

FRESCHÉ FONTANIS

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STUDIES IN THE CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL
AND EARLY MODERN SCOTLAND

EDITED BY

JANET HADLEY WILLIAMS
AND J. DERRICK MCCLURE

CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

<i>APS</i>	<i>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes. Edinburgh, 1814–75.
ASLS	Association for Scottish Literary Studies.
<i>CAF</i>	<i>Catalogue des Actes de François I^{er}</i> . 10 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1887–1910.
<i>CSD</i>	<i>The Concise Scots Dictionary</i> . Ed. Mairi Robinson. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985.
<i>DOST</i>	<i>A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</i> , ed. W. A. Craigie, A. J. Aitken et al. Chicago, Aberdeen and Oxford, 1937–2002.
<i>Edin. Recs.</i>	1869–92. <i>Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh</i> . Ed. J. D. Marwick. Edinburgh: SBRS.
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> .
EETS	Early English Text Society.
ES	Extra Series
OS	Original Series
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , ed. J. Stuart et al. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1878–1908.
<i>FMLS</i>	<i>Forum for Modern Language Studies</i>
<i>L&P Henry VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547</i> , ed. J. S. Brewer et al. 21 vols in 34 parts. London: HMSO, 1862–1932.
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</i> (London, 1870–).
<i>IR</i>	<i>Innes Review</i>
<i>MÆ</i>	<i>Medium Ævum</i> .
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NRS	National Records of Scotland (formerly NAS).
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i> .
<i>RMS</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</i> , ed. J. M. Thomson et al. Edinburgh: H. M General Register House, 1882–1914.
<i>RPS</i>	<i>Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707</i> . Ed. K. M. Brown et al. St Andrews: University of St Andrews.

<i>RSCHS</i>	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society.</i>
<i>RSS</i>	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland</i> , ed. M. Livingstone et al. 8 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1908–.
<i>SBRS</i>	Scottish Burgh Records Society.
<i>SGS</i>	<i>Scottish Gaelic Studies.</i>
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review.</i>
<i>SHS</i>	Scottish History Society.
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology.</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Studies in Scottish Literature.</i>
<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640</i> , 2 nd edn, ed. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Panzer. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91.
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society.
<i>TA</i>	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , ed. T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul. 11 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877–1916.
<i>TEBS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society.</i>
<i>TGSI</i>	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.</i>

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INTRODUCTION

Fresche fontanis has its origins in the very successful Twelfth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature. This was jointly hosted by the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies and the Department of English Literature in the School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures, and held at New College, Edinburgh University, 30 June–4 July 2008. That year’s five-hundredth anniversary of Scotland’s first printing press, marked by a wreath-laying ceremony in the Chepman aisle of St Giles Cathedral and an exhibition at the National Library, “Imprentit: 500 Years of the Scottish Printed Word”, inspired the conference proceedings: principal themes were “Early Scottish Printing” and “Celebration and Commemoration”; with an emphasis on the variety of Scotland’s written and spoken languages.

The title of the present volume, *Fresche fontanis* (“New springs”), is taken from Sir David Lyndsay’s description of the riches of the landscape of Scotland, both the natural beauties and the associated commodities (*The Dreme*, ll. 824, 813–33). The cover illustration, a detail from National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 70.2.9, Pont map 21, depicts the Lower Glen Almond region and drainage basin of the River Earn. Poem and map each call attention to the well-springs of the land, the first in literary and idealized terms, the second in visual and practical ones. The contributions within *Fresche fontanis*, as reports of fresh developments in the study of the culture of medieval and early modern Scotland, further embody these ideas and images of the unstagnant, the invigorating, and the recently discovered. Many essays, re-examining known material, shift or invert long-held opinion; others either consider material previously unknown or unstudied, or use different approaches to a particular theme or topic to obtain a fresh perspective.

The essays have benefited from the stimulating discussions throughout the conference, the rigorous review process, and by the incorporation of research appearing since 2008. They are arranged in three loosely chronological parts (“Late Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, “Sixteenth Century”, and “Later Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”), the better to display the particular concerns of each era, and thus also the many shifts in cultural emphases from one era to another.

Across these three parts, the diversity of the cultural documents brought into play, and the skill with which they are studied, is striking. Michael Brown's contribution, for example, brings to life the person of Sir Gilbert Hay in brief, record-based allusion to Hay's literary activities, autobiographical comments, appearance in university roll, military record, and position as recipient of Sinclair and Erskine patronage, then in a more detailed inquiry into some major Hay puzzles (of chronology, identity shifting and lineal connections). These expose the difficulties of achieving certainty about Hay the writer / translator. It is through this carefully inclusive assessment that Brown discovers an important connection between the Hay who annotated Bower's *Scotichronicon*, and the Hay of a bond of 1450. Melissa Coll-Smith also examines a life, and its associated legend, in her study of Margaret of Scotland, long depicted as a holy figure. Coll-Smith looks at secular chronicle, "unsacred" biography, and the hagiographical representation in the *Breviarum Aberdonense*. She questions the legend as it was redacted in the Aberdeen liturgy, in doing so adding to current knowledge of this important early example of Scottish printing. Her detailed study of these diverse documents demonstrates how chronicle sources (thus also political and dynastic interests) were more closely involved in writing Margaret's legend than has been assumed previously.

Sarah Carpenter consults a multiplicity of cultural record—preserved or ephemeral, painted or performed—for her study of the celebrations for the marriage of Margaret Tudor and James IV. By teasing out what all types of evidence can reveal, Carpenter is able to offer a most perceptive reading of the ways heraldic images were used to achieve, for specific ends, the "imaginative conceptualization" of this occasion. John McGavin also gathers together artefacts of very different character—memoirs, letters, chronicles, didactic texts and administrative records—for his ongoing exploration of the many forms of spectatorship in early-modern Scotland. McGavin's study is informed by theoretical knowledge of performance and reception, yet is also fully alive to the importance of understanding the purposes, directly stated and implied, of the particular artefact, and of the need to take into account the non-neutrality (and its specific political or religious forms) of the spectators concerned.

Karen Jilling considers another type of document, the earliest printed medical work in Scots. Jillings gives close attention to pertinent detail of all kinds, like Coll-Smith and Spiller further delineating Scottish printing history, but she also advances knowledge of sixteenth-century attitudes to the plague and other diseases, and to assessment of the changing use of Scots. Writing on Alexander Craig's *The Pilgrime and Heremite*, Michael

Spiller studies yet other kinds of document with equal acuity, drawing on Craig's life records, the incomplete Raban-printed text of the poem of 1631, the newly-found differing version that was hand-copied in the same year, and the manuscript commonplace book in which this was written. Spiller shows how such different types of record can be mutually illuminating and at the same time refresh and add to the larger literary-historical picture. The skilled engagement with material of contrasting character and quality in all of these essays ensures that findings are of exceptional value across a number of fields of study, including the literary, textual and linguistic, political, religious and social.

All three parts of *Fresche fontanis* include contributions on major authors. In her deep and thought-provoking study of *The Kingis Quair*, Elizabeth Elliott argues, via analysis of the way in which the Judgment of Paris myth is enacted within the poem as an "allegory of mind", that the narrator as James I is presented as a man who has achieved the "correct government of his mental faculties", and is both model prince and philosopher. Elliott's is a valuable addition to previous *Quair* scholarship, bringing together and thus refining questions of authorship and kingship.

For Robert Henryson, two contributions on the *Fabillis* look south of Scotland in complementary ways. William Sweet's closely enquires into the nature of the link between Henryson's Aesopic fables and Lydgate's versions, finding a case for stylistic rather than verbal allusion, and for a consciously differentiated moral position. Julian Good compares Henryson's and Caxton's Aesopic re-tellings (*The Trial of the Fox*, *History of Reynard the Fox*), looking from the points of view of the private reader and the public listener. In suggesting that significant differences in interpretation might result from such a distinction, Good stimulates further thinking about the often-pedagogical setting associated with Aesopic material. Sarah Dunnigan's major study of the darker aspects of Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice*—the negative in the portrayal of Eurydice, the recurring images of death and decay, love, loss and moral fragility, and in the explicit association of fairyland with the Hell of Christian tradition—offers many insights into the poet's individuality in thought and technique.

Both Priscilla Bawcutt's and J. Derrick McClure's contributions present new material on William Dunbar's poetry. Bawcutt first takes stock of editorial and textual studies published in the ten years since the publication of *The Poems of William Dunbar*. She does more, adding for example the latest from her research on Alexander Traill, a name appearing in "I that in heill wes and gladnes" (B 21, l. 69). In the second part of her contribution, Bawcutt takes up an onerous, yet important task, critical examination of an edition of Dunbar that has been published since

her own. Bawcutt supports her position on each matter raised with convincing evidence, her brief commentary becoming a valuable demonstration of editorial standards of the highest kind. McClure focuses on Dunbar's technical skill in a single, but major poem, *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*. After a discussion of the language features exploited in specific ways in the Old Germanic alliterative line (stress, pitch-prominence and alliteration), McClure shows how Dunbar made maximal use of the decorative possibilities of this verse form without ever departing from its defining feature, the four-stress line.

Two contributions on David Lyndsay take new bearings on this writer's life and work. Juanita Feros Ruys links the multiple presentations of experience in *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and Ane Courteour* with the thinking, gathering momentum at this time, about the concept of experience and its epistemological applications. Her essay draws attention to the scientific revolutions of the early modern era, usefully placing Lyndsay's work in a different, far from static or wholly medieval context. Janet Hadley Williams examines an inventory of Lyndsay's heirship goods in an allusive study that helps to re-create the domestic setting of a man whose public profile has received greater attention. This essay suggests how the legal document can have value to the literary work, and the literary reference to legal and cultural history.

Aspects of the work of six prominent later sixteenth-century writers, John Stewart of Baldynneis, William Fowler, Alexander Montgomerie, James and Andrew Melville and Alexander Craig are considered by Kate McClune, Morna Fleming, Jamie Reid Baxter and Michael Spiller (mentioned above). These contributions focus on the interrelated issues of translation and authorship at a time of development in political and literary thought in Scotland, England and the Continent; on the current forms of publication and how those forms affected transmission, and on the degree of involvement by the monarch in both matters. The essays redefine previous scholarship. McClune's, for example, takes the example of Stewart's *Roland Furiovs* to make a detailed and persuasive case for the re-evaluation, called for by Bawcutt (2001), to the often unthinkingly assumed belief that all writings of this era were written at the demand of the king, and thus were illustrative of a literary nationalism centred at court. Fleming's contribution on Fowler's little-studied translation of Machiavelli's *Il Principe* points afresh to the growing interest in Italian poetry and provides Fowler's work with useful context. Reid Baxter's discusses the French influences (Ronsard, Clément Marot, Théodore de Bèze, and Desportes among others) upon Montgomerie, but it is psalmody (as paraphrase, metrical version, song text, meaningful sequence, or

politico-religious commentary), that is the focus of this rich and enlightening contribution.

Observing that the fabliau adventure, where a clerk's tale might imitate in a lower register the feats of a Lancelot or Gawain, parodies all adventures in courtly romance, William Calin examines the French fabliau *Le Povre Clerc* and the Scottish example *The Freiris of Berwik*. His contribution thus has its helpfully contrasting place beside the romance studies by Emily Wingfield (*Lancelot of the Laik, The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*), and Anna Caughey (*The Buik of King Alexander, Golagros and Gawane, and Rauf Coilzear*). Caughey investigates the theme of negotiation and reconciliation in the three very different fifteenth-century romances just listed, finding that courteous behaviour, showing humility and respect for others (qualities conspicuously inverted in the fabliau), is integral to the presentation of knighthood and kingship. She relates the emphasis on this type of behaviour very plausibly to the political power struggle between magnates and crown during the era in which these works were written. Wingfield also pursues a theme of correct behaviour, studying the advice concerning amorous women found in *Lancelot* and *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*. She draws on the advisory *Thewis off Gudwomen*, and calls attention to the fact that a version of this work occurs within the *BKAC* as a guide in matters of love. Wingfield's attentive readings lead her to a valuable conclusion, that the authors of these works distort or deliberately misuse female advisory literature for their own purposes (a finding that might also be extrapolated to cover the fabliaux).

Three contributions in *Fresche fontanis* bring new prominence to literary activity in which more than one author or compiler is involved. The “musty little book” with content “hard of access”, the Book of the Dean of Lismore (NLS, MS 72.1.37), examined by William Gillies is a complex example, preserving some texts not found elsewhere, with a few contributions highlighting the activity of compilation itself. Its contributors, in the main, are contemporaries, of mixed status and skill. Its many genres and themes can be expressed in unusual metres, or as highly skilled and strict examples. What divides the Book of the Dean from the Asloan or the Bannatyne, Gillies has shown, is the interaction on many levels—genealogical, literary, skills-competitive—between contributors. Yet near-contemporary Scots anthologies, the Maitland manuscripts, Quarto and Folio, are also “collaborative literary activity”, as Joanna Martin notes. Although they are true household books, with texts related to the family of owner-compilers, when placed in the company of the Book of the Dean the differences in emphasis are usefully made plain. Martin

looks in detail, for the first time, at the Maitland Quarto, showing in what ways this volume was a commemorative family book, carefully compiled to display the family's identity and values. A third, equally valuable contribution in the anthology category is Steven Reid's. His study of the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* and its compilers, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit and Arthur Johnson, offers new research on Scoto-Latin culture. Reid sets out the dynamic process of the *Delitiae's* compilation, noting how many of the poets whose works were included were in communication with Scot and Johnston, and he looks more closely than previous scholars at the inclusions, both well known and uniquely preserved, in the *Delitiae*. These three essays each make a substantial contribution to scholarship on a particular anthology, and they are also of importance as a group, pointing to common ground (and clear distinctions) not previously directly noted.

There are many other instances in *Fresche fontanis* where one contribution introduces, annotates, or enlarges the field of reference of another, building up the picture of continuities and shifts in Scottish cultural emphases during the medieval and early modern periods. Elizabeth Elliott's consideration of kingship in the *Kingis Quair* is relevant, for instance, to Ryoko Harikae's finely-detailed essay on kingship and imperial ideas in Bellenden's translation of Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland*. Elliott's and Harikae's contributions in turn may be linked to Wilson McLeod's, in which sovereignty and royal authority are again prominent, here as they are displayed in sixteenth-century Gaelic poetry concerning the Campbell family. There is useful cross-fertilization in discussions on non-royal literary patronage within both Harikae's and McLeod's essays (also within Brown's contribution mentioned earlier), and the notable reference to William Wallace (rather than to an Irish warrior king) in the Cailean version of "An Duanag Ullamh", alluded to by McLeod, could be pertinent to the chronicle discussion of Harikae's. In these, indeed in many of the essays presented here, the springs become tributaries, rivers flowing into others, to make a significant contribution to the development of a coherent cultural overview of Scotland at this time.

JANET HADLEY WILLIAMS
J. DERRICK MCCLURE

PART I:
LATE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH
CENTURIES

“THIS IS MYN AWIN YMAGYNACIOUN”:
THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS AND THE INFLUENCE
OF MEDIEVAL FACULTY PSYCHOLOGY
ON *THE KINGIS QUAIR*

ELIZABETH ELLIOTT

At the heart of *The Kingis Quair* (c.1424) stands a dream vision that turns upon the narrator’s successive encounters with three goddesses: Venus, Minerva, and Fortune. As critics such as Fradenburg (1991) argue, the conjunction of these three deities is suggestive, recalling the mythical Judgment of Paris.¹ In the version most familiar to the later Middle Ages, the Trojan Prince Paris is appointed to resolve the bitter conflict between Venus, Minerva, and Juno over the rightful ownership of a golden apple dedicated to the fairest. His choice of Venus sets in train a series of events culminating in the fall of Troy. In this essay I analyse the influence of this myth and its medieval interpretations upon the *Quair*, exploring the poem as a work that draws on the moralizing tradition of mythography in order to represent a subjective learning process. Against this background, the poem’s central dream vision may be read as an inward journey, a voyage through the narrator’s mind. In its structure and content, the vision recalls the most popular model of brain function current in the Middle Ages, that of medieval faculty psychology, which associated a particular faculty with each of the three chambers thought to exist within the brain. The effect of this psychological allegory is to identify the author and narrator of the *Quair* as an exemplary moral subject.

A popular theme in late medieval literature, the Judgment of Paris also plays a part in the medieval reception history of a text explicitly evoked at the beginning of the *Quair*, Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* (ll. 15–21).² Within the *Quair*, allusion to Boethius’s philosophical response to personal misfortune serves to authorize an autobiographical narrative with its roots in the historical imprisonment of James I of Scotland, to whom the poem is very plausibly attributed in the only surviving manuscript.³ This remarkable confluence of Boethian narrative and self-construction is also manifested in a distinctive body of late-

medieval writing that includes texts such as Guillaume de Machaut's *Confort d'ami* (1357) and *Fonteinne amoureuse* (c.1360–61), and Jean Froissart's *Espinette amoureuse* (1369). Summoning up the memory of Boethius as a means to engage with and represent recent experiences of personal crisis, these works are the closest analogues for the *Quair's* autobiographical technique. Several incorporate notable references to the Judgment of Paris, or narrative episodes recounting or reimagining the myth, and a precedent for this activity exists in the rich tradition of Boethian translation and commentary.⁴

Although Boethius does not allude to the Judgment of Paris within the *Consolation*, the myth became associated with this text through the authority of one of the most important and widely circulated commentaries, that produced by William of Conches in the early twelfth century. William of Conches uses the myth of the Judgment in expounding the significance of the punishment of Ixion, which Boethius mentions briefly in 3 m. 12.⁵ The influence of his commentary, and the extent to which the myth of the Judgment subsequently became identified with the *Consolation*, are illustrated by the case of a fourteenth-century Picard verse translation surviving in two manuscripts. Here, the Judgment is treated as if it were part of the philosophical text, as the anonymous translator interpolates the myth as a narrative episode within the *Consolation*.⁶ In the context of the broad tradition of Boethian commentary, translation, and adaptation that informs the *Kingis Quair*, the Judgment of Paris thus emerges as a familiar motif.

The presence of Fortune, rather than Juno, within the poem does not invalidate claims for the influence of the Judgment upon the *Quair*. Medieval versions of the legend perpetuate the traditional identification of Juno as the goddess of riches and kingdoms, which are offered to Paris as an inducement to decide in her favour. Such temporal goods were typically conceived as the gifts of Fortune, and the intersection between these two allegorical figures is explicitly acknowledged in a medieval redaction of the Judgment within the influential fourteenth-century French poem, the *Echecs amoureux*. Of the two known manuscripts of the poem, the most complete, and the only one to contain the Judgment, was severely damaged during World War II; however, a nineteenth-century synopsis prepared by Sieper (1898) evidences the description of Fortune as the blind goddess who distributes worldly goods on Juno's behalf.⁷ In his treatise on free will, *De fato et fortuna* (c.1396–98), the humanist scholar Coluccio Salutati (1985, 144–45) links the goddesses even more closely, citing the Judgment of Paris in claiming that Juno and Fortune are indubitably one and the same, as interchangeable terms that poets use to

denote the divine government of realms and worldly wealth. The logic of the association of Juno and Fortune in these French and Italian texts is evident, so there is no need to presuppose knowledge of a particular version of the Judgment on the part of the *Quair*-poet. Yet, it is worth noting that Salutati's treatise, at least, was potentially accessible to James I of Scotland: a manuscript of Salutati's work, including *De fato et fortuna*, is known to have been in England during the time of his captivity, and is later recorded in the ownership of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester.⁸

In more general terms, such evidence of an association between Juno and Fortune indicates the currency of a conceptual link between the two, and thus offers support for the identification of the Judgment as an influence on the *Quair*. The *Quair* itself seems to frustrate the parallel between poem and myth, however: while the Judgment turns upon the rivalry of the three goddesses, the deities of the *Quair* collaborate with one another to help the narrator. In her discussion, Fradenburg (1991, 133) concludes that the Judgment "is not fully present in the *Quair* precisely for this reason". Yet, closer examination of the mythographic tradition suggests that such concord is not necessarily at odds with the influence of the Judgment, and provides valuable support for Fradenburg's claim that "the *Quair* shares with other love allegories that treat the Judgment of Paris more fully a concern with the reparation of the will, with the perils as well as the opportunities of those critical moments in which desire awakens" (1991, 131).

Originating with Fulgentius, the most familiar interpretation of the Judgment in the Middle Ages reads the myth as an allegory of the human subject's exercise of free will, at liberty to choose between the active life, represented by Juno; the contemplative life (Pallas); or the voluptuous life, signified by Venus. In the highly influential vernacular moralization of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Ovide moralisé* (c.1316–25), the Judgment is allegorized in explicitly Christian terms, and the apple of Discord is identified with the forbidden fruit of Eden. This interpretation reflects the Augustinian conception of the Fall as an event that marks a rupture between body and spirit, originating in the will's perverse rebellion against divine authority. After the Fall, the will is tainted, divided against itself; in consequence, individual subjects and human society are troubled by the proliferation of self-destructive appetites whose regulation requires the exercise of coercive discipline (Augustine 1998, 14, 23, 623–25; Brown 1988, 404–05). As Ehrhart (1987, 92) argues, in the *Ovide moralisé*, the Judgment comes to represent "not the fall of Adam and Eve but the fall of Everyman, the individual re-enactment of our first parents' sin": the choice of Paris symbolizes the misdirected will of the subject who ignores reason

to pursue contingent goods, in place of the ultimate good which alone can provide the satisfaction he desires. The function of Venus within this allegorical interpretation reflects the continuing influence of a persistent trend within Christian thought, characterized by Brown (1990, 481) as “a muted but tenacious tendency to treat sexuality as a privileged ideogram of all that was most irreducible in the human will”.

Pierre Bersuire’s widely disseminated compilation, the *Ovidius moralizatus* (c.1340), adds a further interpretation, identifying the goddesses of the Judgment with the faculties of the soul: Pallas with *ratio* or reason, Juno with *memoria*, and Venus with the will (*voluntas*). The apple is glossed as the human heart, which folly offers up to appetite, in defiance of memory and reason.⁹ As Ehrhart argues, Bersuire’s allegory most probably reflects an adaptation of the Augustinian conception of the intellectual soul, which images the Trinity in its tripartite nature, comprising memory, intelligence, and will.¹⁰ In the later Paris redaction of the *Ovidius moralizatus* (c.1342), this allegorical reading is located against the background of salvation history:

in homine qui dicitur minor indus tres dee id est tres anime potentie primo fueresse[n]t concordēs et quia spiritualis rationi obediebat nulla erat discordia inter partes. Homo cum deo concors erat et inter se talis erat concordia quod nequaquam caro spiritum repugnabat. Denique dea vel deus discordie id est dyabolus vel cum superbia vel concupiscentia pomum vetitum sibi pericat...ideo pacem et concordiam enervavit et regum anime dissipavit.

in man, who is called India Minor, the three goddesses, or three powers of the soul, were first in agreement, and because the spirit obeyed reason there was no discord among the parts. Man was in harmony with God, and between them there was such concord that not at all did the flesh oppose the spirit. Finally the goddess or god of discord, that is, the devil, with pride or concupiscentia, threw him the forbidden apple; he weakened peace and concord and destroyed the rule...of the soul.¹¹

The divine rivalry of the Judgment becomes an image of spiritual discord within the individual soul: the effect of original sin upon the psyche is the disturbance of the concord that once sustained the rule of reason.

Although the original state of concord cannot be regained in a postlapsarian world, the didactic purpose of Bersuire’s allegory endorses the idea that the proper exercise of reason can moderate the effects of the Fall, restoring order within the soul. Against the background of Bersuire’s interpretation, the image of the goddesses of the Judgment working in harmony would function as an allegory of the well-regulated soul, in

which the three powers exist in a state of concord that recalls the prelapsarian condition. Bersuire's interpretation of the Judgment thus supplies a context in which the absence of rivalry amongst the goddesses of the *Quair* acquires new significance, underlining the poem's concern with the reparation of the appetitive will. Bersuire's text was also potentially accessible to James I of Scotland: a copy of the *Ovidius moralizatus* was later recorded amongst the manuscripts donated to the University of Oxford by Duke Humfrey in 1444 (Sammut 1980, 83).

As Mapstone (1997, 60) observes, the genre of advice to princes literature to which the *Quair* is affiliated commonly uses devices such as allegory in order to imply that "the prime advisory context was the king's own mental realm, and that in this sense the regulatory principles of self-government came essentially from within himself". Taking the form of a dream vision, the narrator locates his divine encounters in a space that is potentially internal, opening up the possibility that he is describing a journey through imagined territories, the places of his mind. Against this background, the three goddesses of the *Quair* may be understood as attributes of the narrator himself, as the three powers of the soul. Read as an allegory of the well-ordered soul, in which the appetitive will has been subordinated to the powers of reason and memory, the dream vision serves to identify the narrator as an example of the spiritual concord produced by successful self-government.

The positioning of the dream within the *Quair* offers sanction for its interpretation as an allegory of mental activity, since it evokes the characteristic methods associated with the medieval arts of memory. Opening with the image of a man alone at night reading, the *Quair* arouses the expectation that a vision will follow, in accordance with the literary convention whereby dreaming serves as a means to represent the meditative process of invention involved in the act of composition. Solitude, the silence of the night hours, and the reclining posture adopted by the narrator were all recognized as being especially conducive to memory work (Carruthers 1998, 171–20). Yet, within the *Quair*, reading is succeeded not by dreaming, but by writing, exposing the function of the literary device as it renders the process of textual composition explicit. The dream the resulting poem will describe is firmly located in the past, prior to the reading of the *Consolation*, but the process of composition is nonetheless mediated by "fantasy", as the narrator hears the command of the Matins bell: "tell on, man, quhat thee befell" (ll. 75, 77). His response astutely indicates the ambiguous powers of imagination, its potential as an instrument of creative invention, and its capacity to delude:

“This is myn awin ymagynacioun,
 It is no lyf that spekis vnto me,
 It is a bell—or that impressioun
 Of my thought causith this illusioun
 That dooth me think so nycely in this wise.” (ll. 79–84)

The bell’s voice bears interpretation as a mental construct, an illustration of the creative role of the imagination in generating the vivid images employed in memory work, either to process received textual matter or to create new work.

Indicating the narrator’s proficiency in the arts of memory, the fantasy of the bell also offers a justification for writing about personal experience. In this respect, it complements the role of Boethius in authorizing the *Quair* as poetic enterprise. As Dante argues (1998, 1.2), the solipsistic act of writing about the self is permissible only “in cases of necessity”, to vindicate oneself in the absence of any other advocate, or “when by speaking of oneself very great benefit comes to another by way of instruction”. For Dante, Boethius serves as an example of the former kind, since “under the pretext of consolation he might defend himself against the perpetual infamy of his exile, by showing it to be unjust”.

In identifying the experience of reading the *Consolation* as the catalyst for his composition, the narrator of the *Quair* suggests another dimension to the Boethian text, and a compelling rationale for his own poem. The *Quair*’s evocation of memory work finds a precedent in the *Consolation*: Boethius’s dialogue with Philosophy has itself been interpreted as the literary representation of a process of therapeutic meditation, dependent on the creative exercise of the faculty of memory.¹² Within a culture that identified memory as the indispensable foundation of ethics, such therapeutic meditation functioned as a means of reconciling oneself to adversity, facilitating moral action. In this context, Boethius’s *Consolation* offers an instructive model, to be emulated by those suffering the effects of misfortune. The therapeutic aspect of the *Consolation* is emphasized in the *Quair*’s decription of Boethius, who “in himself the full recouer wan / Of his infortune, pouert and distresse” (ll. 33–34). In positioning Boethius as the inspiration for a parallel act of self-writing, the narrator of the *Quair* plants the idea that his own life will offer a similarly instructive example.

Although the dream precedes the reading of the *Consolation*, the juxtaposition of the lives of Boethius and the narrator within the proem serves to underline significant points of resemblance in the nature of their experience. Like the *Consolation*, the dream invites interpretation as the image of a process of therapeutic meditation, and as a mnemonic composition. Precipitated by tears and passionate emotion, the dream is