

THE TROJAN LEGEND
IN
MEDIEVAL SCOTTISH LITERATURE



EMILY WINGFIELD

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D. S. BREWER

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To my parents

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CR	<i>Chaucer Review</i>
DOST	<i>Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
ELN	<i>English Language Notes</i>
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLQ	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
NIMEV	<i>A New Index of Middle English Verse</i> , ed. Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards (London: British Library, 2005)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PMLA	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
SAC	<i>Studies in the Age of Chaucer</i>
<i>Scotichronicon</i>	<i>Walter Bower, Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English</i> , gen. ed. D.E.R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–98)
<i>Scots Peerage</i>	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. James Balfour Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904–14)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
SLJ	<i>Scottish Literary Journal</i>
SSL	<i>Studies in Scottish Literature</i>
STC	A.W. Pollard et al., ed., <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640</i> , 3 vols, 2nd edn (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
STS	Scottish Text Society
TLS	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
Wing	<i>Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in other Countries, 1641–1700</i> , ed. Donald Wing,

John J. Morrison and Carolyn Nelson, 4 vols, 3rd edn
(New York: Modern Language Association of America,
1982–88).

All citations of Chaucer are from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) with the exception of *Troilus and Criseyde*. Quotations of this text are taken instead from *Troilus and Criseyde: 'The Book of Troilus' by Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. B.A. Windeatt, paperback edn (London and New York: Longman, 1990).

References to the Bible are to the Vulgate.

I retain yogh (ȝ) and thorn (þ) in quotations but render ß as 'ss'.

Introduction

In Troy there lies the scene¹

Of Hisarlik in north-west Turkey, the reputed site of Troy, Michael Wood writes, “The first thing you notice is that the ruins exist at several levels and that there is not, as it were, one single Troy.”² The historical city on which the legend was based was most probably only ever a relatively small city with one thousand or so inhabitants, but the legend itself has far outstripped these humble origins. It has proved to be one of the most enduring and universal stories of Western civilization, and has inspired writers from Homer and Virgil, Chaucer and Shakespeare, to Dryden, Pope, Byron and Joyce, as well as the makers of epic Hollywood films, such as *Helen of Troy* (1955), *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963) and *Troy* (2004).³

As with the city there is, however, no single legend of Troy. A cursory survey of classical and medieval narratives reveals that the legend was both wide-ranging and capacious, encompassing a diverse temporal and geographic range from Jason’s initial search for the Golden Fleece to Aeneas’ North African and Mediterranean wanderings. Indeed, we might think of the legend of Troy as a set of Russian dolls – a macro-narrative containing within it micro-narrative histories of several generations of infamous characters such as Jason and Medea, Troilus and Criseyde, and Dido and Aeneas, characters whose stories can exist both in isolation and as parts of a larger whole.

We might also describe the Trojan legend as a palimpsest, for, as we shall see throughout this book, its history is one of continual re-reading and re-writing by successive generations of readers, authors, compilers and scribes.⁴ Thus, the legend of Troy has its formal literary origins in Homer’s epic narratives, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (c. 700 BC to 625 BC), which were themselves based on a lengthy

¹ William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. David Bevington, Arden Shakespeare, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1998), prologue, line 1.

² Michael Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War*, revised paperback edn (London: BBC Books, 2005), p. 18.

³ The Trojan legend is also a popular subject for historical fiction. A notable recent example is the winner of the 2012 Orange Prize, Madeline Miller’s *The Song of Achilles* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

⁴ Another way to conceive of the Trojan legend is as a vessel containing several narratives, or as a tapestry weaving together different strands of the same narrative fragment. Indeed, Jack Lindsay notes that the name ‘Troy’ links etymologically with a ‘whole set of Latin words with the basic meaning of enclosing, surrounding, winding about, which have the root *troare*’: *Helen of Troy: Woman and Goddess* (London: Constable, 1974), p. 109.

oral tradition.⁵ The former is set during the tenth year of the Trojan War and focuses on a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles; the latter recounts Ulysses' arduous journey back to Ithaca after Troy's destruction. In 19 BC, Virgil used Homer's epics as a model for his *Aeneid*, which charts the career of the Trojan refugee Aeneas as he flees from the destruction of Troy and journeys to fulfill his destiny in Italy.⁶ Ovid in turn revised parts of all three narratives in his *Heroides* (2 BC to AD 2);⁷ his lyrical and elegiac collection of letters re-presents the Trojan War from the perspective of its abandoned and marginalised female characters.⁸

Alongside these classical narratives of Troy,⁹ there also existed a more 'historical' tradition that burgeoned during the Middle Ages.¹⁰ The earliest known texts in this tradition are the fourth-century *Ephemeris de historia belli Troiani* by Dictys Cretensis and the sixth-century *De Excidio Troiae historia* by Dares Phrygius.¹¹ These short texts purport to be eyewitness accounts of the Trojan War and were accepted as such by their medieval readers. In the twelfth century (c. 1160–65), the terse accounts of Dares and Dictys were transformed into a lengthy and

⁵ Homer, *The Iliad*, originally trans. E.V. Rieu, rev. Peter Jones with D.C.H. Rieu (London: Penguin, 2003); Homer, *The Odyssey*, originally trans. E.V. Rieu, rev. Peter Jones with D.C.H. Rieu (London: Penguin, 2003).

⁶ Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. David West, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 2003).

⁷ Ovid also focused on the Trojan War in books 12 and 13 of the *Metamorphoses*. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. and trans. Mary M. Innes (London: Penguin, 1955).

⁸ Ovid, *Heroides*, trans. Harold Isbell, 2nd edn (London: Penguin, 2004). The complicated intertextual relations between Homer, Virgil and Ovid have been the subject of scholarly interest. See, for instance: Alden Smith, *Poetic Allusion and Poetic Embrace in Ovid and Virgil* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Efrossini Spentzou, *Readers and Writers in Ovid's Heroides: Transgressions of Genre and Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Lauriel Fulkerson, *The Ovidian Heroine as Author: Reading, Writing, and Community in the Heroides* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Joseph Farrell, 'The Virgilian intertext', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 222–38.

⁹ A great deal of Greek drama also dealt with episodes and characters from the Trojan War. For a list of relevant Greek tragedies see Diane P. Thompson, *The Trojan War: Literature and Legends from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Jefferson NC and London: McFarland & Company, 2004), p. 89. In addition, Statius left behind at his death his unfinished *Achilleid*. This was intended to narrate the entire life of Achilles but it only reached the beginning of the Trojan War. See Statius, *Thebaid, Books 8–12: Achilleid*, ed. and trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library, 498 (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Homer's original Greek text was unavailable in the medieval West but its narrative was known via a Latin redaction known as the *Ilias Latina*. See Baebii Italici *Ilias Latina*, ed. and trans. [into Italian] Marco Scaffai (Bologna: Pàtron, 1982) and L.D. Reynolds et al., ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 191–4.

¹¹ For a translation of these texts see R.M. Frazer, ed. and trans., *The Trojan War* (Bloomington IN and London: Indiana University Press, 1966). For the Latin texts: *Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia*, ed. Ferdinand Meister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873); *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridiis Belli Troiani libri*, ed. Werner Eisenhut (Leipzig: Teubner, 1958).

immensely popular romance, the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Saint-Maure,¹² which was in turn adapted and translated into Latin in 1287 by the Sicilian judge and poet, Guido delle Colonne, in the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.¹³ Guido makes no mention of his source, however, and instead claims to be translating directly from the original reporters, Dares and Dictys. He writes in prose and omits Benoît's love stories and romance marvels in an attempt to establish his text as an authoritative history in clear contrast to the 'fanciful' inventions of Homer, Virgil and Ovid.

Guido's *Historia* has been described as the 'other book of Troy' by James Simpson: in contrast to the 'divine comedy' and imperialist narrative of Virgil's *Aeneid*, this narrative – which spans the lengthy period from Jason's initial search for the Golden Fleece and the destruction of Old Troy to the destruction of Priam's Troy and doomed return of the Greeks to their homeland – is a tragic and strongly exemplary story of civil destruction and implosion that articulates the very antithesis of empire.¹⁴ Readily accepted by its medieval audience as history, it was one of the most popular texts in medieval Europe. Multiple translations were produced in several languages; at least eight printed editions appeared between 1473 and 1494; and as many as 150 manuscripts of the original Latin are also still extant. Benoît's *Roman* and Dares' *Historia* were similarly copied across Europe, and adapted and translated into a variety of European languages.¹⁵ For instance, three Middle English translations of Guido's *Historia*

¹² Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. Léopold Constans, 6 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904–12). For further information on this text and the literary tradition in which it was written see Barbara Nolan, *Chaucer and the Tradition of the Roman Antique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and Christopher Baswell, 'Marvels of translation and crises of transition in the romances of Antiquity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 29–44.

¹³ Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936); *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, trans. Mary E. Meek (Bloomington IN and London: Indiana University Press, 1974).

¹⁴ James Simpson, 'The Other Book of Troy: Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England', *Speculum*, 73:2 (1998), 397–423.

¹⁵ There is not space within the bounds of this study to discuss the many medieval European versions of the Trojan legend in detail. For a summary see Władysław Witalisz, *The Trojan Mirror: Middle English Narratives of Troy as Books of Princely Advice*, *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature*, 29 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 41–3 and further: Emmanuèle Baumgartner, *De l'histoire de Troie au livre du Graal: le temps, le récit (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994); Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner, ed., *Entre Fiction et histoire: Troie et Rome au moyen âge* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997); Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge*, *Romanica Helvetica*, 114 (Basel: Francke, 1996); Horst Brunner, ed., *Die deutsche Trojaliteratur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Materialien und Untersuchungen*, *Wissensliteratur Im Mittelalter*, 3 (Weisbaden: Reichert, 1990); Egidio Gorra, ed., *Testi inediti di storia trojana preceduti di una studio sulla leggenda trojana in Italia* (Torino: C. Triverio, 1887); Agapito Rey and Antonio G. Solalinde, ed., *Ensayo de una bibliografía de las leyendas troyanas en España* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1942); Alphonse Bayot, *La Légende de Troie à la cour de Bourgogne*

were produced in the second half of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century: the anonymous *Laud Troy Book*;¹⁶ the unrhymed alliterative *Destruction of Troy*,¹⁷ written in Lancashire by one Master John Clerk of Whalley;¹⁸ and John Lydgate's *Troy Book*,¹⁹ which also draws upon Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1382–6).²⁰ Further insular medieval Troy narratives include the tenth-century Irish *Togail Troí*, based on Dares;²¹ Joseph of Exeter's Latin recension of Dares, known as the *Ylias* or *De bello Troiano* (1190);²² the early fourteenth-century Welsh *Ystorya Dared* (1300–25) also based on Dares;²³ the *Seege* or *Batyale* of

(Bruges: de Plancke, 1908); Wilma Keesman, 'Troje in de middeleeuwse literatuur: Antiek verleden in dienst van de eigen tijd', *Literatuur: Tijdschrift over Nederlandse letterkunde*, 4 (1987), 257–65. For the Old Norse *Trójumanna saga* (based on Dares and the *Ilias Latina*) see Jonna Louis-Jenson, ed., *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius version*, Editiones Arnarnagæanæ, (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963) and Stefanie Würth, 'The Common Transmission of *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta Sögur*', in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A.N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 297–327.

¹⁶ J. Ernst Wülfing, ed., *The Laud Troy Book*, 2 parts, EETS (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd, 1902).

¹⁷ George A. Panton and David Donaldson, ed., *The 'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy*, 2 parts, EETS (London: N. Trübner, 1869–74).

¹⁸ Thorlac Turville-Petre, 'The Author of the *Destruction of Troy*', *Medium Aevum*, 57 (1988), 264–9.

¹⁹ Henry Bergen, ed., *Lydgate's Troy Book*, 4 vols, EETS (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906–35).

²⁰ Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*: 'The Book of Troilus' by Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. B.A. Windeatt, paperback edn (London and New York: Longman, 1990). Chaucer's poem is a translation and adaptation of Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* (c. 1335–41), itself loosely based on Benoît's *Roman*. See R.K. Gordon, ed. and trans., *The Story of Troilus: as told by Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, Giovanni Boccaccio, Geoffrey Chaucer, Robert Henryson (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

²¹ See Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, 'Togail Troí: An Example of Translating and Editing in Medieval Ireland', *Studia Hibernica*, 31 (2000/2001), 71–85; Brent Miles, 'Togail Troí: the Irish Destruction of Troy on the Cusp of the Renaissance', in *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Shepard and Stephen D. Powell (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2004), pp. 81–96; Leslie Diane-Myrick, *From the De excidio Troiae historia to the Togail Troí: Literary Cultural Synthesis in a Medieval Irish Adaptation of Dares' Troy Tale* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1993). For Scottish manuscript witnesses of *Togail Troí* see Donald Mackinnon, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. Brown, 1912), pp. 112, 195, 197, 200; John Mackechnie, *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in Selected Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1973), i, 145–6, 156–7.

²² See Frigii Daretis *Ylias: De bello Troiano*, in *Werke und Briefe von Joseph Iscanus*, ed. Ludwig Gomph (Leiden: Brill, 1970); *Daretis Phrygii Ilias*, trans. A.G. Rigg (Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 2005). Accessible via <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/medieval/web-content/ylias/index.html> [accessed 23 May 2012].

²³ See Helen Fulton, 'The Medieval Welsh *Ystorya Dared* and the *Brut* Tradition of British

Troye (1300–50), based on Dares, Benoît and the *Excidium Troiae*;²⁴ the early to mid-fifteenth-century prose *Sege of Troy*, derived from Lydgate's *Troy Book*;²⁵ and Caxton's Troy narratives: *The Recuyell of The Historyes of Troye* (translated c. 1468/9–71, published 1473/4; STC 15375),²⁶ of note for being first printed book in English;²⁷ *The History of Jason* (1477; STC 15383);²⁸ Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (1483; STC 5094); and the *Eneydos* (1490; STC 24796).²⁹ Caxton's late fifteenth-century/early sixteenth-century Troy publications were in turn complemented by Pynson's 1513 *editio princeps* of Lydgate's *Troy Book* (STC 5579), itself followed by Thomas Marsh's 1555 edition (STC 5580).

In addition to these literary treatments of Troy, the Trojan legend also proved immensely popular as a subject in visual art, especially in tapestries owned by the noble families of medieval and early modern Europe.³⁰ Prominent owners include Louis, Duke of Anjou, and his brother, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; Charles VI of France and his brother Louis, Duke of Orléans; Charles the Bold,

History', in *The Medieval Chronicle VII*, ed. Juliana Dresvina and Nicholas Sparks (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), pp. 137–50.

²⁴ *The Sege or Batayle of Troye: A Middle English Metrical Romance*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, EETS (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927). The *Excidium Troiae* is an anonymous sixth-century Latin text. It comprises a summary of the *Aeneid* in chronological order and a history of the Trojan War from the birth of Achilles' mother to the building of the Trojan horse. The narrative concludes with a brief account of the foundation of Rome. It does not derive from Dares or Dictys but is instead thought to be based upon an earlier now-lost Latin text. See *Excidium Troiae*, ed. Elmer Bagby Atwood and Virgil K. Whitaker (Cambridge MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1944); Elmer Bagby Atwood, 'The Rawlinson *Excidium Troie* – A Study of Source Problems in Mediaeval Troy Literature', *Speculum*, 9:4 (1934), 379–404; Elmer Bagby Atwood, 'The *Excidium Troie* and Medieval Troy Literature', *Modern Philology*, 35:2 (1937), 115–28.

²⁵ Nathaniel E. Griffin, ed., 'The Sege of Troy', *PMLA*, 22:1 (1907), 157–200.

²⁶ Caxton's translation was based on *Le Recueil des histoires de Troye* (c. 1464) by Raoul Lefèvre, which Caxton himself printed in 1474. Lefèvre's text was completed for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, a known bibliophile with pronounced interest in the Trojan legend. See Bayot, *La légende de Troie à la cour de Bourgogne*; Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *La librairie de Philippe le Bon. Exposition organisée à l'occasion du 500e anniversaire de la mort du duc. (Bibliothèque Albert Ier, Bruxelles, 9 septembre–12 novembre 1967)* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale, 1967); Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la Librairie de Philippe le Bon (1420)* (Brussels: Kiessling et cie, 1906), no. 105.

²⁷ *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, ed. H.O. Sommer, 2 vols (London: David Nutt, 1894).

²⁸ This is an English translation of Lefèvre's *L'Histoire de Jason* (c. 1460). See *The History of Jason*, ed. John James Munro, EETS (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1913).

²⁹ Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490), ed. W.T. Culley and F.J. Furnivall, EETS (London: Trübner, 1890). The source of Caxton's translation is a French version of an Italian paraphrase of parts of the *Aeneid* by Virgil and parts of the *De casibus virorum illustrium* by Giovanni Boccaccio.

³⁰ William H. Forsyth, 'The Trojan War in Medieval Tapestries', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (1955), 76–84; Margaret R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1963); Scot McKendrick, 'The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54 (1991), 43–83.

also Duke of Burgundy; and Charles VIII of France. In England, there is record of Richard II owning five pieces of Arras detailing the 'History of the Greeks and Trojans' and of Henry V owning five pieces of Arras illustrating the 'History of Hector of Troy'. John, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France acquired a tapestry of the 'History of Queen Penthesilea', and several pieces of Arras on the 'Story of Troy' belonged to John Holland, Duke of Exeter. In the 1480s, Edward IV had two pieces of Arras recording the 'Story of Paris and Helen' sent to Greenwich and Coldharbour for the visit from July to September of his sister, Margaret of York, and her husband, Charles the Bold, whilst in 1488, Henry VII acquired eleven 'clothes of Arras' of the 'History of Troy'. Finally, pieces of the 'Trojan War' from the English royal collection were hung in Calais in June 1500 for the meeting between Henry VII and Philip the Fair, and in 1501 for the wedding festivities of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon, whilst Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, left three tapestries of the 'History of Paris and Helen' to St John's College, Cambridge in 1509.

It is not difficult to account for the popularity of the Trojan legend in medieval Europe. Beginning with imperial Rome, numerous European states and rulers traced their origins to Troy and its refugees in order to achieve and consolidate their own power and prestige.³¹ This is epitomised in the second book of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, where Guido traces the foundation of Britain, France, Venice, Sicily, Naples, and Calabria to the Trojan refugees Brutus, Francus, Antenor, Sicanus, Aeneas and Diomedes.³²

The Trojan origins of Britain were first documented in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*,³³ and subsequently most fully articulated in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1136), which traces the history of Britain from its supposed foundation by Brutus, through the reign of King Arthur, to the coming of the Saxons at the end of Cadwallar's reign some two thousand years later.³⁴ The story of Brutus' career and foundation of Britain is modelled on Virgil's *Aeneid*. Indeed, Brutus is himself the great-grandson of Aeneas. After being exiled from Italy on account of the accidental patricide of his father, Brutus journeyed and engaged in successive battles throughout Europe and Africa, before eventually arriving on the island of Albion. He then expelled the island's native giants and named the island Britain after himself and called his

³¹ See Richard Waswo, 'The History that Literature Makes', *New Literary History*, 19:3 (1988), 541–64; Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 92–3.

³² Guido, *Historia*, trans. Meek, p. 10.

³³ The *Historia Brittonum* was traditionally attributed to Nennius but it is now believed to be a compilation of various sources. See David N. Dumville, 'Nennius and the *Historia Brittonum*', *Studia Celtica*, 10/11 (1975–76), 78–95.

³⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright, *Arthurian Studies*, 69 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007). Citations from this edition are in the form book no.: chapter no.: line number.

followers Britons' (I.21.459–60). He founded a capital on the edge of the Thames (London), 'which he called New Troy' (I.22.493–4), and upon his death, divided the island up amongst his three sons:

Locrinus, the first-born, received the central part of the island, afterwards called Loegria after him; Kamber received the region across the river Severn, now known as Wales [...]; Albanactus, the youngest, received the region known today as Scotland, which he named Albania after himself. (II.23.5–10)

Like Guido's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britannie* proved to be immensely popular; it survives in over 200 manuscripts, often alongside the Trojan histories of Dares or Guido, and numerous translations, adaptations and paraphrases were prepared in Latin and vernacular prose and verse.³⁵ The *Historia* was also incorporated into the works of subsequent Latin and vernacular chronicles,³⁶ known as the *Brut* chronicles, where it was in turn prefaced by an additional origin legend. In the *Historia*, Geoffrey wrote that, prior to Brutus' arrival, the island of Albion 'had no inhabitants save for a few giants' (I.21.453–4). In the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, a new beginning was added to this chronicle narrative, which Anke Bernau summarises thus:³⁷

The story opens in a distant land (either Syria or Greece): a noble and valiant king and his beautiful wife have a number of daughters, the eldest of which is called Albina. The number of daughters varies. The parents are named in the Syrian version as King Diodicias and his wife Labana, but remain unnamed in the Greek version. When the daughters reach a marriageable age, the king weds them to his subject kings, which they resent as they feel this compromises their status. Albina suggests that they should kill their husbands; their treachery is uncovered (before the murders in the Greek version, where their plan is revealed by the youngest sister; or, in the Syrian version, after the murders have been committed), and the sisters are set out to sea in a boat. After drifting on the ocean, they eventually arrive at an island, which Albina claims in her own name, as Albion. The island is beautiful and fertile as well as completely uninhabited and the sisters, living happily enough in caves, begin to miss male company. The devil (or *incubus*) takes advantage of this and begets giants upon the women, who rule Albion until the arrival of Brutus and his company.

In its earliest versions, the Albina story circulated as an Anglo-Norman poem entitled *Des grantz geanz*; it was subsequently translated into Latin (*De origine gigantum*), Middle English, and Welsh, and came to stand as a preface or prologue to Geoffrey's *Historia* and the Middle English prose *Brut*.³⁸ As we shall see, this

³⁵ See Julia Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth IV: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991).

³⁶ See Laura Keller, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers 1300–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), chapter 4.

³⁷ Anke Bernau, 'Beginning with Albina: Remembering the Nation', *Exemplaria*, 21:3 (2009), 247–73 (p. 248).

³⁸ Lesley Johnson, 'Return to Albion', *Arthurian Literature*, 13, (1995), 19–40; James P. Carley

female origin legend neatly complements both the role played by the Egyptian princess, Scota, in the Scottish origin legend and also the prominent role of female characters in Scottish treatments of the Trojan legend. In addition, it creates a tension at the heart of the Brutus myth 'between the image on the one hand of Brutus and his men as peaceful settlers and, on the other, of them as forceful colonisers'.³⁹ The same tension is apparent in the Scottish origin legends.

Although Geoffrey's exact intentions in writing the *Historia* are not entirely clear,⁴⁰ Francis Ingledew's proposal that the text provided Britain's new Norman occupants with a much-needed historical identity goes some way towards accounting for its initial popularity.⁴¹ In the period surrounding Henry II's accession to the disputed English throne in 1154, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* was quickly and actively appropriated in order to secure the Angevin claim to the throne and assert the dynasty's power and longevity. Wace's Anglo-Norman translation of Geoffrey's *Historia*, the *Roman de Brut* (c. 1155), is thus thought to have been encouraged, if not actually commissioned, by Henry II, and according to Lazamon, who later (c. 1190) translated Wace's version into English, a copy of the text was presented to Queen Eleanor.⁴² Henry II also

and Julia Crick, 'Constructing Albion's Past: An Annotated Edition of *De Origine Gigantum*', *Arthurian Literature*, 13, (1995), 41–114; Tamar Drukker, 'Thirty-Three Murderous Sisters: A Pre-Trojan Foundation Myth in the Middle English Prose *Brut* Chronicle', *RES* (2003), 449–63; Anke Bernau, 'Myths of Origin and the Struggle Over Nationhood in Medieval and Early Modern England', in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 106–18.

³⁹ Anke Bernau, 'Myths of origin', p. 108.

⁴⁰ Some have argued that the text is intended to serve the Welsh: John Gillingham, 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', in his *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 19–39; J.C. Crick, 'The British Past and the Welsh Future: Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthur of Britain', *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 60–75. For discussion of the text's political ambivalence see Lesley Johnson, 'Etymologies, Genealogies, and Nationalities (Again)', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995), pp. 125–36. And for the text as deliberate parody see Valerie J. Flint, 'The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Parody and its Purpose. A Suggestion', *Speculum*, 54 (1979), 447–68.

⁴¹ Francis Ingledew, 'The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Speculum*, 69:3 (1994), 665–704. On the Norman myth more widely see Ralph H.C. Davies, *The Normans and their Myth* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976). Ingledew's view is echoed in James Noble, 'Patronage, Politics, and the Figure of Arthur in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Lazamon', in *The Arthurian Yearbook*, II, ed. Keith Busby (New York and London: Garland, 1992), pp. 159–78 (pp. 161–2); Martin Schichtman and Laura Finke, 'Profiting from the Past: History as Symbolic Culture in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Arthurian Literature*, 12 (1993), 1–35; Kellie Robertson, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Insular Historiography', *Arthuriana*, 8:4 (1998), 42–57; Jane Zatta, 'Translating the *Historia*: The Ideological Transformation of the *Historia regum Britannie* in Twelfth-Century Vernacular Chronicles', *Arthuriana*, 8:4 (1998), 148–61.

⁴² Diana B. Tyson argues for the direct literary patronage of Henry II and Eleanor of

commissioned Wace's unfinished *Roman de Rou* (c. 1160–74) – which was intended to document the history of the Norman dukes from their arrival in northern France – and Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* (c. 1174), which provided a similarly glorious Norman history for the new king of England. As already noted, Benoît produced his own version of the Trojan legend, the *Roman de Troie*, at around the same time, and this was complemented by the *Roman de Thèbes* (c. 1150–5) and the *Roman d'Eneas* (c. 1156). Together with Wace's *Brut* and the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, these *Romans Antiques* have been seen as forming 'partie d'un ensemble cohérent consacré à la préhistoire des Plantagenêts, à l'instigation de Henri II'.⁴³

From its first appearance in insular Latin, Anglo-Norman and English literature, therefore, the Trojan legend served a political purpose and was drawn upon increasingly throughout the medieval and early modern periods to assert the legitimacy and authority of successive English dynasties.⁴⁴ Of particular interest to this study is the use of the Trojan legend by Edward I and subsequent English monarchs to support English rule and ownership of Scotland. During the Anglo-Scots Wars of Independence and subsequent Anglo-Scottish diplomatic exchange, the English-Trojan origin myth was seized upon by Edward I and II to bolster their claims to lordship and ownership of Scotland. To counteract this, and instead prove Scotland's independence and sovereignty, Scottish historians developed their own already nascent origin myth:⁴⁵

In summary (it has many versions and recensions), Gathelos [*sic*],⁴⁶ an Athenian prince, leaves his homeland and travels to Egypt; there he marries an Egyptian

Aquitaine: 'Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Romania*, 100 (1979), 180–222. Karen Broadhurst has, however, more recently argued that the role of Henry and Eleanor as patrons of literature has been overstated: 'Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patrons of Literature in French?', *Viator*, 27 (1997), 53–84.

⁴³ Aimé Petit, *Naissances du roman: les techniques littéraires dans les romans antiques du XIIe siècle*, 2 vols, (Paris, 1985), ii, 846. See also Michel Zink, 'Une mutation de la conscience littéraire: le langage romanesque à travers des exemples français du XIIe siècle', *Cahiers de la civilisation médiévale*, 24 (1981), 3–27, but compare, for a contrasting argument, Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 124–8.

⁴⁴ For further discussion see Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative', *History and Theory*, 22:1 (1983), 43–53 (pp. 47–8); Gabriel Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375–90; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

⁴⁵ The Irish origins of the Gaythelos-Scota legend are documented in detail in Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), esp. pp. 12, 63–8.

⁴⁶ The Scottish founder's name can be spelt several ways. I adopt 'Gaythelos', the form most commonly used, throughout this study.

princess, Scots. This Scots is the daughter of Moses' pharaoh, and she and Gathelos are forced to leave Egypt when Pharaoh drowns in the Red Sea. They travel to Spain and settle, unusually deriving their name from their maternal founder. From Spain, there are various waves of invasion and settlement into Ireland; the leader of one of these, Simón Brecc, brings the Stone of Scone and places it at Tara.⁴⁷ Sometime later, a descendant of these invaders, Eochaid Rothay, settles in the Hebrides, and gives his name to Rothesay, and finally one of his descendants, Fergus, son of Feredach or Ferchar, invades the mainland, accompanied by the Stone of Scone, and becomes the first king of the Scots in Scotland. Henceforth there is a line of kings, which is broken once, when the Scots are cast out of Scotland by the Britons. The Scots choose exile rather than conquest, and return in triumph, led by another Fergus, son of Erc, some years later. This reclaiming of their lands reinforces their right to them, and their possession remains unbroken thereafter.⁴⁸

Gaythelos and Scots provided the Scots with a founding king *and* queen descended from two of the most illustrious classical and biblical civilisations. The presentation of Gaythelos as a figure analogous to Moses in turn implied that the Scots were themselves God's chosen people, a belief supported by the nation's longevity and unbroken line of kings. The presence of two rulers, male and female, also explained the division of the Scots into Highlanders and Lowlanders.⁴⁹ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the appeal to an originally Irish origin legend 'enabled the Scots to derive their origins from a parent race as old as the Trojan remnant'.⁵⁰ That parent race was, moreover, most crucially victorious against the ancestors of the English in the Trojan War.

An Appeal to History

The demise in 1286 of the Scottish king, Alexander III, was followed in 1290 by the death of his granddaughter and only heir, Margaret Maid of Norway (1282/3–90). The Scottish throne was thus left vacant and more than twelve competitors disputed their claim to it. In order to resolve the succession debate (known as the 'Great

⁴⁷ The Stone of Scone is the Coronation Stone (/Stone of Destiny) removed from Scotland by Edward I in 1296. Alternative legends record that Gaythelos and/or Scots took the stone with them from Egypt to Spain and thence to Scotland. See *Scotichronicon*, book I, chapter 28, lines 16–17; the 'Scottish Poem' in the *Liber Extravagans* (supplementary book) appended to the *Scotichronicon* (*Scotichronicon*, ix, 54–127, lines 23–58); the fourteenth-century French poem edited and discussed in M. Dominica Legge, 'La Piere D'Escocce', *Scottish Historical Review*, 38 (1959), 109–13; and Baldred Bisset's *Processus* (*Scotichronicon*, vi, 183; book XI, chapter 62, lines 1–6).

⁴⁸ Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan, 'Introduction: Tartan Arthur?', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. Purdie and Royan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 1–7 (p. 4).

⁴⁹ Marjorie Drexler, 'Fluid Prejudice: Scottish Origin Myths in the Later Middle Ages', in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Joel Rosenthal and Colin Richmond (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1987), pp. 60–76 (p. 65).

⁵⁰ R. James Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Matter in Medieval Scotland* (Lincoln NA and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p. 74.

Cause'), Scottish and English magnates, together with Edward I of England, met at Norham in May 1291. Edward demanded that the case be heard before him as overlord of Scotland and to support his claim to authority he had letters of enquiry sent to monasteries throughout England for any information from chronicles and records 'touching in any way our realm and the rule of Scotland'.⁵¹ This 'Appeal to History' – or 'War of Historiography'⁵² – continued throughout, and indeed beyond, the subsequent Wars of Independence between Scotland and England,⁵³ with both sides drawing upon historiographical material to bolster their political arguments.⁵⁴

In June 1299, Pope Boniface VIII sent a powerful rebuke to Edward I, known as *Scimus fili*, in which the English were requested to send records of the rights they claimed in Scotland.⁵⁵ After discussing the matter in the Lincoln parliament of 1301, two separate replies were sent from the English barons and the king himself. Edward's response aimed to provide a full justification for the English claim over Scotland, and began, following in the well-trodden footsteps of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, by tracing English origins and overlordship of Scotland to Brutus, the great-grandson of Aeneas:

Thus, in the days of Eli and Samuel the prophet, after the destruction of the city of Troy, a certain valiant and illustrious man of the Trojan race called Brutus, landed with many noble Trojans, upon a certain island called, at that time, Albion. It was then inhabited by giants, and after he had defeated and slain them, by his might and that of his followers, he called it, after his own name, Britain, and his people Britons, and built a city which he called Trinovant, now known as London.

⁵¹ 'regnum nostrum et regimen Scocie qualitercumque contingencia': Grant G. Simpson and E.L.G. Stones, ed., *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), i, 139.

⁵² This is James Goldstein's label for the period's ideological conflict. See *The Matter of Scotland*, *passim*. Andy King and Michael A. Penman similarly state that the 'war of arms was underwritten by an ongoing war of words both through diplomacy – in Edinburgh, London, Paris and Rome/Avignon – and in official "national" and popular historiographies, through chronicle, verse and ballad': 'Introduction: Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Fourteenth Century – An Overview of Recent Research', in *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*, ed. Andy King and Michael A. Penman (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 1–13 (pp. 2–3).

⁵³ There is a wealth of literature on the Anglo-Scottish Wars of Independence too numerous to enumerate in full here. For a succinct overview of the conflict see Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214–1371*, *The New Edinburgh History of Scotland*, 4 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

⁵⁴ E.L.G. Stones, 'The Records of the "Great Cause" of 1291–92', *SHR*, 35 (1956), 89–109; E.L.G. Stones, 'The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations between 1291 and 1401: Part 1', *Archives*, 9 (1969), 11–21, 80–83; R.A. Griffiths, 'Edward I, Scotland and the Chronicles of English Religious Houses', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 6:4 (1979), 191–9. It is interesting to note that in 1352 Ranulf Higden (d. 1364), author of the *Polychronicon*, was summoned by Edward III to appear at court with his chronicles, perhaps again in relation to English claims to Scotland. See J.G. Edwards, 'Ranulf Monk of Chester', *English Historical Review*, 47 (1932), 94.

⁵⁵ Printed in E.L.G. Stones, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents* (London: Nelson, 1965; reprinted Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 81–7.

Afterwards he divided his realm among his three sons, that is he gave to his first born son, Locrine, that part of Britain now called England, to the second, Albanact, that part then known as Albany [...], but now as Scotland, and to Camber, his youngest son, the part [...] now called Wales, *the royal dignity being reserved for Locrine, the eldest*. Two years after the death of Brutus there landed in Albany a certain king of the Huns, called Humber, and he slew Albanact, the brother of Locrine. Hearing this, Locrine, the king of the Britons, pursued him, and he fled and was drowned in the river which from his name is called Humber, and *thus Albany reverted to Locrine*.⁵⁶

In the original *Historia*, Geoffrey does not state whether Locrinus and his descendants ruled Albany after Albanactus' death or whether its own sovereignty was maintained. By drawing on contemporary feudal practice to make the two significant additions to the source text italicised in the above quotation, Edward's letter leaves the matter in no doubt. The initial addition implies that Brutus never intended to divide his kingdom equally amongst his three sons; the second provides a 'clear precedent for the English assumption of authority over Scotland at the death of a Scottish ruler – the exact maneuver that Edward himself was trying to accomplish'.⁵⁷

The Scots ambassadors at the Papal Curia were swift to compile a response to Edward's claims, which survives in two documents, the *Instructiones* and the *Processus*,⁵⁸ attributed to the Scottish ecclesiastic, Master Baldred Bisset.⁵⁹ With regard to Edward's Trojan narrative, in particular, the Scots first attacked Edward for his use of a 'specious and mutilated history' (book XI, chapter 49, line 23) before, one might argue somewhat hypocritically, drawing upon and developing their own ancient origin myth.⁶⁰ Thus, the *Processus* first refutes Edward's feudal interpretation of the Trojan legend (book XI, chapter 61, lines 1–38), arguing both that Brutus divided his land *equally* amongst his sons (book XI, chapter 61, lines 13–20) and that, upon the death of Albanactus, Albany

⁵⁶ Stones, *Selected Documents*, pp. 96–109 (pp. 97–8, my emphasis).

⁵⁷ Katherine Terrell, 'Subversive Histories: Strategies of Identity in Scottish Historiography,' in *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 153–72 (p. 157).

⁵⁸ The documents survive as an appendix to some manuscripts of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* and are also assimilated within Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*. I quote from the English translation of the latter in *Scotichronicon*, vi, 135–89. For further information see *Scotichronicon*, vi, pp. xviii–xxiv and R. James Goldstein, 'The Scottish Mission to Boniface VIII in 1301: A Reconsideration of the Context of the *Instructiones* and *Processus*', *SHR*, 70:1 (1991), 1–15.

⁵⁹ R. James Goldstein, 'Bisset, Baldred (c. 1260–1311?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/2475>, accessed 18 Nov. 2010].

⁶⁰ Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 72–3 offers a slightly more generous interpretation: 'Bisset condescends to Edward's level by examining in detail the most remote period of history. We should perhaps view this tactic, however, as a form of adversarial gamemanship rather than as a serious betrayal of hermeneutical principles.'

did not revert to Locrinus because, 'even supposing that Albanactus held his kingdom in fee from Locrinus (which we deny), it would not fall to Locrinus himself by right of succession unless there was a failure in all the other levels of the family tree (which was not so in this case [...])' (book XI, chapter 61, lines 32–6). The *Processus* (book XI, chapter 62, lines 1–13) – and with more detail the *Instructiones* (book XI, chapter 49, lines 42–58) – then traces the Scots back via Ireland and Spain to Scota, the daughter of the Egyptian pharaoh, and her Greek husband, Gaythelos.

This contrasting of English and Scottish origins continued throughout the Wars of Independence. A particularly notable example is found in the version of the famous 1320 letter of the Scottish barons to Pope John XXII (the Declaration of Arbroath) that survives in Bower's *Scotichronicon*.⁶¹ The Declaration, written to counter the increasing hostility of the papacy against the Scottish king, Robert Bruce, has been interpreted both as an essentially diplomatic document and as a political manifesto asserting Scottish liberty and sovereignty.⁶² The *Scotichronicon* version once again stresses the Greek and Egyptian origins of the Scottish nation and deftly parallels the Scots with the Biblical chosen race, the Hebrews (c.f. Exodus 14: 21–31), before further asserting the longevity of the nation's continued freedom and independence:

It journeyed from the lands of Greece and Egypt by the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and stayed for many years in Spain among the fiercest of peoples, but could not be subdued anywhere by any peoples however barbaric. Coming from there one thousand and two hundred years after the Children of Israel crossed the Red Sea, it took possession of the settlements in the west which it now desires, after first driving out the Britons and totally destroying the Picts, and although often attacked by the Norwegians, Danes and English. Many were its victories and innumerable its efforts. It has held these places always free of all

⁶¹ References to the English and Scottish origin legends are also found in the Bamburgh narrative (surviving in Córdoba, Bibliotheca de la Mezquita, MS 40) which records arguments in favour of Scottish independence advanced during negotiations between the English and Scots at Bamburgh in March–April 1321. Brutus' equal division of his kingdom is again stressed: 'Namque prout vera Britonum canit historia divisio Britanie non per Brutum set per tres filios suos supradictos post mortem patris equilibera et equali concordia facta fuit, nulla seniori prerogativa servata.' P.A. Linehan, 'A Fourteenth-Century History of Anglo-Scottish Relations in a Spanish Manuscript', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 106–22 (p. 113).

⁶² Both interpretations are considered in Grant G. Simpson, 'The Declaration of Arbroath revitalised', *SHR*, 56:1 (1977), 11–33. See also G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', *Innes Review*, 30 (1979), 26–32; A.A.M. Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath* (London: Historical Association, 1970); A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Making of the Declaration of Arbroath', in *The Study of Medieval Records*, ed. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 174–88; E.J. Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath' in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland through the Ages*, ed. Dauvit Broun et al. (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), pp. 38–68; E.J. Cowan, 'For Freedom Alone': *The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003).

servitude, as the old histories testify. One hundred and thirteen kings of their royal lineage have reigned in their kingdom, with no intrusion by a foreigner.' (book XIII, chapter 2, lines 24–35)

Unsurprisingly, repeated recourse was made by the English to the Trojan origin legend throughout subsequent periods of Anglo-Scots conflict and the topic proved immensely popular in medieval English chronicles. The Anglo-Norman form of the prose *Brut* chronicle was, for instance, composed during the reign of Edward I. A summary of Geoffrey's *Historia* was also included in the late thirteenth-century/early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman *Chronicle* written by Pierre de Langtoft,⁶³ and an English translation and adaptation of Langtoft's *Chronicle* was produced by Robert Mannyng of Bourne in 1338. Henry IV drew upon the Brutus myth to demand homage of Robert III in 1401,⁶⁴ and then, after travelling throughout Scotland for several years, John Hardyng furnished Henry V with yet more evidence to support his claim to Scotland.⁶⁵ Hardyng again asserted that Brutus' youngest son, Albanactus, did homage as king of Scotland to his eldest brother, Locrinus, and detailed the subsequent occasions throughout history when Scottish kings performed similar acts of homage. Hardyng presented his chronicle to Henry VI in 1457 and again to Edward IV in 1463, and he urged both monarchs to act on the evidence presented. Several pamphlets and tracts were, finally, also compiled in the 1540s to assert Henry VIII's and Edward VI's right to the kingdom of Scotland, including 'An Exhortacion to the Scottes to Conforme themselves to the Honorable, Expedient and Godly Union betweene the Realmes of England and Scotland', written in 1547 by a former Edinburgh burgess, James Henrisoun.⁶⁶ After summarising Brutus' division of the island

⁶³ J.C. Thiolier, 'Langtoft, Peter (d. in or after 1305)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16037>, accessed 11 May 2012]. Rather interestingly, Langtoft also translated Pope Boniface's letter *Scimus Fili* and the two English replies into French. See further: Thea Summerfield, 'The Testimony of Writing: Pierre de Langtoft and the Appeals to History, 1291–1306', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. Purdie and Royan, pp. 25–41.

⁶⁴ Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliæ*, 20 vols (London: J. Tonson, 1704–35), viii, 155–8; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland: Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Joseph Bain et al., 5 vols (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1881–1986), iv, 115–16, nos. 553, 554, 557. See also below p. 98.

⁶⁵ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), ii, 274–87.

⁶⁶ These documents are printed as an appendix to *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, ed. J.A.H. Murray, EETS (London: N. Trübner & Co, 1872). See also M.H. Merriman, 'War and Propaganda during the "Rough Wooing"', *Scottish Tradition*, 9/10 (1979–80), 20–30; David M. Head, 'Henry VIII's Scottish Policy: A Reassessment', *SHR*, 61 (1982), 1–24; M.H. Merriman, 'James Henrisoun and "Great Britain": British union and the Scottish commonweal', in *Scotland and England, 1286–1815*, ed. R.A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp. 85–112.