Macrell is a case in point. Jack and Rozendaal tell us, "In the Renaissance, 'la maquerelle' proved popular in both the European *commedia erudita* tradition and in the Scots dramatic lyrics of Sempill and Stewart of Baldynneis."212 Reid-Baxter tells us that she is a "direct descendant of Ovid's Dipsas (*Amores*, ii) [who] introduces herself with a direct allusion to Chaucer's Pandarus ('God bliss you maistress with your buik') . . ."213 And, "who, as her name indicates, never looked with sober eye upon the rosy dawn."214

However, not all characters are stock or abstract ones. "Not the least of the play's claims to Renaissance status is the fact that its characters are human individuals . . .; *Philotus* shows human psychologies in action, and the mainspring of the dramatic action is the clash between human individuals driven by human emotions."215 In comparing this play to its precedent, Reid-Baxter says, "*Philotus* is of great interest as an example of a genre in

212 Jack and Rozendaal, 393.
transition, a play in which medieval elements co-exist with the glittering vocabulary of the Italian Renaissance.\textsuperscript{216}

The play refers to itself as a courtly play. "Stanza 172 indicates that at least part of its intended audience consists of those whose 'courtesies' (line 1348) are on the level of 'courteours that princes hallis do hant' (line 1345)."\textsuperscript{217} McDiarmid agrees: "It was not to be expected that so licentious a plot, so coarse a commentary and withal a language so learned and poetically elaborate . . . would be presented anywhere in Reformation Scotland but a noble hall where the new morality did not intrude so prohibitively."\textsuperscript{218}

One more point can be made to its courtliness. Flavius' "wooing of Emily occupies ten ballat royal stanzas of beautifully poised, Alexander-Scott-echoing near parody of courtly love at its most impassioned."\textsuperscript{219}

The \textit{commedia erudita}, or 'learned comedy', mentioned above, "was aimed at sophisticated, Latinate audiences who would pick up the quotations and allusions as well as admire the novel features and ingenious recombination of standard elements."\textsuperscript{220} McDiarmid disagrees with this term. "In fact, it has no complication of plot to justify this description ; it has only a farcical situation, the mistaking of Philerno for his sister, so that the author's own description of his play as a 'ferse' would be wholly acceptably were it not for its studied poetry."\textsuperscript{221}

In fact, the author of the play, as the character Messenger, even tells us it is a farse.

\begin{quote}
The Courtesours that Princes Hallis do hant,  
I wait will never for my rudeness ruse me. . . . 
Wyte ignorance that I did not invent  
Ane ferse that micht zour fantasies fulfill (lines 1345-56).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{216} Reid-Baxter, "Rich and Rollicking," 23n21.
\textsuperscript{217} Reid-Baxter, “Transmission of a Delectable Treatise,” 67n32.
\textsuperscript{218} McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 225.
\textsuperscript{220} Reid-Baxter, “Transmission of a Delectable Treatise,” 53.\textsuperscript{226} The best-known illustrations of this type of comedy are found in those of Shakespeare. Comparing elements of his work with this piece help to date \textit{Philotus}.
\textsuperscript{221} McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 228. I have kept the spacing used in this article.
This love of learning, especially of the classics is shown in just how much they are alluded to by the young people in our play. When Flavius first meets Emily and is taken by her beauty, he describes himself as taken by her as he would be by Daphne, if he were Apollo.

. . . Apollo loved Daphne, the daughter of the river Peneios and Earth, but, evading his embrace, the maiden besought her mother to save her. Earth, harkening to the prayer, allowed her to sink partly from sight and changed her into the laurel-tree, whereupon, breaking off a branch, Apollo crowned his head with it.222

He is a slave who is harder to pity than to kill.223 If it weren't for her beauty he would not live: "Thocht fansie be bot of ane figure fainit, / Na figure feids quhair thair is na effect : / . . . I perisch bot as painit,224 / With fansie fed that will na fasting breck" (lines 497-500). He continues:

Suppois I haue the accident quhat reck,
Grant me the solide substance to atteine,
Gif not, quhen 3e to deith sall me direct,
Quhom bot 3our awin haue 3e cəfoundit clein? (lines 501-504).225

He describes her in what Jack and Rozendaal call, "a rhetorical 'descriptio' of the lady moving from head downwards. Decorously suited to the higher style and dignified stanza form."226 He tells her that her "glansing gleames" or, bright lights, cannot compare with a cloud (line 475), nor her "Uenus cullour with ane landwart las" (line 476). Her "hair lyk gold, & lyke the Pole [northern star] 3our eye" (line 481). He compares her breasts to Indian ivory: "3our Papis for the priority does stryve" (line 488). Her breasts are in a contest against Ivory.

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223 "Ane thrall consenting pitie war to spill." Mill, Philotus, line 456.

224 Jack and Rozendaal, 405. “Tormented.”

225 " . . . Grant me the best substance to attain (i.e. an angel, etc.) / . . . / Whom but your own have you brought down completely?" (translation mine). Jack and Rozendaal have the following reading on the first line: "(Even) supposing I have the non-substantial, of what value is it?" Jack and Rozendaal, 405.

226 Jack and Rozendaal, 405.
Ivory, “because of its white color and unchanging smoothness, it is a symbol of purity and constancy.”\textsuperscript{227} These attributes, therefore apply to Emily.

He continues to say that Demosthenes would be "agast" at her tongue (line 485) and that her “Titius breist that dois full ryfely bleid” (line 507).\textsuperscript{228} Demosthenes was “. . . , the greatest of the Greek orators, . . .”\textsuperscript{229} According to Jack and Rozendaal, “Tityus was punished in the after-life for having tried to rape the mother of Apollo and Diana, by being pegged to the ground while two vultures tore eternally at his liver.”\textsuperscript{230} So, she is very well-spoken and her breast has the right shade of blush to it. He then begs her to “cure ye wounds geuin with Achilles knyfe” (line 510), like Telephus.\textsuperscript{231}

He also describes himself in classic ways. He is as Tantalus, the king who “was cast into the underworld and there suffered eternal hunger and thirst” for “offering the flesh of his slain son, Pelops, to the gods as food in order to test their omniscience.” Flavius asks Emily to staunch his thirst, unlike the pool Tantalus stood in, which would retreat whenever he would try to drink from it. “. . . , Tantalus and others are regarded as personifications of the impossibility of fulfilling human desire.”\textsuperscript{232}

Even when he exorcises Emily from his house, he can't keep from invoking classical images. He mentions Lethe, Styx, and Acheron, three rivers to Hades which had different significance. Lethe was the river of forgetfulness; Styx, of hate; and Acheron, of mourning.\textsuperscript{233} By invoking these rivers, Flavius hates the “ghost” in front of him and his situation, is mourning the loss of Emily, and wishes he could forget her.


\textsuperscript{228} Ryfely = abundantly.


\textsuperscript{230} Jack and Rozendaal, 406.


\textsuperscript{232} Matthews, s.v. “Tantalus.”

Emily shows her knowledge of the classics by saying he speaks as if he had come from Parnassas and drank from the Helicon. Parnassus, Jack and Rozendaal tell us, is, "a mountain range in Greece, sacred to Apollo and the Muses—hence connected with music and poetry." Helicon is “a woody mountain in Boetia, dedicated to the Muses. Here, several famous springs were located, . . .”

It is interesting to note that not all Renaissance writers liked to use such illusions.

Not all Renaissance writers liked to allude to classical ideals. The Dutch poets Spiegel and Coornhert, thought, "Mount Parnassus is too far away. There is no Helicon over here, only dunes, woods and brooks." Spiegel "does not strive for exotic pomp either, nor after the favour of the Muses, living high up Mount Parnassus."

While trying to assuage Brisilla, Philerno-as-Emily also shows some knowledge of the classics. He reminds her that Iphis was also a maid who, after prayer to the gods, did become transformed into a man. Jack and Rozendaal tell us further: "Cretan daughter of Ligdos and Telethusa, Iphis was raised a boy in order to save her life. On her engagement to Ianthe, she was transformed into a young man, through the intervention of Isis."

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234 Jack and Rozendaal, 406.


238 Jack and Rozendaal, 416.
God grant Philerno the wish to be a man? He then prays to the "michtie Muifers greit and small" (line 862) to "Luke doun from зour impyre abone" (line 865) and have pity. In Renaissance drama, it was not uncommon to pray to both the classical gods and the Almighty Christian God.

Even the song to the four lovers at the end of the play makes a classical allusion: one to Jason’s father, Aeson. “He was the king of Ioclus, but was driven away by his half-brother Pelia.”239

The classics were not the only things alluded to in Renaissance writing. The Bible is also a source for reference. The song of the four lovers at the end of the play makes to allusions to Biblical stories. First, we are given the image of the Red Sea crossing by the Children of Isreal, “a traditional image of the resurrection and of baptism into a new life.”240

Mordecai and “Artaxerxes” are also mentioned. Their story goes thusly. Artaxerxes “. . . . was the king of Persia for forty years, from B.C. 465 to B.C. 425.”241

Mordecai fell foul of Haman, the chief minister, by refusing to bow down to him. Haman determined to kill not only Mordecai but all the Jews. . . . Haman’s wife and friends advised him to prepare a gallows and to persuade the king the following day to let Mordecai be hanged. . . .

. . . That night at dinner, Queen Esther [Mordecai’s cousin and foster-daughter] denounced Haman and accused him of having organized the mass murder of her people. ‘So they hanged Haman on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai.’ (Esther 7:10) Mordecai was then appointed chief minister in Haman’s place. Since by Persian law Haman’s decree could not be revoked, Mordecai was authorized to send out another decree giving the Jews the right to carry arms in self-defense. On the day Haman had appointed for their destruction, they turned on their enemies and slew them.242

The exorcism gives us some Biblical personages on which to think. The very first person invoked is Mary, the holiest woman in Christian lore, who he asks to deliver Emily.

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241 A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, vol. 1, s.v. “Artaxerxes I.”

from the "Alrisch king and Queene of Farie" (line 970). One of the archangels solicited is Raphael, who cures ills and helps travelers; as well as saved Sara from the demon Asmodeus, who killed her first seven bridegrooms, so she could safely wed Tobias.

More religious, though not Biblical, persons are invoked by Philerno. Some are easy to identify. Others are not. It may see strange to us that saints and other religious people would be invoked in an exorcism, but at that time, it was not. "According to a fifteenth-century manuscript Forma exorisandi demonia (in the Houghton Library, Harvard), an evil spirit may be effectively conjured by 'the Holy Trinity, angels, archangels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, [and] confessors' . . ." So, Philerno names anyone he can think of.

An easy-to-identify saint is Bernard, who is more fully known as Bernard of Clairvaux. He was devoted to Mary and Jesus, spent most of his time in meditation, and believed our goal should be the ultimate union with God. Interestingly, he also preached the Second Crusade of 1146. Perhaps because of his crusading past, he was invoked by Flavius.

The first saint mentioned is “Tastian”, a saint who causes some confusion. Mill points out it is “Austian” in the edition by Hart. However, the editor of Hary’s “Wallace” says it is a shortening of Sebastian. In Book VIII’s line 1170, “Saint Tawbawnys” is meant to be “St. Albans”, and then, “The prefixed ‘t’ is frequent after ‘sanct’; see its odd result in the Scots play Philotus, l.975, where ‘Sanct Tastian’ is a corruption of ‘Sanct Sebastian’.”

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244 Story from the Book of Tobit, which is included in Catholic, but not Protestant, Bibles. Rosemary Ellen Guiley, The Encyclopedia of Saints (New York: Facts on File, 2001), s.v. “Raphael the Archangel.”


246 Guiley, s.v. “Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153).”

247 Mill, Philotus, 139.


One of the most renowned of the Roman martyrs; . . . He took care of the prisoners, stimulated their courage, and wrought miracles to confirm his teaching. When these things were reported to Emperor
It could also very well be Augustine of Canterbury, as Jack and Rozendaal identify him. Holweck tells us he was "O.S.B., Archbp. of Canterbury, Apostle of the English. He was a native of Rome and a monk at S. Andrew's on the Coelian Hill. In 596 he was sent to England by S. Gregory the Great, as head (abbot) of 40 monks from S. Andrews; . . ."250

One saint who causes some problems, is "Maloy" (line 1025). This could be Maclou, who "from Llancarvan and Gwent, . . . ; migrated to Brittany, and founded the see of Aleth, afterwards [9th century] translated to S. Malo; noted for a curse, denounced by him against the Brétons for expelling him, which he revoked in their repentance; . . . ; died about A. D. 565; . . ."251 Jack and Rozendaal agree he is Malo.252

Another who causes problems is "Elous" (line 1027). He could be a Welshman, "Teilo", also known as "Eliud". In The Book of Llan Dav (or Landaff), this saint is also known as "Elios".253 Holweck calls him "Teilio": "Bp., C., one of the greatest saints of Wales. . . . Teilio founded Llandaff monastery, but, in 547, fled from the yellow plague to Brittany, where he stayed with his brother-in-law, King Budic or Cournailles. In 555, he returned to Llandaff. . . . D. at Landeilo Fawr, about 580."254

"Elous" could also be Eligius, or Eloi, of whom Holweck has this to say:

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Diocletian, he ordered him to be taken out into a field and shot to death with arrows. . . . But S. Irene, a Roman lady, nursed him back to life. When convalescent, he again presented himself to the Emperor, who in his rage ordered him to be beaten to death with clubs and his body to be cast into the great sewer. A devout woman, named Lucina, rescued the body and buried it reverently in her own garden (289). This 'Passion' was composed in the fifth century and was formerly ascribed to S. Ambrose. . . . The genuine 'acts' of the Roman martyrs were mostly lost before 312; the rest was destroyed by the various fires which devastated the Holy City; . . . In the case of St. Sebastian little more than the simple fact of his martyrdom can be proved.

249 Jack and Rozendaal, 420.
250 Holweck, s.v. "Augustine."
252 Jack and Rozendaal, 421.
254 Holweck, s.v. "Teilio (Theliau, Teilus)."
C., Bp. of Noyon, 640-59. He is the most popular saint of France; his feast was universal in Northern Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Having acquired at Limoges great skill in the art of working in precious metals, he was goldsmith and master minister at Paris, under Chlotar II and Dagobert; he became the advisor of the kings and benefactor of churches and monasteries; his principal foundation was Soligne (632), which he put under the Irish rule and the jurisdiction of Luxeuil.  

Jack and Rozendaal tells us this is who is meant.  

Another of the saints mentioned is “Bride.” This is most commonly a nick-name used for Bridget, though Jack and Rozendaal have a different read.  

There are many legends and customs connected with Bride. Some of these seem inconsistent with one another, . . . These seeming inconsistencies arise from the fact that there were several Brides, Christian and pre-Christian, whose personalities have become confused in the course of centuries—the attributes of all being now popularly ascribed to one.  

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255 Holweck, s.v. "Eligius (Eloi)."

256 We do have some other clues to these two saints' identities. In Stirling's Rood Kirk, where James VI was crowned, there were altars and shrines dedicated to many saints including Eloi. Also, St. Nicholas' in Aberdeen had dedications to Eloi and Luag. Hew Scott and D. F. Macdonald, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae; the Accession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915-28), 4:317, 6:34; The Benedictines' Lismahago in Clydesdale was dedicated to St. Machutus in 1140. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, eds., “Period the Second. Until the Church of Cumbria Was United, Partly to That of England, Partly to That of Scotland, A. D. 908-1188,” vol. 2, pt. 1, sec. 5 of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (1869-73; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 32; Of Luag, Holweck tells us he was "abbot of Clonfert Molua, now Kyle, Queen's Co., Ireland; . . . ; he was educated by S. Finian at Clonard, took the habit from S. Comgall at Bangor, and founded Clonfert-Molua in the Slieve-Bloom Mts., which became the center of about a hundred small establishments, for which he wrote a severe role. D. 4 Aug., 605." Holweck, s.v. “Molua (Luu, Luan, Lughaedh)”; There are three other arguments for Elous' identity. One comes from Hary's "Wallace" in which "Elys" is defined as "Helias." McDiarmid, *Hary's "Wallace*", 2:271n534-35. In Richard Challoner's *Britannia Sancta*, he makes mention of "Elias" in his account of the life of Guthlake: "One day two of these hellish spirits, transformed like Angels of light, would have persuaded him to fast all week long, . . . ; alledging to him the fasts of Moses and Elias, . . . " Richard Challoner, “April 11, St. Guthlake, Hermit,” in *Britannia Sancta: Or, The Lives of the Most Celebrated British, English, Scottish, and Irish Saints: Who Have Flourished in These Islands, from the Earliest Times of Christianity, Down to the Change of Religion in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1745), 1:219; Of course, Moluog could also have been meant for Maloy. He is "of Liss-mor, Scotland. He was a native of Ireland and became a monk at Bangor; having crossed over to Scotland, he converted the inhabitants of the isle of Lismore in Loch Linhe. He lived chiefly in the Hebrides. D. at Rosemarkie, on the Moray Firth, in 592." Holweck, s.v. "Moluog (Lughaedh)."

257 They believe this to be a male Bride: "St Bride proved his holiness by laughing aloud at the thought of the devil." Jack and Rozendaal, 422. I can found no other evidence of a male St. Bride. Even the eminent source *Butler's Lives of the Saints* identifies Bride with Brigid. Herbert J. Thurston, and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (1956; repr., London: Burns and Oates, 1981), 1:225. Holweck, however, does not mention a "Bride", nor do any of his "Brigid"s have the nick-name of "Bride".

With regard to saints and their cults and the difficulty in identifying them, David Rollason says, "... given the small number of hagiographical texts surviving from the pre-850 period, it seems unlikely that all cults were furnished with lives of their saints, let alone two prose lives and one metrical life such as Cuthbert's cult could boast."259 Holweck tells us, The student who ventures into the field of hagiology, the branch of history dealing with the lives and legends of the saints, finds that his footing is insecure. . . . The editors of the ancient martyrologies and their, very often, ignorant copyist, together with a number of fanciful Christian romancers have made such a snarl of the names, groups and stories of the martyrs and other saints, that it is impossible, in our days, to disentangle it.260 Also, J. McQueen tells is, Little genuine historical or biographical information has survived about early Scottish saints. Frequently no more than a place-name (Kilmarnock, 'cell of my Ernöc', Killumpha, 'cell of Iomchadh') has survived to indicate that a cult once existed. The saints so commemorated are often Irish, sometimes Welsh or Cornish, whose legends, if they have been preserved, may sometimes contain references to journeys made by the saint to places in Scotland.261 However, in the difficulty in decisively identifying the saints, we should remember, The chief noticeable point is, that churches were not dedicated to any saint already dead, . . . , but were called by the name of their living founder; obviously the fact throughout Wales. The churches dedicated to S. Martin, e.g. at Canterbury and at Whitherne, were exceptions to the British practice.262 Scotland may very well have been like Wales in this instance. The Renaissance was a time of the past living together with the present. Hence, classical, Biblical, and pre-modern stories and people being invoked as if they only happened yesterday. The mythical, mystical, and religious co-existed at this time. Hence, Philerno also calling upon “Merling, Rymour, and . . . Beid” (line 1023). According to Sharen L. Jansen

260 Holweck, i.
Jaech, these incantations and prophesies “worked by using methods that had been valid for centuries and by relying on the authority of men traditionally regarded as prophets—Thomas of Erceldoune (the ‘rhymer’), Bede, and Merlin.” Thomas the Rhymer was a 13th-century Scottish prophet.

Three other Renaissance qualities can be pointed out here. "A closing song celebrating the resolution of all the complexities and bidding the audience farewell with a captatio benevolentiae is, of course, a regular feature of Renaissance comedy.” And, finally, "... the Sang 'makes the society new' on a cosmic scale" drawing on the stories of the Red Sea crossing ("burial and rebirth... in baptism, and... the Crucifixion and Resurrection, ... renewed fallen creation itself"), the Book of Esther (Hebrew nation saved from certain death), and the Story of Jason's father, Aeson, whose throne was taken from him by his brother Pelias.

The style of this play is strange to many modern readers, as are several from the period, for there are very few stage directions, and it seems whole parts are left out. We have to use our imagination more to visualize it on stage.

Critics of Philotus, who regularly write that it is 'not certainly intended for performance', would do well to recall a point made by an editor of Lope de Rueda's Los Engañados (c. 1545), namely that any estimate of this Spanish reworking of Gl'Ingannati must take account of the visual dynamism and even violence of live performance quite as much as of the words on the page. Rueda cut the play so heavily that the printed text, like Philotus, calls for a real effort of theatrical imagination to fill in apparent gaps.

The world of this play is at once both familiar and foreign. We understand Emily's aversions to marrying Philotus, as well as people's obsessions with sex and wealth. Yet, as

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264 Reid-Baxter, Transmission of a Delectable Treatise, 61.

265 Ibid., 62.

with many plays of several centuries ago, the devil is in the details. For instance, as shown in
the scene where Philerno-as-Emily is brought to Brisilla, it seems strange to us that women
would sleep together on the night before a wedding. But, according to McGregor, it is not.

Marriage is an obvious target for the anxiety attached to any major life change. The wedding
day has generated superstitions that not even the most up-to-date bride manages to throw off completely. Diverse and puzzling as they may seem, all originate from the belief that individuals are vulnerable to the power of evil spirits while they pass between old and new. Counter magic is activated through ritual, while omens can warn of coming disaster. Then one can take avoiding action. . . . In some areas of Scotland the best man slept with the groom on his wedding eve, and the bridesmaid with the bride, to protect them against evil.267

Also foreign to many is the idea of an arranged marriage, with the exchange of a wife for money. However, its use in this play give us clues as to how well-off even Alberto and Emily are to begin with. “Arranged marriages were rare and apparently confined to aristocracy and royalty where political considerations and the economic interests of a much wider kin-group had to be taken into account in the formation of personal union.”268

We are told further about this practice:

After the promise to marry came the provisions to be made by the husband and his parents for the wife. Usually the bride and groom were put in joint possession of a piece of land which in Scotland was termed the conjunct fee. . . . Upon his death, the wife drew a fixed annuity, the jointure, from the lands for her maintenance.

The relationship between the size of the jointure and the tocher was the principal point at issue when any marriage contract was being negotiated. By law, if the jointure was agreed before the tocher was paid, it could exceed it. If it was not arranged until after the payment, the jointure had to be less. In fact, no-one would have considered making the jointure larger than the tocher. A large jointure meant that the bride’s parents had been anxious about her welfare and had managed to negotiate favourable terms. A small jointure indicated that the groom’s parents were dictating the terms.269

Another foreign element is the description of a lavish life with Philotus that involves foods we have in abundance today, such as raisins and oranges (lines 183, 193), and even

meat, which is mentioned for nearly every repast. The common diet, however, was not nearly as varied as ours.

“Late medieval peasants had a prosperous and varied diet: oatmeal, meat (mutton or beef, dairy products, sometimes fish, and ale (brewed from barley).

. . . Better documented is the 16th century collapse in living standards. As population pressure on the land increased, so rents rose once more, and the people’s diet declined in value. Meat was largely eliminated, dairy products were reduced, and oatmeal came to dominate the daily diet.”

As a rich woman, Emily would also dine on partridges, quails, and plovers, strange fare to most Western palates today.

While it doesn't surprise us that the wealthy would have access to all kinds of wine, it is surprising that all those wines would be drunk during all times of the day, as described by Macrell in her failed wooing of Emily. Many of these wines are unfamiliar to most of us, as tastes have changed throughout the centuries. As today, wine was more expensive than beer, though many preferred to drink it. Still, it was only drunk if it could be afforded.

Although 16th-century Scots, high-born and low-, did not disdain beer or whiskey as their alcoholic medium, wine far outshone either. There was not an Edinburgh tavern which did not sell it, nor a noble household which did not stock it. . . . (many Scots, like their English colleagues, drank first thing in the morn to bedtime) . . . .

In fact, our Macrell's first mention of wine for Emily is at the start of her day. In the morning she would be dressed in mules and a “wylicote”, and will sit on a velvet stool while two servants come by to dress her hair and help her into her gown, while she drinks a clear cup of wine. In the 15th century, only the best wines were clear of debris. The clearer the wine, the better, and therefore, more expensive, it was.

In the fourteenth century, “wine became a major economic stimulator, but its price indicated that it had become mostly a luxury item. As a result, peasants downed copious amounts of lowly grappa; . . .” Craftsmen drank beer while merchants drank wine. “. . . the

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272 A Wylicote is an undershirt or petticoat. Jack and Rozendaal read the "glasse" as a "mirror" and "clair" as "fine." Jack and Rozendaal, 395. The line works, either way.
higher their status, the more expensive the wine. . . . The high risk of doing business helped wine price to rise into the fifteenth century, in trade that alternately stabilized and destabilized.273 There were three rungs on the wine trade ladder. The nobility paid no customs duties and could buy their wine directly, that is, there was no middle-man merchant involved. Below them were the politically well-connected who still could buy directly, but did have to pay customs. Lastly, the tavern owners had not only to buy through merchants, but also had to pay customs. Even after all this, the remaining bad wines were still expensive.274

Why have so many different wines during the day? Each wine had its own qualities and uses. Wine was used mainly for digestive purposes, and had been for a long time. Its digestive use is even mentioned in the Bible, in 1 Timothy 5:23.275 Because of this long association, wine “became a principal of western medicine.”276

Sixteenth-century English writer William Turner had many other views on wine: “For the olde doe heate to much, and the new Wines as long as they are greene, or very new, heat nothing at all, so farre are they frō helping of men to digest their meates, that they are very hardly digested themselves, . . .”277 To Turner, white wine was better than red, for it “is thin, and good for the stomach, and is easily coueyed into the members, . . .”278 However, in general, “Wyne doth not only nourishe, but also maketh the meates go wel downe, and stirrith up the naturall heate and encreasest it”279


274 Pellechia, 85-86.

275 Referred to by Vivian Nutton, "Christianity and Medicine", in The Western Medical Tradition: 800 BC to AD 1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 74.


278 Turner, image 15, l.s.

279 Turner, image 30, r.s; Throughout image 21, Turner refutes the claims that Rhenish and the “small white wines” drive the wrong humors to the kidneys and bladder. He says, “but they drive them quite thorow all the water vesseles into the chamber pot or urinall, . . .” Turner, image 21, l.s.
After lunch, Emily would have a “daintie dische of meate: / Ane cup or twa with Muscadall,” and perhaps some capers and raisins (lines 180-83). Muscatel was yet another expensive wine. Raisins and capers at this time were also very expensive.

Emily would then drink some Malmsey to cleanse her palate. “The best sweet wines England imported were called Malvoise and Rumney. They had been produced in the Mediterranean for centuries—the former in the Pelopponesian town of Monemvasia, the latter in mainland Greece.”280 In the 15th century, Spain’s Canary Islands produced Malmsey, mostly due to the Ottoman Empire’s expansion brought about the loss of the Greek trade. Then, in the 16th century, Madeira made it after their sugar dropped in value.281

“The British affectation for slurring—some would say mumbling—served to gradually change the names of Malvoise to Malmsey and Rumney to Romney.”282 Though Scotland and England had been bitter enemies for centuries, England still remained a trader with Scotland and an example of how the high-born should live, especially as James VI’s succession to the English throne became more and more imminent.

The Malmsey could be combined with sugar to make it fume.283 Turner did not like Malmsey for it “... Trouble the stomache, ...”284

Macrell mentions a cup of Sack, another type of wine “formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries.”285 Of Sack, Turner tells us, “The wine that is menged ... with Alibaster, as Sacke is, hurteth the sinews, and maketh ý head heavy, & setteth it on [h]er,and is very ill for the bladder.”286

Before bed, Emily would go to her chamber and pass the night away with merry chatter and gossip, which would “elevate the spleen”, or make her happy. She would then

280 Pellechia, 83.
281 Ibid., 105.
282 Ibid., 84.
283 Jack and Rozendaal, 395.
284 Turner, image 29, l.s.
286 Turner, image 28, r.s.
take another small meal or refreshment, a “Collation . . ., / Sum lytill licht thing till digest” lines 204-206).

Macrell places large emphasis on the clothing and other adornments that Emily would wear as a rich woman. We can sympathize with the lure of luxury, but many of these items either have lost their significance to us, or are now foreign objects. Her clothing would include “candie ruffes and Barlet Bellis” (lines 174). These words give us some trouble. Mill considers both the adjectives to be obscure. According to the OED article, ruffs were starched. The “candie” could perhaps refer to this process. As for “Barlet”, perhaps it is a misspelling of “partlet”, a modesty panel worn with low-necked gowns. However, I could not find any evidence of bells being worn on partlets. Jack and Rozendaal tell us, "high ruffs made of 'Cyprus lawn' were the height of fashion in the Scotland of the late sixteenth century. 'Candie' (=Crete) suggests the mediterranean origin of the new mode." They agree with Mill that "Barlet bellis" is an obscure term.

Her head would always be covered in a fashionable way. She would wear a “Ueluote hat, зour Hude of Stait.” Anything “of state” means it is proper to a person of that (high) estate. That is, “belonging to or appropriate for one of high rank, . . . splendid or ceremonial accoutrements; such objects used on ceremonial occasions.” It is unclear whether the velvet hat is the hood of state, or first in a list of head-gear Emily would have. Her hair would also be covered with crepe: “If they could afford them, women bundled the hair at the back of their neck into a net made of silk threads, sometimes trimmed with jewels or gold. Women of lesser means wore a less expensive crepe net or simple cloth bag.” Since Macrell describes Emily as wearing in her near-future gold trimmings with her crepe net and

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287 Mill, Philotus, 155; DSL-DOST uses this quote, but has no definitions for “candie” or “Barlet”, saying, too, that they are obscure: DSL-DOST, s.v. “*Candie” and “*Barlet,” http://www.dsl.ac.uk/index.html (accessed April 27, 2009).


289 Jack and Rozendaal, 396.


velvet hat, we can assume that Philotus was a wealthy man, indeed. As Fernand Braudel tells us, "Europe in the middle ages had a passion for precious metals and gold ornaments".292

Of these gold ornaments we hear more: Emily would also have fine, Parisian-made, gold half-chains with which to decorate a “Carkat” (line 219) and her “cumlie” (line 220) collarbone. Jack and Rozendaal give us this translation of the lines: "Of Paris-work [gold and silver smith's work], made of gold or silver leaf, you shall have your fine half-chains, to embellish a jewelled head ornament."293 However, the DOST quotes this line as “hals-chainзeis”, that is, “neck-chains”.294 This gives us a clearer picture of what was meant. When it comes to the word carkat, or carcanet,295 . . . it seems that the word was not confined to a necklace, but applied to jewels or wreaths of stones, in form like those worn about the neck, which was at this period [early 17th century] commonly entwined in a lady’s hair. . . .

. . . In the above [quote from Solimon and Perseda, 1599] it is alluded to, later on, as a chain.296

All her clothing would be fashionable. Emily would wear slashed clothing: “on collouris cuttit out” (line 233) and velvet shoes and silk stockings (line 237). “The fashionable would . . . wear velvet shoes with their rich gowns.”297 Robert Maitland described women’s wear, paraphrased by Maxwell and Hutchison, “Their outer skirts and cloaks were of silk, the latter adorned with fur.”298 So, having silk stockings was not out of the ordinary for the wealthy. “The costume so far described was that which was ‘fashionable,’ but it is likely, as in later periods, that even the most noble of ladies used

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293 Jack and Rozendaal, 397; the brackets are theirs.
298 Ibid., 5.
homespuns and home produced linen for everyday or domestic wear, and the lower middle class and working classes had to rely on the coarsest of materials for their wants.”

Her clothes would be of all sorts of luxurious fabrics: pan velvet, with either raised patterns or not; satin; damask; and grogram. Pan velvet was a plusher cousin of velvet. One account of a noble lady, the ‘Umquile Dame Elizabeth Ross, Lady Fleming’, included a gown of white satin. Damask was mentioned in the previous chapter. “By grogram (French, gros-grains) is meant a variation in the texture, caused the warp-threads passing over two of the shoots at once, taking up one only; this often finishes the edge of a ribbon.” Grogram came in three types: hair, silk, and worsted. It arrived in England in the early 16th century from many locales in Europe. The most expensive by far was the Turkish hair grogram, costing anywhere from 4 to 12 shillings a yard. French silk grogram was, by contrast less than 3 shillings a yard. “Grograin was made into coats, jackets, breeches, doublets, cassocks, cloaks, women’s kirtles, and gowns, embroidered, guarded with velvet, and trimmed with lace.” In the fourth act of The Magnetic Lady, it is a gift; and in Eastward Ho, it is used for a gown to be lined with velvet. Linthicum also tells us that “dramatists were quick to use the names of the ‘new draperies’ in their plays” not only did it help to give a description of the costume, but it also showed a character’s status.

Her life of luxury would have other appealing aspects. According to Macrell, Emily's fire would burn so clear, there would be no ashes; her servant women would wear her old clothes; until supper, Emily could choose to repose in her garden, gossip with the ladies, or take a book to read. At dinner, she would eat oranges and meat while music was played on

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299 Maxwell and Hutchison, 10.
300 Ibid., 9.
301 Fairholt, 2:197. I have kept their punctuation spacing.
303 Linthicum, 63.
the viola, lute, “Schalme and “Tymbrell” (line 194). These last two were an oboe-like instrument and probably a tambourine.

Quite apart from the flourishing of music in the Gaelic-speaking west, . . . in castle and town house there were lutenists, virginalists, viol players and singers compiling manuscript collections which are still yielding treasures. The important role of music in a large household in Scotland is well illustrated at Crathes Castle, for it was enshrined on the ceiling of one of the rooms in 1599 in a series of texts and paintings of the nine muses, seven playing instruments. Clavichord, fiddle, bass viol, lute, flute, harp and cittern [sic]. 304

Clothing and status are only ever mentioned once more, and in passing - when Emily decides to dress as a page. This occupation is foreign to us.

. . . the page, who would be a boy of gentle birth who gave service in exchange for a noble upbringing . . . A record has come down to us of how Chaucer himself at the age of 17, in the household of Prince Lionel, was supplied with a paltock [doublet], shoes and a pair of black and red hose. 305

Keith M. Brown also tells us,

In France, the system of the higher nobility taking pages into their households and becoming responsible for their education survived throughout the seventeenth century. This practice was less common in Lowland Scotland, although instances of something akin to it can be uncovered. 306

Blue was usually the color at our period of time for servants’ clothes: “Blue watchet was adopted for the other garments of nearly all servants and apprentices . . . This convention for blue lasted from early Tudor till late Stuart times and throughout that period blue was avoided by gentlemen.” 307 Often, servants’ clothes were simpler versions of what the fashionable wore. 308 So, Emily, as a page, would probably have put on blue, simpler clothes than, say, Flavius.

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305 Phillis Cunningham, Catherine Lucas, and Alan Mansfield, *Occupational Costume in England from the Eleventh Century to 1914* (Chatham: W. and J. Mackay, 1967), 159. I had to use a book on England because the books I found on Scotland dealt with tartan, later periods, or didn’t focus on servants.

306 K. Brown, 183.

307 Cunningham et al., 167.

308 Ibid., 159.
Though money is mentioned obliquely, we don't actually see it until Philerno pays a whore a "crown" to sleep with Philotus in his stead. This is a lot of money and shows us a glimpse of Philerno’s wealth. In 1526, during the reign of James V, “. . . , the crown, of twenty-one and a half carats, struck at nine to the ounce, was to pass for twenty shillings, . . . ” and was made of gold. According to Halley Stewart, the first time gold was used in Scottish coinage was during David II’s reign, in 1357. Between the years of 1542 and 1558, during Mary’s reign, a crown, or écu, was minted. “These are a continuation of the similar coinage of James V. Their value probably soon increased to about twenty-two shillings or slightly more; otherwise it is difficult to account for the issue of twenty-shilling [gold] pieces in 1543.” Mary also had issued coins issued in pounds’ worth, so the crown is not the highest denomination, but was still worth a lot. From the years 1560 through 1601, Scottish gold depreciated in value from approximately one-fifth to one-twelfth to that of English gold. Philerno may not have been offering a real crown, however. In Cochran-Patrick’s index entry for “Crown (gold)”, he says, “Many of the other gold coins are occasionally called crowns in the Records.” Still, a gold coin was so rare, it was inevitably valuable:

. . . the common people rarely saw or held in their hands a coin of gold or silver; and for the most part they traded in small change, . . . The circulation of gold and silver was restricted, and tended to be concentrated in the hands of a small number of traders. . . .

. . . , and was excluded in general from the lives of the common people and the countryside.

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310 Ibid., 27.
311 Ibid., 81.
312 Ibid., 149-51.
Two other things jump out at us as being very much of the Renaissance: the mention of Turks by Emily to her father and of Indian ivory by Flavius to Emily. When she is pleading for her father's fairness, Emily states that no “creweltie” (line 423) has been shown from even Turks. Scotland’s James IV, in 1512 and 1513 wanted all of Europe to unite against the Turks. “Undoubtedly [sic] the Turks menaced eastern Europe; . . .” Neither the Emperor Charles V nor the Pope wanted this.316 And, "... in the 1570's the Burgh of Aberdeen made voluntary contributions for the relief of Scottish mariners from Ayr and other places then held captive by the Algerines and Turks."317 Mentioning them puts this play very much in Renaissance Scotland.

Of ivory:

Arab control limited ivory’s transport to northern Europe until the eleventh century; ... It was not until the Romanesque and Gothic periods that a growing supply of elephant tusks spawned industries in Germany, France, Flanders, and England. Artists fashioned luxury goods such as combs, caskets, mirror cases, chess pieces, and weapon handles, as well as book-cover ornaments and small devotional pieces.318 Ivory was, therefore, quite dear. Flavius' comparison of Emily's breasts to it makes her all the more precious to him.

Like much of life from the period, Renaissance drama was inspired by Greek and Roman drama. Much like with Greek and Roman drama, that of the Renaissance used elements that worked, over and over again.

The first great modern comedy, Ariosto's I Suppositi of 1509, was inspired by the Captivi of Plautus, which culminates in recognition and reunion, and also features a servant and a master changing identities. In Suppositi, this device is combined

316 Jenny Wormald, Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 7, 204.


with another standard New Comedy situation, the young hero's need to outwit an older suitor.319

There are also parallels to be drawn with a later and original play, Jacques Grévin's Les Esbahis. As the very first 'modern' (i.e. Italianizing) French comedy, its premiere in Paris in February 1561 caused a sensation. It was published that year . . . along with . . . the tragedy Jules César. The volume, reprinted in 1562, contains encomiastic verses on Jules César by none other than George Buchanan, who had very probably taught Grévin at the Collège de Boncourt. . . . There are no twins in Grévin's play, and it draws on quite a range of source, Roman and Italian. Yet Grévin, who in 1559 fell in love with Charles Estienne's daughter, took over a number of elements from the Italian play and Estienne's new final scene. There is an old man, engaged to a most unwilling young woman who loves someone her own age. There is the use of disguise in order to enjoy sexual congress, leading to an entertaining argument between the old men, owing to their confusion as to the identity of the lover seen in flagrante by the father. As in Estienne's Les Abusez, we again find an old lover, Josse, on stage at the close, being browbeaten by the father of his former fiancée. . . . More importantly, we find Josse soliloquizing at the beginning of the play about his passionate love for young Madelene, which brings us a step nearer the dynamic opening confrontation of the old man with the object of his lust in Philotus.

The young Frenchman's boldly original and selective approach to his material may well have inspired the Scottish playwright to feel free to recast Les Abusez, . . . . The Scottish Alberto's greed an heartlessness might have also been inspired by Grévin's depiction of Gerard's relationship with Madelene.320

Yet, our play seems to rely also on Terence, whose " . . . influence . . . is felt more in the sparkling verse and carefully wrought structure of Philotus. A far finer craftsman than Plautus, Terence took great care over both language and plot, and is, indeed, generally credited with inventing the 'double plot' featuring two pairs of lovers."

A popularly-cited source is the 1532 play, Gl'Ingannati.

Gl'Ingannati supplies the following elements: the ill-suited marriage arranged by two old men; the daughter who escapes dressed as a boy, is rejected by her trule love and ultimately reunited with him; and the long-lost brother forced into the bedroom of the aged suitor's daughter by the deluded old men. It also supplies the strong female focus which is such a striking feature of Philotus.322

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320 Ibid., 58.
321 Ibid., 55.
322 Ibid., 56.
Reid-Baxter adds,

Plesant heightens both the comedy and the drama of the action with his brief, strategically placed interjections, jeering at everyone, including the spectators - except Emily and Brisilla, it should be noted, thus further underlining the play's sympathetic female focus. The idea of Plesant, who describes himself as a fool (1011-12), may well be inspired by the on-stage presence of Folly itself in Gl'Ignannati / Les Abusez in the shape of the inn called 'The Fool' (Il Matto / Le Sot).323

Some scholars disagree on the degree to which Philotus owes its existence to Gl'Ignannati. Mill observes, however, "Were it not that the candid servant was a stock character of Classical and Renaissance comedy, one might strengthen the argument by ascribing to Spela of Gli Ingannati the parentage of the outspoken Plesant . . ."324 Reid-Baxter makes one further observation, " . . . the crux being Philotus himself (and not the cross-dressed heroine, as in Gl'Ignannati and Twelfth Night)."325

Other probable Italian sources . . . include Bibbiena's La Calandra for the fake sex-change involving siblings as well as the whore put in the suitor's bed and that character's consequent self-cuckoldry. It is possible that the Scottish poet was sent back to Plautus by Niccolò Machiavelli's reworking of Casina as Clizia (1525; published 1537). Another famous comedy, Aretino's Il Marescalco (1527; published 1533) culminates in the mock wedding of the eponymous protagonist to a page boy in drag.326

McDiarmid gives another possible source:

. . ., the only one in which I have found noticeable enough resemblances to suggest an influence is the free version of Grazzini's La Spiritata that was written about 1565, The Buggbears, and the suggestion derives only from the few correspondences of wording that are noted here. Philotus delcares to Emilia, "For zow sweet hart I wold forsaik / The Empryce for to be my maik ', and in The Buggbears, I.iii.58, the old wooer, Cantilupo, swears, ' and I had a whole Empri,

326 Ibid.
I would spend it every whit / to wyn my rosymonda '. Just as Flavius conjures
Emilia (st. 124), ' Be Lethe, Stix and Acherone, / Be hellische furies euerie one . . .
. / That thou depart ', so also the pretended necromancer, Trappola, recites in his
conjuration (III.iii.102), ' To limbo lakes ye hellish hagges be gone / to Stix and
Cocytus, to Achæron and Phlegethon." The lovers in Philotus (st. 164) sing, ' As
fleitand in the Fludis of joy and blisse ' and in The Buggbears (V.ix.4-5) the
finally happy lover, Manutius, rejoices, ' I fleeete in felicitie / and swime in bathes
of blisse '. Not only do both plays conclude with a lovers' song that celebrates the
young folks' happiness and the old folks' care, but in both also a marriage service
is recited.327

Yet, Reid-Baxter points out another older, possible source for our play:

. . . Plautus's outrageous Casina provides one of Philotus's major departures from
Gl'Ingannati, namely a mock wedding leading to the beating up of an older
voluptuary in the proximity of the nuptial couch." However, in Philotus, unlike in
Casina, "the old man is beaten up before he goes to bed to cuckold himself with a
whore, while simultaneously being cuckolded by his own daughter who is
sleeping with the boy next door.328

It is when we get to newer sources that we also get into trouble with finding out a date
and wright for our play. The crux of the argument rests on the existence of a story by
Barnaby Riche, entitled "Of Phylotus and Emelia", which was published in 1581 in his book
Farewell to Military Profession. Cranfill tells us, regarding the play:

One scholar ascribes it to some author before 1530, but later retracts this
ascription and argues for a date of composition slightly before the edition of 1603.
A second attributes it to Robert Semple and thinks it was written about 1568. A
third is of the "notion . . . that the Scottish 'Philotus,' though not printed until
1603, may at an early date have been derived by its author from some authority,
to which perhaps, Riche also resorted, ' for the plot of his eight tale, "Phylotus and
Emelia." A fourth is "inclined to accept the suggestion of Riche's editor . . . that
Riche's story and the comedy alike go back to some lost common source". In the
opinion of the fifth the play is founded on the story, but he fails to explain how he
arrived at his opinion. A sixth, judging from the vocabulary of the play, believes
that it cannot be much earlier than 1600. And the most recent editor ventures no
positive answers to the question of source and date, declaring merely that 'clearer
evidence as to the immediate source of Philotus . . . would help further to define
the date limits.'329

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328 Ibid., 55.
329 Cranfill, xli.
Jamie Reid-Baxter points out that it was not until the 1835 edition of *Philotus* that the association with Riche's tale was made.\(^{330}\) While the 1835 edition first made this claim, "the 1846 editor of this compilation was of a contrary position. He imagined the Scots play to be earlier and indebted to a common source."\(^{331}\) From then on, scholars went back and forth about which came first.

Our three main contenders for playwrights are: King James VI, Alexander Montgomerie, and Robert Sempill. Dr. James Craigie makes an interesting case for King James VI.

. . . Scots was James's normal and habitual medium of composition, both in prose and in verse, as his autograph manuscripts clearly show. Its date of composition coincided with one of James's periods of literary activity. He had not long been married to Anne of Denmark and was still inspired to write those poems which are grouped together as 'Amatoria' . . .

. . . He was interested in dramatic composition, for we have from his hand a fragment of a masque written for the festivities at the wedding of the sixth earl of Huntly to Lady Henrietta Stuart at Holyrood in June 1588. . . .

. . . That 'Philotus' was published anonymously, if it was James's need excite little surprise, for anonymous publication was something of a habit with him, witness his 'Essays of a Prentise in the Deuine Arte of Poesie' and his 'Basilicon Doron.' Besides, 'Philotus' was hardly a work which James would wish openly to be known as his.\(^{332}\)

He tells us that there is evidence that King James only knew about Riche's *Farewell* in 1595, when it was being read at his court. Both he and Reid-Baxter both point out that "in 1595 James VI complained about an unflattering reference to the King of Scots in the final tale, which was removed in the next edition."\(^{333}\)

Craigie says, therefore,

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\(^{330}\) Reid-Baxter, “Transmission of a Delectable Treatise,” 52.

\(^{331}\) McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 226.


It obviously cannot have been the play by 'Robert Semple' which Birrel's 'Diary' notes as having been performed in 1568. It is most unlikely that it was the work of the Robert Semple who wrote 'The Semple Ballads,' for he died in 1595. It is still more unlikely that it was Robert, 4th Lord Semple, since all that is known of him suggests that he was one to whom the spirit of 'Philotus' would have been quite alien. Mill adds that, due to recent evidence, the 4th Lord Semple would have been five in 1568.\footnote{Mill, \textit{Philotus}, 85.}

Adding to his case is the fact that the first edition of \textit{Philotus} was printed just before James VI took the English throne. There are three pieces of evidence that tell us this: Robert Charteris' printing of \textit{Ane Satyre} the previous year, his wife's death in early 1603, and the woodcut arms of James VI which would have been outdated if used after March 24.\footnote{Marie Axton, "\textit{Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis}, The First Edition and Its Reception," in \textit{A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished: In Honour of Helena Mennie Shire}, ed. Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), 26-27.}

A more solid case is made for Alexander Montgomerie by Hugh McDiarmid. He makes many comparisons between the writings of Montgomerie and the play. With regard to the term "goose-head", McDiarmid says,

\begin{quote}
At this point too it seems worth noting that in Montgomerie’s \textit{Descriptions of Vane Lovers}, the theme of which is also that of ill placed love, the lines

\begin{verbatim}
And they get ay a good gusheid
In Recompense of all their pane
\end{verbatim}

are echoed by Philerno’s description of Philotus as ‘ane gus-heid’ (l. 926) and the lovers’ rejoicing for final happiness, ‘In recompense of all our former pane’ (l. 1307).\footnote{McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 232.}
\end{quote}

McDiarmid adds a comparison of Montgomerie's \textit{The Navigatioun} and \textit{A Cartell of The Thrie Ventrous Knichts}. In both, speeches are made that "refer obviously to the boy king's triumphal entry into his capital in October 1579. It seems likely that Montgomerie himself spoke, or read, the German's lengthy speech [in the first spectacle], just as the author of \textit{Philotus} certainly spoke its epilogue."\footnote{Ibid.}
Amongst others, he gives the following passages to compare, between Thomas Watson's *The Hecatomythia Or Passionate Centurie of Sonets* (1582), a poem by Montgomerie, and our play. "The influence, however, of *The Hecatomythia*, registered 31 March 1582, is not likely to have been felt in Scotland before the end of that year, and it is most unlikely that the reforming party which ruled the court between August 1582 and June 1583 would have permitted such a play to be performed there."\(^{338}\)

Watson: On either cheeke a Rose and Lillie lies ;
   Her breath is sweete perfume, or hollie flame;
   Her lips more red than any corall stone;
   Her neck more white than aged Swans that mone;
   Her brest transparent is like Christall rocke.

Montgomerie: Hir comelie cheecke of vive colour,
   Of rid and whyt ymixt,
   Ar lyk the sanguene jonet flour
   Into the lillie fixt.
   Her mouth mellifluous,
   Her breathing savorous,
   Hir rosie lippis most eminent,
   Hir teeth lyk perle of orient,
   Hir hals more whyt—
   Hir vestall bresit of ivorie,
   Quhairon ar fixit fast
   Tua tuins of clene virginitie,
   Lyk Boullis of alabast.
   Out throu hor snawie skin
   Moist cleirlie kythes within
   Hir saphir vains, lyk threids of silk,
   Or violets in whytest milk.

*Philotus*: 3our snawisch cheiks lyke quhytest Allabast,
3our lousomes lips sad soft and sweet\(^{339}\) wee sie
As Roses red quhen that ane shoure is past ;
3ur toung micht make Demosthenes agast,
3our teith the peirls micht of their place depryve ;
3our Papis for the prioritie dois stryve.

\(^{338}\) McDiarmid, “*Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,*” 233.

\(^{339}\) There are differences in spelling and punctuation between this and the Mill edition. This quote is from lines 482-8.
The fourth line of the *Philotus* passage, it should be remarked, recalls a line in Watson's sonnet XXIX, "Apelles yf he liu'd would stand agast." What is pertinent, however, to the argument for Montgomerye's authorship is that play and poems alike treat the same model with a freedom and mastery that, as Emil Kastner observes in the Introduction of his edition of Sir William Alexander, are quite absent from the borrowings of Montgomerye's Scots contemporaries (230-1).

A further consideration is:

That a play like this, having for its subject a suitable marriage, if it had been produced any time after October 1589, when James made his romantic voyage to Denmark to marry Princess Anna, would surely have alluded to her in its epilogue, . . . It is , therefore, between 1583 and 1589, and more probably in the earlier part of that interval than the later, that the evidence of the play most naturally places it.

Finally, McDairmid and others have a particular reading of the lines “Now grace and honour on that face, / Quod Robein to the Haggies” (l. 1087-8). Robein is commonly perceived to be Rob Stene (or Stein), James VI’s fool, who may have played the part of Plesant.

Though he does not give a definite identity for a playwright, Cranfill states boldly that,

. . . evidence could scarcely be clearer, or more abundant, than that which proves the dependence of the play on Rich's "Philotus." The playwright follows the plot . . . closely, making only one change in the order . . . Besides, the drama abounds in words, phrases, and sometimes whole speeches manifestly inspired by Rich's language. The dramatist's way with Rich's words may usually be described as something halfway between paraphrasing and verbatim repetition" (xlii).

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340 Apelles was "the most celebrated of Grecian painters . . . of all his pictures the most admired was the 'Venus Anadyomene,' . . . " Philip Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. William Smith (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2005), s.v. “Apelles.”


342 Ibid., 233.

343 Ibid., 226; Jack and Rozendaal, 423. Reid-Baxter gives no identity to this "Robin" in either his 1999 or 2002 articles. McDiarmid, however, adds in a footnote that "'Robe Stene' was a nickname for Montgomerye" McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 233n19. Helena Mennie Shire says that he "was a pedantic schoolmaster of Edinburgh. But William Mow and Rob Stene are here, I suggest the *persona* of the King and te 'schoolmaster' in the poetry game." Helena M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under James VI; Musical Illustrations of Court-song*, ed. Kenneth Elliott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 88.
He gives the playwright some credit, though.

In the tale Flanius' exorcism is amusing; in the comedy it is hilarios. In addition to invoking the very powers to whom Flanius appeals, his counterpart in the comedy adds functionaries and symbols drawn from the unreformed church, classical mythology, fair lore, medieval magic, and even Mohammedism, and achieves a climax by rhyming Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John with Lethe, Styx, and Acheron.344

One may wonder if the allusions to mythology could give us a clue to the identity of the playwright. Montgomerie was a member of James' Castalian Band. They made many allusions to Greek mythology in their poetry. However, they also often referred to not only Helicon, but also Apollo, i.e. James. This play mentions no Apollo. References to Helicon can be found in Scots music from as early as the 1570s. Helicon's Nine Muses are referred to in a sonnet from 1566-8.345

Cranfill thinks the playwright might have been a Robert Semple who wrote the play, however, due to several coincidences:

. . . On September 20, 1581, the Glasgow civic authorities granted to one Robert Semple in Dumbarton the sum of £13. 6s. 8d. for "outsetting of the pastyme to the Kingis Majestie". This minute engenders some tanatalizing possibilities—that the "pastyme" mentioned was Philotus; that the beneficiary of the grant was the same Robert Semple (1530?-95) who was a captain participating (on the side of the English) in the siege of Edinburgh in 1573, a campaign celebrated by Rich as one of the great triumphs of Sir William Drury; that Semple and Rich, both captains and admirers of Drury, knew each other professionally; and that Semple, attracted by Rich's publication of 1581, lost no time in deriving a comedy from it. But of course all these notions are merely possibilities.346

Cranfill tells us that, not only did the anonymous playwright borrow from Riche's 8th story in his Farewell, he also borrowed from the tales "Sappho Duke of Mantona", whose father is less stern than ours; "Of Gonsales and his vertuous wife Agatha", from which we get the character our playwright names as "Macrell"; and "Of Aramanthus, Borne a Leper". Cranfill also tells us that the playwright probably also borrowed from "Of Apolonius and

344 Cranfill, 329-30nn22-27.
345 Shire, 96, 166, 171.
Silla", "Of Nicander and Lucilla", and "Two Brethren and their Wives." In short, the playwright of Philotus borrowed from nearly the entire collection of stories in Riche's Farewell. To add to his argument, he points out that another playwright also borrowed from Riche, though more in plot than with language: James Shirley and Love Tricks, or the School of Complement.

McDiarmid disagrees with the amount of borrowing that the playwright supposedly did:

... it is surprising that critics have not observed how reminiscent is its literary manner of that very popular dialogue-poem, 'Pamphilus and Galatea', which gave birth to the Spanish dramatic novel, Celestina, and was translated into Scots about 1595 by the Edinburgh poet, John Burel. It may be coincidence that Burel makes his three characters speak in the same stanza form as the author of Philotus reserves for his serious speeches, but it is almost certain that it is the bawd, Anus, in Pamphilus, that is the model of the Scot's playwright's 'Macrell' and not, as Cranfill suggests, the quite featureless temptress of Rich's sixth tale, 'Of Gonsales and Agatha'. Philotus is a genuine drama but its author is more a poet than a dramatist.

Reid-Baxter considers the idea of the playwright being inspired by having read Riche as "a very large if." Ronald Jack, one of the play's few admirers, wrote thirty years ago that its author could not possibly have learned his mastery of the rules of Renaissance comedy from Riche, whom he nonetheless accepted as the playwright's source. However, "... it is possible and even likely that there are entire stanzas of the original play missing, for there are occasional odd gaps which, ... are certainly usefully filled in by details provided in Riche," like why Philerno doesn't recognize his family or why he decides to "string the two old lunatics along."

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347 Cranfill, xlii.
348 Ibid., xlv.
His is the most convincing argument for authorship. He believes it was probably Robert Sempill, currently only known (and regrettably little read) as the author of a substantial body of alliterative broadsheet satirical verse of tremendous verve, dating from the period between Darnley's murder in 1567 and the imprisonment of the former Regent Morton in 1581. We have documentary evidence in the Edinburgh and Glasgow town council records that Sempill wrote at least two dramatic entertainments, a play performed before The Regent Moray in 1568 and a 'pastyme' for King James VI at Dumbarton in 1581. He adds in his 2002 paper that he "demonstrates complete mastery of metrical forms and the Scots alliterative register, and effortlessly draws Old Testament and classical imagery to make its points." He pushes for an earlier date than others also by comparing it with Riche's tale:

One of the texts undoubtedly derives from the other; but I believe Philotus is much the earlier (1566-67 to be precise), and that it is almost certainly an 'original' plot directly created, for a quite specific audience, from the enormously influential 1532 Siennese comedy Gl'Ingannati . . . and Plautus' Casina, with elements from other Italian comedies (Queen Mary had volumes of them in her library), Charles Estienne's Les Abusez (1543, . . . , dedicated to Mary's father-in-law) and Jacques Grévin's Les Ebahis (1561). . . . I believe Riche either saw a performance (his tale reads like an eyewitness account) or knew Robert Sempill, possibly in connection with the Siege of Edinburgh Castle . . . or had access to some detailed prose version of the play, now lost. Whatever Riche's source, it provided him with details not contained in the stanzas included in whatever ms. Charteris printed from.

Cranfill (p. 331) and others have drawn attention to the fact that Riche himself states in the Farewell that some of the tales he is retelling have already been seen on the stage. . . . Riche did not know the Italian play at all, . . . His stories, he claims, are purely for entertainment; the Scottish play is unmistakeably, if most entertainingly, didactic. This is, of course, entirely in keeping with its purpose as a wedding entertainment at the Scottish court.

Reid-Baxter gives many reasons for dating this play to the late 1560s:

The key to the play's dating and purpose is to be found, above all, in the 'Sang of the Foure Luiferis' . . . [the first two stanzas] must be symbolic, and they can very easily be read as referring to the fortunes of the Lennox Stewarts: i.e. to Earl Matthew, dispossessed by his wicked cousin Hamilton of his rightful regency for

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the infant Mary in 1543, and then restored by Mary in 1564, and to Lord Darnley as Jason, bearing the 'famous goldein fleice' of the promised crown matrimonial. The play's depiction of the estrangement and reconciliation of the poetic Flavius and the occasionally transvestite Emily would then represent a plea for a reconciliation between Mary (who enjoyed dressing up, including as a man) and her husband who had wooed her with verse; the most appropriate date for a performance is 6 January 1567, the Twelfth Night wedding of Mary Fleming to the queen's secretary, Maitland of Lethington (whose services the Lennoxes wishes to enlist). The play's portrayal of Emily, not least as a much wronged and entirely innocent party, would certainly flatter the queen. The very strong feminine focus of the play is striking, and contrasts with Riche.

The apparent reconciliation between Mary and her husband, which did indeed occur later in January 1567, led directly to Darnley's murder on 8 February. . . . Robert Sempill was, like Buchanan, a deeply committed member of the Lennox 'kin'. As we know, the great humanist wrote in praise of Queen Mary, and then, after the murder, turned utterly against her . . . Sempill's surviving anti-Marian verse . . . does not mean that Sempill had not previously admired the queen as much as Buchanan had done. . . .

. . . One argument to dating the play to the court of James VI is in fact that the poet-king would not have relished the inevitable comparison between himself and Flavius, eminently poetic indeed, but also impetuous, irresolute, paranoid, and deluded. Darnley was in no position to object to such a portrayal. As for the notorious concluding stanza, with its reference to 'the persoun of our king', it could either be an addition by Charteris himself in 1603 (we know he had the requisite skills in versification), or indicate that a preceding stanza in praise of the queen has been deleted; Darnley was after all King (-consort) of Scots, and is lamented as such by Sempill in several Lennox propaganda poems. 357

357 Reid-Baxter, “Rich and Rollicking,” 22-24n21. He does not tell us how he knows whether Riche knew Gl'Ingannati or not. Of Mary's fondness for dressing up, he cites in his 2002 paper several passages in Antonia Fraser, Mary Queen of Scots. Antonia Fraser, Mary Queen of Scots (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), quoted in Jamie Reid-Baxter, “Philotus; the Transmission of a Delectable Treatise,” in Literature, Letters, and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland, ed. Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2002), 68n46; John Guy also speaks of this: "Almost six feet tall, she could pretend to be a man and liked to roam incognito with her Maries through the streets of Edinburgh, wearing men's clothes. Or else she and her four beloved companions would forget their positions and dress up as burgesses' wives. . . . At a masque after a banquet in honor of the French ambassador, they appeared dressed as men again, causing shock and consternation." John Guy, Queen of Scots: The True Story of Mary Stuart (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 146. In his 2002 paper, Reid-Baxter says the murder was on the 10th of February. Of the lines 1358-60, "the persoun of our King, . . . Ane prudent Prince above vs for to ring" echoes Sempill's "our fair young tender King, / Qho[me God] hes set above vs for to Ring" in his Exhortation direct to my Lord Regent, August 1567. Reid-Baxter, “Transmission of a Delectable Treatise,” 67n33.
In 1567, "there was also the recent marriage of the elderly John Knox to a girl of seventeen, which had scandalized the court." 

Reid-Baxter continues,

'Maskings' and 'farces; seem to have been much more frequent at the court of James's mother - a court which can be shown to have been aware of Italian commedia erudita and of the work of Charles Estienne and Jacques Grévin. . . . 

[Henri II's] triumphal entry into Lyons in 1548 had featured a performance of Bibbiena's La Calandra, while his Italian queen Catherine de Medicis patronized Italian troupes. . . . Nor would the work of Jacques Grévin have been unknown to the Scottish court: the young poet composed and published an Hymne a Monseigneur le Dauphin, sur le mariage dudict Seigneur at de Madame Marie d'Estewart, Royne d'Ecosse in 1558, which must have made an impression, for Henri II commissioned him to write his first comedy La Tresoirière, for the wedding of Princess Claude to Mary's cousin the Duke of Lorraine in February, 1559. Grévin also published a Pastorale sur les mariages de tres excellentes Princesses Madame Elizabet, fille ainée de France, et Madame Margyerite, soeur unique du Roi - Mary's sister-in-law and aunt by marriage, respectively - in 1559. There was, moreover, a personal link with Charles Estienne, Jacques Grévin, and dramatic performance physically present in the Queen's personal circle in the shape of George Buchanan, who functioned as a kind of poet laureate. The great humanist supplied various Latin texts for performance at court festivities - such as Mary's wedding to Lord Darnley, and, most notably, the spectacular Renaissance 'triumph' at Stirling Castle in December 1566 that marked the baptism of Mary's heir, Charles James.

We are given many textual clues in the play. In his 2002 paper, Reid-Baxter tells us, "In his Treatise on Fasting of 1565, inspired by the threat to the people of God represented by the Queen's successful defeat of the rebellion provoked by her marriage, John Knox recommended the story of Mordocheus and Artaxerxes as suitable matter for sermons."

When Flavius is exorcising Emily, she says, "Gude-man, quhat misteris all thir mowis / As ye war cumbred with the cowis ? / зe are I think lyke Iohne of Lowis, / Or ane out of his mynde" (lines 1001-104) and then "My luif, I think it verie lyke, / That зе war Licht or Lunatyke, / . . . / Quhat aillis зow joy ? quhat haue зе sene ? / To rage with sik vnrest?" (lines

359 Ibid., 60.
360 Ibid., 67n41.
John of Lowis was James V’s fool. This comparison only amplifies Flavius’ foolishness for not believing in his wife. McDiarmid points out that John of Lowis was still alive in 1573, which helps support Reid-Baxter's claim, but also helps support the later date of performance. If he was alive ten years before McDiarmid's mid-1580s, John of Lowis would still be in the new court's memory. However, if he were still alive in 1573, he most certainly was known by Mary's court.

The descriptions of attire that Emily would have if she were to marry Philotus give us more clues, especially the gold chains and slashed clothing. In Scotland, chains started showing up in the late 1550's, as shown in a portrait of the 5th Lord Seton. As for England, a portrait of an unknown man of 1560 shows "a thick rope of linked chains very similar to those worn by women, which remained a popular accessory for both sexes throughout the decade."

Ashelford adds, "The looped-up chains that were such a distinctive feature of the 1570s are replaced by thick ropes of pearls which would remain fashionable until the end of the Elizabethan period." Chains are still found in portraits, however, in the late 1580s. In Scotland, the Countess of Argyll's portrait of 1599 shows no gold chains.

Slashing was fashionable in England in the late 1560s, as shown in Ashelford's book *The Visual History of Costume: The Sixteenth Century*. Also in Ashelford, Scotland's James VI was painted with a slashed jerkin and shoes in 1574. Slashing remained fashionable in England until at least 1590.

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361 ".../ As if you were distressed by hobgoblins" and ".../ that you are light-headed .../ What's wrong, sweetheart? ..." (translation mine).
363 Ibid.
364 Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth*, 52.
365 Ibid., 53 (portrait), 55 (quote).
366 Ibid., 31.
367 Ibid., 33.
368 Ibid., 83.
370 Ibid., 84.
Sir Henry Lee's portrait of 1568 shows both slashed clothing and gold chains.\textsuperscript{372} It is, therefore, far more likely that this play is earlier, or Macrell would not have mentioned anything considered outdated.

Finally, we get some information of the world of the play, and clues to its date of composition through all the references to French goods. Due to France being a Catholic country and Scotland, at this period, becoming a Protestant one, did this make any difference?

For the ordinary Scot at parish level the period of the Reformation was marked by both continuity and change. The violent, iconoclastic phase of the revolt was short-lived and localised, mainly confined to the vicinities of Edinburgh, Dundee and Perth. Very many parishioners found that 'old priest' and 'new presbyter' were one and the same man; it has been estimated that about half of the clergy in charge of parishes soon after the Reformation had been in orders before 1560, many of them in the same nearby parishes. . . . There was no official 'dissolution of the monasteries' in Scotland —their property had long been slipping into lay hands . . . —and the monks continued to live out their lives in many cases in the precincts enjoying their portions, or salaries, for their lifetimes.\textsuperscript{373}

S.G. E. Lythe tells us

in the middle decades of the sixteenth century the cultural and political links with France were remarkably strong and intimate. . . .

. . . The progress of Protestantism in Scotland, . . ., was poison to the official French alliance. Nevertheless the death was lingering. Loyalties sealed over four centuries were not likely to melt overnight; by and large the French kings continued to cultivate the goodwill of Scotsmen and, even after 1603, to discriminate between them and Englishmen. . . .

. . . With the marriage of Mary and the Dauphin in 1558 the removal of the barrier of nationality between their two peoples meant an enormous immediate widening of the range of privilege: Frenchmen became naturalised Scots and Scots became naturalised French with all the benefits of free movement and social intercourse. . . .

. . . France was the main sixteenth-century avenue through which the new standards of culture and of social behaviour came to Scotland. . . . Especially in the days of Mary of Lorraine and her daughter, the haut ton of France set the

\textsuperscript{372} Ashelford, \textit{Dress in the Age of Elizabeth}, 124.

standards of housekeeping and attire which the top levels in Scottish society sought to emulate with wares imported from France. . . .

. . . the closer relations with England, above all the Union of the Crowns, meant the erosion of Scotland's peculiar trading rights in France. Furthermore the harmony of Scotland's economic relations with the French was disturbed by the religious and civil wars which divided France herself. . . . it was a matter of good fortune to the Scots that many of their traditional haunts, . . . , were strongholds of Protestantism. . . .

Reform of the current Church was not new to this century, nor would things change easily.

Support for reform had been growing since the end of the fifteenth century and had affected all classes.

. . . Their [Reformers] leadership culminated in armed resistance to the government of the French Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise, in 1559-60, when with English help the Lords of the Congregation drove the French out of Scotland.

In 1570, " . . . the King of France had issued a proclamation (at the instigation of the Bishop of Glasgow) forbidding any Scottish merchants to trade with France, except they had the license of the Queen-Mother or her lieutenants."^375

Lythe tells us,

. . . in 1582 the Convention of Royal Burghs heard that Scottish traders resorting to France and Flanders had daily commercial intercourse with 'ignorant and conjurit papists'; and to check this the Convention ruled that a fine of £40 should be imposed on any Scotsmen who henceforth dealt with a trader 'nocht of the trew religion.'^377

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^376 R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Mediæval Scotland: Chapters on Agriculture, Manufactures, Factories, Taxation, Revenue, Trade, Commerce, Weights and Measures* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1892), 139.

^377 James D. Marwick, ed., *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland* (Edinburgh:
However, "In spite of this prohibition the merchants appear not to have conducted themselves without reproach, as in 1586 the burghs heavily lamented their backslidings and 'thair vn.cumlie behaviour in thair eivill lyfe and outwarth manneris,' . . ."\(^{378}\) Indeed, neither moral suasion nor the threat of a fine seems to have been very effective, for eight years later the Privy Council was receiving complaints that Scottish skippers and traders were carrying wine from Bordeaux to St Valery and other towns held by French Catholics and consequently hostile to the aims of the Protestant Henri de Navarre.\(^{379}\)

Wormald tells us, though, “They [the laity] did not all flock to join the Protestants, but they swelled the ranks of those lay men critical of and frustrated by the church.”\(^{380}\) She adds, “The sporadic acts of violence, the intermittent successes of Protestant groups, even the sheer difficulty of distinguishing Protestants from dissatisfied Catholics, are exactly what one would expect to find in a period of religious, social, and political disturbance.”\(^{381}\) She tells us in her book *Lords and Men of Scotland*,

It is not surprising that the leaders of secular society could not indulge in the single-mindedness of a John Knox, for they continued to be the protectors of their men, Catholic or Protestant, and the major voice in political affairs; indeed, the bonds which they made give astonishingly little indication that in the sixteenth century Scotland was caught up in the religious trauma which was undermining long-accepted attitudes, both religious and secular, of European society.\(^{382}\)

Quite basic points such as the fact that the Scottish Crown really only acknowledged the reformation of 1560 as late as 1567; that the polity of the reformed kirk was unstable, with strong episcopal elements in it and no presbyteries before 1581; and that the medieval kirk as such was technically never abolished; can never again be ignored or glossed over.

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378 Cochran-Patrick, *Mediæval Scotland*, 144. Cochran-Patrick does not cite his sources.


380 Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 98.

381 Ibid., 108.

after the publication of Gordon Donaldson's *The Scottish Reformation*. That is, while reformation had been going on since 1560, it was not altogether complete. It seems that, though trade continued well past our period, it is more likely this play, with a positive attitude towards French goods, was from the Catholic Mary's reign, and not that of the sympathetic, Protestant James VI.

*Philotus* is a product of its time. Nothing in life for the nobility was permanent. Noble houses rose and fell for myriad reasons. "Religious works and sermons, literature and popular culture were similarly suffused with the idea of impermanence. Thus the comedy *Philotus* ends with the notion that 'All is hazard that we have, here is nothing byding'. Indeed, in the year *Philotus* was first printed, the impermanence of the Stuart dynasty was demonstrated by James VI's move to London. No longer did Scotland have its mighty royal family to itself, and no more would it be its own country.

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384 Though Protestant, James did not take the hard line that other Protestant leaders may have wanted him to with regards to the Catholics of his kingdom. As William James Anderson puts it, "He wanted to be the first protestant king, clearly acknowledged to be such by catholics: it was for him a matter of prestige." William James Anderson, "Rome and Scotland, 1513-1625," in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: John S. Burns and Sons, 1962), 481.

385 K. Brown, 21. The line he quotes is actually from an insertion of the song “What if a day” from the 1603 Charteris printing (l. 13). McDiarmid says, "The odd circumstance of a song by Thomas Campion being appended to one of the Edinburgh editions of the play requires separate consideration." McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 229. He further notes that it was only placed in the first edition, not the 1612 one: "The word ' Finis ' that separates it from the text makes clear enough its extraneous nature." McDiarmid, “Philotus: A Play of the Scottish Renaissance,” 234.
CHAPTER 5

WHAT HAE WE THEN?

These two plays from the sixteenth century illustrate two points: Scotland’s paradoxical reliance on, and independence from, the outside world. Both plays show its independence in being written in Scots, the Court’s language. Yet, both plays are written in styles not unlike those used during their time elsewhere in Europe. Both plays are centered around Scots’ folk. Yet, both are concerned with those of the Court’s interest. Both are accessible to their audiences. Yet, neither digs too deep into the real matters of the commonweal.

Both plays have some similarities in chosen character types. In comparing Philotus with its predecessor, Jack and Rozendaal say, "the constant presence on stage of the jester figure links the courtly and stage worlds. As 'wise' commentator on the folly of others his role is reminiscent of the French 'sottie' tradition, represented by Folie in Lindsay's Satyre." Yet, Philotus deals with the well-to-do, with a focus on morality and none on politics. There is no commentary on religious practices of the day. In this way, it stands in sharp contrast to its predecessor Ane Satyre.

Yet, Satyre and Philotus, though similar in features to other plays of their time, are certainly also in a category unto themselves.

Nowhere else in Europe, with the possible exception of Spain, did the popular theatre of the Renaissance enjoy so spectacular a revival as in England. Elsewhere, one would be looking at a humbler and broader range of dramatic evidence more in line with Scottish practice.

... As Scottish rhetorical theory maintained the ideal of poetry-in-performance within a view of art centered on 'modes' and 'voices', it is also misleading to think in clear-cut generic categories.\textsuperscript{387}

\textsuperscript{386} Jack and Rozendaal, 392.

Both plays invoke similar saints and mythological personages. Bride, or Bridget, is in both plays. She is mentioned in Lindsay's *Satyre* in line 461 and in *Satyre's* line 1028. Another saint may be “Elias”. In *Philotus*, this saint (line 1027) cannot be completely identified. One idea is that he may be St. Allane (Allan or Elia) invoked by Temporalitie in line 3205 of Lindsay's *Satyre*.

When trying to identify the “Sanct Tastian” of *Philotus* (line 975), it is helpful to remember “Sanct Tan” of *Satyre*, which "is probably a 'metanalytic' form of 'St Anne', . . . (as in the Shakespearean form 'my nuncle') . . . . The identification is supported by the remarkable vernacular excommunication of Border reivers (1525), where 'Sancte Tan' is invoked along with Catherine, Margaret and Bride.388 Identifying “Sanct Tastian” as Saint Sebastian is supported by this finding of a "Sanct Tan"'s English identity.

Identifying another saint in *Philotus* is helpful when one looks to another saint from *Satyre*. Brittany’s St. Mavane is mentioned in Lindsay's *Satyre* (line 1877). Thus, the "Maloy" of line 1025 could very well be Brittany’s “Malo”. It was not unusual for Brittany's saints to also be revered in Scotland, as we saw Welsh and Irish saints in *Philotus*.

When Flavius tries to get Emilie exorcised of the "Alrisch king and Queene of Farie" (line 970), it is interesting to note that "the alrich Queene of Farie" is also mentioned in Lindsay's *Satyre* as a protector by Flatterie (as "Devotion") to Falset (as "Sapience"), line 1544. The "King of Farie" is who Falset intends to stay with before being hanged (line 4218).

Both plays also share rhyme schemes. Three types of rhyme scheme are used in *Philotus*, according to Reid-Baxter, which are also found in *Satyre*:

Unlike so many sixteenth-century English verse dramas, it uses not fourteeners but . . . the comic 4 (and 3) stress *rime couée* (aaabcc), the solemn 5 stress *ballat royal* (ababbcc), and, for the climactic "Sang of the Foure Luiferis", 5 stress *rhyme royal* (ababbbc).389

These plays’ writing styles, though, are not completely alike. Their differences help to answer questions as to one’s age and authorship. Unlike with *Satyre*, we do not know who

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Philotus' author is. Yet, by examining them further, we can make an educated guess that Lindsay did not write both plays. Reid-Baxter tells us that the former is the more Renaissance play due to its characters being human beings “in a way that the unforgettably embodied abstract concepts of Lindsay's Satyre are not.” He also compares both plays in order to find a possible date of transcription for Philotus.

. . . The lightness and touch its author displays in handling his moral message is yet another of its attractive features; but the presence of these 'moralité' aspects . . . does provide a direct link with mediaeval theatre, not least Lyndsay's Satyre - in which we find the figure of an 80-year-old dotard marrying a girl of 14 . . . namely in Foly's description of the buyers of his second 'foly hude' (ll. 4551-4558 in Roderick Lyall's edition). Like the use of rime couée for the comic scenes and the ballat royal for the serious passages, just as in Lindsay, this constitutes an argument for dating the play much earlier than the post-1581 experiments of the up-to-date Castalian Band.

Thus, we have two plays that are definitely from the same century, but not from the same time period. Neither has been forgotten. Ane Satyre has gone through many revivals, most notably by the Scottish Theatre Company in the 1980s. Philotus was successfully revived in full by Ann Matheson and the Biggar Theatre Workshop in 1997, with abridged versions in 1988 and 1995 in Edinburgh. Because of the very existence of these plays from the sixteenth century, we also have other plays from later periods which reflect their local worlds, but also are part of the European canon.

In the centuries to follow, Scotland would produce native-language plays in varying numbers. The seventeenth century saw no Scots plays. All extant plays from that period are in English or Latin. This is due to two main reasons: the Church and the unification of the Crowns.

The Stuarts remained, as a family, supporters of the arts and theatre in particular. James VI loved the theatre and had several masques performed at his court, with his wife even performing in them. Cherry states, “but the Jacobean court is most remembered for its masques and pageantry in which his queen, Anne of Denmark, took a leading role. This was

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391 Ibid., 23n21.
the court of Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones and, of course, of the twilight years of Shakespeare.”

During the interregnum (1649 to 1660), there was no theatre. But, with the monarchy restored, so was public access to theatrical entertainments. Charles II was a big supporter of the theatre (and its actresses). However, the Kirk still “regarded the stage as the domain of the devil.” As Terence Tobin tells us, “There were a few closet plays published in Edinburgh during the early 1600’s, but these pieces probably never were intended to be staged.” The coronation of Charles I in 1633 had pageantry.

Plays, which were at best occasional events, cannot be considered popular entertainment at this period. The general public never saw a drama. Although more persons could witness a pageant, few saw these displays, because pageantry after 1603 was even more infrequent than the rarely performed plays. Charles I’s 1633 Scottish coronation included a sophisticated pageant. James VII/II (1685-8)’s court in Scotland, however, produced plays, especially those by Dryden. James had brought with him a company of players from London and also received visits from Irish actors. His daughter, and future monarch, Anne participated in masques and plays.

Public theatre had a checkered life in the seventeenth century. During the time of Charles II, people would try to perform banned folk plays. Minstrels and false doctors performed for people in order to sell their wares. It was at this time that Scotland saw its first play written since James VI/I’s departure for London. It was Marciano; or, The Discovery, written by William Clark (or Clarke). It was performed for the Earl of Rothes while on a trip

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393 Cherry, 76.
394 Ibid., 92.
396 Unless otherwise noted, most information on Scotland’s theatrical history is from Findlay, 55-79.
398 Ibid.
399 Mackie, A History of Scotland, 246.
400 Cherry, 102.
from London to Holyrood House. The Tennis Court Theatre in Holyrood house was the venue. It was the only surviving theatre because of its connection to nobility. Between the years 1663 and 1700, only three plays were written, all by Episcopalians and royalists. The second one written was Tarugo’s Wiles: or; The Coffee-House by Thomas Sydserf (or Sydeserf/St. Serfe)\textsuperscript{401} in 1667/8. It was the first play by a Scot to be performed in London. It, in fact, opened in London in 1667 and then was performed at the Tennis Court Theatre in Edinburgh the following year. Sydserf managed the Tennis Court Theatre from 1667\textsuperscript{402} and also managed an acting company based nearby at the Edinburgh Canongate. The repertoire followed London’s quite closely.

A Master of Revels was created in England as early as the late 15\textsuperscript{th} century, but was not an office in Scotland until two hundred years later. With the lack of court entertainment (the original focus of the English Masters), the Master was the supervisor of all public entertainment. The first Masters were two brothers, Edward and Captain James Fountain, who received their patent in 1671 from Charles II. Two years later, their rights were expanded by the Privy Council and they had the license to “authorize balls, masks, plays, and similar divertissements, as well as the prerogative to erect stages throughout the kingdom, and the power to fine or to imprison those who acted without a license.”\textsuperscript{403} The brothers Fountain used their license to its fullest; even supplicating the Privy Council on matters they could not control and placing threatening advertisements in newspapers.\textsuperscript{404} The last mention of the Fountains is in 1688, the year of the Glorious Revolution. Though we do not know for certain their political affiliation, this juxtaposition cannot be ignored. According to Tobin, if they were Stuart supporters, their livelihoods might have been in jeopardy by the conquering

\textsuperscript{401} Sydserf also founded Scotland’s first newspaper, the \textit{Caledonian Mercury} in 1661. Findlay, 68.

\textsuperscript{402} There is a 1689 reference to Sydserf, Findlay states, so he was a manager for over twenty years. Findlay, 71.


Hanoverian line. The next Master of the Revels was William Maclean, a dance master. The Warrant lists all of the activities he controlled, “and all other private and publick showes of whatsoever kind or nature where the spectators pay money, Lotteries being excepted. . . .” These entertainments not only included plays, but also bear baiting, mountebanks, and “Roap-Dancers”. Many more Masters were appointed into the following century, but none were like the Fountains. “There is no indication that Masters of Revels functioned as a positive force in the theater in Scotland. . . . During the term of the first Masters no permanent theater was built, not [sic] did a company of actors reside in Scotland.”

The earliest amateur playbill found dates from 1681 for Terence’s play *Eunuchus*. MacLeod states that the typography “is undoubtedly the work of the firm known as the heirs of Andrew Anderson, King’s Printer in Scotland, and Printer to the College of Edinburgh (as the University was then called).” One would assume it was a student production, but, MacLeod tells us, several of the cast members had already graduated, matriculated, or never attended the College. It is supposed, then, that several of the cast members were young boys, especially since there is no bass part. After translating the Latin text, Macleod matches “Calsonus” with Kelso (Grammar School), since several of the names occurred in several Kelso registers. However, Kelso is 50 miles from Edinburgh. After reading through the Sessions Minutes of Kelso Presbytery, he came across a decree that the students, after performing their piece *Eunchus*, would have a holiday. This enabled the students to travel to Edinburgh to perform again. There is no further evidence they did. The play is an odd choice to perform because of the lewd subject matter. But, since it was by Terence, it was approved. This playbill turns out to be proof against the theory that all theatre was suppressed by the Church.

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409 Ibid., 11.
410 Ibid., 11-12.
Scots and English have been in contact with one another for centuries. Malcolm Canmore (1058-1093) had English speakers at his court, including his wife Margaret. Their son David (1124-1153) offered lands to Anglo-Normans (who spoke both French and OE) and established burghs where many different people would come together. Along with the Reformation came Bibles in English, which helped start Scots’ status as a national language on its downward trajectory. When James moved his court to London, many of the Scottish gentry and nobles sent their sons to English schools, thus continuing a decline in the status of Scots as a language. Yet, “Heriot’s Hospital employed a master to ‘teach the Scholeris to read and wreat Scottis’, and later schools in other places followed the example of the capital: Peebles (1655), Glasgow (1663), Dumfries (1663), Leith (1681), and Stranraer (1686).” Therefore, the change to English was a gradual one.

Understandably, Scots as a separate language ceased to be the more the countries became united. It started as a form of English, moved away from the English influence, adding other influences to become its own language, and, just as it was to be seen as something distinct, the countries were united and Scots became a secondary language again. Even James VI/I saw them as one and the same. “Hath not God first united these two Kingdoms both in language, . . .?”

According to Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith,

The king’s own published writing, and that of the courtiers he took with him to London, quickly adapted to the norms governing Early Modern English. Even those Scots who chose to remain in Scotland . . . were careful to follow the ‘polite’ conventions of courtly language in their anglicised poems. Non-literary
texts, private letters and public documents, followed the same pattern. By the end of the 1600s, most texts in Scotland were written after the English fashion.\footnote{Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith, “A Brief History,” 11.}

John Thomas Low states that, though the court poets started to write in English, “The feck o ordinar Lowland fowk, I dinna need to mind ye, juist gaed on speakan their ain Scots, tho, eftir the year 1611 whan King Jamie’s Bible was prentit, they had tae lippen til (rely on) the Scriptures in English moistly, owresettins in Scots no bean patent.”\footnote{Low, 184.}

In some respects, James’s works show rather idiosyncratic applications of Scottish spelling conventions, but they are broadly within the range permitted by Standard Middle Scots. However, as his hopes for inheriting the English Crown increased, he prepared some of his earlier works for a British rather than a specifically Scottish readership, and the changes made were all in the direction of southern Standard.\footnote{Agutter, 22.}

Some of these changes in the 1599 printed version of \textit{Basilikon Doron} are \textit{thir} to \textit{these}, \textit{kirke} to \textit{Church}, \textit{lang} to \textit{long}, \textit{na} to \textit{no}, \textit{quhom} to \textit{whom}, and \textit{thaime} to \textit{them}.\footnote{Ibid.} Some changes were made by James himself, others were made by the publishers.

It is in the second half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century when we have the elocution movement, which did further damage to Scots’ status.\footnote{Richard W. Bailey, “Teaching in the Vernacular: Scotland, Schools, and Linguistic Diversity,” in \textit{The Nuttis Schell: Essays on the Scots Language Presented to A. J. Aitken}, ed. Caroline Macafee and Iseabail Macleod (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 132.} In 1748, lectures on English elocution were given in Edinburgh.\footnote{A. J. Aitken, “Scots,” in \textit{The Oxford Companion to the English Language}, ed. Tom McArthur (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 895} According to Aitken, “the residue of Scots in the English of Scottish people was deplored as ‘provincial’ and ‘unrefined’.” In 1757, philosopher David Hume, himself a Scot, published a list of offensive Scots words with English equivalents. He began a group called the Select Society. In 1761, it changed its name to the Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language.\footnote{McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, 130.}

That same year,

Mr. Thomas Sheridan, actor, stage-manager, and elocutionist, came to lecture on rhetoric and the art of speaking, and delivered twelve lectures in St. Paul’s
Episcopal Chapel . . . With the docility of children they gave ear to these pretentious discourses, in which the self-confident orator, in rich Irish brogue, taught pure English pronunciation to a broad-Scot-speaking assembly. 423

In 1780, William Scott “taught classes and gave lectures in elocution . . . published guides to grammar, spelling, pronunciation and reading. 424 . . . The ‘Scottish Standard English’ end of the language continuum in Scotland was thus born in the eighteenth century, and continues to exert its influence today.” 425

“The growing wish for a ‘pure’ English in eighteenth-century Scotland was not an anti-Scottish gesture, but a pro-British one. If Britain were to work as a political unit, then Scots should rid themselves of any elements likely to impede their progress within it.” 426 It was in the eighteenth century that Scotland was also called “North Britain”. It is interesting to note that Allan Ramsay’s “Easy Club” of 1712 “shows a strong accent on ‘correct’ (southern) taste, as demonstrated by the widespread reading of the Spectator,” along with a heavy interest in Scotland’s heritage. 427 Yet, this club was also “devoted to the repeal of the Union and the restoration of ‘James VIII’. “ 428 It broke up in 1715 after the failed Jacobite uprising.

To many it appeared that the way to advance as a Scot was to appear as English as possible, while at the same time upholding an ideal of Britishness in which Scotland would be able to play her full part . . .

. . . The attack on the distinctive Scottish cultural tradition was one mounted by Scots themselves, and what made the attack all the easier was the increasingly widespread dissemination of English texts regarded as canonical. 429


427 Ibid., 20.

428 Cherry, 116.

English, too, went through its own changes. In 1604, the first dictionary was created. Called *A Table Alphabeticall*, by Robert Cawdray, it concentrated on “scholarly” words to help “better” its readers. In 1660, John Dryden decided to create an academy in England similar to France’s Académie Française (created in 1637). Two years later, the Royal Society of London was chartered. Two years after that, the Society “appoints a committee to consider ways of improving English as a language of science.” In 1712, Johnathan Swift in Dublin proposed an academy much like France’s to fix English. In 1755, Dr. Samuel Johnson published his *Dictionary* which contained witty and scholarly definitions side by side. His definitions include:

*Lexicographer* – A writer of dictionaries, a harmless drudge.

*Oats* – A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.

*Pension* – An allowance made to anyone without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.

But also,

*Heart* – The muscle by its contraction and dilation propels the blood through the course of circulation. . . . It is supposed in popular language to be the seat sometimes of courage, sometimes of affection.

Seven years later, a *Short Introduction to English Grammar* was published by Robert Lowth. Then Lindley Murray published another *English Grammar* in 1794. English was a living language being formed consciously and unconsciously by its speakers.

In the eighteenth century, things picked up a bit for Scotland’s theatres. Due to English’s and London’s prominence, most of the repertoire was made up of English plays. Several Scots wrote for the London Stage, including David Crawford (or Craufurd) with *Courtship A-la-mode* (1700) and *Love at First Sight* (1704); Newburgh Hamilton with *The

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430 McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, 117.
431 Bolton, 477.
432 Dr. Johnson’s *Dictionary* was quoted from other sources of McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil’s, but not directly cited. These quotes appear on page 118.
433 Bolton, 478.
Petticoat Plotter (1712) and The Doating Lover; or, The Libertine Tam’d (1715); and Susanna Centlivre with A Bold Stroke for a Wife (1718). “Scots playwrights almost invariably tried to have their dramas staged in London, and settled for a Scottish opening as a last resort.435 “It is certain, however, that a company of almost completely anonymous strolling players began a residency in Edinburgh in 1715” - with “fierce” opposition from the Kirk – at Holyrood and then the Old Magazine House.436

The final Stuart monarch was Anne, who ruled from 1702 to 1714. The most important legislation to come out of her rule was the Act of Union of 1707. It was not accepted at first. There was “mob violence” in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee when the idea was brought up in October of 1706.437 Once finally agreed upon, the union cemented the relationship between Scotland and England. Together, they now became “Great Britain”. Scotland could no longer have its own Parliament, though it could keep its own church. The Scottish monarchy was also abolished. Therefore, Elizabeth II is not called Elizabeth I/II.438 April 22, 1707 was the final day the Scottish Parliament sat.439 It would not re-meet until July 1, 1999.440 One important part of the Union was that it created English as the official language of all Britain.441

English, as the official language of the kingdom, was given superiority. Sir William Alexander, James VI’s courtier, wrote his dramas in English after the court had been moved to London. “He told his Scottish readers that ‘they may not justly finde fault with me, if for the more parte I use the English phrase, as worthie to be preferred before our owne for the elegance and perfection thereof’.”442 Words that were synonyms, if similar enough, were

436 Most information in this paragraph comes with Scullion and Bruce Peter, Scotland’s Splendid Theatres: Architecture and Social History from the Reformation to the Present Day (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), unless otherwise noted.
437 Mackie, History, 262.
438 Davies, 622.
439 Mackie, History, 263.
440 Magnusson, 663.
442 Carpenter, 209. She does not give any source information for this quote.
written as English, sometimes completely substituting with the English words, even if the poem did no longer rhyme. Still, since most books were published in London, one had to conform to a London audience. The same is true for plays, which were first produced in London, if possible. A Scottish opening was not a pleasant option. Even in Parliament, this London audience saw Scots as degenerative and the few Scotsmen in Parliament, for example, were often put down when they used Scots words. One example is

Mr MONTGOMERY, now chief baron of the court of Exchequer, in Scotland, when lord advocate and member of Peebleshire, made a speech on some important question, in the house of commons, where he mentioned his having made a note of something or other with a keeliveyne pen—the members, puzzled to discover the meaning of this outlandish word, and amused with the ridiculousness of it, had their attention altogether diverted from the argument of the speech—The right honourable orator meant a pencil.

Scots were made to feel ashamed of their ‘Scotsness’, and many of them tried to lose it. Though opinion on the matter differs, it is likely that the use of the word ‘Britain’ as a synonym for the newly united Kingdom, and of ‘British’ as the relevant adjective, was first adopted by educated Scots who wanted to forget the uncomfortable distinction between England and Scotland. In the eighteenth century, the polite fashion was to refer to Scotland as ‘North Britain’. Few people mentioned ‘the United Kingdom’—a term that was not officially enthroned until the union with Ireland in 1801. The English, of course, continued to call everything ‘England’ as if nothing had changed.

Davies adds,

The English view of the union must surely be examined. But there one runs head-on once again into the extraordinary way that historical knowledge is classified. In the subject headings of the leading library catalogues . . ., there is no such thing as <ENGLAND – HISTORY – The Union with Scotland>. There is <SCOTLAND – HISTORY – The Union, 1707>; and there is <IRELAND – HISTORY – The Union, 1800>. But even under <GREAT BRITAIN (UF England) – HISTORY>, there are no sub-headings for the Unions either of 1707 or of 1800. The signal is crystal clear. Scotland may have united with England in

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445 Davies, 780-81.
1707; and Ireland may have united with England and Scotland in 1800. But England has never united with anyone.446

As Murison states,

The Union of 1707 was the last act in the story. When the legislature removed to London, English became in effect the official language of the whole country for law, administration, education and church usage, spoken as well as written. Scots became more restricted in use and scope, having lost spiritual status at the Reformation, social status at the Union of the Crowns, and political status with the Parliamentary Union.447

In this world of English dominance, then, it is shocking that a poet would dare try to subvert and write in Scots. Long before Burns, Allan Ramsay wrote poems, songs, pastorals, and even plays in Scots. “In his day, Ramsay was an important figure. He gave encouragement to the arts of poetry, drama, painting and song.”448 Though he was capable of writing in English, Ramsay chose to write much of his work in his native tongue. Going by spelling used in drafts and published works, Ramsay was conscious that his English readers would need some help understanding his language. Several words were changed from “luve” to “love”, “a’” for “all”, “fa’” for “fall”, etc. Ramsay used “oo” instead of “ou” to approximate the sound of such words as “hoose” and “aboot”. He also put apostrophes in place of letters that were missing in English, as in “fu’” for “full”. This made Scots more accessible to English readers.449 However, this did some damage. It allowed people to think that Scots was just a form of English, only written more phonetically. According to Corbett and colleagues, “While these strategies no doubt increased accessibility of Broad Scots for an English-reading market, they also had the unfortunate effect of suggesting that Broad Scots was not a separate language system, but rather a divergent and inferior form of English.”450 When things were published, the spellings were changed for English eyes and decorum, but the rhymes were kept.451 The imagery his writings gave, the spirit of his world, however

446 Davies, 656-57.
447 Murison, 9.
448 Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 1.”
450 Ibid., 12-13.
fantasized, came out very strongly. His plays and poems often were pastoral in nature, having shepherds and shepherdesses as the main characters. This Scotland was not urban, or modern, in the least. Even prominent men of his day were made into pastoral characters, such as Richard Steele and Joseph Addison in “Richy & Edi” (1729). The Gentle Shepherd is set in the past, just after the restoration of Charles II.

Once English became the official language of Great Britain, Scots became less and less popular, and more a language of the common folk in Scotland. The first extant Scots’ works after the 16th century are from Alan Ramsay. He defended his use of Scots in his first volume of Poems (1721) by saying, “That I have exprest my Thought in my native Dailect, was not only Inclination, but the Desire of my best and wisest Friends; . . . good Poetry may be in any Language.” As Mackie writes,

> It was in Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) that vernacular poetry found its great champion. A wig-maker in the Edinburgh Grassmarket, who enjoyed the patronage of men of letters . . ., he not only collected old songs and poems but added verses of his own published in The Tea Table Miscellany (4 vols. 1724-1732) and The Evergreen (1724). He also wrote an eclogue, The Gentle Shepherd (1725), which had a great vogue, and published Thirty Fables in verse.

Ramsay wrote prologues in Scots for English plays, such as The Orphan and Cheats of Scapin, and Macbeth. Kinghorn reminds us that the choice of English over Scots was a relatively new development for Scottish men and women, and, therefore, a topic close at hand for Ramsay to examine. Unfortunately, he had no peer in his experiments with the written language. The bigger names in Scots’ writing would come long after Ramsay was dead.

> It has been well said that Scottish nationalism in the eighteenth century is inevitably associated with antiquarianism.

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453 “Restor’d King CHARLES, and ilka thing’s in Tune” (2.1.31).
454 Martin and Oliver, 1:xviii-xix.
455 Mackie, History, 309.
456 Kinghorn and Law, 3:224.
Ultimately the Union was responsible for making nostalgia the most characteristic emotion in the Scottish national psyche.458

Both of his Scots plays share this sense of nostalgia. The first, a masque entitled “The Nuptials,”459 is a short piece to honor the wedding of a noble family and harkens to the late Renaissance when masques, and the images of Roman and Greek mythology, were popular. The second, and most popular is “The Gentle Shepherd,”460 whose major characters are common folk living near Edinburgh. There are two love stories between shepherds and shepherdesses and a mystery behind one shepherd’s identity. All is revealed and solved when their landlord, Sir William, returns from service to the British Crown. Sir William is bilingual, speaking both proper English and Scots, in part to show class distinction and also out of necessity. He is loved because he is not so unlike his tenants. Of Ramsay’s theatrical works, this is the one which remains in peoples’ hearts and was a hit. As Purves puts it, “real shepherds in Scotland had a hard life in Ramsay’s day and lovesick romantic shepherds were probably thin on the ground. However, a romantic image of pastoral life was fashionable in western Europe at this time.”461 Although it was a hit, it was also a constant work in progress for Ramsay. Throughout the years, he would add songs and turn it into a ballad-opera.

Burns Martin in his biography of Ramsay lists roughly 160 performances of the straight play, in various forms, in Scotland, England, and the United States between the dates 1729 and 1923, “and there were obviously many more”, notes Kinghorn.462 According to Martin, “. . . there seems to have been a tradition, well down to the middle of the nineteenth century, of giving at least one performance during a season, usually toward the end.”463 The only decade between 1730 and 1800 that did not feature regular productions of The Gentle

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459 Kinghorn and Law, 2:94-103.

460 Ibid., 2:205-77.

461 Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 1.”


463 Martin, Allan Ramsay: A Study, 86.
Shepherd was the 1740s, due to political turmoil and unease about the Jacobite cause and of Scotland. Martin also tells us that in the town of Carlops, for instance, The Gentle Shepherd was performed annually on October 15 – Ramsay’s birthday and the date of their annual fair. Other towns also celebrated the play regularly.

The ballad opera form of The Gentle Shepherd was re-written and translated into English, modified into operas, and ridiculed. Andrew Shirrefs wrote his Jamie and Bess (1787) in imitation of The Gentle Shepherd, including the Scots language used. John O’Keeffe’s imitation, Highland Reel ([1790?]), was written in English. A full list of works based on The Gentle Shepherd can be found in Tobin’s Plays by Scots. As Tobin tells us, only Alexander Pitcairne’s The Assembly joined The Gentle Shepherd into multiple-print status. Also, the success of Ramsay’s play made it possible for others to write dramatic works in Scots. The ballad opera Jack and Sue; or, The Fortunate Sailor (1790) by David Morison is one of them.

By 1800, with the success of Burns, The Gentle Shepherd once again was being praised. Then, at the end of the 19th century, came more ridicule, this time from Thomas F. Henderson in 1898. Others followed suit, but the tide has once again changed to view this piece with “a more balanced and historically fair evaluation.”

The Gentle Shepherd paved the way for other Scottish works, such as John Home’s Douglas (1757). Douglas was so controversial that “it was condemned by the Kirk but

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465 Ibid., 85.
466 One of these was written by Cornelius Vanderstop and was reviewed in The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal of 1777. The reviewer states, “The pastoral drama of Allan Ramsay is not likely to derive an increased popularity from being this done, or rather undone, into English.” Cornelius Vanderstop, review of The Gentle Shepherd, The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal 57 (1777): 82, article 44.
467 Andrew Shirrefs, Jamie and Bess or the Laird in Disguise, a Scots Pastoral Comedy: In Imitation of “The Gentle Shepherd” (Aberdeen, 1787).
468 Tobin, Play by Scots, 131n16.
469 Ibid., 132.
470 Ibid., 221; David Morison, “Jack and Sue; or, The Fortunate Sailor,” in Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect (Montrose: David Buchanan, 1790), 117-209.
cheered enthusiastically by its audiences, one member of which was heard to give vent to Scottish drama’s celebrated battle cry, ‘Whaur’s yer Wullie Shakespeare noo?’.” In 1794, it was produced at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal featuring the now-outlawed plaid. Of plays that made it to the stage in the eighteenth century and were written completely in Scots, only Ramsay’s two remain.

In 1726, Englishman Anthony Aston set up shop at Skinner’s Hall in Edinburgh. He managed a company there, but left in April of 1728 with unpaid bills. Later that year, another group calling themselves The Scots Company of Comedians took up residence there, but only lasted six months. In 1733, the year Ramsay founded his Players, only two plays were published in Scotland: John Hunter’s *The Wanderer and Traveller* and Gabriel Nesbit’s *Caledon’s Tears, or Wallace, a tragedy, containing the Calamities of Scotland, from the death of King Alexander III to the betraying and butchering of the faithful Father of his Country, Sir William Wallace of Ellerslie.*

After these plays came more enforcement against theatre in Scotland. In late June of 1737, the Licensing Act was created, which closed all theatres “but the two London houses and theatres in places where the sovereign might temporarily reside.” It was based on a 1713 ‘Act for Reducing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, Sturdy Beggars, and Vagrants’, but was stricter. According to Kinghorn, the 1737 Act was created to prevent attacks of the government on stage. Anyone who tried to perform a play in Edinburgh without a patent or license from the Lord Chamberlain was “liable to punishment as rogues and vagabonds and to be fined £50” (US$11,895.51 in 2005). Under this new law, all new plays had to be submitted to the Lord Chamberlain at least fourteen days before performance. All venues had to be licensed. A theatre manager paid £300 to obtain this license.

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473 Scullion, 123.


475 Scullion, 94.

476 Kinghorn and Law, 4:66n94.

477 According to *MeasuringWorth*, £300 in 1737 was worth £39,207.35 in 2005, which was roughly US$71,373.06 that same year. Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, “Purchasing Power of British
role was not abolished until 1968.478 This was the year after Ramsay opened a theatre at Carrubers Close.479 In response to this, Ramsay wrote several poems and prose works, decrying the Act and supporting the use of drama as a social tool. In his “Epistle to Mr. H. S. at London Novr 1738,”480 Ramsay decries that without theatre, Edinburgh will only have “whore & Bawd, Doctor & pox, / The Tavern & large white ox” (lines 59-60) with which to amuse themselves. He fought for two years to keep his New Theatre open.481 His “Some Few Hints in Defense of Dramatical Entertainments”, appears to have a contemporary note dated 1728,482 and speaks quite heavily of his feelings about banning theatre even before the Act.483 In December of that year, Ramsay wrote a letter to the Earl of Islay, asking to be named the new Master of Revels for Scotland, a post that had been vacant for some time.484 In April, 1739, he and others petitioned the House of Commons for the Lord Chamberlain to grant a license for an Edinburgh theatre. This encouraged a counter-petition and even a counter-counter-petition. He did not win this fight. However, according to Kinghorn, Ramsay was “in the long run, the victor, for it was his own Gentle Shepherd that overcame all save the most incurable prejudice against the stage in Edinburgh.”485 It was the first native,


478 R. Fraser, 428.
479 Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 1.”
480 Kinghorn and Law, 3:247-49.
482 Kinghorn and Law, 6:190n242.
484 Kinghorn and Law, 4:85, 208-209.
485 Ibid., 4:40.
publicly-produced drama since *Ane Satyre* and was from a genre that even Burns did not attempt to write in.

Peter tells us, “In Scotland various pieces of local legislation kept theatres officially illegal until 1767 when the Act of Parliament to allow the building of the New Town was passed.”486 This was not always followed. In 1739 a touring company tried to play “in defiance of the Licensing Act,”487 was fined, and vanished without paying. That same year, a bill to license a playhouse in Edinburgh was submitted by Lord Glenorchy and overruled. In order to get around the law, companies would perform plays after advertised concerts. This started a controversy. In 1741, Thomas Este managed concerts and plays at Taylor’s Hall, legally. He was well respected and his theatre was compared to London. Six years later, the Canongate Concert Hall Opened (later renamed the Theatre Royal in 1767). Several theatres followed: the New Inn Theatre in Aberdeen (1768), the Edinburgh Royal Theatre (1769), Trades Hall, Dundee (which advertised concerts, but also produced plays afterwards) in 1778, an unnamed theatre on Shoe Lane, Aberdeen (1779), a second unnamed theatre on Queen Street, Aberdeen (1780), the Dunlop Street Theatre, Glasgow (1782), The Glover’s Hall, Perth (1786), Dumfries Theatre, Shakespeare Street (1792), the New Theatre in Arbroath (1793), and the Theatre Royal in Aberdeen (1795).488 Town halls also doubled as theatres, as the Dundee Town Hall was “available to touring companies” from the years 1755 to 1767.489 In 1734, “the ‘Edinburgh Company of Comedians’, with which the poet Allan Ramsay was connected, visited Dundee” and performed for the Freemasons at the Town House.490 In 1784, the Dundee “magistrates resolved to stop John Jackson,” and his touring company from Edinburgh, “from performing.” They were finally allowed in 1787.491

486 Peter, 3.
487 Ibid.
488 Theatre names and dates taken from Scullion and Peter.
489 Scullion, 126.
490 Peter, 194.
491 Ibid.
entertainment also continued, with “Penny Geggies” (penny shows) being popular in Glasgow.\textsuperscript{492}

The first purpose-built theatre in Glasgow was a wooden lean-to booth which opened in 1752 against a retaining wall of the Bishop’s Palace in an area called Castle Yard, just by the Cathedral. . . . In 1753 the Reverend George Whitefield, a loud-mouthed and inflammatory preacher, came to Glasgow. . . .he preached outside the Cathedral and incited his mob of supporters to riot, telling them that the Castle Yard Theatre was a house of Satan. The place was destroyed and it was not until April 1764 that a new theatre was erected, this time well away from the Cathedral precinct.\textsuperscript{493}

This wasn’t the only time a theatre was destroyed by religious rioters. In 1780, the Alston Street Theatre fell.\textsuperscript{494} Riots occurred over many different topics. Some actors were so popular that, when Mr. Stanley was removed from the Canongate’s company in 1767, a riot broke out.\textsuperscript{495}

Manager Stephen Kemble was so successful that, on top of controlling the Edinburgh Theatre Royal and the Circus (known as a “minor” house because it was non-theatrical), he also won “the Durham circuit, which included Scarborough, Sunderland, Stockton, and North and South Shields” for his company in 1799.\textsuperscript{496}

By the end of the century there was a well-established network of fit-up stages in smaller towns . . .

. . . the tradition of schools and colleges staging drama continued, spreading out of the academies into the professional and upper classes in the Lowlands. However, this was all resolutely amateur.\textsuperscript{497}

Most professional actors were English. By the end of the century, there was a change so that Scottish actors were accepted more and more. At the other end, Scottish audience members were few. Most people were too poor to go. Women were not encouraged to attend and men preferred to drink or gamble instead of enjoying a play.\textsuperscript{498} The poet, Robert Burns,
“talked of writing a play and did write patriotic prologues for the theatre.” He loved the theatre and would often write in his letters (in English) about Dumfries’ theatrical life.

Some other dates are noteworthy. In 1752, a company of English actors, led by John Lee of Drury Lane, established themselves at the Canongate. “The presence of a company of London actors in Edinburgh would enable the Edinburgh gentry to imitate their refined speech and provide a model for the highest Edinburgh standard.” In 1762, the first woman performed on a Scottish stage. Because of “the ‘45”, companies from Edinburgh were not allowed to perform in Aberdeen in 1746 and 1751.

Not all towns in Scotland were happy to have theatres. From around 1616 the Perth Grammar School doubled up as the St. Anne’s Lane Theatre. At that time, anybody known to have visited a theatre was deprived of church privileges and pupils were berated by the clergy for neglecting their studies in favour of performing with the visiting companies. Even as late as 1780, several people were taken before the Kirk Session for daring to see a play.

The first official performance of a play was not until 1810. As for the capital,

It is possible that one reason the theatre took so long to become accepted in Edinburgh was that plays were written in English and performed by companies from London. As the fashion for things English took some time to evolve, the theatre might have been regarded with some suspicion in an Edinburgh culturally uneasy about the Union of 1707.

From 1760-1820 George III ruled Great Britain. It was a turbulent reign. Much of America’s early history occurs during his reign: the Boston Tea Party (1773), the battles of Lexington & Concord (1775), the Declaration of Independence (1776), the battle of Saratoga (1777), and the battle of Yorktown (1781). 1792 was called “The Year of the Sheep” due to riots in Ross-shire against the on-going Clearances. It was also a time of rebellions in...


499 Scullion, 133.
500 Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 1.”
501 Peter, 174.
502 Ibid., 204.
503 Cameron, 195.
Ireland (1798) and of the French Revolution (1789-1799). It is in response to these rough times in France, that Tam Thrum (pseudonym for William Brown) wrote his Look Before Ye Loup, parts one (1793) and two (1794).

Unlike with Ramsay, very little is known of Brown until after the publication of Part One. This play caught the attention of Lord Advocate Robert Dundas, who, according to David J. Brown, in 1794 placed William Brown in charge of the Edinburgh loyalist paper, the Patriot’s Weekly Chronicle and was paid £150, which in 2005 would have been over US$23,000. Before this he and Thomas Colvill had been printing the Dundee Repository of Political and Miscellaneous Information. Thereafter, he was paid £100 annually. It was sold by Brown and his bookseller partner, G. Miln. The first issue of February 15, 1793 had this note: “The minds of men are now so much agitated by the warmth of political controversy, that no friend to his country can wish to add fuel to the flame. While the influence of political prejudice is so extensive, political intemperance will prevail.” The Repository existed until February 21, 1794 after twenty-six bi-weekly issues. The final issue contained a note from the editor that he regretted taking leave of his subscribers. “As other avocations will now, however, occupy all his attention, the irksome employment of an editor must be declined.” Along with the Patriot’s Weekly Chronicle, he went on to edit the Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle (a merging of the Patriot’s and the Edinburgh Herald) and the Edinburgh Weekly Journal. He died, leaving behind his wife, in 1809. These are the few facts we know about Brown. Unlike Harry and his co-patriots, Brown was not interested in making any big waves. He was only interested in serving his country.

505 D. Brown, 104.
508 After this merging occurred in 1796, he received £50 per year plus a quarter of the newspaper’s shares. B. Harris, “Print and Politics,” 194 n129.
These two plays are political pieces which never made it to the stage, though they were available for general purpose from Mr. Brown, as was advertised in the Glasgow Courier of 24 September, 1794.\textsuperscript{510} One would think at first glance, that if written in Scots, it must be sympathetic to those who seek independence from England, or at least, Englishness. This is actually untrue. Both written during the years of the French Revolution, they have characters who try to lobby for political reform against a few others, namely Charlie Clod, a farmer, who convince them to do otherwise. The most surprising thing is the reform is not about giving Scotland back its independence, but changing the Constitution of all Britain to give its people more rights, like what some people see as going on in France. Yet, Charlie cautions, France is also under a state of servitude to the ideals of freedom and brotherhood and is experiencing greater violence because of the revolutions. Modeling oneself after the French is the “loup” against which Charlie and Brown caution.\textsuperscript{511}

Brown’s and Thurm’s adversaries were the “Friends of the People”. The Friends of the People was the name given to many reforming societies throughout Great Britain. The FOTP had several local chapters and was an easily-recognizable name. Dundee, where Look Before Ye Loup parts one and two were published, had two reforming societies by 1792, the

\textsuperscript{510} B. Harris, “Print and Politics,” 194n118; I used two different copies of this play in order to be able to read it completely, as neither copy was perfect. I cite the following (and will call it “Thrum 1798a”): Tam Thrum [William Brown], Look Before Ye Loup; or, A Healin’ Sa’ for the Crackit Crowns of Country Politicians, by Tam Thrum, an Auld Weaver (Philadelphia, 1798), http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO (accessed August 29, 2006); The copy used for clarification is Tam Thrum [William Brown], Look Before Ye Loup; or, A Healin’ Sa’ for the Crackit Crowns of Country Politicians, by Tam Thrum, an Auld Weaver (Philadelphia, 1798), http://infoweb.newsbank.com (accessed September 27, 2006); Tam Thrum [William Brown], Look Before Ye Loup: Part Second or Anither Box of Healin’ Sa’ for the Crackit Crowns of Country Politicians, by Tam Thrum, an Auld Weaver (Edinburgh, 1794), http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO (accessed October 4, 2006); Tam Thrum [William Brown], Look Before Ye Loup: Part Second or Anither Box of Healin’ Sa’ for the Crackit Crowns of Country Politicians, by Tam Thrum, an Auld Weaver, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1794), http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO (accessed August 29, 2006).

\textsuperscript{511} During and after the date of publication of the second Loup, France went through what is known as the Terror. It was a time when the law was enforced via guillotine and drownings. The Terror would have wide-ranging effects on not only France but Scotland, herself. “Lost forever in the days of Robespierre’s ‘Reign of Terror’ were many of the medieval charters of Glasgow, an untold number of Mary Stuart’s letters and the ‘Original Memoirs’ of James VII and II. The College itself was converted into a prison, the library pillfered, and many of its books sold.” Much of what remained first went to Blairs College near Aberdeen. The archives were then deposited in the National Library of Scotland in 1974 by the Scottish Roman Catholic Hierarchy. Cherry, 113.
year the first play was published. However, neither had the name Society of the Friends of the People.\textsuperscript{512}

It is significant that Brown chose to use the pseudonym “Thrum”, who is a self-described “Auld Weaver”. John Stevenson tells us that weavers played an important role in the local \textit{Friends of the People} groups, “In many of these the textile trades were predominant and weavers may well have provided up to a third of the membership in the smaller communities.”\textsuperscript{513} Brown may not have known the exact numbers, but he did know how influential a weaver’s voice could be amongst the radicals. It is important to note that, though Charlie is speaking against revolution, he is still one of the men. He is a farmer, he speaks in Scots, and he is plain-spoken. He does not embody the typical enemy. His contrasts are in words and thoughts, not actions and outward characteristics. He also proves to us that not all working people wanted a revolution. According to Popkin, once they had their new status, most citizens did not actively participate in politics due to unfamiliarity with their role and the everyday demands of their lives.\textsuperscript{514}

Thrum’s spelling shows to us that he also sees English as the proper language. Like Ramsay, he has apostrophes where missing English letters should be. He is, however, trying to speak to fellow Scots. He uses Scots grammar with many English spelling conventions and corrections, like his more famous playwright predecessor.

Where Ramsay’s plays relied on nostalgia, Thrum’s relied on future-gazing. Ramsay’s plays can easily be summarized. But, without knowing the history (or, rather, current events) behind Thrum’s plays, they make little sense. The language may be “crude”, but Thrum’s intent was to convince and instruct, not entertain. It is unlikely these pamphlets made much of a difference but to their own fictional characters. Bob Harris remarks, “Convinced radicals were probably largely immune to the influence and arguments of loyal

\textsuperscript{512} They were The Dundee Society of the Friends of the Constitution and the Friends of Liberty. Bob Harris, “Political Protests in the Year of Liberty, 1792,” in \textit{Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution} (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 64, 76n104.


propaganda; indeed, it may simply have sharpened their sense of alienation from the existing political system.”  

He continues,

The crudity of some of the cheap loyal pamphlets aimed at the lower orders is striking at this distance. The characterization of radicals in these pamphlets was often patronizing – their radicalism was portrayed as the product of drink and irresponsibility – and their re-conversion to a natural, industrious, responsible and responsive quiescence perfunctory and unconvincing.  

Like that in the 17th century, there was a decline in works in the 19th, which “has been attributed to English cultural dominance in the British Empire’s heyday, during which time the Scottish arts as a whole withdrew into Celtic myth, the kailyard and tartanry.”  

The most popular and prolific Scottish playwright in the beginning of the century, was Joanna Baillie, who Sir Walter Scott admired. This century also saw the “Waverley dramas”, those based on Scott’s novels, which appeared and were in vogue.

Their playwright, William Murray, also wrote original plays, the most famous being his Mary Stuart of 1825. It is also during this century that Scotland’s number of music-halls, and their style of entertainment, grew. This was Scotland’s theatre. Even 20th century Scottish theatrical companies owe a debt to the music-hall.

One other, popular form of entertainment was that found in hippodromes. Equestrian actors “toured the country with troupes of horses and trained dogs, performing a mixture of feats of kill, melodramas and pantomime stories while standing on the backs of horses.

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515 B. Harris, “Print and Politics,” 175-76.
516 Ibid., 185.
517 Mackenney, 970-72.
520 Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 1.”
cantering around a ring.”

Scottish drama grew further in the 20th century. Repertory and little theatres, as well as theatrical clubs, grew in number. In the early 1920’s the Scottish National Theatre Society was formed. In 1922, its stated objectives were, “To develop Scottish national drama through the productions by the Scottish National Players of plays of Scottish life and character’ and ‘To encourage in Scotland a public taste for good drama of any type”, as quoted in Morgan. In the period of the ‘20s through 40s, “hundreds of amateur working-class drama groups were formed, . . .”

Due to Scotland’s geography, with many people living far from large economic centers, Scottish theatre established a need for touring productions. “Theatre companies . . . have resisted the impulse to establish a single national theatre based in Edinburgh or Glasgow, . . . Early in the century the Scottish National Players, the Fife Miner Players and Glasgow Unity Theatre set a precedent.”

The early 1950s saw some Scots-focused plays, though the trend was not a popular one. “The only serious challenge to British cultural, if not political, consensus during this period came from the playwright Robert McLellan’s unswerving devotion to a Scots community of language, and from Duncan Macrae’s Scottishows of 1952-5.”

During the 1970s and 80s, the Scottish Theatre Company, 7:84 Scotland, Borderline and Wildcat followed after what was started by the Scottish National Players, etc. Though Scottish theatre was supported by the government, it was not until the formation of the Scottish Arts Council that support was given evenly. Even then, what was “even” was relative.

Between 1967-8 and 1991-2, the proportion of the Scottish Arts Council’s budget expended on drama plummeted from 33 to 17 percent, because there was no

521 Bell, 158.
522 Mackenney, 971.
523 Ibid.
national structure to compete with the Scottish National Orchestra, Scottish Ballet and the subsidy-consuming Scottish Opera. Some will argue that this is a simplistic view, but the actualities of resource politics are often crude.\footnote{Smith, 288.}

In 1992, a campaign for a National Theatre for Scotland was set by the Advisory Council for the Arts in Scotland.\footnote{Purves, “The Way Forward.”} In 2004, a National Theatre of Scotland was created by the Scottish government.\footnote{Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 2.”}

Drama in Scotland has been dominated by two major concerns. First, there is the Scots’ desire to create an indigenous, native drama, which is matched by a simultaneous desire to assert their independence of English dramatic involvement. This has led Scottish playwrights, directors, designers and performers to either turn inward to their own culture and experience, or to turn outwards to alternative, international models for inspiration.\footnote{Mackenney, 971.}

As Dr. Purves points out, many translations of Moliere’s work has been done in Scots.\footnote{Purves, “The Way Forward”; Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 2.”}

Unfortunately, not all playwrights think writing in Scots is essential to their own identity, in his “Introduction” to the volume Scotland Plays: New Scottish Drama, Philip Howard tells us, “contemporary playwrights are more likely to use the language of, say, David Mamet than a pure, uneroded Scots.”\footnote{Philip Howard, ed., introduction to Scotland Plays: New Scottish Drama (1999; repr., London: Nick Hern Books, 2004), vii.}

Regarding those playwrights who do write in Scots, Purves adds, that, they do not seem to be concerned whether the Scots they write is authentic or not. In the play ‘Bondagers’ by Sue Glover, which is a social commentary on the lives of female agricultural workers in the Borders in the nineteenth century, the language does not correspond to Border speech either in this century or the last.

This inability to know one’s native language and its grammar has increasingly become the focus of many in academia.

Curriculum (SCCC). The object of this project, which was launched in 1996, is to promote the use of Scots and Gaelic in all primary and secondary schools. With a standardized grammar or orthography, however, this cannot happen. Before 1997, the newest edition of a Grammar was from 1921. The Makkar’s Club in 1947 published a “Scots Style Sheet” for standardized spelling. This was a very short piece, so “Recommendations for writers in Scots” was published in Lallans 24.\textsuperscript{533}

Several other developments occurred in the late twentieth century with the idea of maintaining and increasing Scots’ usage. The Scots Language Society (originally the Lallans Society) formed in 1972. Its magazine, Lallans, followed the next year. The Scottish National Dictionary was completed in 1976. More dictionaries came in the following decades. The New Testament in Scots by Professor Lorimer was published in 1983, with Robert McLellan’s “Linmill Stories” collection in 1990.\textsuperscript{534}

Because very few Scottish plays of any importance existed until the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, it became increasingly important to augment that number. James Bridie was a prolific playwright from the early part of the century, penning more than forty plays in half as many years (Morgan). Many writers of the Scottish Literary Renaissance, like Hugh MacDiarmid, also wrote plays. Unfortunately, the history plays often only dealt with Bonnie Prince Charlie, with the notable exception being Robert McLellan’s Jamie the Saxt (1936), The Wallace by Sydney Goodsir Smith, The Bruce by Robert Silver, and John McGrath’s The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil (1973), regarding the Highland Clearances.\textsuperscript{535} The “Kailyard” form of drama involved Lowland folk, and often were sentimental and parochial. Some additions to this genre included using Highland and kitchen life, but the end result was the same. The new style of drama (that about industrial, contemporary, urban, working-class life), brought more dimension to the corpus of Scottish theatre. Some examples include Joe


\textsuperscript{535} Mackenney; Purves, “The Scots Language in Drama Part 2.”
Corrie’s *In the Time o’ Strife* (1927), Robert McLeish’s *The Gorballs Story* (1946), and Ena Lamont Stewart’s *Men Should Weep* (1947). Soon, Scottish theatrical writing entered into the worlds of film (Bill Forsyth’s *Gregory’s Girl*) and television (*City Lights*, *Rab C. Nesbitt*, and *Taggart*).\(^{536}\)

It is in the twentieth century that we come full circle with the first of our plays. In 1938, Tyrone Guthrie put on a ground-breaking production of *Ane Satyre* in the Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland. It reminded

its audiences — and a generation of writers, actors and directors — of the continuing vitality of Scots as a dramatic medium. Guthrie’s production helped consolidate for the drama particular powers of writing in Scots which authors of the Scottish Renaissance movement had developed in other ways for poetry and the novel in the 1920s, and to establish in the theatre a king of unique and naturally political performative space for Scots language and identity. In the theatre, the Scottish voice could be heard, live and direct, and not silent on the page as in poetry, or interpreted and masked by the “standard” speech of a narrator.\(^{537}\)

In 1991, Charlotte Reid compiled a list of plays written in Scots from the year 1900 onwards for the Scottish Language Society and the following year, for Glasgow City Libraries. Compared to the number of extant plays from previous centuries, the growth seen in her 40+ pages can only be described as exponential.\(^{538}\)

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\(^{536}\) Mackenney, 971-72.

\(^{537}\) Cairns Craig and Randall Stevenson, eds., introduction to *Twentieth Century Scottish Drama: An Anthology* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2001), x.

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