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KLIMAN, Bernice Widgoff, 1933-
JOHN BARBOUR, THE FIRST OF THE MAKARS:
A STUDY OF THE POET AS CRAFTSMAN.
[Portions of Text in Middle English].

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1969
Language and Literature, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

JOHN BARBOUR, THE FIRST OF THE MAKARS

A Study of the Poet as Craftsman

by

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A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in English in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1969

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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INTRODUCTION

In the early fourteenth century, Scotland was locked with England in a desperate battle for survival. Since the death of their king, Alexander III, in 1286, when the Guardians asked Edward I of England to choose among the competitors for the crown of Scotland, the Scots had seen a puppet-king installed and deposed, a popular leader, the Wallace, rise to challenge the English might only to fall after initial success, and finally the grandson of one of the original competitors strike out again for Scottish independence. For twenty-two years Robert the Bruce led the struggle against England, pushing the English out of the land, winning a decisive battle at Bannockburn and finally wrenching from the English recognition of Scotland's sovereignty. John Barbour, working from oral and written sources about forty-five years after the death of Robert Bruce, c.1375, tells the story of these events in a long narrative poem, The Bruce, the first important extant work in Scots literature.¹

From the first the work was acclaimed. Wyntoun, Barbour's near contemporary, quotes and defers to him. Bower, the continuator of Fordun, praises his eloquence and elegance.² Blind Harry pays him the compliment of making the Wallace the hero of many an exploit in which the Bruce had figured in Barbour's work.³ Dunbar lists him as one of the makars. Scott acknowledges his debt to Barbour in, for example, the Lord of the Isles, and indeed one critic states the connection between the two poets very strongly: "Barbour is the main poetic progenitor of Sir Walter Scott. Scott 'kindled at his flame'; indeed without

Barbour's flame to kindle at, he might never have written his poetic romances, and he would certainly not have written them as we now have them...."⁴ Pinkerton writes in 1786, some four hundred years after The Bruce, that the common people "are enraptured by Barbour's history of Bruce... [a book] to be found in modern spelling at this day in almost every cottage of Scotland..."; G. Gregory Smith, much later, calls it "the people's great book."⁵ Warton and Pinkerton in the eighteenth century accord it extravagant praise.⁶ John Veitch, writing in 1887 calls it "the first great poem," and in 1893 he links Barbour to Burns and Scott, calling The Bruce "our first great national epic," Scots Wha Hae "our greatest national lyric," and the Lay of the Last Minstrel "our last and greatest national epic."⁷ Barbour's editors have consistently esteemed him.⁸ Friedrich Brie, concentrating on Barbour as a writer of nationalistic literature rather than as a craftsman, has perhaps the fullest and best study of Barbour's work, and more recently there has been Kinsley's brief but sensitive appreciation.⁹

But The Bruce has not run the gauntlet of critics with impunity. With a few notable exceptions, they have not considered it an artistic achievement of the first order. In histories of English literature it, like most Scots works, has tended to be dismissed or neglected. Even the writers of Scots literary criticism have not uniformly commended it. Sir William Craigie, discussing Barbour's artistry--or rather lack of it, disparages him, comparing him unfavorably to Blind Harry.¹⁰ J.T.T. Brown asserts that whatever value it has as a work of

art is due not to Barbour, but to the scribe Ramsay.¹¹ Oliver and Smith temper their high praise with the declaration that The Bruce "is not a great poem," although it is "the first substantial work in Scottish literature that has survived--substantial not merely in bulk but in solid merit."¹² Kurt Wittig, who deplores the lack of interest in Barbour and who discusses many of his literary techniques in a fine chapter, says that "Barbour is very far from the poetic and verbal art of the French romances which he took as his model..." and that the main value of his work is not in its style but in its message. Wittig does not include Barbour among the makars.¹³ Another recent writer gives Barbour no credit as an artist, calling him a mere self-effacing compiler of oral sources.¹⁴

The reservations about Barbour's craftsmanship are partly due to a confusion of genre; one is as apt to find notices of Barbour in historical studies as in works of literary criticism. There is no doubt that the work is valuable as history, being the only source for many of the incidents. Historians, after some years of focusing on some of Barbour's minor errors, have begun to give him his due. Charles Oman over and over expresses reservations about Barbour's accuracy, but it is extremely interesting that the editor of a recent reprint of Oman's work has substituted Barbour's account of the Battle of Bannockburn for Oman's. Credit should also be given to W.M. MacKenzie, who was the first to realize that Barbour's depiction of the battle was correct and Oman's wrong; he in turn convinced John E. Morris, who corroborates Barbour with evidence from the English Chronicles.

Bain, in the Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, maintains that The Bruce's few errors, which are understandable in a work written over fifty years after the events, detract "little from [its] real historical value...."¹⁵

But high regard for the poem's very considerable merits as history can affect literary judgment. Agnes Mure MacKenzie, for example, maintains that it should not be criticized as a poem because it is a scholarly history which is only incidentally in verse. Skeat on the other hand states that "the right way to regard 'The Bruce' is not to look at it [as a history] too critically" because it is a romance.¹⁶ Barbour himself calls it a romance, and whether he means merely a narrative about a hero or a work that follows the form of a French romance--that is, a vernacular work cast in octosyllabic couplets--he surely knew the difference between romance and chronicle. The point is, that if it is a history, then obviously poetic craftsmanship is irrelevant.

Viewed as either romance or history, it appears to be curiously lacking. As a romance, it omits details of courtly life, has no lovingly lengthened descriptions of feasts, armor or ladies, dismisses the supernatural as irrational and shows too high a regard for history.¹⁷ As a history, it is less flawed, but it displays a disregard for exact chronology, mentions no important documents, suppresses important historical information and details many incidents that would be superfluous to an historian.¹⁸ Appreciation of Barbour depends at least partly on accurate apprehension of what he is trying to do, which is

to write neither romance nor history, but to fuse elements of both in a national epic.¹⁹ Craftsmanship and historical representation, then, are not separate, but because The Bruce has been more often accepted as a work of historical significance than as "a poetical achievement of striking originality and power,"²⁰ I shall focus on Barbour as a craftsman, that is, as a poet and story-teller.

Wittig attempts to explain the artistic deficiencies that he finds in The Bruce by saying that Barbour was not concerned with style because "he was living on the fringe of the literary conventions of his time...."²¹ But Barbour was no insular being. He had dealings with the English court, spent some time at Oxford improving his education and travelled in France. As Skeat says:

It is interesting to find that Barbour, after he had already been promoted to the archdeaconry, continued his studies with such diligence that he obtained from the King of England four passports for the purpose of studying at Oxford and at Paris, the last of them bearing date eleven years later than the first. His studies were evidently prosecuted for the love of learning, and not with a view to advancement.²²

These trips made from 1357 to 1368 were probably taken before he began The Bruce, which was near completion by 1375.²³ And his studies surely began with a thorough grounding in rhetoric, which in his time included poetics.

He is certainly a self-conscious writer, one who recognizes that the highest aim of poetry is to give pleasure, who echoes Aristotle when he says that the pleasure is best achieved

by the representation of reality, and who says that the chief means to achieve this pleasure is to write well:

Storyss to rede ar delitabill,
 Suppuss that thai be nocht bot fabill;
 Than suld storyss that suthfast wer,
 And thai war said on gud maner,
 Hawe doubill plesance in heryng.
 The fyrst plesance is the carpyng,
 And the tothir the suthfastnes,
 That schawys the thing rycht as it wes;
 And suth thyngis that ar likand
 Tyll mannys heryng, ar plesand (I, 1-10).

The representation of reality is subordinate then to pleasure, for even fables can be pleasant to read, and the "fyrst" pleasure "is the carpyng" or narration. But true stories, if they are told well ("And thai war said on gud maner"), are doubly pleasurable. Can a writer who begins his work with such a statement be said to be unconcerned with art? His words suggest a sense of poetic purpose, which is

To put in wryt a suthfast story,
 That it lest ay furth in memory,
 Swa that na lenth of tyme it let,
 Na ger it haly be forget (I, 13-16).

Critics who find Barbour's style wanting usually compare him unfavorably to the Scottish Chaucerians.²⁴ Next to the dazzling display of Dunbar's poetry with its range of techniques and tones, Barbour's poetry seems pale indeed. But is it without art? Dunbar's virtuosity is not conducive to realism: rather it is a barrier. The aureate beginning and ending of The Tretis of the Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo, for example, enable the poet to distance himself and thus invite the reader to distance himself from the rawly realistic content of the body of the poem. Again, the exuberant rimes of The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie allow the reader to place himself in

the proper perspective and makes it possible for him to accept what would otherwise be vile and ugly in the spirit which Dunbar intended. But where involvement rather than distance is the poet's desired aim, such aureate style has no place. Direct confrontation requires a seeming spareness; Barbour's artistry appears to be artless. He was indeed the first of the Scots makars. To achieve his end, to present a true story well, he uses a full range of prosodical and rhetorical devices.

A Review of the Chapters

The present study of Barbour as makar will begin with his prosody; that is, with the structural rhythm of the line, of sections and of the work as a whole. It will also discuss the rhythmic effects of phonic repetition: rime, alliteration, assonance and whole-word and syntactical repetitions (chapter one). Almost all these devices are dealt with in the medieval rhetorics, which are also concerned with narrative methods, simile, metaphor and other figures that are among the resources of the poet. Chapter two will attempt to place Barbour with respect to this tradition. But rhetoric in the modern sense means not only the tropes discussed in the medieval rhetorics, but also the devices of narration and characterization by which an author achieves his desired effect; that is, the degree to which he intrudes himself (tone, digression, comment), and the choices he makes of what to represent (omission and selection) and how to present it (narration or dramatic scene; high or low style). Chapter two will treat these aspects of rhetoric as

well. Rhetoric also means the integration of moral themes so that they support characterization and plot to produce a particular emotional effect. Chapter three, then, will consider Barbour's development of a code of chivalry in the context of the historical material that embodies the moral values of the struggle for freedom.

To concentrate on these aspects of The Bruce, I am forced to slight various other opportunities for critical and scholarly evaluation--some of which are mentioned in the notes. A study of Barbour's oral sources and oral techniques would be valuable (see ch. II, n. 12). A fully-developed comparison of Barbour's work and contemporary historical documents would, I think, confirm much about his methods and purpose that in this study I infer from the work itself. The progress of The Bruce through later narrative histories--from Bower's Scotichronicon to Scott's Tales of a Grandfather--would reveal much of developing historical notions. Bellenden, for example, attempts to explain logically some of the incidents that Barbour presents dramatically, without explanation. Also, the work's growing acceptance by modern historians could be traced.

Barbour's reliance on contemporary manuals should be investigated more fully (see ch. II, n. 52). For example, I touch upon his possible use of Vegetius, but this needs to be done more systematically. The analysis of Barbour's prosody gives one a tool to determine if he did write any of the other works sometimes attributed to him, but I have not taken the further step of plying the tool.²⁵ Barbour's possible influence

on the so-called Scottish Chaucerians deserves exploration. Finally, Scott's extensive use of Barbour as a source invites comparison of the two poets. The Bruce is rich in possibilities for further study.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

¹
 John Barbour, The Bruce; or The Book of the Most Excellent and Noble Prince, Robert De Broyss, King of Scots, ed. Walter Skeat, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons for the S.T.S., 1894, reprinted by Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966). Skeat uses Mss. C and E and the earliest printed edition H (See his account of the Mss. and of the printed editions, I, lxxvii-lxxxviii), to which I sometimes refer by letter. References to book and line no. from The Bruce in Skeat's text will appear in parentheses after each citation. References to the notes, glossary, introduction, and so on, will be designated "Skeat." I have normalized / β to ss and ζ to either y or g (for ζ et=forget; ζ ow=yow). Skeat's emendations in brackets have been accepted and the brackets eliminated.

Tom Scott, "Observations on Scottish Studies," SSL, I, 1 (July, 1963), 5-13, says that "Scottish Literature does not begin with Barbour's Brus in the fourteenth century, but with the Erse and Latin hymns of Columba in the sixth." Nevertheless, Barbour is the first to write extensively in Scots (which he called Ynglis [IV, 253]), which is a "development of Old Northumbrian" as Tom Scott notes in Late Medieval Scots Poetry: A Selection from the Makars and Their Heirs down to 1610 (N.Y.: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p.20. He says that early Scots to 1424 was "almost indistinguishable from the Northumbrian tongue," and that "Barbour was the first great poet of the early period." Peter Giles, "The Earliest Scottish Literature," The Cambridge

History of English Literature, ed. A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (Cambridge, 1908), II, v, 110-132, says that Scottish literature begins with Barbour.

² Skeat quotes the relevant sections of Wyntoun's Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland (c.1420) in an Appendix to the Preface, I, xciii-cvi.

Bower (c.1440) is quoted by J. Pinkerton, ed., The Bruce; or The History of Robert I, King of Scotland (London, 1790), p. xviii.

³ On Blind Harry's extensive borrowings from The Bruce see George Neilson, "Blind Harry's Wallace," Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, I (1910; 1966), 85-112.

⁴ Dunbar's "Lament for the Makars," l.61. See Skeat, I, lxxv; II, 306, on Scott's use of Barbour. T.F. Henderson, Scottish Vernacular Literature, a Succinct History, 3rd rev. ed. (Edin.: John Grant, 1910), p.51.

⁵ Smith, Scottish Literature: Character and Influence (London: MacMillan & Co., 1919), quotes Pinkerton on p.140; his own comment appears on p.236.

⁶ Warton is paraphrased and Pinkerton quoted extensively in David Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry, ed. John Aitken Carlyle (Edin., 1861), pp.106-7; 108-9.

⁷ Veitch, The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry (Edin., 1887), I, 160; The History and Poetry of the Scottish Border: Their Main Features and Relations, new ed. (Edin., 1893), I, 243.

8

See Skeat's account of the editions for bibliographical information, and more recent editions and translations by W.M. MacKenzie (London, 1909); Michael MacMillan, The Bruce of Bannockburn, abbrev. trans. (Stirling, 1914); Archibald A. H. Douglas, trans. The Bruce, An Epic Poem (Glasgow: William MacLellan, 1964).

9

Brie, Die nationale Literatur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1937), pp.33-122. James Kinsley, ed., Scottish Poetry, A Critical Survey (London: Cassell & Co., 1955), pp.1-9. Of course, many other have written Barbour's praises; some are referred to in the notes to the chapters.

10

"Barbour and Blind Harry," Scottish Review, XXII (1893), 173-90. Cp. Ian Walker, "Barbour, Blind Harry and Sir William Craigie," SSL, I (1964), 202-6, and Neilson's article, above n.3.

11

'The Wallace' and 'the Bruce' Restudied (Bonn: Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, 1900). Brown's work has been dismissed as completely erroneous. See, for example, a review by T. F. Henderson in Englische Studien, XXX (1902), 281-94. Ramsay finished Ms. C in 1487 and E in 1489. But see MacKenzie, ed., The Bruce, pp.viii-ix.

12

John W. Oliver and J.C. Smith, ed., A Scots Anthology from the 13th to the 20th Century (Edin.: Oliver & Boyd, 1949) . p.xvi.

13

The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edin.: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), pp.12, 16, 32.

14

Moray McLaren, If Freedom Fail: Bannockburn, Flodden, The Union (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964), with an Appendix on Barbour's sources by Robin Lorimer. The McLaren-Lorimer thesis is based on unsupported conjecture and wild surmise.

15

The Art of War in the Middle Ages A.D. 375-1515, by C.W.C. Oman, rev. and ed. by John H. Beeler (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1953 [orig. 1885]). Oman, in later editions, came to share many of MacKenzie's views. MacKenzie, The Battle of Bannockburn: A Study in Medieval Warfare (Glasgow; James MacLehose and Sons, 1913). Morris, Bannockburn (Cambridge: at the U. Press, 1914). Bain, III, ix, quoted by Skeat, p. lxiin.

16

MacKenzie, An Historical Survey of scottish Literature to 1714 (London, 1940), pp.40-41; Skeat, I, lxiv. Brie and Douglas each discuss genre fully.

17

See Helaine Newstead's general description of romances in Romances, Fascicule I of A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500, gen. ed. J. Burke Severs (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967), p.11. Interestingly enough, in the same manual, Lillian H. Hornstein places the Bruce in the category, "Romances on Historical Themes," but says, "because of its effort at historical accuracy, the Bruce is discussed with the Chronicles (q.v.)" (p.158).

19

The work has been called chronicle, romance, epic, biography, history, or compilation by various writers, depending on their point of view. Brie, pp.82-107, has a very cogent

discussion on the genre of The Bruce and concludes that it is not romance, hero-epic, verse chronicle, or verse biography, although it has some attributes of all, but as he says in "Schottisches Nationgefühl im Mittelalter," Geistige Arbeit, XI (1934), 5-6, it is "ein Werk sui generis, dass wir ohne Weiteres als das erste Schottische National-epos bezeichnen können."

18

See, for example, below, Chapter Three, n.77.

20

Alexander Kinghorn, ed., Barbour: The Bruce, A Selection (Edin.: Oliver & Boyd for the Saltire Society, 1960), p.10.

21

p.32. Cp. James Westfall Thompson, A History of Historical Writing (N.Y.: MacMillan 1942), who says, "from the middle of the fourteenth century a steady stream of Scottish students to Paris and other French universities kept Scotland in touch with the new intellectual movements" (I, 617).

22

I, xxxi. See also Skeat's account of the allusions in The Bruce, lviii-lix. Barbour would also have found a reasonable number of books in Aberdeen, as well as in other Scottish libraries. See N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, 2nd ed. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964).

23

See The Bruce, XIII, 699-708. See also Skeat's "Memoir," I, xxxi, where it is noted that Barbour received a pension in 1378, probably for The Bruce, and probably shortly after the poem was completed; since he was evidently relieved of certain

official duties from 1373-1377, it is probable that he was engaged in writing The Bruce for all this time. See also, Karl J. Holzknrecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (N.Y.: Octagon Books, 1966 [orig. 1923]), p.176, who rightly cautions that there is no definite evidence to connect the pensions Barbour received to the book. He points out also that it was a common practice to name the patron, or compliment him in some way (p.96), which Barbour does not do.

24

For example, Oliver and Smith, p.xvi.

25

The works sometimes attributed to Barbour are two Troy fragments, parts of the 'Legends of Saints' and The Buik of Alexander. The weight of critical opinion is against these attributions. See Skeat, xlvi-lviii and Romances, Fascicule I of A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, pp.111, 117. Cp. George Neilson, John Barbour: Poet and Translator (London, 1900), and W.M. MacKenzie, ed., The Bruce, "Appendix E."

CHAPTER ONE

PROSODY

SYMBOLS USED IN CHAPTER ONE

- / primary stress or any metrical stress when levels of
 stress are not indicated
- \ secondary stress
- ^ tertiary stress
- ↓ end of sentence
- ↘ end of clause but not of sentence
- greater expectation
- ↗ greatest expectation
- ↘ ↗ mixed expectation--end of sentence or clause but not
 of thought
- } little expectation

Central to the consideration of Barbour as craftsman is his prosodic method, his handling of the technical aspects of all the sound effects and rhythms of verse. Technical excellence of course does not necessarily produce poetry, but when opportunities for variations are exploited in connection with significant meaning, when rhythms reinforce or imitate sense, and when substitutions wake us out of the lulling trance of periodicity to force upon us the meaning of key words, then verse becomes poetry.

Three Basic Meters

Barbour was writing at a unique time and place and thus had a choice of many ways to structure his work. No one metrical or prosodic system had taken precedence as, say, free verse has today. Furthermore, the rule books on English prosody had not hardened into dogma. Barbour was free to follow his ear. The alliterative system was viable, flourishing in the Northern and Western areas of Britain. French verse was influential with its syllable count and rime and elaborate stanza patterns. In English, since stress is a strong factor in pronunciation, the French syllabic system means counting syllables only and letting stress fall as it may. An English tradition of mainly iambic meter with the foot as the smallest pattern unit was also beginning to make a place. Because all three of these methods were available to Barbour, were part of his prosodic vocabulary so to speak, he could freely shift from

one style to another to allow his rhythm to reflect his meaning. In Barbour's verse, then, three basic meters are operative: the octosyllabic couplet: "...And degradyt syne wes he / Off honour and off dignite" (I, 175-76); the English adaptation of the French line, that is, syllabic-stress meter with four iambic feet to a line: "On athir syd thus war thai yhar..." (II, 346); and a modified version of the Old-English four stress meter, which for convenience we may simply refer to as alliterative meter: "Thai straucht thar speris, on athir syd..." (II, 348).

Superficially, in Barbour the three meters are quite similar and certainly they are compatible, containing as they all do the possibility of four stresses in a line that is usually eight syllables long, although there may be nine or seven syllables. The effect of each is different, however. The French line because the stresses come anywhere has a rhythm close to prose rhythm, relying on equal line quantities and rime to produce the rhythm of poetry. Nor is it essential that there be four stresses. The alliterative line differs from the French line in that its rhythm is somewhat trochaic, the stresses are reinforced by alliteration (structural alliteration) and thus are heavier, amplification resulting from the coincidence of two patterns, and caesura is usual. Of course, Barbour's alliterative-stress meter is not the classic strict and rigid Beowulf meter. Rather it is more like a popular rhythm with caesura often missing or occurring elsewhere than in the middle of the line, alliteration not so

restricted, often falling, for example, on the last stress, or even becoming decorative and appearing in unstressed syllables, and unstressed syllables less clustered and more infrequent because of the much shorter length of the line. But regardless of the fact that this is a popular version, the Old English four-stress beat has an elevating effect because of its long association with heroic and elegiac poetry. It is possible that this popular rhythm had an existence dating from pre-Norman times and had been transmitted orally through the centuries finally to merge with the alliterative survival or revival of the classic meters in the 14th century.¹ It is reasonable to assume that such an oral tradition could influence Barbour because there is other evidence of an oral tradition in his work.² The iambic meter probably grew out of the French line rather than from the Old English line. Once alliteration is absent as a binding force, the poet possibly finds that the French line in which stress occurs anywhere is simply not structured enough to hold the line together, to sound like poetry. In French the problem of stress occurring anywhere does not, of course, annoy, because stress is almost unimportant. In English, however, where stress is such an important factor in pronunciation, the occurrence of stress anywhere in a line not bound by alliteration must have led to a desire to regularize the rhythm, and thus by Barbour's time the iambic beat which seems to be natural to English pronunciation in any case was increasingly dominant.³ I shall consider this iambic meter, then, as primary and call it regular--the others operating

as substitution to achieve particular effects. That Barbour had these three possibilities from which to choose gives him the kind of flexibility he needs in a long narrative poem that must strike many chords.

For example, in this conversational beginning, so intimate and simple in its straightforward statement of Barbour's aims, the meter is relaxed. Syllables count more than stress and structural alliteration is absent:

Storyss to rede ar delitabill
 Supposs that thai be nocht bot fabill:
 Than suld storyss that suthfast wer,
 And thai war said on gud maner,
 Hawe doubill plesance in heryng.
 The fyrst plesance is the carpyng,
 And the tothir the suthfastnes,
 That schawys the thing rycht as it wes...(I, 1-8).

Barbour in these lines uses a combination of iambic meter with syllable count. And not only does he juggle these two styles; he also maintains a delicate balance between the rules of the rhetoricians and the demands of his poetry. This is an appropriately sententious beginning as suggested by the rhetorics: stories are doubly pleasurable if along with the primary requirement of being told well they are also true. But at the same time, the relationship that he wishes to establish with his audience demands an almost colloquial, even prosy beginning. Thus there is a levelling of stress: many are secondary stresses-- for example in line two the only primary stresses are on the second syllable of Supposs and the first of fabill -- and there is an excess of unstressed syllables; for example in line four there are only three stresses to five unstressed syllables.

Rime is not used to reinforce end-of-line stress, almost all of the rimes occurring on secondary stresses and feminine endings: delitabill (or delitabill), fabill; heryng, carpyng; suthfastnes, wes.⁴ It is clear that what is keeping these lines from becoming prose is the syllable count, 99888888, and the sprinkling of iambic feet. Or to say this more positively, what makes this introduction sound so relaxed and conversational, what produces that sense of intimacy as if Barbour were speaking directly to the reader in spite of the conventional beginning is deviation from regular iambic meter at various points.⁵

Line one begins quite regularly since the inversion of the first foot occurs often enough to be unexceptionable:

/ / / /
Storyss to rede ar delitabill

The second line is regular iambic, or at least there is a possibility of reading it this way, and as a general rule when there seems to be an option I shall choose the reading that is closest to iambic meter. The third line has the unusual occurrence of two inverted feet at the beginning of the line:

/ / / \
Than suld storyss that suthfast wer

It is unusual for the poet to upset the rhythmic expectation to this extent, the regularity of lines one and two having given rise to an expectation of a continuation of the iambic meter. The problem is somewhat solved if we scan the first foot as - ' , but Than has the rhetorical stress pointing up the Then - If construction of lines three and four, and it seems reasonable to give Than the stress that the meaning

requires. Moreover, a trochaic substitution in the second foot is even more unusual than two trochees; therefore the best reading is the natural one. The remaining two feet of the line are iambic, and this double-facing symmetry has, again, the effect of dividing a line bound by alliteration into two staves. Thus elements of the Old English line are hovering in the background. Line four is regular with an inverted first foot. Line five is difficult to scan, almost as if it were a reaction to the smoothness of line four. It is obviously structured on syllable count alone and has only three stresses:

/
/
/
 Hawe doubill plesance in heryng

Heryng rimes with carpyng since -er and -ar are both pronounced [æɪr] (See Skeat's rime index, II, 313). It is possible but unlikely that Hawe is pronounced as two syllables [hæva]. Then the line works out as three trochees and one iamb with feminine ending. Of course, it is possible to pronounce plesance with the accent on the second syllable, but the pronunciation of doubill does not make that a ready solution.⁶ Or we could pronounce Hawe as one lightly stressed syllable, which either gives us a line with two iambs, a pyrrhic, and a trochee, or one with a trochee (plesance) surrounded by two amphibrachs, which last would accord best with phrasal clustering. But it seems fruitless to try to divide this line into feet. An iambic reading is possible only if in and -yng are given metrical stresses. The syllabic reading is preferable, both because it accords better with normal speech stress, and

also because the feminine ending of heryng, the descent in pitch that this ending involves, reinforces the full stop at the end of this line, so that the fyrst of the next line is emphasized just as rhetoric would have it.

The sixth line, too, probably has only three stresses with the eight syllables required of syllabic verse. The scansion of line five influences that of six. If plesance is pronounced ' - in line five, as it seems to be, then it is possible that it retains this pronunciation in line six. Then we scan the line: "The fyrst plesance is the carpyng..." It is often said that three unstressed syllables in a row are unusual in English verse, but that opinion ignores phrasing. It is true that in any one phrasal cluster three unstressed syllables would be unusual. But where there is more than one phrasal cluster, such accumulations of unstressed syllables are possible. For example, in line six plesance is one phrasal cluster and is the carpyng is another. Thus the three unstressed syllables of -ance, is, the are perfectly admissible. It would be a distortion of normal prose pronunciation to stress is.⁷ Only when the rhythm of lines is completely regular does the meter force the reader to stress words that ordinarily would not receive rhetorical stress. Here, since the stress pattern of the previous line is not regular, there is no such forced stress. It is, however, possible to pronounce plesance differently from line 5, in which case the scansion is: "The fyrst plesance is the carpyng," and if is the occupies one metrical position, the line is iambic with only seven metrical positions.⁸

Line seven has only two primary linguistic stresses with a tertiary stress on -nes of suthfastnes. If we want to divide this line into feet, it seems to be two anapests with a weak iambic, almost a pyrrhic, ending. If And is promoted and -ir and the occupy one metrical position--as in the Halle-Keyser condition two (see note 8), then the line may be considered an acephalous iambic line. Line eight goes back to less complex iambic regularity except for an inverted third foot which emphasizes "rycht," meaning exactly; again, the metrical substitution reinforces rhetorical meaning. And if the line were not iambic otherwise, the reversal in the third foot would not be felt, deviation by definition assuming a norm. The Halle-Keyser notion of neutralization of contiguous stresses does not account for the felt effect of the inversion.

As would be expected in octosyllabic meter, but not mandatory in iambic meter that uses not only the line but also the foot to give it coherence, the lines are all end-stopt. Except in line three, alliteration is not structural and it is not phonesthetic; that is, although there are many g sounds in these lines, they are not the binding force of the lines because many occur on unstressed syllables, and they are not phonesthetic because the sound does not reinforce meaning. However, although the main feature of alliterative verse is absent, there is a faint suggestion of the Old-English line in the slight caesura of some lines. All of the three rhythms are working here to produce the completely smooth but intimate effect.

On the other hand, lines about battle are a traditional place for alliterative meter to turn up. Even Chaucer of the sophisticated London court who seldom used it (his Parson says disparagingly "I kan nat geeste 'rum, ram, ruf,' by lettre") felt that it was appropriate to the context of tourney in the Knight's Tale:

Ther shyveren shaftes upon sheeldes thikke...
 Out brest the blood with stierne stremes rede;
 With myghty maces the bones they tobreste
 (A, 2605, 2610-11).

Here is Barbour describing the battle of Methven:

On aythir syd thus war thai yhar,
 And till assemble all redy war.
 Thai straucht thar speris, on athir syd,
 And swa ruydly gan samyn ryd,
 That speris all to-fruschyt war,
 And feyle men dede, and woundyt sar;
 The blud owt at thar byrnys brest.
 For the best, and the worthiest,
 That wilfull war to wyn honour,
 Plungyt in the stalwart stour,
 And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang (II, 346-356).

The poet's ear is very good indeed. Retaining his fairly strict syllabic count, using iambs, he manages to capture the heroic measure, the pulsing rhythm of the four-stress meter, by combining decorative and structural alliteration. The first line introduces the beat gradually with the repetition of th sounds, all on unaccentuated syllables, and of the r sound, aythir, war, yhar, redy, war, which because it is so decidedly pronounced and in spite of the fact that it does not always fall at the beginning of the word is more of a factor than our modern washed-out r can be.⁹ Here the alliteration is phonesthetic because the sound echoes the harsh sense.

But it is in the third line that the alliteration coupled with the stress comes through. The line is pure iambic, but with a difference. The stress on the s alliterations emphasizes the strong stress, and the reason for the r's of the first two lines now becomes apparent. The continuation of the r's here pulls the first two lines into the Old-English rhythm: "straucht thar speris," "aythir syd." And in the next line the r's break out and become part of the overt alliterative pattern, again coupled with the s sounds: "swa ruydly"; "samyn ryd." The r's continue through this passage.

Although the lines are syntactical units, Barbour's imagination is not limited by the line here. He seems to be obsessive about certain sounds and the obsession will carry him across line boundaries.¹⁰ In lines four and five, for example, he continues the s sound that structures the third line but in them it is not the dominant but the sub-dominant note. In lines five and six there is not across-the-line alliteration but alliteration across two lines. Feyle in line six is the response to to-fruschyt in line five; sar in six responds to speris and to-fruschyt in five as well as being generated by its rime-mate, war. And woundyt echoes war. Another device that indicates that Barbour is not constrained by line limits is word repetition that binds separate lines. He seems to be particularly fond of this device, which occurs twice in these eleven lines. War appears in line one and pleonastically in two and aythir side in lines one and three.

The seventh line is a perfect example of alliterative stress meter with the iambs retained, although it does not follow the classic pattern of aa/ax and the scansion of the second foot is uncertain:

The blud owt at thar byrnys brest.

I am inclined to read the second foot as an inverted foot, owt at, a reading that gives the line a particular poignancy occurring as it does on the sensitive second foot and in a passage that is decidedly regular.¹¹ The emotion expressed is not spent by the single line but washes over to the next. So best continues the alliteration of as well as rimes with brest. Worthiest, on the other hand, anticipates the w's of the next line. Considered by itself, the eighth line is not an alliterative line but is structured on its internal rime. However, in the context it slips into the overall alliterative pattern.

Line ten is either headless iambic or tail-less trochaic. Normal phrasal clustering makes it trochaic, it seems to me. That is, the voice does not group yt in, but plungyt/ in the/ stalwart/ stour. But the missing syllable certainly makes the reading ambiguous, and that ambiguity does echo the sense very well. The trochaic meter is the falling, unhappy meter (when sense supports the rhythm) and that echoes the sense of the line: "how sad to see such men die," and the iambic meter is the rising, joyful meter (again, if sense supports the rhythm) and that echoes the sense of "how glorious to see such men willing to die to win honour." Both of these emotions are

realized through the ambiguity of the meter.¹²

The last line of the section repeats the alliterating r's of the earlier lines and the last word drops off sharply, even harshly, ending appropriately this alliterating section:

And rowt^íis ruy^íd about^í them dang^í.

The two alliterating words in the first half of the line give rise to an expectation of another in the second half. The disappointment of this expectation puts especial stress on dang. This stress and the guttural quality of the letter "g" reinforce the meaning, struck. The insistent assonance of the first three stressed words also weights the line. Subsequent lines continue the alliterative pattern only sufficiently to retain the heroic mood.

The alliteration functions in two ways, then, in this section: first, in several lines it binds as in Old-English verse (alliteration falling on stress), but since these verses are already structured by syllabic count (all the lines except one, "Plungyt in the stalwart stour," contain 8 syllables) and by iambic meter, as well as rime, the alliteration serves not so much as a coherent force as an emotional one, reminding Barbour's audience of the heroic poetry they no doubt knew very well by emphasizing its salient feature. Second, the alliteration is phonesthetic. The g sounds here echo just as they do in Chaucer's verse quoted above the splintering sound of splitting shafts, and the r sounds rumble across the passage like the horses' hoofs. The inherited energy of the alliterative stress meter enables Barbour to release his own heroic

impulses.¹³

Unlike the first few lines of the poem that were discussed previously, the meter of these lines is not relaxed. Thus the rimes are all on masculine endings, and only one, worthiest, is on a secondary stress. And the iambic meter is much more well-defined, there being hardly a syllable that deviates from that pattern -- none, if the Halle-Keyser system is followed. This regularity serves the formal, heroic purpose well. The fact that some of Barbour's verse is decidedly regular, while other sections are not, and that the meter is appropriate to the aim of each section, supports the view that Barbour is a conscious artist. This detailed metrical analysis of two sections that have completely different purposes demonstrates that Barbour makes his meters sustain and echo the sense.

Line Variations

In the two sections just discussed it is virtually impossible to speak of the rhythm of the line. It is rather the rhythm of a group of lines, of a verse paragraph, that determines the reading of any one line.¹⁴ However, Barbour does create a number of one-line rhythmical diversions. One type is the alliterative formula used at the end of a line that does not alliterate in the first part: "that in thar tyme war wycht and wyss" (I, 23). The alliterative formula, then, weights the second half of the line. The effect is of

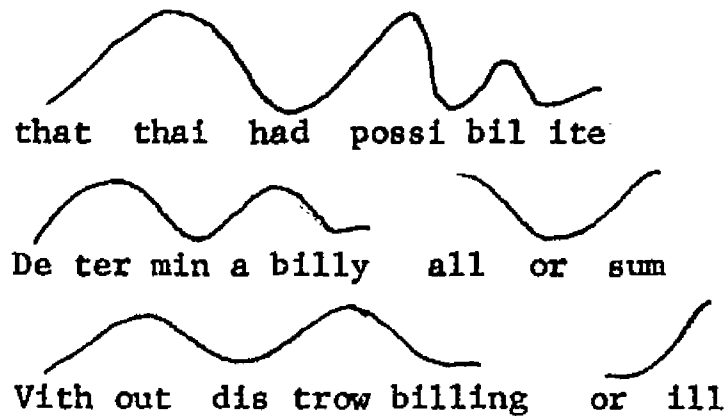
course to capture some of the feeling of the Old English alliterative line, but without its beat. For example, a line like "For thar ledar is wyss and wucht" (II, 260) is far different in rhythm from a line like "Thai straucht thar speris, on athir syd" (II, 348) where the weight of the alliteration is spread over all the line. But while these formulas do serve some purpose, because they are used indiscriminately for virtually every hero on both sides, they do not become epithets.¹⁵ Rather, they seem to be line-fillers. Almost all come at the end of lines and are similar in function to such line fillers as "perfay" which occurs sometimes at the end of a line merely as an easy rime.¹⁶ However, Barbour does not abuse through this kind of padding, and some fillers are not surprising in a work that is over 13,000 lines. Even Chaucer occasionally pads for rime.

Not all the formulas alliterate, as in fact many of the formulas of the Old English poetry and its revival do not alliterate. These formulas are tag-like folk combinations that remind one of the oral poetry of the period: "stark and fair" (IV, 72); "heir and thair" (VII, 340); "noyis and cry" (VII, 338); "Fer no neir" (VIII, 256); "hye and law" (X, 471); "to and fra" (X, 465). Again, these are not overdone.

More interesting are the one-line rhythmic variations that affect the whole line. Rarely there is a line composed of monosyllabic words. For example, when Comyn reveals his conversation with Robert Bruce to King Edward, Barbour makes the ironic comment "Bot, I trow, nocht all as it was" (I, 564).

The slow pace of the monosyllables, slowed further by the parenthetical "I trow," emphasizes the understated irony. More often, Barbour uses triplets, that is three words with perhaps one connector: "Dishonour^ú wikytneś^ú, na schame^ú" (III, 566), where the rhythm is not determined by the iambic foot but by word clusters -- Dishonour (pause) wikytneś (pause) na schame -- a very pleasing variation on the iambic line, which is regular according to Halle and Keyser's system, with stress maximum--a metrical stress flanked by syllables of lesser intensity--on only the sixth syllable.¹⁷

Most lines have at least one di-syllabic word and polysyllabic words are used quite daringly, coming at the beginning, end, or even middle of the line: "That thai had possibiilite" (IV, 572); "Determinabilly, all or sum" (IV, 677); "Vithout distrowbiling or ill" (V, 216). These polysyllables because of their speed yet weight affect the rhythm of these lines. That is, although each line is iambic, the rhythms are different. In the second example, because the six-syllable word comes first, the second part of the line "all or sum" tends to lengthen to match. In the first example, on the other hand, because the polysyllabic word comes last, one pronounces its accents with rather more emphasis than would be normal if it did not appear at the end of an iambic line.¹⁸ The mathematical curve of each demonstrates the interplay of length (speed) and variable stress:¹⁹



Another kind of triplet, each of which contains one di-syllabic word, depends for its movement on the repetition of a word in a syntactical sequence:

And byrn, and slay, and raiss dragoun (II, 205)



Sa hard, sa strayt, and sa feloune (IV, 6)

Thair speris, thair pennownys, & thar scheldis (VIII, 227)

Sum tane, sum slayn, sum gat away (IX, 630)

The rhythm of these lines moves on these repetitions and not on the iambic meter which remains an undercurrent. Note in the last example, the internal rime, another frequent device to change the rhythm of the line as it tends to bind and yet to divide the line. Internal rime is also used to good effect when the Bruce mourns "For his men that war slayne and tane" (II, 470) and even better when Barbour exclaims that if the Scots had only known what Edward I would do, "Ye had nocht wrocht on that maner" (I, 94), where the coincidence of heavy stresses on nocht and wrocht, the length of the vowels, the difficult consonant clusters, the high pitch, the rime, and the sustentional juncture²⁰ between the two words all strengthen

Barbour's utterance.

Alliteration on only two stresses also affects rhythm: "And lat him ryng that had the rycht (I, 78); "And bargane at the barras hald" (IV, 96). But the rhythm of these lines is quite different because of the position of the alliteration. If I were to diagram the rhythm I should say that the first is  while the second is . Some of these lines approach a rocking ballad meter as in "And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew" (I, 278); "Sum best voundit, and sum ves slane" (IV, 94) where the sum's support the rest of the line as do the uprights on a suspension bridge. The rest of the words swing from these supports. Part of the effect is achieved by the repetition of sum, part by the extra-heavy stress that this repetition encourages, part in the second example at least by the isochronous facing sections of trochaic rhythm in the first stave and iambic in the second. Sometimes the ballad rhythm is couplet length: "Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew / And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew" (II, 466-67). Violent action and a seemingly detached sensibility are characteristic of the ballad and it is appropriate that Barbour recall their rhythm in these lines.²¹

Much of the time Barbour repeats words and parts of words not to affect the rhythm within the line, but to link a number of lines. For example, the Bruce expects to have a hard fight with Edward I,

For thar wes nane off lyff sa fell,
 Sa pautener, na sa cruell.
 And quhen to king Eduuard wes tauld,
 How at the Brwyss, that wes sa bauld
 Had brocht the Cumyn till ending...(II, 193-97).

The repetition of the word "sa" in the first two lines emphasizes Edward's cruelty, and also acts as an adroit transition in the narrative from the Bruce, who is thinking of Edward, to Edward when he finds out about Bruce's boldness. The shift is effected without obviously pointing it by saying, "Now we shall turn to..."; it is the rhythm of the structure "sa" (adjective) that binds, that enables us to move from the Bruce's mind to Edward's. Even more skillful is the use of repetition for transition in Book I when Robert Bruce the Competitor refuses the throne but Balliol accepts Edward I's conditions to become king:

Bot schir Ihon the Balleoll perfay
 Assentyt till him, in all his will;
 Quhar-throuch fell eftir mekill ill.
 He was king bot a litill quhile;
 And throuch gret sutelte and ghyle,
 For litill enchesone or nane,
 He was arestyt syne and tane,
 And degradyt syne wes he
 Off honour and off dignite.
 Quhethir it wes throuch wrang or rycht,
 God wat it, that is maist off mycht! (I, 168-78).

Barbour compresses the events of three and one-half years into nine lines. Here the repetition of -ill (and of the consonating syllable -ile) creates a pile-up of syllables that not only binds rhythmically but also gives Barbour's understated comment on the situation. The word "ill" means "evil," "wicked," "sickness,"²² and these connotations flicker beneath the surface

of the denotative meanings. The alliteration of "wrang or rycht" and "maist off mycht" also has its emotional effect as does the indignation that the last two lines express. Even the formulaic nature of "wrang or rycht" works here, suggesting as it does elemental outrage.

Barbour also works both within and beyond the limits of the line in his use of catalogs. There is an allusion to Julius Caesar that contains both kinds of catalog; that is, a single line filled with nothing but names that is part of a verse paragraph containing a number of other names:

Iulius Cesar als, that wan
Bretane and Fraunce, as dowchty man,
Affryk, Arrabe, Egipt, Surry,
And all Evrope halyly...(I, 537-50).

The same sort of rhythm is used to catalog people; that is, sometimes a number of names fill a line and sometimes there are only one or two names with added information in a line. Here Barbour is discussing the men that Bruce had with him before his first defeat:

...
And barownys that war bauld as bar.
Twa erlis alsua with him war;
Off Leuynax and Atholl war thai.
Eduuard the Bruce wes thar alsua,
Thomas Randell, and Hew de le Hay,
And schir Daid the Berclay,
Fresale, Somerueile, and Inchmertyn;
Iames off Dowglas thar wes syne,
That yheyt than wes bot litill of mycht;
And othir fele folk, forsyne in fycht: (II, 233-42).

He handles these names very well, rhythmically and also rhetorically. He names only ten specific people here but manages to draw it out to eleven lines, the drawing-out process itself

suggesting that there were fewer men on Bruce's side than Barbour is willing to admit. The rhythm swings, as it should when names are used well. Note also the alliteration in the first and last lines. After the battle he names those taken:

Schir Thomas Randell thar wes tane,
That then wes a young bachelor;
And schir Alexander Fraseyr;
And schir Daid the Breklay,
Inchmertyne, and Hew de le Hay,
And Somerweil, and othir ma; (II, 405-410).

The rhythm is less expansive, and many names are the same, the implication being that the Bruce's plight was sorry indeed.

For the battle of Bannockburn Barbour names on the English side not men but countries, indicating how powerful Edward II was:

Of Franss...
Of Gascon and of Almanye;
Of Duche als and of Bretanyhe
He had wicht men and weill farrand
Armyt clenly at fut and hand.
*Of Yngland hale the cheuelry
*He had thair gaderit so clenly,
That he left nane mycht vapnys velde,
Or worthy war to ficht in felde.
Of Waliss...
And of Yrlande...
Of Pouty, Aquytane, and Bayon
He had full mony of gret renoun.

Then as the climax he says:

*And of Scotland he had yeit then
*A gret menye of worthy men (XI, 89-104)²³

A test of a poet is his ability to handle such proper names rhythmically. Barbour, I think, meets the test.

Syntax Rhythm

Syntax affects the rhythm in a variety of ways. Notice in the above lines, for example, the repetitive syntactical

unit, "of____." But it is not only repeated syntactic patterns that affect the rhythm. Syntax affects the rhythm within the line when breaks do or do not occur, and this syntax rhythm is played against the recurrent pattern of meter. It affects the rhythm beyond the line depending on the kind of syntactical ending the line has, and is played against the recurrent pattern of the line. Within the line six basic varieties may be distinguished:

1. unit, no break
 - a. For thar ledar is wyss and wucht...(II, 260)
2. Break at first or second syllable; end-weighted
 - b. A! blynd folk full of all foly! (I, 91)
 - c. To yow, had ye it forow sene (I, 120)
3. beginning weighted, break at 6th or 7th syllable
 - d. Iulius Casar als, that wan (I, 537)
4. doublet, break at approximate middle
 - e. Determinabilly, all or sum... (IV, 677)
 - f. And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew... (I, 278)
5. triplet, two breaks
 - g. Dishonour, wikytnes, na schame (III, 566)
 - h. Bot, I trow, nocht all as it was (I, 564)
(where middle section is parenthetical)
6. quadruplet, 3 breaks
 - i. Affryk, Arrabe, Egipt, Surry... (I, 539)

All of these examples, except the last, are regular iambic lines by Halle and Keyser's criteria, but their rhythms are obviously different because of the syntax.

At the end of the line, five varieties may also be distinguished. These distinctions are crude, but they are workable.

- A. 0 expectancy, sentence complete in one line, or end of sentence begun in earlier line.
- B. 1 expectancy, end of clause, but not of sentence; main clause information not withheld.
- C. 2 expectancy, surprise enjambment: seems to be a B type of line until next line is read, but more expectancy than B because there is no punctuation.
- D. 3 expectancy, because not end of clause or idea.
- E. 4 expectancy, enjambment. (E is of course also D but it seems reasonable to give it a separate category)

As an adaptation of Ronald Sutherland's system, these symbols may be used to represent the various degrees of expectation:²⁴

- ↓ 0 expectancy
- ↘ 1 and 2 expectancy
- ↗ 3 and 4 expectancy, depending on strength of expectation

These symbols may be used as well within the line.

The difference in rhythm between these five types is readily apparent. The key is expectation. There is a rhythm that thrusts forward, so to speak, plunging on from line to line, and there is a rhythm that is contained within the line. Most thrust obtains, of course, when there is obvious enjambment and least thrust when the line ends in a period. Barbour achieves great variety while retaining the identity of the line. Except in rapid dialogue, no sentence begins other than at the beginning of a line or ends other than at the end of a line.²⁵ The rhythm is completely contained in the line when

a full sentence is line length. But even where sentences end there is a difference in expectation depending on whether the idea or scene is complete or not. The end of a sentence at the beginning of a scene has less finality than the end of a sentence at the conclusion of an episode. Thus, as in the other aspects of rhythm, the rhythm of syntax operates both within and beyond the line, and with the meaning as a whole.

End of line expectation has its effect of course on within-the-line rhythm; enjambment in one line, especially a unit line, often generates an end-weighted or doublet in the following line. For example, the rhythm of example "c" above is influenced by its previous line.

Walys ensample mycht have bene →
To yow, ~~Wh~~ad ye it forow sene. ↓

When reading the second line alone, the stop after yow is not so strong as it is when the two lines are read together because the breath required after reading ten syllables with no pause is greater than that required after only two syllables.

Suspense is created by the withholding of a vital clause or sentence part, for example a verb, an object of a transitive verb, the predicate adjective of a copulative verb, the object of a preposition and so on.²⁶ When such information is withheld across line boundaries, the line thrusts forward until expectation is satisfied. There is most suspense and therefore most thrust when the line with incomplete information is a unit. A broken line, on the other hand, dissipates its thrust forward even if syntax is incomplete. Example "i" above,

for example, seems to invite one to linger. The symbol ↘ or ↙→ can be used to illustrate this phenomenon of mixed expectation.

The following examples are all from Book I. Sentences complete in one line are most often exclamatory cries:

A! blynd folk full off all foly! (91) ↘
 A! quhat thai dempt thaim felony! (215) ↘
 A! fredome is a noble thing! (225) ↘

Although these lines are end-stopt, there is expectation because they begin sections.

Or they are part of dialogue:

"Quhat landis clemys he?" ↘ said the king (421). ↘

Expectation is raised by the question.

Or they are proverbial expressions:

Bot quhar god helpys, quhat may withstand? (456) ↓
 Bot of all thing, wa worth tresoun! (515) ↓

The six occurrences of complete sentences in one line in Book I are all used for particular effects, and they are obviously appropriate to the uses to which Barbour puts them. The first example combines many prosodic features to achieve its particular effect. One is the alliteration, another the large number of stressed syllables (five or six of eight) and not the least feature its conciseness, its being confined to one line. But the fact that there are only two one-line sentences that have true 0 expectancy reveals that Barbour does not operate within the confines of the line.²⁷

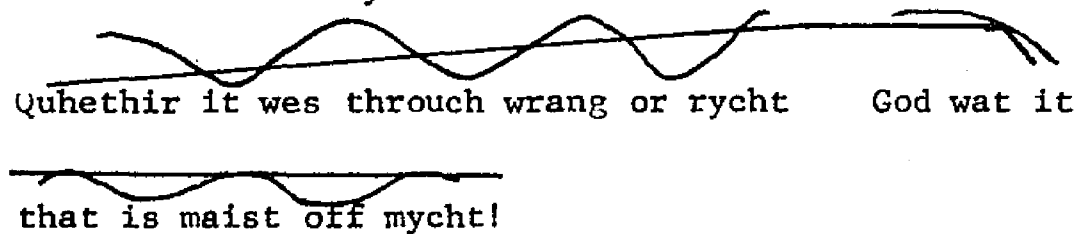
The same appropriateness may be noted for couplet length sentences of which there are twenty in Book I (and one two-line

sentence that cuts across the couplet -- all other sentences occupy more than two lines). With four exceptions, these couplet sentences are used for some purpose, either (1) to begin or more commonly to conclude a section or as transition, or (2) to cite a proverb. For example, Barbour ends his section on Edward's treatment of Balliol with the couplet:

Qhethir it wes throuch wrang or rycht, →
 God wat it, that is maist off mycht! (177-78) ↓

The compact comment expresses Barbour's sense of outrage. Meter works with syntactical rhythm and line pattern to produce the particular effect of these lines. "Qhethir" starts the thrust forward because it begins a secondary clause. As the line proceeds and the expectation of the main clause remains unsatisfied, pressure is built up so that there is no stop at "rycht," but a sustentional juncture. "Rycht" is not only stressed but also prolonged, being the first syllable before the juncture. The spondee "God wat" which begins the next line, and which is produced by the hovering effect of metrical stress on wat and rhetorical stress on God, is able to strengthen the impression of indignation; in effect, because of the prolongation of "rycht," there are actually three stresses in a row. The two syllables "God wat," coming after the lengthened, stressed, rather high-pitched "rycht" must be stressed even more, as they are the climactic main sentence part that finally resolves the expectation initiated by "Qhethir." The peak of energy of these two lines, then, crosses the line boundary. The pitch drops sharply at "it" to produce a strong caesura, which is

needed after the three stressed words. "It," however, is not completely unstressed because its pitch does not descend all the way from the high at "God wat" to the low of, say, "through." A residual stress remains from the previous three stressed words and the punctuation does not provide for a full stop. Finally, the last five words of the second line are a satisfyingly low-keyed conclusion. Every metrical stress is in effect damped because, in contrast to the end of line 177 and the beginning of 178, there is no special rhetorical stress to amplify the meter. Diagramming the syntactical rhythm makes apparent what ordinary scansion misses:



The straight line represents syntactical rhythm; the curved line meter. The point of greatest tension due to delayed resolution coincides with the three stressed words. Thus meter and syntax reinforce one another and together clash with line structure. Needless to say, a sustentional juncture at the end of the line is in an extremely sensitive position because of the pressure of the end of the line to coincide with a more decided stop or pause.

Other couplet sentences do break at the end of the first line. As a transition between his praise of freedom and his description of life in Scotland under Edward I's dominion, he says:

Thus-gat levyt thai, & in sic thrillage; ↘
 Bath pur and thai off hey parage (275-76). ↓

Other couplets are sentential or proverbial, and the couplet, of course, is a good length for a pithy saying:

And wyss men sayis he is happy, ↘
 That be othir will him chasty ↓ (121-22).

Thus contrar thingis euir-mar →
 Discoweryngis off the tothir ar ↓ (241-42).

And Catone sayis ws, in his wryt, ↘
 "To fenyhe foly quhile is wyt" ↓ (343-44).

Since the rimed couplet does not coincide with syntactical rhythm for most of the 630 lines of Book I, for much of the book these two rhythms, the rimed couplet and the sentence, operate as cross currents to one another.²⁸ The same may be observed to even a greater degree in the other books. The full flow of syntactic rhythm as poised against couplet rhythm and meter can be seen best by examining several longer passages that exhibit various kinds of moods -- the narrative, the hortatory, the lyrical, the dramatic and the descriptive moods.

1. The Narrative Mood

When the succession was disputed and the Barons decided to call in Edward I of England to help decide the matter (1290), Barbour says:

On this maner assentyt war →
 The barownis, ↘ as I said yow ar: ↓
 And throuch thar aller hale assent, →
 Messingeris till hym thai sent, ↘
 That was than in the haly land, ↘
 On Saracenys warrayand. ↓
 And fra he wyst quhat charge thai had, →
 He buskyt hym, ↘ but mar abad, ↘
 And left purpos that he had tane; ↘
 And till Ingland agayne is gayne. ↓

And syne till Scotland word send he, ↘
 That thai suld mak ane assemble; ↘
 And he in hy suld cum to do ↘
 In all thing, → as thai wrayt him to. ↓
 But he thocht weile, ↘ through thar debate, →
 That he suld slely fynd the gate →
 How that he all the senyhowry, →
 Throw his gret mycht, ↘ suld occupy ↓ (I, 135-152).

The lines are smooth. The first four lines have the rhythm of ordinary speech, reinforced by the direct address of "as I said yow ar," and thus syntax units cross line boundaries. The structure is paratactic. Information is added and added with little causal relationship. The connectors are mostly "and," "that," or prepositional phrase modifiers. According to Erich Auerbach, parataxis is the biblical style and is used "to express the impulsive and dramatic."²⁹ Causal sentences have the effect of events already digested and rationalized. Paratactic sentences on the other hand can have the effect of immediacy, as if the events are taking place in the present before there is time to digest and rationalize. Because of this paratactic style, there is little thrust forward. Rather there is a cumulative effect that is realized in retrospect. In accord with the style, most of the lines end with a falling syntactic rhythm. The section gathers momentum towards the end with the thrusting forward of the last four lines. The first three of these lines each raise a question that is answered in the next line which then raises a new question until all comes to rest in the last line with the last word: "thocht" invites the question "what?" "gate" invites the question "to do what?" and the inversion of object, "the

senyhowry," and verb, "occupy," in the last two lines creates suspense as to the verb and thus as to Edward's intention, which is left to be the climactic last word of the section. The paratactic, end-stopt lines preceding these last four, then, serve as dramatic contrast. Syntactic rhythm is low-pitched until we are, as it were, in Edward's mind, and as his quick and power-hungry mind grasps the possibilities of the Scots' request, syntactic rhythm picks up, the wave begun in line 149 breaking only with the last word.

Meter is markedly regular in this section, but line 149, which marks the syntactic change, has three contiguous stresses, "In all thing, as" -- all and as receive metrical stress and thing has linguistic stress. This condition reinforces the ironic contrast between Edward's avowal of sincerity, which is overstressed with the three stressed syllables, and his intentions.

2. The Hortatory Mood

Criticizing the barons for their decision to call upon Edward, Barbour says:

A! blynd folk full off all foly! ↘ ↘
 Haid ye wmbethocht yow enkrely, →
 Quhat perell to yow mycht apper, →
 Ye had nocht wrocht on that maner: ↘
 Haid ye tane keip how at that king →
 Always, → for-owtyn sojournyng →
 Trawallyt for to wyn senyhory, ↘
 And throw his mycht till occupy →
 Landis, ↘ that war till him marcheand, ↘
 As Wallis was, ↘ and als Ireland; ↘
 That he put to swylk trillage, →
 That thai, → that war off hey parage, →
 Suld ryn on fute, ↘ as rebaldaill, ↘
 Quhen he wald ony folk assaill ↘ (I, 91-104).

Here the syntax is much less relaxed than in the first example as befits the mood of condemnation. The meter is fairly regular but is a complex actualization of the iambic form.

For example, the first line contains no stress maxima on even syllables because five or six of the eight syllables receive metrical or linguistic stress, or both. The fourth line also stresses five or six of eight syllables. Tone, here, affects rhythm and causes rhetorical stresses where ordinarily syntax and meter would not call for them. The second line has an anapestic first foot. Line three can be scanned in a number of ways. Syllables two and three ^{may} occupy one metrical position--making the line short one metrical position but according well with phrasal rhythm:

v / v / / v /
 Quhat perell to yow mycht apper.

Or syllables three to six are the equivalent of two iambs:

v / v v / / v /
 Quhat per ell to yow mycht apper.

Or to can be promoted metrically and thus contradict speech rhythm:

v / v / v / v /
 Quhat per ell to yow mycht ap per.

The line trembles as it were among these readings and thus rhythm has an appropriate imitative relationship to meaning. In lines nine and eleven, also, speech rhythms and meter conflict. It is noteworthy that Barbour captures the emotion of the moment although he is writing at a distance of almost 100

years. Partly he does this by the tensions he sets up between speech rhythms and meter, partly by addressing the Scots as if they were present (Apostrophe), and partly by the syntax that pushes on from line to line. There is no full stop after the first exclamation until the end, and two-thirds of the lines are not broken but are eight syllable units.

3. The Lyrical Mood

Barbour begins Book V with a spring setting:

This wes in were, ↘ quhen vyntir tyde →
 With his blastis, ↘ hydwiss to byde, ↘
 Wes our driffin: ↘ and byrdis smale, →
 As thristill and the nyctingale, ↘
 Begouth rycht meraly to syng, ↘
 And for to mak in thair synging →
 Syndry notis, ↘ and soundis sere, ↘
 And melody plesande to here. ↓
 And the treis begouth to ma →
 Burgeonys and brycht blwmys alsua, ↘
 To vyn the heling of thar hevede, ↘
 That vikkit vyntir had tham revede; ↘
 And all grewis begouth to spryng ↓ (V, 1-13).

There is expectation at the end of line one because the clause beginning "quhen" lacks a verb. Expectation in line two is strengthened because the information is still withheld, and when it finally comes in line three it produces a strong caesura at "ourdriffin." Lines three and four repeat the pattern, except that satisfaction of expectation comes at the end of the fifth line rather than the middle. There is some little expectation at that line because although the clause is complete there is no period. The next line has expectation that approaches that of enjambment. There is less of a pause at the end of the line than there is for example at the end of line two; at "hydwiss to byde," also, there is a greater drop

in pitch than at "in thair synging." The next line satisfies the expectation but the sentence is not completed until the next line. This pattern of D-E, B, A, that is, progress from maximum expectation to minimal expectation to zero expectation, is repeated in the next five lines. There is then in this section the satisfying rhythm of the repeated syntactical pattern of rising and falling expectation that is a cross current to meter, which remains fairly regular throughout. The irregularities in the second and third lines are obscured by the syntactic pauses, and the tenth line is structured on the alliteration alone.

There are many invitations to stop and linger over the lines in spite of the forward thrusting syntax of quite a few lines. The regularity of the meter has already been mentioned, but note also the frequent alliteration, the repetition of words (syng, synging) and of idea (notis, soundis, melody) -- all of which slow the lines as they delight the ear.³⁰ Although the first lines are expectation raising, the effect is partly blunted also by the syntax rhythm within the lines which makes each line fall into two parts. Especially daring is the caesura in line three. Again "and" is the frequent connector. Sentences are paratactic as if Barbour were describing his surroundings as he is looking and listening and noticing. The effect of syntax coupled with all the other rhythmic devices here is to make for a lingering appropriate to the lyrical description, which is, I think, not unworthy of comparison with Chaucer's opening of the Canterbury Tales or The Legend of

Good Women.³¹ For Barbour, the spring setting, which according to Skeat's note to Book V is significantly not the correct time of year, is an emotional symbol. The Bruce has been in hiding through a bitter winter; now, in spring, he is about to make his first audacious sally in his own lands. For him, this successful venture is the "spring," the re-birth, of his effort to regain his country. Thus Barbour's insistence in the quoted lines on the contrast between winter and spring.

4. The Dramatic Mood

a. comic

The English come to Edinburgh to harry the Scots. King Robert has all the cattle collected so that the English will not have any food. The English look for food and find one solitary lame cow:

And quhen the erll of Warane →
 That cow saw anerly cum swa, →
 He askit "gif thai gat no ma?" →
 And thai haf said all till him, "nay." ↓
 "Than, certis," ↓ said he, ↓ "I dar say →
 "This is the derrest beiff that I →
 Saw euir yeit; ↓ for sekirly →
 It cost ane thousand pund and mar!" ↓ (XVIII, 278-85)

The syntax is very easy, with enjambment at ends of lines.

There is much variety in the kind of syntactical movement within the line, the fluid movement of speech. That one-word answer "nay" is a perfect counterpoint to the Earl's dismay.

b. pathetic

When Edward I of England is dying at Burgh-on-Sand on his way to Scotland and asks what town it is, his men answer:

"Schir," thai said, "Bowrch-in-the-sand
 Men callis this toune, in-to this land."
 "Call thai it Burch? Wallace," said he,
 "My hope is now fordone to me.
 For I wend neuir to thole the payn
 Of dede, quill I, throu mekill mayne,
 The burch of Ierusalem had tane;
 My lif wend I thair suld be gane.
 In burch I wist weill I suld de,
 Bot I wes nouthir wiss no sle
 Till othir burchis kepe to ta;
 Now may I no wiss forthir ga" (IV, 203-14).

All the unit length lines, which however are mostly end-stopt, give Edward's speech the effortful effect of a dying man's speech. He has to start over with each new line. The lines push on from beginning to end yet do not go anywhere because they raise little expectation and are repetitious, reflecting the bewilderment of the man who had not expected to die in such an insignificant place. There is no breathing space within the lines, forcing the reader to mimic Edward's breathlessness. None of the other sections examined thus far have such a large number of unit lines (8/10) coupled with so little end-of-line expectation. Syntax rhythm coincides with line rhythm. Note the enjambment of the surprise type in the fifth line, which seems to stop at the end; it is only after reading the next line that one detects the enjambment. This kind of enjambment most often occurs when a word is followed by a short prepositional phrase; here "payne/Of dede." The stop at "payne" and then the abrupt tacking on of "Of dede" echoes the disjointed, painful speech of the dying man. It should be noted again that for syntax as for other kinds of rhythmic devices the effect depends upon the context. A particular syntactical

device couples with tone and content to achieve the effect. Thus surprise enjambment is used here to achieve the breathlessness in Edward's speech because context supports that reading. Elsewhere this kind of enjambment might be used for comic or other effect.

c. dignified

Here is Robert Bruce the Competitor's answer to King Edward when offered the throne:

Ed: "Gyff thow will hald in cheyff off me →
 For euirmar, ↘ and thine ofspryng,
 I sall do swa thow sall be king." ↓
 C: "Schyr, ↘ said he, ↘ "sa god me save, ↘
 The kynryk yharn I nocht to have, ↘
 Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me: ↓
 And gyff god will that it sa be, →
 I sall als frely in all thing →
 Hald it, ↘ as it afferis to king; ↓
 Or as myn eldris forouch me →
 Held it in freyast reqwte" ↓ (I, 154-64).

The dignity of these lines is achieved by content, meter, which is regular at a neutral level of actualization (except for the crucial eighth line), and syntax. Here eight of eleven lines are syntactic units, but the effect is different from that of Edward's dying speech because six of those lines are expectation raising, while only one of the lines from Edward's dying speech is. And even that thrust forward is dissipated by the syntactic rhythm within that line, which is a triplet. In this dialogue between Edward and Robert Bruce there is, in contrast, the dignity of long lines as well as the energy of the forward thrust.

5. Descriptive Mood

Describing the extremely rough passage from Scotland to

Rachlin, Barbour says:

Bot nocht-for-thi quha had thar bene, ↗
 A gret stertling he mycht haiff seyne ↗
 Off Schippys; ↘for quhilum sum wald be ↗
 Rycht on the wawys summite; ↘
 And sum wald slyd fra heycht to law, ↘
 Rycht as thai doune till hell wald draw; ↘
 Syne on the waw stert sodanly. ↓
 And othir schippys, ↘that war thar-by, ↘
 Deliuerly drew to the depe. ↓
 It wes gret cunnannes to kep ↗
 Thar takill in-till sic a thrang, ↘
 And wyth sic wawis; ↘for, ay amang, ↘
 The wawys reft thar sycht of land. ↓
 Quhen thai the land wes rycht ner hand, ↗
 And quhen the schippys was sailand ner, ↗
 The se wald ryss on sic maner, ↗
 That off the wawys the weltrand hycht ↗
 Wald refe thaim oft off thar sycht ↓(III, 703-20).

The section falls into three parts in terms of expectation. The first three lines are all expectation raising. The cumulative effect of delayed resolution seems to make the lines rise higher and higher like the waves. Next, the ends of lines five through thirteen raise little expectation and have the falling rhythm that suggests the trough of the waves. Line eight, for example, is somewhat expectation raising because it begins a new clause that has no verb. But the thrust is dissipated by the parenthetical "that war tharby," which ends in a low-pitched falling rhythm. Then in the fourteenth through seventeenth lines the steady rise in expectation again reflects the rise of the waves, and the suspense of the syntax is analogous to the suspense of the men when the rising waves cut off their sight of the land and of each other. The three parts thus exhibit the wave rhythm that the context describes.

Even the foregoing crude analysis of Barbour's use of

syntactical rhythm reveals, I think, the sensitivity with which he adapts syntax to the rhythmical requirements of particular lines and sections. The syntax complements meaning both as a mimetic device and as a reinforcement of stress meter. Syntax rhythm is a largely unexplored aspect of prosody, but its study proves to be a rewarding adjunct to the rest of prosodical analysis.³²

Barbour's achievement with the octosyllabic couplet is impressive indeed, especially when it is realized that his use of the form is the first example in Scots literature.³³ Octosyllabic couplets do not usually seem to work very well in English, the syntactical movement of which is cramped in eight syllables. Moreover, the rimes seem to come too quickly for best effect in a serious work. Chaucer certainly discovers greater ease in the decasyllabic line. Yet Barbour, through variations that are linked to meaning, writes the octosyllabic couplet with freedom and facility: first, because he actually constructs on three meters, syllabic, alliterative stress, and iambic; next because of rhythmic variations within the line; and finally because of syntactical rhythms that thrust beyond the line and the couplet. The periodic pattern of meter is played against not only its inherent variables but also against the patterns of line and of syntax, now one, now another pattern dominating. The result is a variable tightening and slackening of periodicity as the various patterns come together or move apart. The fact that syntax rhythm is so vital in Barbour's work points to the fact that he attempted not only

to treat of real events but that he also endeavored to treat them as realistically as possible. Meter and even line units are damped at times by the cross-current of syntax, but the interplay is possible only because meter and line patterns are there to play against.

The rhythms have the fluidity that they need to approximate and reinforce meaning. Now Barbour's rhythms imitate the narrative point of view -- whether cordial to his audience or incensed at some outrage. Or again they imitate the action or speech that he renders. With this imitative quality of the rhythm Barbour breaks out of the constriction of the octosyllabic couplet and makes his rhythm serve the purposes of his rhetoric.³⁴

Increasingly, this discussion of Barbour's prosody overlaps with the discussion of factors related to rhetoric, treated in the next chapters. More properly associated with rhetoric, the repetition of motifs is considered here in terms of rhythm, for unless there is some kind of larger rhythmic pattern in a long work, it will fall apart into separate little poems rather than cohere into one poem. Whether by conscious or unconscious artistry, this problem is solved in The Bruce by rhythms of incidents as well as by a significant rhythm of the whole.

Rhythm of Incidents

Barbour handles the rhythm of incidents with the same kind of ease and precision with which he manipulates the rhythms discussed above. I use the word "rhythm" to describe the

relationship between incidents that occur not through cause and effect, as for example the incident of the Bruce's retreat which occurs because he is ill (IX, 35-59), but through poetic logic. Motif-rime is analogous to word-rime. Part of one incident may be the same as another but varies somewhat just as the initial letter varies in word-rime. The effect of motif-rime is similar to word-rime. It delights (variety in sameness), it binds, and it marks off units. Just as word-rime is rhythmic because it "makes us pause and throws our attention back to the rhyming word,"³⁵ so too is motif-rime rhythmic because it has the same effect.

Book Ten, which contains a number of adventurous exploits involving an attack on a fortification, is worth looking at in detail. By Book Ten, all the north of Scotland except Lorn and Argyle are under King Robert's control. Book Ten develops the climactic preamble to the Battle of Bannockburn. It begins with the Bruce preparing to take the offensive against Lorn. Normally he fights a defensive strategy or a surprise-strike tactic, but thinking "on the scath,/ The dispit and the felonly bath,/ That Iohn of Lorn had till him done" (X, 5-7), the Bruce decides to move openly against him. Lorn hears of his coming, prepares an ambush on a mountain above a pass and watches from a boat. Bruce "persauit thair subtilite" and sends Douglas with archers to climb above the ambushers. Bruce himself enters the pass and Lorn's men send stones crashing down, which however do not harm Bruce and his men because they are nimble and lightly armed, "swa that thai stoutly clam the hill" to their foes.

Douglas, in the meantime, shoots at them from above. There is a total rout of Lorn's forces, as Lorn watches helplessly from the boat.

This impressive victory, won by overcoming strategy by a more clever strategy, sets the tone for the remainder of the book which is almost wholly about the winning of castles through strategy. Moreover, Bruce's action in putting himself in the thick of the battle, and in taking the initiative, contrasts with Lorn's inaction.³⁶

Next, Barbour tells very briefly that Bruce wins Dunstaffynch. Sir Alexander of Argyle, seeing all that Bruce is accomplishing, "send tretis to the king,/ and com his man but tarying./ And he resaut him till his pess" (ll. 125-27). Here Barbour reminds us of Lorn who is still "rebell, as he wes wont to be,/ And fled with schippes to the see." Now all on land are obedient to the king.

As an introduction to the besieging of castles, Barbour adds a qualifying codicil to the last statement of Bruce's power, as if just tossing off this information. Actually it is a transition. He says that Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Stirling are still held by the English. He sets off this account of how they were won by introducing them: "Now may ye heir, gif that ye will,/ Interludis and iuperdyss..."

Linlithgow is won through a stratagem. William Bunnock, a commoner, takes it upon himself to rid Linlithgow of the English. Having arranged with the men of the garrison to bring them hay, he uses a wagon of hay as his Trojan horse,

hides men inside the wagon and has others outside in ambush. When the porter opens the gate, Bunnock moves the wagon inside sufficiently so the gate cannot be closed, breaks the traces so that the cart cannot be moved, raises the cry to his men, and kills the porter. The men in ambush and those hidden in the hay come out and take the castle, slaying most of those inside. Others flee to Edinburgh and Stirling. This reminder of the other English-held positions functions like a rime repetition, linking the sections. The Bruce rewards Bunnock.

Randolf, who had been captured by the English, and who, when recaptured by the Scots, had criticized the Bruce for fighting unchivalrously, had been imprisoned by the king (Book IX) for a short time. Now, however, the Bruce makes Randolph Earl of Murray and Randolph pledges his loyalty to the king. Here Barbour interrupts with a digression on Randolph's appearance and character. With Bruce's permission, Randolph goes to besiege Edinburgh.

Now Barbour turns to Douglas who has captured Roxburgh and Jedworth and done other deeds of chivalry too much to rehearse at this time, Barbour says. He does tell in detail about Roxburgh, however. Sym of the Ledows, another commoner, makes hempen ladders. At night Douglas and his men pretend to be cattle by crawling on all fours. (Douglas' willingness to play this unseemly role is significant.) They hear the men of the garrison talking about the supposed oxen and mentioning Douglas. As soon as they can, the Scots climb Sym's ladders, with Sym going first and killing the watchman. The garrison

is making merry, Barbour says ironically: "As apou fastryu evyn is/ The custom, to make ioy and blis/ To folk that ar in-to savite;" with Douglas around they are hardly safe. The castle is won, Sym is rewarded by Bruce who sends his brother Edward Bruce to destroy it, and all around except those too close to the English come to the king's peace.

Barbour turns again to Randolph and now we realize why he had interrupted his narrative of the siege of Edinburgh. Randolph learns how Douglas took Roxburgh and determines to do the same at Edinburgh.³⁷ He hopes to combine "slicht" with "full hye cheuelry." This decision on his part is extremely interesting because of the earlier opinion he had held about stratagems. One William Frances, another commoner--that is the recurring pattern that makes these episodes coherent--shows the way to get into Edinburgh, through a steep ascent. While they are climbing, they almost think themselves discovered, as a watchman says, "avay, I se yow weill," and throws down a stone. But they keep quiet and the watchmen leave. Frances and the Earl climb over the wall; the rest follow and begin the attack. Some of the enemy flee, but some give Randolph his chance to prove his chivalry. There is a fierce battle, and Randolph barely wins. The Bruce comes to dismantle the castle.

Barbour completes this trilogy of Linlithgow, Roxburgh and Edinburgh and sets them off from his account of Stirling with a repetition of the introduction to them in the word "Iuperdyiss":

In this tyme that thir iuperdyiss
 On thir castellis, that I deuiss,
 War eschewit swa hardely...(ll. 788-90).

Now he tells us without narrating any of the circumstances that Edward Bruce takes Dundee and moves on to besiege Stirling. Edward holds the siege. The castle is almost out of victuals, and then Philip Mowbray who is warden of the castle asks for a year's respite, agreeing to relinquish the castle freely if relief does not come within a year. Edward, always the gentleman warrior, too proud to use strategy, too proud it seems to accept the aid of commoners, chivalrously agrees to Mowbray's proposal. Thus ends Book Ten. Of course, the Battle of Bannockburn is the direct result of Edward's rash boon.

There is a poetic logic in the structure of the book. Rhythmic repetitions and variations, rimes of events so to speak, determine its structure, make it cohere. The rhythm of the book moves around repetitions and contrasts. The first three castles are all won by strategy and by a commoner, either alone or helping the nobles. Yet there is sufficient variety both in the details and in the narration so that Barbour's point is reinforced rather than diminished by the repetition. For this repetition of motif is equivalent to what E.K. Brown calls "the expanding symbol," that is, "repetition balanced by variation, and that variation is in progressively deepening disclosure....It accretes meaning from the succession of contexts in which it occurs...."³⁸ The three castles won by strategy nicely balance, and establish an ironic contrast to

Edward's dealings with Stirling, and all this is done without Barbour having to intrude a single comment. Surely Barbour's placement of Randolph's adventure is done with the purpose of making this contrast. Learning from Douglas' example, working with a commoner, Randolph is able to combine strategy and chivalry to succeed. Edward, who would not stoop to such a combination, puts Bruce in great jeopardy by committing him to the standing engagement which will certainly (and does) follow his agreement with Mowbray. Bruce's victory at Bannockburn then compounds the irony.

A comparison to the actual history of the events is informative for it shows how Barbour varies his chronology to achieve the rhythmic contrast described above. Douglas takes Roxburgh in February 1314, Randolph takes Edinburgh in March 1314, but Edward gives Stirling its one-year respite in June 1313. If Barbour had followed this chronology Edward's choice of chivalry before all would not have been so clear. In the work, having learned about the happy outcome at Roxburgh through strategy--Barbour makes it clear that Edward knows this because it is he who destroys the castle--he persists in handling Stirling in his own gallant way. But if Edward had already agreed with Mowbray before Douglas and Randolph did their deeds, then the contrasts between the two methods would not be so sharp, for one could then say that Edward had acted so because he had not learnt of the effectiveness of strategy. Barbour enforces the idea that learning is possible by having Randolph learn from Douglas, and thus makes Edward's refusal

to learn that much more apparent. The rhythm of this book also reverberates and has significance for the work as a whole; a continuing conflict between "slicht" and chivalry is here pointed by motif-rime.³⁹

Motif-rime operates not only within books, but also can link a number of books. For example, the motif of castles and commoners, "slicht" and chivalry are repeated a number of times throughout the work. The motif of the Bruce against a few is a unifying device of the first part of the work, and when Barbour finishes with that motif, a certain phase of the Bruce's career is complete. I defer for a time the pleasure of noticing how lively Barbour's narrative is to point out simply the bare outlines of the incidents so that the repetition of motifs will be apparent.

First Incident (III, 93-186). The Bruce has been defeated at Methven (Bk. II); now he is attacked by Lorn and forced to retreat,⁴⁰ which, Barbour takes pains to tell us, perhaps because of the onus attached to retreat, he does "full chawalrusly," protecting his men. Two men named Macindrosser, Scots who hate him, with a third man, attack him in a narrow pass. Bruce meets their attack and fells them all, demonstrating his "owtrageouss bounte." Lorn and Macnachtan, Scots who are also pro-English, see the incident in the pass and Macnachtan admires the Bruce's chivalry.

Second Incident (V, 485-656; VI, 1-24). In Book V, the Bruce is also attacked by three, a man and his two sons, but this

time they are traitors, favorites of the king who agree to slay him for $\text{f}40$ of land. Fortunately, a woman warns the king so that when the three surprise him alone with a page, he does not allow them to approach him. Using the page's bow, he slays the father and then kills the two sons with his sword. Bruce comments:

Thai had beyn worthy men all thre,
Had thai nocht beyn full of tresoune...(V, 655-66).

When Sir Aymer, who had planned the treachery, hears of how Bruce foiled the traitorous plot, he praises the Bruce's prowess.

Third Incident (VI, 25-372). This is slightly different but similar enough to be included. Two hundred men of Galloway try to track down the Bruce with a sleuth hound. The king has only 60 men with him and plans a safe retreat. After securing his men, he goes with two to a narrow ford at a stream to spy out the enemy position. Thinking he hears the enemy, he sends the two to warn the others but since he is not sure he waits to determine who is coming. When he sees the force, he knows he must either flee or die. But after thinking carefully, he determines to make a stand. Since they can only come one by one, and since he is so well armed that he need fear no arrows, he thinks to so astonish them with his hardihood that they will flee. They come one by one and he slays five, blocking the ford with the dead horse of the first. The force almost falls back, but one says that they will be shamed if they leave. They all push toward him again, but since they still can come only one at a time and furthermore they are partially blocked by the

dead, he slays many more. To offset any audience resistance, Barbour tells an analogous story of Tydeus, who, by achieving a favorable position, was able to defeat fifty. Then Barbour asks, in his rather playful schoolmaster way, who deserved greater praise, Tydeus who was surprised by fifty and defeated them or "the king, that with avisment/ Vndirtuk sic hardyment" (11. 271-72).⁴¹ The implication is that the story of Tydeus is hyperbolic while that of the Bruce is realistic. Having disarmed the reader's incredulity, Barbour returns to the Bruce. The dead so fill up the pass that the others cannot get at him and flee. Altogether the Bruce has slain fourteen. The king's men now find him alone with the dead, and their morale is considerably strengthened. They say, it behooves them not to

Dreid thair fais, sen thair chiftane
 Wes of sic hert and of sic mane,
 That he for thame had vndirtane
 With sa feil folk to ficht him ane.

Barbour uses this incident as an opportunity to define true valor, which is hardihood combined with prudence. The king after assessing the situation knew it could be done.⁴²

Fourth Incident (VI, 475-673; VII, 1-104). This time John of Lorn uses a sleuth hound that knows and loves the king. Bruce keeps dividing his men but the hound always guides Lorn to him. Finally, when he is alone with his foster brother, Lorn sends five men to take the Bruce. The two stand against the five. Bruce kills four and his brother kills one. Then in a charming

dialogue the king praises his fellow, who demurs, but the Bruce insists that it was his help that made the difference. Now Lorn and the hound continue to chase them. Finally, Bruce, who is no super-hero, is almost prepared to give up but encouraged by his foster brother, he escapes by going into a stream. Here Barbour gives another version of his escape that was current. His fellow was a good archer, who ran into the woods alone and when he saw the hound, shot him.⁴³ Again Sir Aymer praises the Bruce's valor.

Fifth Incident (VII, 105-230). This incident follows immediately. Bruce and his foster brother meet three men who are seeking the Bruce. He mistrusts them and does not reveal himself. They all walk, but separately, to an empty house. The men try to convince the king of their good will, offering him a share of food, but he continues to keep to himself, building with his foster brother a separate fire. He needs sleep and sets his man to watch, warning him of possible treachery. The king sleeps lightly, but his foster brother falls into a deep sleep. The three traitors fall upon them; the Bruce jumps up in time and wakes his foster brother, who, however, is cut down, but the Bruce fells the three. He mourns for his foster brother.⁴⁴

Sixth Incident (VII, 400-87). This time the Bruce is hunting with two hounds. He sees three men with drawn bows, men who wish to kill him for Comyn's sake. He shames them into coming closer and meeting him with swords:

"yhe aucht to shame, perde,
 Syn I am ane and yhe ar thre,
 For to schut at me on fer!
 Bot haf yhe hardyment, cum ner
 Vith your swerdis, me till assay;
 Wyn me on sic viss, gif yhe may;
 Yhe sall weill mair all prisit be."

This appeal to their honor has the wished-for effect.⁴⁵ All three are slain. The king's men arrive on the scene and say rather wryly:

"we may weill se
 That it is hard till vndirtak
 Sic mellyng with yow for to mak,
 That so smertly has slayn thir thre
 Forouten hurt..."

But the king gives the credit to "God and my hound has slane the twa."

The motif of the Bruce alone or virtually alone against three or five or more ends here. In the next book comes the victory at Loudoun Hill and the motif becomes superfluous since its main purpose is to contrast Bruce's character to his fortune, and to demonstrate his personal qualities: bravery; true valor, which is hardihood tempered by wisdom; humanity, which is evidenced by his almost giving up and by his sorrow for his foster brother; wariness, which is called for by the situation of Scot against Scot; humility, in giving credit to others; and persuasiveness, in convincing the three men to approach him. Barbour also shows how the Bruce inspires his men, guards their safety and raises their morale. Thus although the incidents use recurrent motifs, this is not the doubling and tripling of incidents found in some romances. Each incident is used to establish or reinforce a trait of character and to dramatize

the king's predicament, the most bitter aspect of which is that many Scots are not loyal to him, the war being--at least until Bannockburn--as much a civil war as a struggle against the English. Barbour appropriately puts praise of Bruce into the mouths of his fellows or more often his enemy, commenting himself only to clarify.

The Rhythm of the Whole

Barbour handles the rhythm of the whole as masterfully as he does the rhythm of coordinate incidents. The rhythm may be described in either of two ways. First, it could be described as the inverse of the progress of a Greek tragedy. The hero begins at the lowest point, having murdered Comyn. The defeat at Methven, failure even at single combat during that battle, ignominious retreats, privations and sufferings--all these mark his ill-fortune. A growing awareness, learning how to fight by stratagem instead of by chivalry starts him on the upward path. Barbour simultaneously charts an upward path with the repetition of the motif of the Bruce against a few, allowing these to reveal his developing character. The victory at Loudoun Hill is the minor climax and turning point of these events. Barbour revises history, putting Edward I's death early enough so that not mere chance, but the Bruce's efforts effect his change of fortune.⁴⁶ However, victory is not won yet. To de-emphasize the minor climax, Barbour follows it with accounts of illness and retreat. A series of events, already described in the discussion of Book

Ten, leads to the major climax at Bannockburn. These two key battles are linked because they are described in much the same way, although the latter with greater amplification. All that precedes this battle may be said to be complication. The major climax produces a new awareness in that Bruce learns that he can handle not only small engagements, not only "slicht," but also that he can succeed at a standing engagement by combining all the information he has learnt thus far. Moreover, this victory pulls many Scots to his side and from this point on the king can concentrate on the English enemy. After Bannockburn comes the unravelling, the events after the major battle standing in symmetrical arrangement with the events preceding the battle (See Appendix I).

Since Edward II will not conclude a peace, the Scots carry the war into England, striking and burning. At the same time, Edward Bruce conducts a campaign in Ireland that in many respects is a distorted mirror image of the struggle in Scotland during the early, pre-Bannockburn days. Again the English unrightfully have made a people subject. Again it is Gael against Gael, just as it was Scot against Scot. Again it is stirring chivalry, hideous privation, and ignominious defeat. The difference is that Edward Bruce lacks prudence. He falls in Ireland, stubbornly persisting in his preconceived ideas of chivalric behavior to the end. Lorn, the Bruce's major Scots enemy in the early books, is taken in Book XV.⁴⁷ At Methven, wavering Scots had been defeated, but William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, in a battle at Inverkeithing, rallies the Scots

who are seized with panic and leads them to victory (XVI, 535-636). Treachery had always haunted the king before Bannockburn, and even when he is close to complete success, it is still a menace (XIX, 1-68). Just as Loudoun Hill is a turning point in the early stage of the war, so is Mitton a turning point of the second stage because it is the first Scots victory on English soil in an open battle (XVII, 551-588). The capture and holding of Berwick, the thwarted attempts of the English to seize Edinburgh and their subsequent defeats at Melrose and Biland are events parallel to the incidents involving fortifications in Books IX and X, the difference being that the Scots are now able to hold the castles they win and are able to defeat the English in set engagements. The campaign at Weardale, in its importance as culminating incident of the War of Independence, is equivalent to the victory at Bannockburn. But while Bannockburn is won by strategy, Weardale is the climactic incident in which stratagem plays the major role. Soon after, and perhaps only because the intractable Edward II dies and Edward III after the one abortive effort at Weardale is too young to launch further attacks, the Bruce finally wins the peace he has longed for, and dies. Douglas dies carrying his lord's heart toward the Holy Land, and Randolph becomes regent of Scotland and is poisoned. The denouement is complete.

Some say that Barbour should have ended with Bannockburn,⁴⁸ but that would be as if Sophocles ended with Oedipus' turning point and self-knowledge and omitted the scene with blind

Oedipus speaking to his children, to Creon, and to the chorus. Bannockburn is the turning point, not the end. It took the Scots another fourteen years to win an admission of their sovereignty from England. A full two years after Bannockburn, Edward II was still referring to Scotland as his kingdom and his land. Up to the time of his death his position was a constant iteration of his old claim.⁴⁹ Barbour compresses the action after Bannockburn (14 years in 7 books as compared to 8 years in 13 books) so as to derive the fullest impact from the climax.

If the ending is low-keyed, it is because Barbour has the manly elegiac view of life that informs so much of old English heroic poetry. Victory is the shining moment, not obscured but rather put into sharp relief by sombre realities.

Second, the rhythm of the narrative as a whole could be described as a wheel of fortune.⁵⁰ Bruce begins at the bottom, slowly, with reversals, ascends to the top, and finally relinquishes his position only at death. This vision is perfectly consonant with the Christian tradition, although it is a pagan image. All success is transitory. Death finally obliterates human success. However, in this case, because the Bruce was not fighting for his own glory but for the freedom of Scotland, something more lasting than individual success does outlast him-- independence for Scotland. How poignantly Barbour must have viewed this victory, looking back at it as he did over years that saw further threats to Scottish independence.⁵¹ His last words fully express the tension between the political and the

Christian views of these events:

He, that hye lorde of al thing is,
 Vp till his mekill bliss thame bryng,
 And grant his grace, that thar ofspryng
 Lede weill the land, and ententif
 Be to folow, in all thair liff,
 Thair nobill elderis gret bounte!
 The afald god in trinite
 Bryng ws hye vp till hevynnys bliss,
 Quhar all-wayis lestand liking is! (XX, 612-20)

Only in heaven is there perfect, non-transitory joy. Yet he hopes that Scotland's leaders will be able to retain the position achieved by the Bruce and his men. Interestingly enough, the word "liking" means among other things "liberty," and it harks back to the noble lines of Book I:

A! fredome is a noble thing!
 Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;
 Fredome all solace to man giffis:
 He levys at ess that frely levys!
 A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
 Na ellys nocht that may him pless,
 Gyff fredome failghe; for fre liking
 Is yharnt our all othir thing (225-32).

The rhythm of the whole which is built up through the rhythm of incidents would not be apparent if it were not for the work's unity. Unity was not necessarily what a medieval writer attempted to achieve. Nevertheless, Barbour seems to have tried to unify material that was largely episodic by such verbal repetitions and motif repetitions as those noted above; by his material, the War of Independence from dismal beginning to climactic victory to quiet conclusion; by his chronological method; by his concentration on the figure of the Bruce--even in Book Ten, for example, most of which is not directly about the king, Barbour constantly reminds us of his presence by

ending each incident with the Bruce's commendation or final action on the castle taken; and finally by the themes that vitalize the work, themes that are announced in Book I and that play their part throughout the narrative--loyalty, freedom, right and chivalry.

Summary

Barbour's prosody may be summed up as follows: he avoids all obvious excesses of virtuoso techniques while using a full range of rhythmic devices that will express or imitate what he describes. His aim is to represent the verbal structure as realistically as possible within the framework of poetry. While his work could certainly not be transposed into prose without loss, he avoids in general the singing or prophetic voice and instead lets us hear--as do all the great poets of the realistic genres--the speaking tones of voice.

If we were to classify utterance not in content but in style as ritualistic at one extreme and realistic at the other, many-layered recurrences such as rigid meter that insists upon wrenching natural speech patterns to imitate song or prophecy or itself, insistent rime structure that rings and chimes, repetitions that throb with a life of their own and constantly throw the attention back, belong to the first class, while natural speech rhythm, little or no or obscured rime, and onwardness⁵² would belong to the second class. There are curious paradoxes that are worth noting. Ritualistic verse elicits both detachment and involvement, detached aesthetic

or intellectual admiration for enamelled, overlaid patterns and involvement as the viscera respond to reinforced, resonant recurrences, both responses at a level that has little to do with meaning, which is merely the structure on which to hang the poetry.⁵³ Realistic verse too evokes both detachment and involvement, both at a more neutral level, with meaning more an integral part of the poetic utterance, so that the response seems to be generated by the meaning alone, and the techniques of language seem transparent. Barbour fuses both classes in his work to write at once ritualistically and realistically. Meter, delicately played against syntax rhythms, is now submerged as when Barbour records dialogue, now dominant as in battle scenes. Rime breaks out or is suppressed in harmony with meter. Repetitions bind and thus do not eliminate but merely punctuate onwardness. Realism dominates ritual.

To return to the comparison of Barbour to Dunbar for a moment, it is easy to determine why Barbour's method is not Dunbar's. Barbour is writing a long narrative about real events. Dunbar's longest poem is only 530 lines and most of his poems are much shorter, and although their content is sometimes realistic or even naturalistic, their structure remains that of a lyrical burst. The simultaneous operation of many superimposed patterns, the many-layered recurrences of meter, alliteration, syntax, line-length, and rime, that work together to evoke admiration for Dunbar's technical virtuosity, would jar in Barbour's poem. He instead establishes a base periodicity in his meter and plays other non-periodic elements

against it, allowing his rhythms to freely imitate and express his feelings; thus they elicit our response. Our involvement is a function of his seeming naturalness. When Dunbar is irate, we admire his technical skill; when Barbour is irate, we are irate with him. Thus for Barbour, prosody is integral with rhetoric.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1

The most complete discussion of the alliterative revival and its relation to the Old English system is by J.P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: The Dialectal and Metrical Survey, two volumes in one, reprinted by Archon Books, 1968 (orig. by Manchester U. Press, 1930, 1935). He does not include a discussion of Barbour. Very good examples of various sorts of alliterative lines, both classic and popular as well as intermediary types, used for many purposes, may be found in the York cycle of plays, which unfortunately Oakden does not discuss. Many of these plays were written at about the time of Barbour and are close to his dialect. See [Cosmo Innis, ed.] The Brus: From a Collation of the Cambridge and Edinburgh Manuscripts (Aberdeen: For the Spalding Club, 1856), pp.xxiii-xxiv.

In Old English the aa/ax line and a falling rhythm are most common (Oakden, I, 168; 174). In popular poetry "alliteration is plentiful, but not in any way systematic..."; a combination of rimed couplet and alliteration is common (Oakden, I, 134-135). "At least three streams of influence, the heroic, the homiletic and the popular, had never died..." Oakden, II, p. 86). Merle Fifield, "Thirteenth Century Lyrics and the Alliterative Tradition," JEGP, LXII (1961), 111-18, adds to these streams the lyric as a carrier of the alliterative tradition from Old English times to the fourteenth century. See also Elizabeth Salter, "The Alliterative Revival, I," Modern Philology, LXIV (1966), 146-50. For a description of various theories of

Old English meter see William Beare, Latin Verse and European Song (London, 1957), pp. 103-109.

2

This evidence will be discussed more fully in chapter two.

3

On the other hand see George Saintsbury, Historical Manual of English Prosody, with Introduction by Harvey Gross (N.Y.: Schochen Books, 1966 [orig. 1910]), p. 34, who says that the octosyllabic couplet results ultimately from "the metricalizing of the Old English double stave." Oakden, too, states that the rising rhythm gradually began to replace the falling rhythm of the Old English line. According to Saintsbury the iambic meter was fairly well established by the fourteenth century (p. 22). Robert Bridges, however, in "A Letter to a Musician on English Prosody," Structure of Verse, p. 95, finds that the iambic system derives from the syllabic system which in turn derives from a misunderstanding of classical quantitative meters.

4

The issue of pronunciation is not so well resolved as I suggest. There are many unsolved questions. For example, an -ys ending seems sometimes to be pronounced as a separate syllable, depending on rhythmic need. Because pronunciation cannot be determined precisely, scansion, which is at best uncertain, must be tentative. Often, I must supply alternative readings. But, variations in pronunciation do operate between certain limits; for example, "delitabill," a romance word, may be pronounced delitábill or delítabill, but not delitabiíl. See Fernand Mossé, A Handbook of Middle English, trans. James A.

Walker (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952); Samuel Moore, Historical Outline of English Sounds and Inflections, rev. Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr Publ. Co., 1963); Halle and Keyser (see below, n. 8), pp. 191-97 (on stress); James Wilson, Old Scotch Songs and Poems Phonetically Spelt and Translated (London: Oxford U. Press, 1927); G. Gregory Smith, "The Scottish Language," The Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller, Vol. II. The End of the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1908); also, Smith's detailed discussion in Specimens of Middle Scots (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1902).

5

Where there is a levelling of stress, such deviations are less apparent than they would be in strongly accented rhythm. See Ivor Winters, "The Audible Reading of Poetry," Structure of Verse, pp. 135, 140.

6

Quite commonly the accent of French-derived words could shift in this way. Chaucer does this regularly. Such a shift in the third foot does occur in line 3, but that case is different in that suth- must be stressed while -ance only has the possibility of being stressed.

7

There is so much controversy about the relationship of metrical and rhetorical stress that it is difficult to be dogmatic. I side with those who feel that metrical stress must not violate rhetorical and syntactical stress except when the meter is so regular that wrenched stress is required. For

example, in ballads, the word country at the end of a line may well be pronounced coun try. However, syllables with no linguistic stress may be stressed for metrical reasons.

8

Morris Halle and Samuel Jay Keyser, "Chaucer and the Study of Prosody," College English, XXVIII (1966), 187-219, define an iambic line as one that has no stress maxima (a stressed syllable flanked by syllables that are less stressed) on odd syllables. Halle and Keyser, p. 197, condition 2: "An unstressed or weakly stressed monosyllable may constitute a single metrical position with a preceding stressed or unstressed syllable."

I use the Halle-Keyser thesis to suggest possible alternate scansion, although it has limited usefulness in determining the effect of any line. Tauno F. Mustanoja, "Chaucer's Prosody," Companion to Chaucer Studies, ed. Beryl Rowland (N.Y.: Oxford U. Press, 1968), pp. 71-72, 77, also has reservations about the usefulness of the Halle-Keyser thesis.

9

Once we move away from the classic Old English tradition where alliteration is the binding force of the line, alliteration proliferates to include repetitions of letters almost anywhere in a word, new clusters, such as st, sp, s in the next line, are developed, and alliteration may fall on unstressed syllables. See Oakden, I, 136, 163, 177, 233-245, W.E. Leonard, "The Scansion of Middle English Alliterative Verse," Wisconsin U. Studies in Language and Literature, XI (1920), 58-104.

10

This alliterative linking of lines is a feature of Old English verse that was continued through the Middle English period. Oakden, I, 148-9.

11

Of inversions Bridges says in Milton's Prosody, "it is a matter of feeling between [form and sense], and is misrepresented by any definition" (p. 63). Bridges stresses the importance of the grammatical speech-bond, which overrides meter unless the meter is extremely regular and the diction poetic (pp. 93-4). Shapiro and Beum, A Prosody Handbook (N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1965), also discuss phrasal rhythm that can play against meter (p. 61).

12

Arnold Stein, "Meter and Meaning," Structure of Verse, says that when a reading is ambiguous, all possibilities are included "in their dynamic relationship to each other" (p. 198). On the difference between the emotional effect of rising and falling rhythm see Jespersen, "Notes on Metre," Structure of Verse, pp. 127-29; Gross, "T.S. Eliot and the Music of Poetry," Structure of Verse, p. 217. Shapiro and Beum make a most sensible statement about the relationship of sound and feeling. Rhythm amplifies feeling only when rhythm and meaning are in accord (pp. 14-17). On the other hand, musical prosodists, since they mark the beginning of a foot by the stress, always deal with falling rhythms. See "Author's Preface" in Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. Robert Bridges and W.H. Gardner (N.Y.: Oxford U. Press, 1956), pp. 5-10. But as Bridges points out, the difference between rising rhythms and falling rhythms is

apparent to the ear however the verse is blocked off into feet (Milton's Prosody, p. 54).

13

As James Kinsley says (Scottish Poetry, A Critical Survey [London: Cassell & Co., 1955] p. 6): "The shock of battle is described, not in the objective language of the historian, but as it is felt by the participants." Barbour's "is the enthusiastic outcry of the professional warrior."

14

Although his system of prosodic analysis is flawed, James G. Southworth (Verses of Cadence: An Introduction to the Prosody of Chaucer and His Followers [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954]), is correct when he says that the sentence, the verse paragraph and the stanza are important to the reading of any one line (pp. 11-13).

15

Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle, Fundamentals of Language ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1956), make a most provocative statement about the relationship of metonymy to realism (and prose) and of metaphor to romanticism and symbolism (and poetry). See Chapter V of Part II, "The Metaphoric and Metonymic Poles," pp. 76-82. If Barbour repeated the formula "wiss and wicht" for only one hero, it would be equivalent in force to Tolstoy's repetition of particular descriptive details for each character: Lise, lifted lip; Pierre, bear.

16

See Oakden on formulas and tags; also Marie Borroff, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: A Stylistic and Metrical Study (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1962), p. 33, who does not associate

formulas with poverty of imagination. Other end-of-line fillers are "I wat weil1" IV, 61; "for the nanys," IX, 58; "that wes bold," VIII, 116. Alliterative formulas sometimes occur not at the end of a line; for example "lyff and lymmys," I, 108 and "Tane with a trane," X, 513. Fillers and formulas at ends of line are rime devices not mentioned by Nicolo Tribino and therefore he probably does not consider them legitimate devices. See John M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry 1485-1547 (N.Y.: MacMillan Co., 1920, reprinted by the Shoe String Press, 1961), pp. 136-38. Nevertheless, fillers used sparingly are rather less cloying than some of the devices Tribino does suggest and which Barbour does not use; for example, words in a foreign language or made-up words.

17

Halle and Keyser speak of a neutral actualization of the iambic meter (stress maxima on second, fourth, and sixth syllable in octosyllabic verse with masculine ending.) and a more complex actualization (stress maxima on none, one, or two of the possible positions). The effect of the line is related to the level of actualization--neutral or complex in various degrees--rather than to substitutions or irregularities, which are, to them, intolerable.

18

King James VI of Scotland points out the rhythmical variations caused by polysyllables and suggests that in behalf of regularity they should be avoided. Names too he objects to and on the same grounds. Thus he illustrates the Renaissance theory of prosody which put rules before practice. See G. Gregory Smith,

ed., Elizabethan Critical Essays, 2 vols. (London: Oxford U. Press, 1964), pp. 208-25. As Smith points out, King James bases his observations on "earlier Southern work," although he purports to write about Scots poetry. His only debt to his own tradition is in his discussion of alliteration (which he admires) and tumbling verse with no syllabic order (meter) for flyting.

19

See Richard J. Schoeck, "Mathematics and the Languages of Literary Criticism," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XXVI (1968), 367-76.

20

Ronald Sutherland, "Structural Linguistics and English Prosody," Structure of Verse, pp. 181-90, says that a sustentional juncture between two syllables "causes the first syllable to be prolonged" (p. 187). While a linguist would say that a sustentional juncture occurs only at syntactic boundaries, I follow Sutherland in also using the symbols ↗ and → to describe a phonologically more complex or difficult transition between words, in the same syntactic unit, than the plus juncture (+); e.g., Sutherland has "Speech after long ↗silence;" and "Upon the supreme →theme...." Note also the appropriate formulaic character of Barbour's lines.

21

Barbour indicates that he has knowledge of ballads in his apparent reference to them, XVI, 521. The ballad rhythm is dipodic, that is, heavy stresses alternate regularly with weaker stresses. Some critics attempt to prove that alliterative meter is dipodic (George R. Stewart, "The Meter of Piers Plowman,"

PMLA, XLII (1927), 113-28; W.E. Leonard, "The Scansion of Middle English Alliterative Verse!"). They fail to recognize that a dipodic measure is always a possible variation on iambic meter. What happens in dipodic verse is that the essentially non-periodic pattern of level of stress becomes periodic for a time. It is obvious to educated ears that a long poem all in dipodic verse would be intolerable. Barbour demonstrates the ability (my guess is that the Gawain poet does the same) of using the dipodic ballad rhythm as a kind of evocative rhythm. On Barbour and ballads see Alexander M. Kinghorn, "Romantic History and Poetry in Mediaeval Scotland," Dalhousie Review, XXXVII, 63-70; Kinsley, p. 6, who says that Barbour's "pictures have the movement, the violent actuality, and the very rhythm of the ballads...."

22

See Skeat's glossary. Line 173 is repeated at I, 217: "For litill enchesoune or than nane." The collocation of "-ill" is used again at lines I, 505-508 when Robert Bruce accepts Comyn's proposition to become king. Here the syllable suggests the treachery that Comyn plans.

23

Starred lines are those that do not occur in every manuscript or edition of The Bruce.

24

Sutherland, Structure of Verse, pp. 184-85, uses three symbols \searrow \rightarrow \nearrow . He does not distinguish between the end of a sentence and the end of a clause. Thus I have added \downarrow to indicate the end of a sentence. It is clear that the linguistic phenomenon of juncture is a little different from the

meaning juncture that I talk about. For example, in a meaning sense, absolute falling juncture or 0 expectation can only occur at the end of sentence. That there is a clear relationship between juncture and stress (See George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., An Outline of English Structure, 7th printing, Studies in Linguistics: Occasional Papers, 3 [Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1957], pp. 39, 49-50, 52) supports my contention that syntax phenomena are important to prosodic analysis. For example, Trager and Smith say that syntactic function is indicated by order of stresses as well as order of words (p. 76), a phonemic phrase has only one primary stress (p. 49) which comes as near the end of it as possible (p. 75). This would seem to eliminate spondaic relationship between adjective and noun; e.g., Long Island has the stress pattern Long [∨] [/] [∨] Island. Cp. Halle and Keyser, p. 192.

25

Since Skeat supplies the punctuation, Barbour's intentions are not always clear. See, for example, III, 705, 714; V, 3.

26

Gross, "T.S. Eliot and the Music of Poetry," Structure of Verse, pp. 203-4. He quotes Susanne K. Langer, Philosophy in a New Key (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 261.

27

William A. Craigie, "Barbour and Blind Harry," Scottish Review, XXII (1893), 173-190, misses the point when he criticizes Barbour for lacking vivid pictures in one line (p. 184). Blind Harry is completely locked into the line. Therefore it

is not surprising that he should manage to create some vivid pictures within the line. Barbour's one-line pictures are all the more vivid and remarkable because the line was so seldom his unit of structure. Craigie likes Barbour's one-line pictures in XII, 353; XII, 566; XIX, 703. He certainly chose weak examples. He might better have cited such a line as Barbour's bitterly ironic comment on Edward I's embassy: "Bot othir wayis all gheid the gle" (I, 90).

28

Cp. George Gascoigne, "Certayn Notes of Instruction," Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith, I, 46-57, who says that the end of sentence should coincide with the end of the couplet. Northrop Frye, "The Rhythm of Recurrence: Epos," Structure of Verse, pp. 168-180, associates the on-pushing quality from line to line with musicality of poetry and he cites Milton as one of the practitioners of musical poetry (p. 174).

29

Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard Trask (Garden City: Doubleday, 1953 [orig. 1946]), p. 62.

30

Frye, "The Rhythm of Recurrence: Epos," Structure of Verse, p. 173, notes that such slowing sound effects are unmusical--musicality being associated with movement, and with "discords ending in a harmony," and not with "a dreamy sensuous flow of sound" (p. 174). Barbour usually writes what Frye would call musical verse. This lovely passage on spring is an exception.

31

David Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry, ed. John Aitken Carlyle (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1861) compares this passage from Barbour with a passage from The Romance of the Rose, which may be by Chaucer (p. 107), and finds that "the versification of Barbour is certainly not inferior to that of Chaucer" (p. 108). Chaucer's use of syntax in the opening of the C.T. is brilliant. With a long periodic sentence that leaves the main clause unresolved for many lines, he leads the reader to believe he is being introduced to a love poem through the conventional device of the garden of plesance setting, but finally he upsets expectation completely by the long-awaited main clause which speaks of pilgrimages and not love. John Veitch, in The Feeling For Nature in Scottish Poetry, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1887), points out that Barbour's is one of the earliest references to the nightingale and that either it is a different bird--as the nightingale is never seen in Scotland--or it is borrowed from romance (I, 167).

32

W.P. Ker, Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature (N.Y.: Dover Publ., 1957 [orig. 1896]) points out that in Old English verse, syntax ignores lines and he states that this could lead to narrative forms (p. 134). John Nist in "The Word-Group Cadence: Basis of English Metrics," Linguistics, No. 6 (1964), pp. 73-82, asserts that the syntax unit "is the basic unit of metrical structure," and that it is emotion that produces cadences that break away from normal prose patterns to confirm the impression of poetry."

33

T[homas] F[inlayson] Henderson, Scottish Vernacular Literature, A Succinct History, 3rd rev. ed. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), p. 47,

34

See Donald Davie, Articulate Energy: An Enquiry into the Syntax of English Poetry (N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1955), pp. 68-93.

35

Gross, Structure of Verse, p. 13.

36

According to standard medieval manuals, Lorn's action is correct, for it was considered highly dangerous for a leader to place himself in jeopardy. See for example Secreta Secretorum, Three Prose Versions, ed. Robert Steele, vol. I, Text and Glossary (London: EETS, 1898), p. 215, and Vegetius (Flavius Vegetius Renatus), The Military Institutions of the Romans, trans. by Lieut. John Clark (1767), ed., Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1965), p. 113.

37

Cp. Joseph Bain, The Edwards in Scotland: A.D. 1296-1377 (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1901), who discounts Barbour's descriptions of the winning of these castles and says that they fell "partly through [Edward II's] neglect to victual them..." (p. 66). He perhaps takes his cue from Charles Oman who says that "by 1300 the defensive had obtained an almost complete mastery over the offensive, so that famine was the only certain weapon in siegecraft" (I, 358), A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., (N.Y.: Burt Franklin, reprint of 2nd

rev. ed. of 1924, 1959). Barbour shows his understanding of siegecraft when he says that victuals, armed men, and hope of rescue are necessary to keep a besieged castle (V, 421-24).

38

Rhythm in the Novel, (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 57.

39

Motif-rime is used in many books. For example, in Book IV, there are two fires and because the first is an act of treachery, we infer that the second, whose cause is unclear, may be also. In Book III, there are three crossings in a boat. Motifs of towns and commoners, "slicht" and chivalry are also found in Books VI, IX, and XVII. Douglas' daring exploits occur in virtually every book. The Bruce has similar meetings with women in IV, 608 and VII, 240.

40

In the standard manuals, retreat when there is no help for it is recommended. See Vegetius, p. 106, who, however, says that it is demoralizing to the men to retreat. See also Honoré Bonet, The Tree of Battles, trans. G.W. Coopland (Cambridge: Harvard, 1949). On the other hand, Margaret Adlum Gist points out in Love and War in the Middle English Romances (Phila. & London: U. of Penn. Press and Oxford U. Press, 1947) that in romances, death is preferable to retreat (pp. 178-81). Thus Book III, when he is forced to retreat, marks the lowest point of the king's career in terms of romance.

41

Astrik L. Gabriel in a delightful essay, "The College System," The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century, ed.

Francis Lee Utley (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1961), says that in the fourteenth century, the debate was introduced (p. 98).

42

Edward Bruce's rash boldness, on the other hand, is often successful too. His refusal to leave Carrik when the odds are against them (Book V) and his defeat of 1500 Englishmen with only 50 men (Book IX) are examples, but in the latter situation, Barbour takes pains to point out that although rash boldness is sometimes successful, boldness tempered by prudence--as characterized by Robert Bruce--is superior. See also Book XVIII.

43

For a highly romanticized account of this incident (and others) see G.A. Henty, In Freedom's Cause: A Story of Wallace and Bruce (N.Y.: A.L. Burt Co., no date), pp. 297-311. Henty diminishes both Wallace and Bruce by creating a new hero, Archie Forbes, who in this incident does not shoot but rescues the bloodhound from the English. Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Robert The Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence (N.Y. & London: C.P. Putnam's Son, 1906), p. 155, says that we should credit the unknown foster brother for saving Scotland, in that he urged the king when he was ready to give up. Alexander M. Kinghorn, ed., Barbour: The Bruce, a Selection (Edin.: Oliver and Boyd for the Saltire Society, 1960), p. 11, also maintains that Barbour depicts "a man, not a demi-god." It is interesting to note that some of the most picturesque details are verified in English sources. See Bain, p. 57.

44

Sir Walter Scott uses this incident, combining it with features of the others, in Lord of The Isles.

45

Michael MacMillan in his excellent introduction to his abbreviated translation of Barbour, called The Bruce of Bannockburn (Sterling: Eneas Mackay, 1914), says of the Bruce, "His insight into the mixture of good and evil in human character saved his life when he made a surprising appeal to the chivalry of three ruffianly assassins..." (p. xv).

46

Cp. Bain, who says that Loudoun Hill "was not decisive.... The tide began to turn" with the death of Edward I (p. 58). But Maxwell, pp. 161, 165, and Oman, II, 83, consider it to be the turning point, and Oman says, "if we can trust the details--significantly probably in themselves--which Barbour gives of it...in its own way it was a forecast of Bannockburn."

Barbour may also have modified history in depicting the Bruce's low fortune before Loudoun Hill. See a letter in E.L.G. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328: Some selected Documents (London: Nelson, 1965), pp. 130-34, which describes breathlessly the Bruce's initial successes, and which was probably written within a few weeks of Comyn's death.

47

Cp. Bain, p. 63, and W.H. MacKenzie, ed., The Bruce, note to XV, 299. Both Bain and MacKenzie assert that Barbour is totally wrong about Lorn's capture. Therefore, again, it seems probable that Barbour revised history to create a symmetrical arrangement.

48

See for example, MacMillan; Kinghorn, Bruce, p. 12; Innis, p. xii. Wittig, who notes a kind of colophon (XIII, 703ff) which may originally have been meant to form the conclusion of the poem (p. 17n), praises Barbour's design and his conclusion. Ian C. Walker, too, disagrees with those who think The Bruce should have ended after Bannockburn ("Barbour, Blind Harry and Sir William Craigie," Studies in Scottish Literature, I, 202-06).

49

See quotation describing the purpose of the Lincoln Hilary Parliament in George P. Cuttino, "A Reconsideration of the Modus Tenendi Parliamentum," The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century, ed. Francis Lee Utley (Columbus: Ohio State U. Press, 1961), p. 38. See also Agnes Mure Mackenzie, Mackenzie, Scottish Pageant: 55 B.C.-A.D. 1513 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946), p. 197 and elsewhere. Also, her Robert Bruce, King of Scots (Edinburgh & London: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), pp. 285-349. Maxwell quotes a letter from Edward II to the Pope in 1319 in which the English king says, "...I am resolved to establish peace by force of arms" (p. 280).

50

Barbour mentions the wheel of fortune in XIII, 651-60.

51

As Mackenzie points out, Barbour knew war might be renewed at any moment (Pageant, p. 150). Hadn't Edward III, even after the treaty declaring Scotland's sovereignty, written of the need to punish the Scots who had "violated their debt of faith and homage"? (Pageant, p. 200).

52

see Charles Sears Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic to 1400: Interpreted from Representational Works (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), p. 295, where he associates good narrative style with onwardness and rhetoric with delay. But he is here restricting the meaning of rhetoric to include only decorative devices of amplification, which is not the way he uses the term elsewhere.

53

Croce in "The Indulgence Due to True Poets," Philosophy. Poetry. History, pp. 319-30, discusses the phenomenon of a poet hanging his poetry upon an unpoetic meaning structure and says that this practice should not be criticized nor should the critic pretend that the unpoetic scaffolding is poetry.

CHAPTER TWO

RHETORIC: TRADITION AND INNOVATION

The Techniques

Medieval rhetorics, like their modern counterparts, operate on the assumption that it is possible to analyze discourses that are successfully persuasive, to filter out the devices that seem to account for the success, and to suggest or prescribe the use of such devices in future discourses. Today, rhetorics almost always confine themselves to techniques for expository writing but in the Middle Ages rhetorics addressed themselves to poetic writing as well. Whether these textbooks are ever efficacious, whatever their subject matter, is a moot point. Their flaw as rule books is that they separate device from subject matter and specific purpose.

But while a poet or an expository writer of modern times or of the Middle Ages cannot compose a work of art by following the rules in a rhetoric, he can nevertheless be influenced by its materials. Percy Lubbock's preference for the limited narrator, for example, has found its way into writing manuals and has had a profound effect on the choices that writers today make. And since the matière of the rhetorics was so prevalent in the Middle Ages, virtually no writer with any amount of learning could be ignorant of it. Barbour, an educated man, must have been aware of rhetorical theory.

As Aristotle points out, rhetoric is a study with no specific subject matter; its materials may be applied to any

subject. Thus in the Middle Ages, the devices of rhetoric, particularly those called Ornaments of Style, were applied to grammar, sermon-making, poetics, letter-writing, logical discourses, and even to medicine.¹ Richard McKeon maintains that if we try to discern the history of rhetoric in the Middle Ages we are doomed to fail unless we consider it in conjunction with the other arts with which it functioned.² A part of the Trivium, rhetoric was often absorbed by grammar or by dialectics. Fortunately for the critic who tries to determine the extent of a poet's knowledge and use of the principles of rhetoric, the ultimate sources are few in spite of its wide-spread dispersion through many disciplines.³ Probably Ad Herennium is a sufficient source-book for locating most of the devices of language in whatever discipline. With application to poetry, the rhetorics of Geoffrey de Vinsauf are appropriate source-books as he distills his precepts from Ad Herennium, with specific reference to literature.⁴

But rhetoric has a larger meaning that goes beyond textbook influence. To some critics, Croce for example, rhetoric and poetry are absolutely inimical. To others, Huizinga for instance, rhetoric is a pejorative word that is used for everything that is bad in a work of art. Croce objects to rhetoric in poetry because of his philosophical premise that a work of art is an act of the imagination that has nothing to do with persuasion, which applies only to works of thought. He differentiates between literature, which is a work of thought, sometimes at best colored by the imagination, and a poem, which

is pure feeling and imagination. Other philosophers starting with the same platonic premise hold, as Croce does not, that a work of art is fully realized at conception, and that its actual execution in space and time is an act that is optional, secondary, or superfluous. If this platonic concept is true, which I doubt, the question remains why the artist does go on from conception to expression in time and space. He does so, I believe, to communicate, and communication is irrevocably entwined with rhetoric. As Rosamond Tuve says, a poet's images are his rhetoric. With them, the poet seeks not only to capture his vision for himself, but to stir an assent to his vision in his audience, however restricted that audience may be, to produce an emotional response in which the poet's vision is somehow recreated in the minds of his audience, to elicit the willing suspension of disbelief that is essential to creative communication between artist and audience. Rhetoric is this art. It is obviously not an art that can be learnt from a rule book since every work is subject to its own internal rules. Nor is it something that is applied to a work of art as gold leaf is applied to a statue or as illuminations are added to a manuscript. Rather it is inseparable from meaning. Huizinga, in his aversion to rhetoric assumes that it means superficial decoration. The medieval rhetorics lend themselves to such an interpretation, with their concentration on the ornaments of style.⁵

The medieval rhetorics could teach the poet little of his rhetoric in the sense of persuading an audience to accept

and recreate his vision. They were not concerned, or concerned to a very limited degree, with genre, structure, the ordering and selection of materials, effect, and the welding of meaning and language. Geoffrey treats Arrangement, Methods of Amplification and, more laconically, of Abbreviation, and finally and most fully, the Ornaments of Style including the ten tropes and the various figures of speech and of thought. His work is a listing with examples, and he also cautions against defects. Amplification and Ornamentation he takes to be something the poet can tack on at will and he does not think of style as deriving from the inner necessities of the work of art. It is easy to see that the influence of such rhetorics (or poetics as they were called)⁶ could be pernicious and lead to all kinds of excesses, what Curtius calls Mannerism.⁷ It is easy to see that rhetoric could come to mean, as Huizinga implies, that which is merely decorative and which may even clog an otherwise good piece of art. But it is also clear that in the hands of a consummate artist like Chaucer or Shakespeare even the frigid prescriptions of the rhetoricians can be applied with artistry.⁸ And thus the study of how a poet achieves his effects through the decorative devices of the rhetorics is interesting and worthwhile.

And to an even greater extent the study of a poet's rhetoric in its larger sense of being that art by which an artist achieves his purpose and communicates that purpose to an audience is a valid study. This is the sense of rhetoric that Robert O. Payne uses in his illuminating study on Chaucer's

poetics, that Wayne Booth uses in his important book, The Rhetoric of Fiction, and that David Lodge adopts in the Language of Fiction.⁹

This chapter, then, is a study of Barbour's rhetoric, both in the narrow sense of his debt to the rules of the rhetorics that he surely knew and in the larger sense of his manipulation of language and structure to achieve his purpose.

Direct influence by a specific rhetoric would be difficult to ascertain, but it is hardly essential to determine direct influence, since as I have said, the same materials were so widely dispersed and Barbour could discover the devices by reading any of the encyclopedic texts as well as specific books of rhetoric as applied to or part of different subjects. Literary sources, too, could provide examples to copy. We might refer to this absorption of rhetorical techniques through literary models as the secondary influence of the rhetorics. Invention is also a possible source of devices--even of those also found in the rhetorics. After all, the examples cited by the rhetoricians were taken from literature (Aristotle constantly refers to Homer in his Rhetoric and Poetics), and it is not essential that a poet know the rhetorics to use simile, metaphor, alliteration, personification, and so forth. The fact that Bede was able to illustrate the tropes from the Scriptures does not prove that the author of the Scriptures had recourse to a rhetoric. Personal sensibility, observation and experience, then, provide another source for the poet. Dependence on rhetorics directly or at one step

removed can only be proven by direct quotation of or specific reference to a rhetoric or to their particular terminology, or by parallel development. Chaucer, for example, refers to Geoffrey by name, and Chaucer's description of the Duchess Blanche follows so precisely the order demonstrated if not prescribed by the rhetorics that it is impossible to say that he was not influenced by them, whether directly or through Machaut or other poets is immaterial.¹⁰ The more technical the device, the further it is removed from ordinary language, the more likely that the ultimate source was a rhetoric, rather than invention. For Barbour, since he does not allude to any rhetorics or technical terms, dependence on a rhetorical tradition can only be assumed on the basis of parallel development--as in Chaucer's description of the Duchess--or the technicality of the device. But whether the device is copied, derived, or invented, it is often possible to provide a name from the rhetorics for the devices that Barbour uses and to show to what extent he follows and to what extent he goes beyond their strictures.

For example, many of the devices that I discussed under the heading of prosody, as I have already mentioned in chapter one, were also treated by the rhetoricians. By speaking directly to his audience in an intimate conversational style at his beginning, Barbour wins their good-will, as is recommended by Ad Her., Aristotle, and Cicero. He often uses proverbs or maxims. Repetition of words and parts of words, for example the -ile, -ill repetition (I, 168-78) is a kind of paronomasia

(adnominatio), a highly admired and very **technical device**. The juxtaposition of nocht and wrocht (I, 94) is an example of Homoeoteleuton, as is all rime.¹¹ Isocolon and epanaphora are used in lines with ballad rhythm: "And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew" (I, 278). Onomatopoeia in battle scenes is accomplished by alliteration of r's and s's. Hyperbaton occurs when Barbour withholds the verb in describing Edward I's motives (I, 135-52). Dialogue is one of the figures of thought. We have seen also that Barbour uses rhythm to imitate that which is represented.

A better comparison, however, of Barbour's usage with respect to that of the rhetorics can be attained by following Manly's method with Chaucer, that is, by taking each of Geoffrey de Vinsauf's categories in turn and showing Barbour's practice.

Arrangement

The rhetorics could teach Barbour little about construction since under the topic of arrangement they were concerned only with ways to begin and end a work. Geoffrey discusses first the natural opening (ab ovo), which begins at the starting point of the story and proceeds chronologically to the end, and then the artificial opening (in medias res). Strangely enough, under the latter head he lists among others the method of beginning at the beginning of a story but with an introductory proverb, sententia or exemplum. Thus, although Barbour follows a chronological method, his opening is artificial, for

he not only prefaces his actual beginning at line 445 of Book I with a summary of the events that lead up to Bruce's dramatic confrontation with Comyn, who betrays him to Edward I and whom Bruce then murders; he also introduces both preface and story proper with all three of the devices that Vinsauf mentions. Here is Barbour's opening at line 445:

Lordingis, quha likis for till her,
The romanys now begynnys her....

This is a marvelous call to attention in the oral tradition, with the highly admired rich rime (transplacement).¹² And in medieval fashion he tells the outcome so that the audience can appreciate fully what is happening, a device that substitutes irony for suspense.

The sententia:¹³

Lordingis, quha likis for till her,
The romanys now begynnys her,
Off men that war in gret distress,
And assayit full gret hardynes,
Or thai mycht cum till thar entent:
Bot syne our lord sic grace thaim sent,
That thai syne, throw thar gret walour,
Come till gret hycht & till honour,
Magre thar fayis euirilkane,
That war sa fele, that ay for ane
Off thaim, thai war weill a thowsand (445-455).

The proverb: "Bot quhar god helpys, quhat may withstand?" (456)

The exemplum: He compares the Scots to the Maccabees

That, as men in the bibill seys,
Throw thar gret worschip and walour,
Fawcht in-to mony stalwart stour,
For to delyuir thar countre
Fra folk that, throw iniquite,
Held thaim and thairis in thrillage:
Thai wrocht sua throw thar wasselage,
That with few folk thai had wictory
Off mychty kingis, as sayis the story,
And delyueryt thar land all fre;
Quharfor thar name suld lovyt be (465-76).

Thus those first two lines that promise to begin the story finally after 444 lines of exposition are followed by some 30 lines of further delay. As in Chaucer's use of the technique, Barbour slides so easily from promise to digression that the reader hardly notices.

The beginning of the preface also includes Vinsauf's three opening devices. The sententia, Barbour's statement of artistic purpose, has already been discussed in chapter one. He continues with a generalized example:

For aulde storys that men redys,
 Representis to thaim the dedys
 Of stalwart folk that lywyt ar,
 Rycht as thai than in presence war.
 And, certis, thai suld weill hawe pryss
 That in thartyme war wycht and wyss,
 And led thar lyff in gret trawaill,
 And oft in hard stour off bataill
 Wan richt gret price off chewalry,
 And war woydyt off cowardy (17-27).

He then makes an easy transition to his particular subject by the device of comparison, as Geoffrey suggests:

As wes king Robert off Scotland,
 That hardy wes off hart and hand;
 And gud Schyr James off Douglas,
 That in his tyme sa worthy was,
 That off hys price & hys bounte
 In fer landis renownyt wes he.
 Off thaim I thynk this buk to ma...(28-313)¹⁴

And ends with a pious wish for success, the prayer taking the place of proverb:

Now god gyff grace that I may swa
 Tret it, and bryng it till endyng,
 That I say nocht bot suthfast thing! (34-36).

At line 37 he begins the exposition, swiftly sketching the major events of the period from 1286 to Bruce's encounter with

Comyn in 1306 in about 400 lines, thus following John of Garland's recommendation of a summary with an in medias res beginning.

Barbour ends his story in a manner appropriate to his beginning, as Geoffrey prescribes, for ab ovo implies to the grave. Thus Barbour completes his story of Scottish independence with the deaths of Bruce, Douglas, and Murray. Geoffrey recommends closing with a proverb. Barbour ends with a simple prayer:

He, that hye lorde of all thing is,
Vp till his mekill bliss thame bryng,
And grant his grace, that thar ofspryng
Lede weill the land, and ententif
Be to folow, in all thair liff,
Thar nobill elderis gret bounte!
The afald god in trinite
Bryng ws hye vp till hevynnys bliss,
Quhar all-wayis lestand liking is!--Amen (XX, 612-20).

The prayer, in this case as at the beginning, takes the place of proverb or sententia.¹⁵

Barbour's transition from his introductory material to his story he accomplishes in straightforward fashion. He begins at line 477, "thys lord the Brwyss, I spak of ayr," "ayr" referring of course to his first mention of the Bruce when he announced his subject (I, 28),¹⁶ and plunges directly into the dramatic scene between the Bruce and Comyn. He need not say as Chaucer sometimes does, "Bot now to return to my matiere," because he has never been far from it. His transition from his story to his ending prayer is abrupt, as was the convention.¹⁷

That Barbour uses all of the devices for beginning and ending a work suggests that he knew these conventions and

employed them consciously: the parallelism is too close to be accounted for by invention. But the rhythm of the whole, which I have already treated in chapter one, Barbour creates himself. No rhetoric and no model provided him with that design of elegant simplicity, with pivotal points keyed to major battles (Methven, Loudoun Hill, Bannockburn; and thereafter, the Irish campaign, Berwick, Weardale), with unity on many levels.

Amplification and Abbreviation, With Illustrations of Figures

Amplification

Since the devices of Amplification were conceived of as an opportunity for the writer to exercise his verbal ingenuity in using the figures, it is possible to show Barbour's use of them here, rather than under the heading of style. Figures from Geoffrey, translated where possible from Caplan's translation of Ad Herennium, are capitalized; those from other sources or which Barbour seems to have invented are in lower case.

I. Description: (a) of persons

Barbour's first detailed description is of Douglas (I, 288-352), appropriately so because the work also ends in effect with his death (circle effect). But he places this description within the introductory material so that later, when Douglas joins the Bruce, he need not stop to describe Douglas' situation, but can concentrate on dramatic scene. Edward I had taken Douglas' father's lands away and given them to Clifford, and the elder Douglas had been villainously slain while a prisoner

(narration, explication of background). At that time, Douglas was "a litill knave," "bot a litill page" (Reduplication, repetition of the word "litill" to express emotion, in this case pity; Synonymy, repetition of idea in "knave" and "page"), but when he grew up he avenged his father's death (Conclusion). He cleft so many brains (Synecdoche) that none that lives can tell all his deeds (realistic limitation, implied Hyperbole, associated with a consciousness that the rendered narrative is a mere selection--a device of verisimilitude). But he experienced many hardships before he achieved his estate (Conciseness, Conclusion). Nothing could dismay his heart (Synecdoche), nor prevent him from accomplishing his purpose (Synonymy). He thought that a man was not worth much if he did not work for what he got; but if he worked hard to achieve great things his price was doubled (Reasoning by Contraries).¹⁸ So he never avoided trouble, pain or work (Synonymy) to accomplish his aims, "Bot dryve the thing rycht to the end (Contrast). Only after this general description of Douglas' character does Barbour name him (information withheld for emphasis).

Having given this overview of Douglas' character (Conclusion), Barbour goes back to the time that the Douglas lands were given to Clifford, before the father's death. Douglas decides to go to Paris and there he pretends to live a carefree life of ribaldry. Barbour seems to be a little uneasy about this period of James's life for he tries to justify him in four different ways (Accumulation of Evidence): James behaved in a manner proper to youth. "As the courss askis off yowtheid" (Proverb);¹⁹

"knowlage off mony statis/ May quhile awaile full mony gatis," that is, knowledge of many classes may be helpful (Maxim pointed by Antistrophe and Homoeoteleuton); Thus did Robert Earl of Artois (Comparison); and even Cato says that "To fenye foly quhile is wyt" (Appeal to Authority, emphasized by Alliteration). There Douglas stayed for three years (realistic detail) until he hears of his father's death, when he decides to return to Scotland and to try to regain his lands. Barbour begins and ends this section with two similar phrases: "will off wane" (l. 323) and "wa and will of red" (l. 348). They both mean distraught, not knowing what to do. This is a kind of Transplacement that draws a circle as it were around this period of James's life.

Barbour has in this account concentrated on James. He does not for example mention that William Douglas, the father, joined the Wallace for a time, then left the popular leader and surrendered to Edward I, by whom he was eventually executed. He only gives enough background information to explain James's motivation without distracting the reader from the main centers of interest. He abbreviates not by verbal devices, but by simply omitting information and by Emphasis.

James comes to St. Andrews where he is courteously received. Here Barbour provides a simple vignette of courtliness. The Bishop gives Douglas knives to carve before him at the table, clothes him honorably, and has a place prepared where he may sleep. Now Barbour reveals more of his character both by telling and by presenting in indirect discourse the views

of others. "All men lufyt [praised] him for his bounty;/ For he wes off full fayr effer (Paronomasia, Pun),/ Wyss, curtaiss, and deboner (one of Barbour's many triplets); Larg and luffand als wes he,/ And our all thing luffyt lawte." Not only does Barbour repeat the word "luffyt" in various forms (Paronomasia); he also puns on this word in its two forms "loved" and "praised." He also transposes words out of their natural order for emphasis (Hyperbaton) and formulaic Alliteration, which suggests but does not duplicate the alliterative-stress line, continues.

Then Barbour interrupts with a Digression on loyalty which functions to emphasize this most important trait (Dwelling on the Point) and to announce loyalty as one of the themes of the work:

Leavte to luff is gretumly;
 Throuch leavte liffis men rychtwisly: (moral effect)
 With a wertu of leavte
 A man may yeit sufficyand be: (thesis)
 And but leawte may nane haiff price, (Antithesis)
 Quhethir he be wucht or he be wyss; (Periphrasis)
 For quhar it failyeys, na wertu
 May be off price, na off valu, (Transplacement and Synonymy)
 To mak a man sa gud, that he
 May simply gud man callyt be (ll. 365-74). (Hyperbaton,
 Transplacement)

In spite of all the rhetorical devices in the Digression, Barbour avoids the sound of a rhetorical set-piece by keeping an easy rhythm with enjambment and with varied within-the-line breaks, by making his digression short, and by putting it solidly within the context of Douglas' character. After the short Digression, he returns to Douglas, reaffirming his loyalty (Synonymy): He "dedeynyeit nocht to dele/ With trechery, na with falset" (Reasoning by Contraries), and ends this section

also with a unifying repetition of the beginning: "All men lufyt him for his bounte" (l. 360); "All him luffyt that war him ner" (l. 380). Almost the last thing he says of Douglas at the end of the work is "our all thing he lufit lawte" (XX, 516). This kind of structural repetition is a device not dealt with by the rhetoricians, but it is recommended by sermon manuals.²⁰

Having completed his description of Douglas' character (Notatio), Barbour continues with his appearance (Effictio). "Bot he wes nocht sa fayr, that we/ Suld spek gretly off his beaute" (realistic refusal to exaggerate). His complexion was somewhat grey, he had black hair, as I heard say (reference to oral authority to reinforce verity), but his limbs were well-made "With banys gret & schuldrys braid" (Hyperbaton and Balance). Again referring to his oral authority Barbour says "As thai that saw hym said to me." When he was happy he was lovely, and meek and sweet in company. But when he was in battle his countenance was all otherwise (Antithesis). He lisped a bit which suited him well.²¹ He was like Hector in many ways (Comparison) and Barbour lists: black hair, well-made body and strong limbs, lisp, loyalty, and "curtaiss and wyss and wycht" (Polysyndeton), effectively summing up Douglas' personal appearance and character under cover of the comparison. Then playfully he backs off from the simile:

Bot off manheid and mekill myght,
Till Ector dar I nane comper
Off all that euir in warldys wer (Surrender).

That it is perhaps typical is suggested by the fact that Barbour's is similar in some respects to Chaucer's description of the Squire, together with some of the touches of the Knight's description. Douglas' courtesy to woman is not mentioned here, but Barbour demonstrates it later when Douglas is active in procuring food for the ladies:

Thar wes nocht ane amang thaim thar,
That to the ladyis profyt was
Mar then Iamys of Dowglas... (II, 583-85).

But Barbour's depiction of Douglas' efforts on behalf of the women is less conventional than Chaucer's of the Squire who like a typical courtier sings, writes, and dances. Douglas "with his handys quhile he wrocht/ Gynnys, to tak geddis & salmonys,/ Trowtis, elys, and also menovnyis" (II, 575-77). Barbour is never interested in array, nor in love, so he uses only those characteristics of general portraits that best serve his purpose.²² He does, however, in spite of such typical touches as those noted above, manage to create an individual portrait with the realistic touch of the grey visage, the oral report, and even by his Digression on loyalty in which in strong terms (*Licentia*) he expresses the importance of this ideal.

The description of Douglas, aside from being one of the devices of amplification, also falls under the heading of Epideictic writing, for which Ad Herennium gives general rules of arrangement and treatment. After an Introduction that announces the subject of praise, the three topics of Epideictic are external circumstance, physical attributes and qualities of character. Barbour's introduction to Douglas does not follow

the scheme in Ad Herennium because his praise of Douglas is part of the fabric of his romance and thus he weaves it in more subtly than by announcing his purpose. From his description of thralldom and the misery of the Scots, he moves on to a particular lord, William Douglas, and then to James Douglas, the son:

...
 And sum thai put in hard presoun,
 For-owtyn causs or enchesoun. (Synonymy)
 And amang othir, off Dowglass
 Put in presoun schir Wilyam was, (Hyperbaton)
 ...
 He had a sone, a litill knave... (I, 279-82; 288).

He begins with a generalization, and continues with a specific example which forms a bridge to the particular topic of the description and praise of Douglas.

The first topic, External Circumstance, Barbour deals with tangentially. We infer the qualities of Douglas' parentage by the fact that his father was made a martyr (Metaphor with religious connotations) and that his father's lands were "fair inewch" (Understatement).

Instead of slavishly following the order recommended by Ad Herennium, Barbour draws freely from all three topics, and at the same time creates a number of scenes that we can visualize (Ocular Demonstration). The emphatic point is that with few friends ("Na thar wes nane that euir him kend/ Wald do sa mekill for him, that he/ Mycht sufficiently fundyn be.") but by his personal character that endeared him to men, by his physical prowess, and by his perseverance, he was able to succeed in his aim of avenging his father's death and regaining his land.

Barbour is concerned with characterization, not mere description. Thus to rhetorical description he adds action within the narrative framework, the opinions of other characters, narrative comments, as well as Douglas' words and deeds. All of these confirm Barbour's rhetorical description. For instance, Douglas' complexion and the fierce look that he shows when he is angry are vividly dramatized in the English opinion of him. They call him Black Douglas and women frighten their children when they are bad by threatening to turn them over to him. The English dread him as the Devil of Hell and are sorry to even hear his name (XV, 530-45). Since his initial motivation for joining the Bruce was to seek revenge both for his father's death and the subsequent loss of his lands, it is not surprising that he deals with the enemy ignoring the niceties of chivalry ('Douglas' Larder,' V, 397-410). But as Barbour tells us, he shows himself pleasant enough to his companions, with a good grasp of psychology. He divides the spoils according to his men's merits,

And held no thing till his behuf.
 Sic dedis aucht till ger men luf
 Thair lorde, and swa thai did, perfay.
 He tretit thame so wissly ay,
 And with so mekill luf alsua,
 And sic a countenans vald ma
 Of thair deid, that the mast coward
 Stoutar he maid than a libard;
 With cherising thus^gat maid he
 His men wicht and of gret bounte (XV, 515-26).²³

Further personal description is afforded by an interesting anecdote presented by Barbour in dialogue form. When Douglas stops at Seville, many knights come to see him to honor him, and one who is also a much esteemed man and whose face is

scarred from his many battles is surprised that Douglas' face is unscarred:

He said that he had gret ferly
 That sic a knycht and sa vorthy,
 And prisit of sa gret bounte,
 Nicht in the fave vnwemmyt be.
 And he ansuerd thar-till mekly,
 And said, "love god, all tyme had I
 Handis, myne hede for till were" (XX, 357-79).

Another trait of character is dramatized when Douglas insists that the Bruce allow him to help Randolph at Bannockburn, although the Bruce does not want him to. Perseverance and Fortitude, Barbour shows, are but a step removed from stubbornness. But Douglas also demonstrates his courtesy in that encounter because when he sees that Randolph is winning without him (as the English fall back when they see Douglas), he retires so that Randolph may have all the glory (XI, 633-55; XII, 109-29).

These dramatized descriptions are far from the method suggested by the medieval manuals. Edmond Faral points out the rigidity, the typicality, of the set portraits found in the rhetorics. Although their ordering was not specified, they exemplified a characteristic arrangement, usually describing a person from head to toe, and they displayed the techniques for developing typical figures rather than individuals. These portraits were movable features that had nothing to do with narrative.²⁴

In contrast to the description of Douglas, Barbour's description of Randolph does have some of the removable qualities of the descriptions in the rhetorics (X, 268-99), but Barbour ends it by saying "Bot ye sall weill heir forthirmar/ That he,

for his dedis worthy,/ Suld weill be prisit soueranly" (X, 297-99). Thus he recognizes that the most effective portrait is not achieved by rhetorical description but by showing the character in action. Interestingly enough, Barbour presents no full portrait of the Bruce. Instead Barbour characterizes him completely by allowing him to speak and act and by showing others' reactions to him. For example, after the victory at Loudoun Hill the Scots were merry and glad

For thair victour; and als thai had
A lord so swet and debonar,
So curtais and of sa fair effer,
So blith als and so veill bowrdand,
And in battle so stith to stand,
So viss, and richt sua avise,
That thai had gret causs blith to be (VIII, 380-86).

Kurt Wittig's analysis of the Bruce's character as Barbour creates it is excellent: "Barbour's psychological insight is... his main instrument in characterization." Instead of the type characters of romance he gives us real individuals, each one differentiated from the others; "they have profiles of a clear-cut sharpness not matched before Chaucer." Joseph Bain, prejudiced as he is in favor of the English, is surely referring to Barbour's depiction when he says of the Bruce, "forced into action by unforeseen events, he revealed his great qualities in the stern trial of his revolt against his royal patron"; and "His faults were those of his time, his virtues all his own." But there has been no higher praise of Barbour's artistry than G.W.S. Barrow's avowal that his own brilliant portrait of the Bruce, based meticulously on documents and facts, is inadequate and needs Barbour's picture to be complete.²⁵

(b) Other Descriptions

The spring settings already mentioned in chapter one (V, 1-13; XVI, 63-71) show some of the features of a rhetorical set piece such as trees, birds and birdsong, buds or flowers, but they are short enough and omit enough of the standard ingredients (meadow, brook, breeze, shade) so that they avoid sounding merely typical. As James Kinsley says: "His style is freely rhetorical, but never unnecessarily decorative. The Bruce is as bare of ornament as the Bayeux Tapestry. Bruce's retreat to the mountains would have given a romance poet like the author of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight a welcome chance to display his artistry in description; but Barbour mentions only the effects of wild weather and the mountain wastes on his hero--'hungir, cauld, with schowris snell'."²⁶

His description of autumn is relevant, for it explains why William Bunnock was able to arrange to bring hay to Linlithgow:

This wes in-till the harvist tyde,
 Quhen feldis, that var fair and vyde,
 Chargit with corne assouerit var;
 For syndri cornys that thai bair
 Woxe rype to wyn to mannys fude,
 And the treis all sammyn stude
 Chargit vith froytis on syndri viss (X, 185-91),

but he obviously dwells on it with special delight. No grim allegory of approaching winter and death here, as for example in some 14th century lyrics. Rather Barbour, here, charges nature with abundance.

Battle scenes are another topic suitable for descriptive amplification, and in this Barbour excels.²⁷ He gives details

of weather, geography, position, and movement that enable one to visualize exactly what is going on. Within the exciting and detailed account of the siege of Berwick in Book XVII, Barbour describes the battle machines: John Crab, a Fleming,

gert engynis and trammys ma,
 And purvait gret fyre alsua;
 Spryngaldis and schotis on seir maneris,
 That till defend castell afferis,
 He purvait in-till full gret wane,
 Bot gynis for crakkis had he nane,
 For in Scotland yeit than, but wene,
 The oyss of thame had nocht beyn sene (245-52).

The English make a sow full of armed men and "Syndry scaffatis.../ That war weill hyar than the wall..." (597-602). But the Scots "Throu Crabbis consale" make a crane on wheels. They make of pitch, tar, and other combustibles a great missile, which they intend to fling, burning, on the sow. They threaten a captured engineer (XVII, 434) with death unless he succeeds in shattering the sow. Using a catapult, he tries once and misses, comes closer a second time, and finally with the third try hits it squarely in its main mast. The Scots on the walls cry out, "thair sow ferryit wes thair" and John Crab burns it with his engines. The account is filled with circumstantial details that bring it to life. The unflagging vitality of Barbour's narration in this second half of the work proves that there is no falling-off after Bannockburn. Barbour places Berwick in rhythmic symmetry with the taking of castles in Book X. Just as the latter events led to the climactic battle at Bannockburn, so too does the successful capture of Berwick, one of the last of the Scots towns to be held by the English, lead to the final campaign at Weardale. All the towns captured

in Book X had to be destroyed, but Berwick is garrisoned and held. Barbour, by his placement of the episode and his amplification of it, shows that he recognizes both its psychological and economic importance to the Scots and the English.²⁸

2. Apostrophe

Barbour's address to the Scots lords who appeal to Edward I for arbitration, his panegyric on freedom, his praise of loyalty within the section on Douglas are examples of Apostrophe (and Digression). These all appear in Book I, for their purpose is to announce the themes that vitalize the work. After Book I there are fewer extended Apostrophes, but very often in a few lines he appeals to God to help" "Der God, that is off hevyn king,/ Sawff hym, and scheld him fra his fayis!" (II, 145-46). This prayer in the present tense dramatizes Douglas' dangerous position when he makes his decision to approach the Bruce, now an outlaw.

3. Personification

Personification is one of Geoffrey's devices that Barbour avoids in its sense of "making a mute thing or one lacking form articulate, and attributing to it a definite form and a language or a certain behavior appropriate to its character..." (Ad Her., p. 399). A possible example of this device may be in Barbour's reference to Commons in which he treats the people as if the class were one sentient being: When Robert Bruce is a desperate outlaw,

He durst nocht to the planys ga,
 For all the commownys went him fra;
 That for thar liffis war full fayn
 To pass to the Inglis pes agayn.
 Sa fayris it ay commounly; (Pun)
 In commownys may nane affy,
 Bot he that may thar warand be.
 Sa fur thai then with him; for he
 Thaim fra thar fais mycht nocht warand,
 Thai turnyt to the tothir hand.
 Bot threldome, that men gert thaim fele,
 Gert thaim ay yarne that he fur wele (II, 496-507).

One of the few examples of Personification occurs when Barbour says that Death was envious of Sir Walter Stewart and "endit all his douchty deid" "in the flour of his youtheid..." (XVII, 930-34). This is a conventional image, found in many works. Compare, for instance, Chaucer's Black Knight's reference to envious Fortune in the Book of the Duchess. Barbour's avoidance of Personification is rather remarkable, considering the medieval fondness for the device. It could structure whole works (allegory) and it sometimes went to ridiculous lengths, as for example, Geoffrey's personification of the old tablecloth who bids farewell to the table (Poetria, vs. 509-514). The device of Personification is of course highly artificial and that may be why Barbour avoids it. On the other hand, in its meaning of "representing an absent person as present..." (Ad Her., p. 399), Barbour consistently dramatizes in vivid scenes that bring his characters to life.

4. Repetition

Geoffrey next deals with Repetition of Ideas, both by Synonymy, the repetition of the same idea in different words, and by Refining, developing an idea in a number of ways. Not

all of Barbour's repetitions are successful. Geoffrey cautions against excessive repetition of the same word (Poetria, v. 1923), but Barbour sometimes latches on to a word with obsessive tenacity; for example, the repetition of the word syndry three times in five lines (IV, 406-410) serves no purpose that I can determine. Other repetitions that are successful have already been mentioned: short examples of devices of repetition occur in the description of Douglas, and more fully developed repetitions have been discussed in chapter one under the heading of Rhythm of Incidents. The medievals favored Etymology, which was considered a device of repetition, to suggest personal qualities. Barbour gives the Etymology of the men who attack the Bruce and casts an aspersion on their background:

Thar surname wes Makyne-drosser;
That is al-so mekill to say her
As "the durwarth sonnys" perfay (III, 99-101);

that is, they are mere door-keepers.²⁹

5. Circumlocution

Barbour avoids excessive circumlocution, possibly because it belongs to the most elevated style, or possibly because like Chaucer, he thought it ridiculous to use circumlocutions for commonplace things. Chaucer's Franklin, for example, who insists that he does not know the colors of rhetoric, provides a playful example of periphrasis, including an altogether unnecessary explanation of the obvious:

Til that the brighte sonne loste his hewe;
For th'orisonte hath reft the sonne his lyght,--
This is as much to seye as it was nycht! (F 1016-18).

6. and 7. Contrast and Comparison

Geoffrey's two methods of amplification, Contrast and Comparison have already been exemplified in Barbour's reference to Hector, who is like Douglas but greater. After the agreement between the Bruce and Comyn, who plans treachery, Barbour digresses on treason, comparing the Bruce's position to that of Troy, as told by Dares and Dictis; then to that of Alexander, Julius Caesar, and King Arthur--all destroyed by treason. So befell with this covenant-making, he says, "For the Cwmyn raid to the king/ Off Ingland, & tald all this cass/ Bot, I trow, nocht all as it was" (I, 562-64). The comparisons function in a number of ways. First, they put the Bruce on the same level as the Trojans, Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Arthur--Hector and the three others are among the Nine Worthies. Such comparisons magnify the Bruce and his career. Second, they create a pseudo-suspense because all of those heroes were defeated by treachery whereas the Bruce escapes. Third, they magnify Comyn's crime and thus prepare some justification of the Bruce's murder of him. And finally, they introduce another theme that Barbour is to develop: the other side of the coin of loyalty is treachery. His comparison of the Scots to Maccabees serves the purpose of elevating his heroes, but it also serves to clarify the motives behind the struggle. Like the Maccabees, the Scots fight to deliver their country

Fra folk that, throw iniquite,
 Held thaim and thairis in thrillage:
 Thai wrocht sua throw thar wasselage,
 That with few folk thai had wictory
 Off mychty kingis, as sayis the story,
 And delyueryt thar land all fre;
 Quharfor thar name suld lovyt be (I, 470-76).³⁰

These comparisons and allusions indicate the broad frame of reference within which the well-read Barbour worked (See Appendix III).

Short comparisons are also frequent. At Bannockburn the arrows fly "so thik" that they make "ane hydwiss schour" (XIII, 43). The blows strike sparks, "slew fire, as men dois on flyntis" (XIII, 36). There was so much spilling "of blud,/ That on the erd the fluss it stud" (XIII, 19-20). The English hauberks are as "quhite as flour" (VIII, 232). These images are typical features of romance rhetoric, but Barbour is capable of originating as well: The English throw "ane montane.../ Of vapnys" (XI, 601-2) at Randolph and his men, whose compact formation, a circle of men with pikes pointed outward, Barbour describes as a "hyrcheoune," that is, a hedgehog (XII, 353). Edward Bruce is like a leopard (XIV, 2), but Barbour seems to avoid any symbolic connotations (see XV, 524 and compare Dante, Inf., I, 32). He also compares Edward to Judah Maccabee (XIV, 313).

Edward Bruce as a foil to his brother is an example of contrast used **structurally**. Contrast between the Scots cause which has right on its side and the injustice of the English attempt to subdue the Scots is used dramatically at Bannockburn. The Bruce encouraging his men says to them:

...we
For-owt abasyng, aucht till be
Worthy and of gret wassalage;
For...we haf the richt... (XII, 231-35),

and the English may well lose because "though our fais haue mekill mycht,/ Thai haf the vrang and succudry;/ And covatiss

of senyhory/ Amoviss thame for-outen mor" (XII, 296-99). Thus the Scots are heartened. On the other hand, there is much murmuring on the English side:

Men mycht thame sammyn se rownand ga,
 Sayand, "Our lordis, for thar mycht,
 Will all-gat ficht agane the richt;
 But quha sa varrayis vrangwisly,
 Thai faynd god all too gretumly,
 And thai may happin to mysfall;
 And sa may tyd that her we sall!" (XII, 360-66).

A visual contrast Barbour makes at Bannockburn is to describe the Scots with great simplicity and to dwell on the shining armor and the splendor of the English host. As Wittig points out, "the proud pomp of the English army before Bannockburn contrasts with the 'homely, hardy, stalwart aspect of the Scots' (XI, 24ff.)...."³¹

8. Digression

Digression is the contribution of the Middle Ages that is not found in Ad Herennium. In a sense all the devices of amplification are digressive either in the sense of enlarging on a topic or of introducing a tangential topic--perhaps to foreshadow events to be developed later. It is clear that Geoffrey does not distinguish between organic digressions, like description of character, and inorganic digression, such as the description of a fountain that the hero happens to sit next to. He does, however, say that the digression should be suitable to the topic.³²

Some of Barbour's digressions are functional with respect to the story; others are interesting examples of medieval belief. His digressive comments on marriage, for instance,

comparing the married life to the life of a thrall (I, 249-68), add little to the powerful picture of thralldom that he has already conveyed (I, 225-48), except a note of pathos and possibly and unfortunately of humor: a poor thrall is in such a bad way that he does not know whom to obey first, his wife or his lord.³³ After his hortatory remarks about the barons' plea to Edward I to choose a king for Scotland, in which he cries out like a minister berating his congregation for their folly, philosophically, he relents, saying:

Bot ye traistyt in lawte,
As sympile folk, but mawyte;
And wyst nocht quhat suld eftir tyd.
For in this world, that is sa wyde,
Is nane determynatly that sall
Knew thingis that ar for to fall;
But god, that is off maist poweste,
Reserwyt till his maieste
For to know, in his prescience,
Off alkyn tyme the mowence (I, 125-34).

No one can know the future except God. He, looking, back, can see what they could not. About prophecy in general, he has a common-sense attitude. For Edward I's reliance on the prophecy that he would die in Jerusalem he has nothing but contempt. He points out that prophecies often do come true, but not in the way that the hearer believes (IV, 217-311; X, 737-55). Robert the Bruce shares his skepticism. Hearing a prophecy from a woman that he will eventually succeed, he "thankit hir in mekill thing;/ For scho confortit hym sumdeill;/ The quethir he trowit nocht full weill/ Hir spek, for he had gret ferly/ How scho suld wit it sekirly" (IV, 669-73). Barbour takes this opportunity to digress to speak against Astrology and Necromancy. He asserts that although prophets such as David

once could tell the future, such "in erd now nane is knawin." Even if the stars do tell a man's disposition, he has the free will to overcome his natural inclinations, and he cites Aristotle as an example.³⁴ So men should pay no heed to forecasts of the future even if sometimes, as in the case of the woman's prophecy about the Bruce's future success, they should come true (IV, 674-775). That not everyone would agree with him, Barbour demonstrates by having the Bishop of St. Andrews exclaim when he hears of Comyn's death and the Bruce's resolution to make himself king: "sekirly/ I hop that Thomas prophecy/ Off Hersildoune sail verray be/ In him..." (II, 85-87).³⁵ Also Bruce's enemies, the Scots of the Isles, are so unnerved by the seeming fulfillment of an old prophecy that whoever would make ships sail on land should win the Isles, that they give up (XV, 270-300). With his disdain for prophecy expressed in his digressions, Barbour makes the outcome of the Scots' efforts problematic rather than assured. There is no certainty that either the prophecies that predict it or the "richt" of their cause that justifies it, will automatically produce victory. They must struggle to win.³⁶

Another interesting, but inorganic digression, is that on weeping in which he makes a few negative comments about women.³⁷ They can make their cheeks wet on any occasion. A man's weeping is not like that but is called forth only by deep emotion. When man cries "for pite, I trow, gretyng/ Be na thing bot ane opynnyng/ Off hart, that schawis and tendirnyss/ Off rewth that in it closyt is" (III, 531-34). Sir Walter Scott

was impressed enough by the sensibility of Barbour's observation to use it in Canto IV of The Lord of the Isles. Barbour seems to echo Aristotle's Rhetoric when he says that the Bruce and his men feel a pleasurable pity in hearing of each other's misfortunes, "For quhen men oucht at liking ar,/ To tell off paynys passyt by/ Plesys to heryng wonderly..." (III, 560-62). David Irving says in commenting on these and other lines that "Barbour seems to have been acquainted with those nice springs of human behavior which elude vulgar observation."³⁸ Barbour's digressive comments make the Scots patriots human figures. Even if they are only marginally functional to the plot, no one with any sympathy for the medieval manner and character can object to such digressions.

But many digressions are organic. Barbour's digression on true valor is necessary because it reinforces the credibility of the portrait of the Bruce when he stands alone against an army at the ford (VI, 325ff.). So also are his digressions on freedom and loyalty, for they establish two of the important themes and what Barbour believes about freedom and loyalty he transmits to character and action. All of these comments, far from being mere decorations, are appropriate to the mood he is trying to create. They convey the high seriousness of his purpose and the deep commitment of his own response. One of the objections to rhetoric is that it is somehow opposed to sincerity, but Barbour, if I may appropriate Peter Scott's words on Alcuin, "shapes rhetoric to his personal beliefs."³⁹ Barbour's digressions do not have that flavor of display for its own sake.

The digressions in fact are usually short comments rather than rhetorical set-pieces, and whatever their function with respect to the story, they have the additional quality of providing an insight into the narrator's character. Ad Herennium and Aristotle stress that the impression of the speaker on the audience influences his ability to persuade them. We must believe, trust and respond to Barbour, partly at least because his comments reveal him as amiable, objective, high-minded, cool but capable of impassioned utterance, a keen observer of the human scene, with a wry sense of humor. We respond to him as a man, to his good-health and sanity, his sensibility and vitality. For me he enters the ranks of those writers for whom one feels an especial affection--like Bede and the author of the Ancrene Wisse.⁴⁰

His confidence in the "Richt" of the Scots cause puts him above petty condemnation of the enemy. He need not paint them black to make his point. They are wrong, but nevertheless he is willing to credit individuals when their behavior is daring or chivalrous (XV, 52-54; XVI, 645-54). He pities the dead whether they be Scots or English (XII, 345ff.; XVII, 528), and he ranks the gallant Englishman, Sir Giles de Argentine, as the third best knight of his day (XIII, 299-327).⁴¹ Nor does Barbour hesitate to criticize the Scots. Of Edward's plan to be king of Ireland, Barbour says that he "Thought that Scotland to litill wess/ Till his brothir and him alsua..." (XIV, 4-5). Thus Barbour indicates that Edward's motive was not the highest. His comments on the Bruce's slaying of the Comyn is probably

his most remarkable display of objectivity:

Thiddir [Bruce] raid, but langir let.
 And with Schyr Ihone the Cumyn met,
 In the freris, at the hye awter,
 And schawyt him, with lauchand cher,
 The endentur; syne with a knyff,
 Rycht in that sted, hym reft the lyff.
Sum men sayis
 At that debat fell othir wayis:
 But quhat sa euyr maid the debate,
 Thar-through he deyt, weill I wat,
 He mysdyd thar gretly, but wer,
 That gave na gyrth to the awter.
 Tharfor sa hard myscheiff him fell,
 That ik herd neuir in romanys tell
 Off man sa hard sted as wes he,
 That eftirwart com to sic bounte (II, 31-48).

There is no attempt to palliate the crime as in some other versions of the incident.⁴²

Both Scots and English are the targets of Barbour's wry and sometimes bitter humor. When Edward II distributes the Scots lands before the battle of Bannockburn, Barbour comments ironically, "Of othir mennis landis large wes he..." (XI, 148), when Edward Bruce comes to Ireland, the Irish Anglophiles exclaim, "Bot thai ar nocht.../ Half-deill ane dyner till vs here!" (XIV, 187-88), and when O'Dymsy who promises to help Edward, instead puts the Scots in a low-lying place, removes the cattle, and nearly drowns them by flooding their camp, Barbour comments:

He maid thame na gude fest, perfay,
 And nocht-for-thi yneuch had thai.
 For thouch thame falit of the met,
 I warne yow weill, thai war weill wet (XIV, 363-66).

Sometimes Barbour uses his usual verbal-circle device with ironic intent. Thrillwall issues out of Douglasdale to get some cattle that Douglas has left as bait, Douglas attacks him

from ambush, scatters his men and kills him, and Barbour's dry, laconic comment is "Thusgat yschit Thrillvall that day" (VI, 402-50). Another Englishman, Sir Thomas, proceeds to Jedworth forest to hew down the trees where Douglas and his men are hiding and from which they launch attacks on the English countryside. After Douglas' total rout of the English, Barbour says, "The forest left thai standand still;/ Till hew it than thai had no will;/ And specialy, quhill the Dowglass/ So neir hand by thair nyctbour wass" (XVI, 359-478).

Many of Barbour's comments add to the realism of the narrative. For example when he tells the incident of the traitor who agrees to slay the Bruce for £40 he says, "His name I can nocht tell, perfay;/ Bot I herd syndir men oft say/ Forsuth that his ane e wes out..." (V, 505-7). His personal humility he often expresses in the typical medieval device of disclaiming ability to tell (occupatio): "I mycht nocht suffice" to tell all of Douglas' deeds,"but "Eftir my wit rehers sall I" (X, 348-50). His homely shrewdness flashes out in such comments as "Quha had gud horss, gat best away" (IX, 279).

Digressions are functional then either in terms of plot (theme, character, action) or characterization of the narrator; but they are also functional in another way. Victor Shklovsky's comment on the digressions in Tristram Shandy may be applied to the digressions in The Bruce that seem to lack function. He says that it is the very digressions in Tristram Shandy that force the reader to pay attention to the work as an artistic entity. The reader cannot dissolve into the work, as for

example, some romances invite him to forget reality and submit to their pseudo-reality.⁴³ Barbour's digressions, in spite of the fact that they are not about his creative efforts as Sterne's are, serve the same purpose. That is, they keep us distant enough from the story, whose incidents are exciting and engrossing, so that we may properly judge the events from the moral point of view that he develops partly through his digressions. For example, the digression on marriage after his admired Apostrophe on freedom, has the effect of cutting us down from a lofty plane of abstract speculation on the nature of freedom and brings us back down again to the particular concrete situation of the Scots as thralls. This effect obtains even though he probably had no such intention, but was merely following the medieval convention.

Barbour's short comments do not require a transition back to the main topic, but his longer ones do and he accomplishes this in the conventional way by saying something like "Now agayne to the king ga we..." (II, 49), or he picks up the thread by repeating the last point before an interruption and says, "As ye hard me say" (II, 70; VI, 285), or he simply repeats the last point without a reminder (VIII, 437). Sometimes such transitions occur even when there is no interruption, a reminder of oral conventions (VII, 1 repeats VI, 670-71). Wittig is mistaken to criticize Barbour's use of standard medieval practices that are found in Chaucer as well as in Orm.⁴⁴ Some transitions are handled with greater skill, for example, a transition to indicate that an action is taking

place at the same time as another action (X, 788; VIII, 161); the rhythmic links mentioned in chapter one; and transition through relative clauses--a device Geoffrey recommends as the most elegant (Documentum, II, 1, Para. 2)--as for example, when Sir Aymer speaks of the Bruce who....and Barbour goes on to the Bruce (VI, 25-26).

Abbreviation

Geoffrey clearly does not accord to Abbreviation a high place. He merely advises that if a subject is well-known or if a description is worn, it is better to pass it by. The lament is considered an excellent topic for digression and amplification, but Barbour's practice is rather to abbreviate. His keynote is restraint, which he accomplishes partly by presenting the lament through the words of the Scots. When they realize that the Bruce is dead, they weep, tear their clothes, and clench their fists,

Regroat his worthy bounte,
His vit, strynth, and his honeste;
And, our all, the gret cumpany
That he oft maid thame curtesly.
"All our defens," thai said, "allass!
And he that all our confort was,
Our wit, and all our gouernyng,
Is brocht allas! heir till ending;
His worschip and his mekill mycht
Maid all that war with him so wicht,
That thai mycht neuir abaysit be,
Quhill forouth thame thai mycht him se.
Allass! quhat sall we do or say?
For in liff quhill he lestit ay,
With all our fais dred war we....(XX, 253-73)

A comparison of this passage to the parody of Geoffrey in Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale or to Geoffrey himself fully

demonstrates Barbour's restraint. Here is part of Geoffrey's lament on the death of Richard I:

O Veneris lacrimosa dies! O sidus amarum!
 Illa dies tua nox fuit et Venus illa venenum.
 Illa dedit vulnus; sed pessimus ille dierum,
 Primus ab undecimo, qui, vitae vitricus, ipsam
 Clausit. Uterque dies homicida tyrannide mira.
 Trajecit clausus exclusum, tectus apertum,
 Providus incautum, miles munitus inermem
 Et proprium regem. Quid miles, perfide miles,
 Perfidiae miles, pudor orbis et unica sordes
 Militiae, miles manuum factura suarum,
 Ausus es hoc in eum? Scelus hoc, scelus istud es ausus?
 O dolor! O plus quam dolor! O mors! O truculenta
 Mors! Esses utinam, mors, mortua! Quid meministi
 AUSA nefas tantum? Placuit tibi tollere solem
 Et tenebris damnare diem: scis quem rapuisti?
 (Poetria nova, vs. 375-89)

Barbour's lines have no apostrophes, no highly hyperbolic comparisons, no exaggerated account of the lamentations of those present. They regret the loss of their sweet lord, their pleasant companion, their author of peace. Barbour resists elaborating, saying, no one could describe their lamentations. Significantly, he does not mention women, whose presence would have given him an excellent opportunity to copy the manner of the rhetoricians. He is not tempted to dilate by the pomp of the funeral service of a chief of state. Instead he merely mentions it saying that the Bruce was buried "quhen the serviss/Wes done as thai couth best deuiss...."⁴⁵ The introduction to the lament precludes an elaboration of woe because the Bruce's death is placed in its Christian framework:

The dulfull dede approchit fast.
 And quhen he had gert till hym do,
 All that gud Cristin man fell to,
 With werray repentans he gaf
 The gast, that god till hevin couth haf
 Emang his chosyn folk till be,
 In Ioy, solace, and angell gle (XX, 246-52).

Barbour is as reticent in lamenting Douglas' and Randolph's deaths. Again, lament is blunted by the narrative assumption that the heroes are in heaven. Douglas' men weep for him, and especially William Keith, who had been kept from the last battle by a broken arm. Barbour consistently dramatizes in this way, by focusing on a particular response. But Barbour does not elaborate Keith's lament. Instead, he turns lament into panegyric, summarizing Douglas' personal qualities, often in the same words he uses in Book I. His remarks on Douglas are flawed, however, by a long comparison of Douglas to Fabricius (XX, 521-64), but it is perhaps partly justified because Barbour wants to stress Douglas' loyalty and his hatred of treachery. Of Randolph, Barbour only says, "to se his ded wes gret pite." The men that he has brought to such fullness are dead; "What nedeth it to sermone of it more?" He ends his poem with the simple sentence, complete in one line, "The lordis deit apou this viss" (XX, 611), which Ian Walker says is for its "laconic simplicity hiding deep feeling" virtually unmatched in all of literature.⁴⁶

Perhaps in his restraint, Barbour was merely following the advice in Ad Herennium rather than of Geoffrey: "The Appeal to Pity must be brief, for nothing dries more quickly than a tear" (Ad Her., p. 153), and the purpose of amplification is not decoration but to produce an appropriate emotion in the audience (Ad Her., p. 197). Rather than being overly prolix, as Wittig asserts, Barbour often refuses to elaborate. As Wittig himself says, "Everything static or merely ceremonial is quickly swept aside: having dealt with Bruce's coronation in

four lines (II, 178ff.), Barbour adds:

Bot of thar nobleis gret affer,
Thar service na thar realte,
Yhe sall her na thing now for me.⁴⁷

These then are Geoffrey's devices of Amplification and Abbreviation as Barbour manipulates them. Both condemned and praised for his failure to provide rhetorical flourishes,⁴⁸ Barbour does use the principles of the rhetorics where it suits him. He never decorates for the sake of decoration, but constantly makes rhetoric subservient to the demands of his narrative. Before I turn to style, I should like to discuss one of the most brilliant ways that he makes rhetoric his tool; that is, by using it dramatically, putting into the mouths of his characters efforts to persuade to action (and belief). This is the creative use of rhetoric that functions so well in Chaucer and Shakespeare. Although Barbour has most of his major characters, as well as some of his minor ones, give rhetorical speeches, I shall concentrate on those of Robert Bruce because they illuminate how Barbour connected this use of rhetoric to structure, characterization and theme.⁴⁹

Rhetoric Dramatized

1. Robert Bruce and Edward I (I, 604-30)

The direct confrontation between Edward I and the Bruce is apparently Barbour's invention. In the other sources, Edward learns somehow of what he considers to be the Bruce's treachery and is prepared to kill him, but the Bruce is warned in time to make an escape. Barbour prefers the dramatic scene,

but he then has to provide a plausible account of how the Bruce gets away. Edward shows the Bruce the indentures that reveal the agreement between Comyn and the Bruce and asks him "gyff it enselyt he?" The Bruce

...lukyit the seyle ententily,
 And answeryt till hym humyly,
 And sayd, "how that I sympill be!
 My seyle is nocht all tyme with me;
 Ik have ane othir it to ber.
 Tharfor giff that your willis wer,
 Ic ask yow respyt for to se
 This lettir, and tharwith awysit be,
 Till to morn, that ye be set.
 And then, for-owtyn langir let,
 This lettir sall I entyr heyr,
 Befor all your consaill planer;
 And thar-till in-to borwch draw I
 Myn herytage all halily."

In this speech he follows the advice of Ad Herennium (p. 19) which is that when the audience (Edward I) has already been won over by the adversary (Comyn), it is best to use "indecision, along with an exclamation of astonishment." Bruce, pretending simplicity, pledges his lands as surety and thus gains time to make his escape. Ad Herennium (p. 21) recommends that such ploys be presented simply, without ornamental figures, so that there is no suspicion that the device was prepared in advance. Thus the Bruce's remarks--hardly a rhetorical set piece--are posed in nakedly simple style. We are beginning now to learn about the Bruce through his actions: he is quick and resourceful and not above an indirect lie; we already know that he feels a deep pity for troubled Scotland (I, 478-82) and of course from Barbour directly we have heard that he is worthy of praise.

2. At Methven (II, 316-41)

Attacked by surprise by a superior force, Bruce must somehow rally his men and give them courage to fight. He tells them that their fate is in God's hands (religious Commonplace), that "multitud maiss na victory" (Proverb), "As men has red in mony story" (generalized example). Then he praises them and appeals to their honor (Ad Her., p. 17, mentions praise as a device to secure assent):

Ye are ilkan wycht and worthy,
And fulfild of gret chewalry;
And wate rycht weill quhat honour is.
Wyrk yhe then apon swylk wyss,
That your honour be sawyt ay.

Finally he assures them that "he that deis for his cuntre/ Sall herbryit in-till hewyn be."⁵⁰ He has so little hope of victory that the most he can promise them is reward after death, and he is evidently not completely successful in firming them, for his foot soldiers ("small folk") especially waver and flee. Nevertheless, in his speech Bruce demonstrates his ability to lead men, a quality which he displays in the battle as well by entering fiercely into the struggle, continuing to encourage his men in the face of defeat ("On thaim! On thaim! Thai feble fast"), and retreating reluctantly, protecting his men, he still tries to encourage them by saying that if the English chase them they may still have a chance to "quyt thaim torn" (Veg., p. 110).

3. After Retreat (III, 187-298)

As Vegetius points out (pp. 106-108), retreat is extremely demoralizing to a fighting force and thus although it is some-

times necessary, it is never desirable. The Bruce then after two defeats (Methven and III, 45) has the problem of somehow buoying up the spirits of his men and, not surprisingly in a work by an archdeacon, he does so as if he were a preacher--in fact Barbour uses the phrase "he prechyt"--but Barbour also sets the scene in a way that makes the Bruce's speech intimate and warm: the king assigns his watches and bids his men "thaim comfort to thaim tak,/ And at thar mychtis mery mak." His text is "keep from despair" (Veg., 110). When a man despairs he will be vanquished. We should keep from despair, says the king, because God may help. To illustrate he tells the story of Scipio and Hannibal. Hannibal surrounded the city of Rome, and all the Romans would have fled, but Scipio makes all the servants and slaves free men and knights, and once they have freedom, they would rather die than see their city taken. With the assent of Commons, they move to attack Hannibal, who is much stronger. But God sends a rain that is so heavy that the battle can not go on, and Hannibal is forced to withdraw. Afterwards he is defeated. Thus, the Bruce concludes, applying the moral, none should despair because God may send his grace. He adds that if the Romans had fled, Hannibal would have taken the town; therefore men should stand up to their foes, and if the choice is "To dey, or to leyff cowartly,/ Thai suld erar dey chewalrusly."

His exemplum illustrates a number of interesting side-points. First, the last couplet shows his recognition that the hope for success is dim. Next, the vague hope that God

may send a miracle also shows how remote victory is. Finally, with the comment that Scipio frees the slaves and secures the consent of Commons to fight, the Bruce makes his first, if tangential, references to freedom and even to democracy.⁵¹

Then, as is typical of sermon-technique, he gives another illustration of the text that illuminates another facet. He tells stories of men whose fortunes were contrary who succeeded at last through effort. Caesar always worked diligently to succeed. Thus if one works against seemingly insuperable odds, perseverance may bring partial or even full success.⁵² Again, his exemplum reveals the unhappy position that ^{they} are in. Barbour comments: The Bruce had good reason to try to cheer the men and to pretend good cheer himself, "For his causs geid fra ill to wer."

4. During a Crossing, a story (III, 405-66)

The Bruce always seems to sense the psychological state of his men. With their enemies all around, the Scots try to cross Loch Lomond, but can find no boat. Finally, Douglas finds one "litill sonkyn bate" which can take across three at a time. The Bruce, who has gone first and waits on the shore for the rest of the men to travel across, reads to those that are waiting with him, the Story of Ferumbras. Although his overt purpose is to entertain his men, the relevance of the story to their condition, as an unsigned article in The Scottish Review of 1888 says, is that "it is essentially a story of a few brave souls fighting against huge oppression, and finally obtaining the victory."⁵³ Because the story is analogous to what the

Bruce hopes will be their fortune, the goal in the *Ferumbras* story, the relics of Christ, is somehow equated with and thus ennobles their goal, a military success against England. More significantly, Bruce's warmth, his concern for his men, his attempt to "mak thaim gamyn and solace" are remarkable. Rather than have a professional minstrel "while away his leisure hours," the Bruce performs the role of minstrel for his men. Ruth Crosby says that "an entirely different picture of reading aloud for entertainment is found in Barbour's Bruce." As Innis states, "to find the Prince their leader taking such means for entertaining and rousing them...to deeds of chivalrous daring and endurance, gives us a higher idea of chivalry than any writer of fable has reached."⁵⁴

5. To His "Preue Menye" In Preparation for Renewed Activity (IV, 518-551).

This speech is in the manner of Deliberative Oratory (See Ad Her., pp. 151-89). The Bruce convinces his men that they must continue the struggle. You know we are exiles, banished from our country, he says to them. It is ours of right and they occupy it through force of arms. They would kill us all if they had the chance, which God forbid. Human nature, therefore, bids us to procure vengeance (*Veg.*, pp. 92-93). We have three reasons "For to be vorthy, wiss, and vicht,/ And till any thame at our mycht." One is to save our lives. Two is that they hold our possessions "with strinth agane reasoune." Three is the joy that we would experience if we should be victorious. Therefore we should lift our hearts and behave in the

way "That beris mensk and ek lovyng." Then he asks their advice on his plan to send a spy to Carrick. He thus appeals to them on the basis of their right to their possessions, the evil result that will follow if they do not fight (they have already lost their property; they may well lose their lives), their desire for honor and praise, and the hope, which is still very slim, of victory, and indirectly he also strengthens them by involving them in decision-making. We see the limits of his idea, here expressed to his privy companions. Vengeance, their material goods, honor and fame are the moving force of his argument. His exclamation on hearing of the deaths and imprisonment of his family and friends reveals the same limitation:

"Allas!" he said, "for luf of me,
 And for mekill gud laute,
 Thai nobill men and thai worthy
 Ar distroyit sa vilonisly!
 Bot and I lif in lege pouste,
 Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be.
 The king, the quhethir, of Yngland
 Thought that the kinrik of Scotland
 Wes to litill to hym and me;
 Tharfor I will it all myn be" (V, 161-70).

The inference to be drawn from the last four lines is that if he could have been king under Edward I as Balliol had been (and perhaps still was technically), he would have accepted it. But the deaths of his friends who died through loyalty and love for him enlarges his perspective beyond personal gain.

6. Persuading His Men to Attack (VII, 297-319)

After the Bruce has been chased by Lorn and his men, his foster brother killed, and he finally meets his men again,

he exhorts them not to rest but to attack:

"Fortoun has traualit vs this day,
That scalit vs so suddanly.
Our fayis this nycht sall trastly ly;
For thai trow we so scalit ar,
And fled to-vauerand her and thar,
That we sall nocht thir dayis thre
All to-giddir assemblit be.
Tharfor this nycht thai sall trastly,
But vachis, tak thair eiss and ly,
Quharfor, quha knew thair herbery,
And vald cum on thame suddanly,
With few menye mycht soyn thame scath,
And yhet eschape vithouten vath."

His men assent immediately, they force a march, surprise at dawn a company separated from the main host and kill many. Then they quickly retreat before the main host can join with them. Bruce here demonstrates both his developing strategy, which is to avoid direct engagements but to embolden his men by leading them in successful surprise attacks on the enemy (Veg., pp. 89, 108, 110), and his ability to persuade his men to follow him.⁵⁵

7. The Second Set Engagement, at Loudoun Hill (VIII, 235-70)

Having surveyed the ground and prepared the field to his advantage, the Bruce's purpose is not to persuade his men to fight, for they already are prepared to meet their enemy, but to persuade them to act in a way that will insure victory. To do this, he must make their spirits rise. He has learnt from Methven that faltering makes the enemy stronger and has concluded from his own experiences that a stalwart demeanor can frighten the foe (see Incident at Ford). Therefore, reminding them again of the enemy's determination, he exhorts his men to

meet the English so boldly that the strongest of them will be abashed, "For gif the formast egerly/ Be met, yhe sall se sud-
danly,/ The henmast sall abasit be...." Do not worry about our few numbers, he says, because "quhen we cum to the fighting,/ Thar may met vs no ma than we" (he learnt this at the Ford also). Therefore, all should be strong and valorous to maintain honor. Think of the joy if we should be victorious, as it may happen (he is not at all certain). For if we are, there is no one, far or near, that will hold us down. He encourages them, then, not only by appealing to their honor, by reminding them of the rightness of their cause, and by stressing the importance of this engagement in terms of the total struggle, but also by showing them what tactic will enable them to compensate for their small numbers (Veg., 112). His men respond to his fervent exclamation: "Schir, gif god will, we sall sa do/ That no reprof sall ly thar-to." Their concern, then, is fame. Next the Bruce calls upon God to "Leyd vs and sauf vs for his mycht/ And help vs for till hald our richt!" Aymer de Valence on his side encourages his men by promising them rewards and fame but Barbour presents that exhortation in indirect discourse so that the emphasis will fall on the Bruce.

8. The Last Great Exhortations to Battle, Before Bannockburn (XI, XII)

Barbour develops these rhetorical speeches more fully than the others, bringing to a dramatic climax Bruce's

self-realization of his aims. Earlier, he had been forced to fight. His aim then was self-defense, vengeance, and fame. Now the aim is freedom.

The first overt mention of freedom: The Bruce criticizes Edward, his brother, for forcing them to meet the English openly on a set date when the English would be able to muster such a great force. But when Edward replies that "Thouch he and all that he may leid/ Cum, we sall fecht, all war thai ma," the king "prysit hym in his hert gretly" for his determination and tells Edward to gather "all that lufis vs tendirly/ And the fredome of this cuntre...." This mention of freedom here is a foretaste of his resonant call to his men before battle. As Brie says, "Je mehr der Dichter sich der Schlacht von Bannockburn nähert, die über das Schicksal der schottischen Freiheit entscheidet, desto stärker tritt der Freiheitsgedanke wieder in den Vordergrund" (p. 63).

The king reviews his men the day before the battle and his pride in them, his belief that they will "maynteym weill thair franchiss"(XI, 268), communicates itself to them. The "contenans that he can ma" made the "mast coward...hardy" (XI, 507-8). He moves freely among the masses, welcoming them with a glad look, speaking kind words here and there, and when they see their lord so meekly welcome them, they are joyful and think that they will fight hard to maintain his honor. The motive for battle has subtly shifted here to more unselfish ends. They will fight not for possessions or fame but to secure the king's honor. He has won their respect and love.

First the king speaks to his "preve consell": you see that the English are prepared to rescue Stirling, he says to them. Therefore we must devise our tactics to discomfort them. He divides the companies, and decides to fight on foot because the trees will hinder the English horse but not the Scots foot (Veg., p. 86). The lords assent. It is significant that he no longer has to exhort his close associates (cp. IV, 519). Also significant is his decision to fight on foot. It is a brilliant tactical move,⁵⁶ but it has the secondary effect of making all the Scots equal. On the English side, pride will make the lords fight on horseback (XII, 223-24); and for Barbour, the horse is associated with the upper class (I, 103). At Methven, remember, while the horse stood, the foot wavered and fled. Here all will stand firm and even the baggage-carriers, non-combatants, will play their amazing and dramatic part, indistinguishable by the English from Scots lords and soldiers because all are on foot.

Next the king prepares the field of battle (Veg., p. 93) and to his assembled forces he makes the longest rhetorical speech thus far, exhibiting his psychological grasp of his enemy as well as of his men (XII, 171-334).⁵⁷ He tells them that they should praise God for sending them such a fair beginning, for when the English learn the outcome of the two skirmishes (Randolph's repulse of an English squadron and Bruce's felling of de Bohun and the dispersion of the Vanguard), "mony ane hert sall vaverand be" and once the heart is "discumfite,/ The body is nocht vorth a myt./ Thar-for I trow that

gud ending/ Sall follow till our begynning." This echoes Barbour's proverb: A good beginning makes an unlikely thing come to good ending (V, 262-6) and the Bruce's insight into the enemy's state of mind is the same as Barbour's (XII, 386-87). The establishment by a narrator of a favorable response to him in his audience and then the assignment to a character of the same ideas or words as the narrator, is an indirect method of making a positive statement about that character.

After this introduction in which the Bruce stresses their favorable position, already having taken steps to make certain they do not know the extent of the forces arrayed against them (XI, 475-97), and also having told the fainthearted to go home (XI, 395-409), the king takes the unheard of step of asking all the men assembled, not just his close associates, if they wish to fight tomorrow or not. He leaves the decision to them.⁵⁸ We infer that the Bruce was able to submit to their judgement because he was certain of their response, but this daring transference of authority to them liberalizes the procedure. They could have left with their honor intact, because they had already defended it in two engagements, but the men cry out with "ane voce," that they will not falter for fear of death nor refuse any pain "till we haue maid our cuntre fre." Not glory, not desire for possessions, but the desire for freedom is what moves them now.

The Bruce rejoices and says that they should prepare themselves in good array, with, he stresses, banners displayed, and never break ranks; that they should subdue the pride of

their foes, who will come on horse, by standing firm with their spears. (Oman points out that this schiltrum formation is absolutely invincible unless archers are brought into play. The Bruce sees to it that the English archers are dispersed.) Then the king's final speech to them summarizes all his previous exhortations. He says that they should avenge themselves for "the mekill ill/ That thai and tharis has done vs till,/ And ar in will yeit for till do..." (Note the repetition of -ill). And certainly, we should be worthy and strong for we have three great advantages. The first is that right is on our side, "And for the richt ilk man suld ficht" (internal rime). Another is that they brought great riches here to our land, trusting in their great power, so that the poorest of you will be rich and mighty for them, if we win, which may well happen (he has not forgotten the persuasive power of gain). The third advantage is that we fight for our lives and for our children and wives and for the freedom of our land. The Bruce has here a much more sophisticated and idealistic grasp of the issues involved than he has displayed in any previous exhortation. On the other hand, he goes on, their only advantage is their might, but I warn you, if they find faintness in our deeds they will win and show no mercy (Veg., p. 112). Since we know their cruelty, we should be strong at the beginning and meet them so stoutly that we shall make the "henmast tryummyl." Think of your manhood, your valour and your doughty deed and of the joy if we win (again, he is not certain and offers no false promises). He emphasizes that

"In-till your handis, for-uten faill,
 Ye ber honour, priss, and richness,
 Fredome, welth, and gret blithness
 Gif ye conteyn yow manfully" (XII, 274-77).

Next he says,

And the contrar all halely
 Sall fall, gif yhe let cowardiss
 And vikkidness your hertis suppriss" (XII, 278-80).

Then the climax:

"Yhe mycht haf lifit in-to thrildome;
 Bot, for ye yarnit till haf fredome,
 Yhe ar assembled heir with me..." (XII, 281-83).

He goes on to remind them of the fate of his brother Nigel and others that were taken by the English, thus forestalling any hope in surrender should the tide go against them. He knows that desperate men fight fearlessly (Veg., p. 105). Then he praises them again and expresses his faith in their ability to win. Though our foes have might, he says,

Thai haf the vrang and succudry;
 And covatiss of senyhory
 Amoviss thame for-uten mor."

We need not fear them, he says, because the place of battle will prevent them from surrounding us. He cautions them that no man is to spoil the field or take prisoners for ransom before they have won. If they do as he says, they will be victorious. He ends with an appeal to their honor:

Yhe wat weill all quhat honour is,
 Conteyn yow tharfor on sic wiss,
 That your honour ay savit be.

And for his part he promises that should any die, his heirs will receive the inheritance without tax or wardship no matter what his age. In those times, this was no mean grant.⁵⁹ Then he tells them to make ready for the battle the next day, asks

for God's help, and reminds them to remain in their armor (he remembers Methven). They all agree and do as he says the next day.

Repetition with variation is Barbour's method in presenting the Bruce's speeches. Each utterance gathers momentum to those tremendous words "Ye ar...with me" "for ye yarnit till haf fredome." The Bruce has the qualities that make credible his progress from the outlaw king with limited motives of vengeance and self-defense, to the loved, intelligent leader with the motive of freedom, who molds a magnificent fighting force from a group of dispirited men.

9. When He is Dying (XX, 167-95)

It is unfortunate that Barbour did not choose to go beyond the traditional in presenting the king's last speech. A reminder of the freedom that they had won would have been an appropriate coda. Instead Barbour has the Bruce make a conventional declaration which expresses his readiness to die, his joy at being able to die repentant for all the innocent that were slain through his efforts, and his attempts to comfort his sorrowing men. The dying king's speech is nonetheless individualized by his request that his heart be taken to the Holy Land. As is typical of him, he leaves the choice of who is to carry it to them and he is overjoyed when they choose Douglas as he himself would have done.⁶⁰

Erich Auerbach maintains that short speeches tend to be realistic while long speeches in a rhetorical manner do not,⁶¹

but Barbour grasps the fact that some situations--real enough--nevertheless lend themselves to rhetoric. In depicting a commander addressing his troops before battle or a dying king speaking to the lords, Barbour is more likely to use the style and principles of the rhetorics than when he presents more ordinary situations, for such formal occasions are ritualistic and call forth a tightened, more ordered and ceremonial response, than casual dialogue.

The rhetorics could offer little help in his composition of conversation, for whose rhythms Barbour shows himself to have an excellent ear, as we have already seen in chapter one. For example when the three traitors who are well-loved by the king and know his habits, surprise him at the privy with only one page, the Bruce cries out:

"Yhone men will slay vs & thai may!
 Quhat vappyn has thou?" "A! schir! perfay,
 I haf a bow, bot and a vyre."
 "Gif me thame smertly baith." "A! syre,
 How-gat will yhe than that I do?"
 "Stand on fer and behald vs to.
 Gif thou seis me abovin be,
 Thou sall haf vapnys in gret plente:
 And gif I de, vithdraw the soyne" (V, 593-601).

Geoffrey de Vinsauf says to match style to age: the page's bewilderment and uncertainty do reflect his age. The speed and verve of the dialogue is extremely natural, however, not because Barbour adheres to rhetorical precept but because he imitates speech cadences.

Another example is the Bruce's encounter with the good wife when he is alone, after his foster brother's death. He comes to her house and sees her standing at the bench (with

such simple details Barbour fills up the life-space of his narrative). She asks him in the straightforward manner of the peasant who he is, why he comes, and where he goes. "A travalland man, dame," said he,/ "That trauualys heir throu the cuntre."

Scho said, "all that traualand ere,
 For saik of ane, ar velcom here."
 The Kyng said, "gud dame, qubhat is he
 That garris yow haue sic specialte
 Till men that trauualis?" "Schir, perfay,"
 Quod the gud wif, "I sall yow say;
 Gud kyng Robert the Bruce is he,
 That is rycht lord of this cuntre.
 His fayis hym haldis now in thrang,
 Bot I thynk to se or oucht lang
 Hym lord and kyng our all the land,
 That na fayis sall hym vithstand."
 "Dame, lufis thou hym sa weill?" said he.
 "Yha, schir," scho said, "sa god me se."
 "Dame," said he, "lo! hym here the by,
 For I am he."--"Sa yhe suthly?"
 "Yha, certis dame."--"And quhar ar gane
 Your men, quhen ye ar thus allane?"
 "At this tyme, dame, I haue no ma."
 Scho said, "it may no viss be swa;
 I haue twa sonnys wicht and hardy,
 Thai sall becum your men in hy" (VII, 243-64).

The simple dignity of this dialogue between the king and a country woman is beyond the craft of the rhetorics. Yet it is not without rhetorical flourishes: the balance of her first two lines, the repetition of words, for example yha, and the pun on "travalland" and "trauualys" in their two meanings of "work, travail, suffer" and "travel"; "travalland," which the OED says is first used by Barbour, seems to be an aureate coinage. What makes it different from anything that Geoffrey could imagine, is that the commoner and the king share both rhetorical devices and colloquialisms. There is a certain,

peculiarly Scottish democracy in the dialogue. The good woman is not above telling the king that he must not go about unaccompanied. She does not offer her sons, she thrusts them upon him. Barbour learnt to record such speech not by reading books but by listening to people.⁶²

Many vivid snatches of speech give the narrative a dramatically unrheterical flavor: for example, when Douglas with Sym of the Ledows and other men approach Roxburgh on all fours, the watchmen, thinking the Scots are oxen that some farmer has left out, say:

"This man thinkis to mak gud& chere"--
 And nemmyt ane husband thar-by neir--
 "That has left all his oxyne out."
 The tothir said, "it is na dout;
 He sall mak merye this nycht, thouch thai
 Be with Douglas led away" (X, 386-91).

When Sym reaches the top he casts down the body of one of the guard and says, "All gangis as we will;/ Speid yow vpwrd deliuerly" (X, 421-22).

The rhetorics also could not teach Barbour how to balance extensive narration--necessary in such a long work covering so many years--with visualized scenes so that delight and emphasis appropriate to his purpose are the result. He varies narrative perspective from remote, indirect presentation, which makes us feel quite distant from the events (I, 37ff.), to close but indirect presentation, which allows us to visualize a specific scene although it is in indirect discourse, to scene dramatized through dialogue, which brings us closest to the event. For example, after he gives the background of Scottish suffering under Edward I (remote) and then describes Douglas (close-indirect),

Barbour presents the first scene in which Douglas appears and dramatically, like Christ in the York Plays on the trials of Christ before Herod and Pilate, Douglas is silent while Bishop William presents and Edward I rejects the Douglas claims to land now held by Clifford (I, 404-44). The humility with which Douglas allows the Bishop to press his claim, the pride of the English king holding court at the Scots town of Stirling, the injustice of the king whose "felouny" the Bishop so fears that he dare not insist on Douglas' rights once the king says "schir byschop, sekyrly,/ Gyff thow wald kep thi fewte,/ Thow maid nane sic speking to me"--all these make this scene an appropriate climax to the Introduction in Book I. The story proper begins in the next line. Barbour has an unerring knack for dramatizing at the best possible moment within a narration. There are so many instances of his skill in this regard that it is difficult to pick only a few.

At Bannockburn, for example, Barbour lets us hear the Bruce directly speaking to his men and see him moving among them, and in contrast tells us that the English king sends heralds to encourage his murmuring men. At the beginning of the battle, Barbour tells us that the Scots hear mass, take a sup, and assemble with banners flying. They make knights "as it efferis/ To men that oysis thai mysteris" of Walter Steward, James Douglas and others, and then they take the plain openly (XII, 407-21). With a brief description of the splendid but cramped English host, Barbour makes the sly comment that he does not know how they happened to be so crowded

together; the inference to be drawn is that Edward II is a poor tactician who does not know how to deploy his forces.⁶³ Then, in a dramatized scene, Barbour continues with Edward II's amazed reaction to the Scots arrayed on foot in the plain: "quhat? will yon Scottis ficht?" "Yaa, sekirly, schir," says Sir Ingraham, who is also amazed that the Scots will fight against the might of England. He recommends that the king use a stratagem to defeat them but the king says, "I will nocht, ...perfay,/ Do sa; for ther sall no man say/ That I suld eschewe the battale,/ Na vithdraw me for sic rangale" (XII, 471-74). He has utter contempt for the Scots, which contrasts with Bruce's canny awareness of his foe's might and his refusal to minimize it.⁶⁴ The Scots then kneel to pray⁶⁵ and Edward II with his fatuous pride exclaims: "Yon folk knelis till ask mercy." Sir Ingraham is more knowing than Edward, possibly because he is a Scot. He says,

"Thai ask mercy, bot nocht at yow.
For thair trespass to god thair cry.
I tell yow a thing sekirly,
That yon men will wyn all or de,
For dout of ded thar sall nane fle."

To allow us to see the Scots at this juncture from the English side is a brilliant stroke. A rhetorician would have used the opportunity to enlarge on the colorful ceremony of knighting. Barbour prefers to dramatize.

And even when Barbour narrates, he does so in a way that brings a scene completely to life. Full of sensual details, of smell, sound, texture and sight, the Battle of Bannockburn is described so realistically and accurately, with such a firm

grasp on the tactics, that Barbour's depiction remains the most complete and valuable source for the battle, as W.H. MacKenzie demonstrates.⁶⁶ His extensive use of oral report provides him with exact details. Over and over he says "As I haf herd mony men say" (XVIII, 522) or "As I herd old men say" (XX, 608) or "men say" (XVII, 465). Sometimes he names a particular source: Sir Alan Catcart, a member of Edward Bruce's company, "told me this taill as I sall tell" (IX, 572-76). Whether through oral report or invention, he is able to give his narrative a reality that is totally beyond the scope of the rhetorics. The scholarly rhetoric is blunted by the oral tradition, by Barbour's keen eye for details, by his acute ear for speech rhythms, and by his unerring ability to balance summary and scene.

Style

Geoffrey's third and last category is style, and the bulk of his discussion is on the *Ornaments of Style*, which I have already considered briefly under the other headings. What is important here is Geoffrey's division of style into three levels, Grand or High, Middle, and Simple or Low. But while *Ad Herennium* recommends that in any one speech the style should be varied from high to middle to low to achieve variety and an effect appropriate to purpose, the medieval rhetoricians associate level of style with the class to which the subject of a work belongs. A king should be written of in high style, a shepherd in low style, and styles should not be mixed (*Doc.*, II, 3, 145; 157). Faral, p. 88, calls this a new and *maladroit*

interpretation of Ad Herennium but actually Geoffrey's authority is Horace ("Let each of these styles be kept for the role properly allotted to it") and his model is Virgil. Geoffrey's idea is simply the rigid version of the classical notion of the separation of styles that was common throughout the Middle Ages. Even Chaucer's Host knows all about the separation of styles for he says to the Clerk:

Telle us som murie thyng of adventures.
 Youre termes, youre colours, and youre figures,
 Keepe hem in stoor til so be that ye endite
 Heigh style, as when that men to kynges write (E 16).

A noteworthy feature of this doctrine is that colloquial idiom was associated with comic, low style only (Doc. II, 3, 163). Serious treatment of an important subject had to be in the elevated, high style. It is precisely the awareness of the doctrine that gives many medieval writers their sensitivity to style. Chaucer, for example, is well aware of the comic effect of having his Goddess Juno express herself in the lowest style in the Book of the Duchess. Even the supposedly unsophisticated writers of medieval drama were conscious of the effects that they could achieve by matching and mixing characters and styles.

According to the scheme, then, Barbour should have written in the grand style because he is writing about a king and treating of a serious subject. To determine his practice I shall concentrate on diction, and since words appropriate to the high style in Middle English are often words that did not descend into Modern English, it might be inferred that a gross test of

stylistic level is simply the ease with which a given text can be read.⁶⁷ According to this test, since Gawain and the Green Knight is difficult, it is therefore elevated; parts of Chaucer and York Plays are relatively easy and therefore colloquial. But this test can be deceptive. First, familiarity with a text may deceive one into thinking that it meets the test for colloquial works. Second, while poetic and archaic terms do not usually descend into Modern English, aureate terms, which are another feature of the elevated style, may not be recognized in a particular author because they have since become familiar: Barbour was the first to use the word perplexity from the Latin perplexari, but one would probably not know that without referring to the OED. Third, Chaucer's and the York Play's colloquial status is only relative because within both there is a full range of stylistic levels. Fourth, very colloquial and dialectal works are also difficult to read. Dunbar is a case in point. He writes in three separate styles, elevated or aureate, middle, and low-colloquial and the first and third are equally difficult to read. Thus although Barbour's Bruce is fairly easy reading, more data are needed to come to a decision about his level of style.

A finer test can be devised by comparing Barbour's usage to conventional romance usage as outlined by Oakden and Borroff. Another clue, as Borroff points out, is that identifying words are associated with colloquialism and realism and idealizing words with elevation and romanticism. Other aids are the OED and the incomplete MED. Unfortunately the latter does not

reckon with Scots usage, although Scots in the Middle Ages was merely a northern variant of English.⁶⁸ The difficulties in determining status for any given word are enormous, and within the limited space available here, I cannot hope to do more than suggest some possibilities.

1. Synonyms

One of the striking features of Gawain and the Green Knight, which we may classify as elevated, especially in the narrative sections, is the special use of synonyms. The synonyms for man are hathel, lede, renk, schalk, segge, tulk, wye, berne, freke, and gone, archaic and poetic words that are used to idealize and typify. Of these ten words, Barbour uses only two and then in slightly different form. He has an adverbial form of freke in frakly, "eagerly," but in a non-elevated context: Bruce, his foster brother, and the three men whom Bruce does not trust, "fell rycht frakly for till et" (VII, 166). Rycht in this sense of "very" is colloquial and the image of eating eagerly is certainly not appropriate to the grand style. Renk Barbour employs in a plural sense as a group of fighting men. His other words for man, of which there are very many more than in Gawain, serve the realistic purpose of identifying and particularizing. First, he has names that denote activity or relative position: assallyeours, hostes, hostage, schavaldwris, "wanderers," scummar, "rover," spyis, vittelleris, oblesteris, fallow, fere, hobleris, "men on light horse," layd-men, surreours, herbreouris, herrodes,

yhemar, "groom," and many more. Second, Barbour has nouns that indicate formations, but he does not use the elevated forms douth or here. Some he has are scail, "loose group," sop, "tight ball of men," strenthtis, vaward, tropellis, thrang, folk, "foot soldiers"; "common people," gadding, lwmp, "crowd," rout, yscheill, "squadron," battalis, semble, "fighting force," menye, schiltrum, "tight formation--circular or straight." Third, he has class names, sometimes with a moral implication: pundelan, "warrior," sib-man, sodiourys, steward, wardane, chak-wachis, catiff, threllis, theif, taskar, "thresher," squyaris, swane, chiftane, erle, lorde, fa, fischer, hyne, page, losengeour, "liar," lurdane, "rascal," carll, merdale, "dirty crew," knaf, fute, knychtis, pouerale, "rabble," rangale, rebaldail, pedaill or pitail, "rank-and-file infantrymen," peris, press, vageowris, "mercenaries," campioun, yemanry, burgess, men of all mister, "craftsmen," noblay, barnage, baroune, secular, friar, bishop, serwandis, sherrif, husband, and so on. Naturally, there is some overlap among these three classes.

Many of the terms are first used in literature by Barbour; most are either colloquial or neutral except for fute, "noble child," which seems to be derived from O.E. fode (Oakden, II, 186), and which is a charming note in an interesting context. When the Bruce and his men row by the Isle of Bute, Barbour says:

Men mycht se mony frely fute
 About the costis thar lukand,
 As thai on ayris raiss rowand:
 And newys that stalwart was & squar,
 That went to spayn gret speris war,

Swa spaynyt aris, that men mycht se
 Full oft the hyde leve on the tre.
 For all war doand, knycht and knawe...(III, 578-85).

The delightful image is full of the contrast that expresses the class-consciousness which is a first step toward equalization of classes. The noble children on the shore watch the men rowing. The lords, whose fists are more used to spears than oars, leave their skin on the oars, for all are engaged in the humble task of rowing, knight and knave together.⁶⁹ The diction reflects the class blending. Newys "fists" and squar are dialectal and colloquial, squar meaning "stoutly or strongly built," a new use of the word by Barbour. These and "hyde" and the image in the second last line contrast with the more poetic alliterative phrases, "frely fute"; "spayn gret speris." That there is little class-consciousness in Gawain is indicated by the fact that the synonyms are used interchangeably for Gawain, Bercilak, the men who lead the other to their chambers, the wine-carriers, the hunters, and even God. Barbour's designating names are not interchangeable in this way.

Furthermore, these words in Gawain are applied as substitutes for he, a usage which is elevated: For example, in describing Gawain's journey to find the Green Knight, the author needs no other form than "he" since Gawain is alone, but he also has "wyye," "the gome," "segge," "this renk," and so on. Barbour, on the other hand, once he identifies a person, invariably refers to him again as "he." In fact, both Craigie and Skeat criticize him for his cavalier handling of the third person pronouns, without regard to clarity; in general, however,

there is no difficulty.

Finally, Gawain often uses such synonyms instead of naming people. A common romance feature that adds to the mystery and unreality of the situation is the withholding of names. Names are generally revealed in romances as a favor. For example, all the people at Bercilak's court are unnamed until Gawain requests the names from the Green Knight after he has already spent his several days there. Barbour's practice is to name any one in an important action, even if that person makes only one appearance in the whole narrative. Skeat's list of proper names in the Bruce fills ten double-columned pages. Even the bishop's horse is given a name, Ferrand. And this naming of the horse is somehow different from the romance practice of naming the horse, sword and armor of the hero. The Bruce's horse goes unnamed, if it is ever even mentioned, but the bishop's horse is named because it plays a part in the story (II, 91-143).

Synonyms for horse reveal the same kind of pattern as synonyms for man. In Gawain and other romances they are capel, blonk, fole, the poetic synonyms, and coursour and horse, the neutral words. Barbour's words aside from the general horse are used to identify and are not synonyms: courseris are the large war-horses or any ordinary horse. Oakden calls it a poetic usage but the evidence in the OED and MED suggests otherwise. It is used in both poetry and prose, which implies non-elevated status, and according to the OED its use as a poetic word is of recent date only. Hobynis are small, nimble

war-horses, and of course, one of the features of the Bruce's battle style is that he uses these instead of the heavy coursers and thus can outmaneuver his enemy.⁷⁰ A Sted is a high-spirited war-horse. A Swummer is a pack-horse. A palfrey is a light, lively horse, not suitable for battle but for general riding. Barbour avoids the poetic capel, blonk, and fole.

Synonyms for movement are another feature of the elevated romance style. Oakden identifies these as poetic: bowe, cayre, ferke, glyde, schake, strike, tryne, wade, and wawe--all meaning go. The following are not so clearly poetic: chese to, fare, founde, raike, seche to, walke, wende, win, ga. Barbour has none in the first group and to those he uses of the second group (far, found, rakit, wend, ga) he adds travall. He has many words that have a gestural and pictorial realism impossible to the elevated synonyms--words for the dealing of blows, some like tit and dusche distinctly colloquial, and words describing particular battle movements that are specific in gesture.

With sic thrawing and sic thristing,
Sic gyrnyng, granyng, and so gret
a noyis... (XIII, 156-58):

Thrawing, "hurling of missiles," OED: prose and poetry; therefore not elevated.

Thristing, "pressing, squeezing, pushing, colliding," OED: Barbour first, afterwards prose and poetry; therefore not elevated.

Gyrnyng, a dialect word according to EDD, meaning to gnash or show the teeth threateningly. This may be a deliberate poetic use or colloquial--the evidence is not clear.

Granyng is a No. and Sc. form of groaning, from O.E. granian.

This may be a deliberate archaism.

These words then, have the phonesthetic realism of alliterative verse and also colloquial vigor.

The vivid words for movement are full of energy: schot, "rushed," tasit, "stretched, fitted an arrow," wysk, "strike" (onomatopoeia), assemble, "to attack in force," bikkyr, "to annoy by skirmishing," blenknyt, "glanced" (also in Gawain), colè, "a blow used in knighting"--this heraldic term used ironically in VII, 623, dik, "entrench," ding (onomatopoeia), frusch, "charge"; "break ranks," hint, "seized," lansit, "leapt"; "sprang," press, prik, trymmyll, grow, "to quake with terror," and again, many of these--like wysk, assemble, trymmyll--are first used by Barbour. The synonyms for movement in Gawain, on the other hand, are true synonyms. For example, bowe, cayre, and ferke, used to describe Gawain's movement to the Green Chapel, all evoke the same image of Gawain gliding effortlessly through a silent and alien landscape. Barbour's images on the other hand are more realistic and identifying.

Natural features provide another store of synonyms in the romances: mold, bent, erde, folde, meaning earth or ground; flod, brymme, borne, meaning sea. Barbour has erd, brym, "the edge of a lake," and burn, "a stream." Again, his many words in the category of natural features particularize rather than idealize: cost, ile, glen, grewis, "groves or grasses," halche, "a corner," hiddilis, "a hiding place," hills, kerss, daill, bra, depe, dik, clewch, "a hollow," fluss, "a pool," pollis, marrass, mole,

"a promontory," mwr, nuk, "point, headland," playn, parc (not the elevated firth), pottis, stremys, sykis, "rills," valayis, and many more. His aim is to describe not to cast a poetic coloring. For example, when an English Earl, Sir Thomas, comes to Jedworth Forest to hew down the trees so that Douglas cannot hide there, Douglas lays an ambush in a place that Barbour carefully describes: It is a pass that "had a wode apou athir syde;/ The entre wes weill larg and vyde,/ And as ane schelde it narrowit ay/ Quhill that, intill ane place, the vay/ Wes nocht a pennystane cast of breid" (XVI, 380-83). Even the images, the pass shaped like a shield, so narrow at one end that a pennystone could be tossed across, are there not as ornaments, but for particular purpose. In another of Douglas' ambushes (VIII, 32ff.) Barbour notes the place-name, "Makyrnokis vay/ The Edryfurd it hat perfay," and the topology, a pass on the south where Douglas lies and on the north "the vay/ Sa ill as it apperis to-day." He gives enough details so that the action can be understood. As Jakobson and Halle maintain, "...the realistic author metonymically digresses from the plot to the atmosphere and from the characters to the setting in space and time. He is fond of synecdochic details." The romantic writer on the other hand wishes to establish a symbolic atmosphere⁷¹ as in Gawain. Particular place names too are an anti-romantic feature. Barbour has many: The Round Table, Biland, Berwick, Carlisle, Faw Kirk,⁷² Fife, Perth, Cantire, Kildrummy, New Park, Tweed, Snowdon, and many more.

2. Adjectives and Adverbs

Romance writers used certain adjectives to elevate, but the evidence is not as clear as it might be. August Brink, whose classifications Borroff presents with some modifications (pp. 77-78), considers groups I, II, and III adjectives and adverbs, words that are found in alliterative position, to be elevated, and a fourth group, "adjectives of low alliterative rank," to be colloquial. Borroff qualifies Brink's remarks by saying that group I words, words that did not descend into Modern English--of which Barbour has none--are probably always elevated, but Class II and III words, words that descended into Modern English and Modern Dialects, respectively, are only elevated with specific meanings that idealize or suggest subjective moral value or material magnificence. She also maintains that even the fourth group can be elevated if they are used "to impute moral excellence or material splendor," while words from any of the last three groups that denote objective condition are not. For example, stith (Group III) meaning having fortitude is elevated (VIII, 384), but meaning hard or strong, as a stiff castle (V, 458) is not. Thus adjectives that Brink describes as colloquial such as best or great may be used to elevate in some meanings. For this discussion of Barbour, I shall confine myself to those adjectives and adverbs which seem to be elevated usages. The question with respect to the doctrine of the separation of styles is, when does he use these adjectives and adverbs in an elevated sense and to whom do they apply?⁷³ We find that he associates them with commoners,

with the upper-class, and sometimes ironically, with the enemy.

a) Commoners: grathly, "speedily," bar: William Bunnock's men (X, 2420); curtaiss, pert, "brisk," wicht: William Francis (X, 531); hardy: rank and file Scots (XIII, 77; XI, 249); boune: A man of Carrick (IV, 578); wicht: Scots (XII, 422); lele: Tom Dickson (V, 276, 293); cleyne, "good": Scots in general (XI, 427).

b) Upper-Class: kenly (V, 365), curtaiss, douchty(ly), fre(ly) (III, 578), glaid(sumly) (I, 332; XVI, 20), hardy (I, 28), lufly (I, 389), proud, with palyeownys: English (XIX, 561), sad(ly) fayr and farand (II, 514), farrand (English, XI, 95), fey (XV, 45), boune (II, 160), lele, menskfully (XIX, 86), rath (IV, 285, in which the context is not elevated and which includes the colloquialisms als-tit, gabbit), seir (VIII, 231-2), scheyne (English: XII, 443; XI, 461). Stith (Bruce: VIII, 384; de Bohun: XII, 92), thra (XVIII, 71), wicht, best (II, 353), he(ych) (VI, 116), litill and loly (XII, 19), noble (XI, 218), soft (IV, 6977), sweyt (I, 390). Many of the above are in alliterative position, for example, fre(ly), farand, fey, ser, sweyt. Barbour applies quite a few of these adjectives to both commoners and noblemen, and to English as well as Scots.

c) Ironically, with Enemy: Lorn's men's defense is described as pert, "bold" and gret "noble" in X, 73, but this imputation of excellence is surely ironic for five lines later Barbour says, "In full gret hy thai tuk the flicht." Not only does the fact of flight make the earlier praise ironic, but also the colloquialism of the last statement, with the same word gret in another, colloquial, sense--with hy it means speedily--

contrasts ironically with the elevated diction of the first line. The enemy Scots "defended douchtely" in IX, 713, but in line 716 "thair folk falyeit thame ilkane." The English at Mitton came on "sadly (resolutely)/ With gud contenanss and hardy" (XVII, 567-68), but when they see the Scots' faces, they become so frightened that "thai gaf the bak all, and to-ga" (line 575). Again the colloquial expression "gaf the bak" contrasts literally and figuratively with the idealizing adjective of only a few lines before. These ironies are in the narrative, but in his direct voice, Barbour makes an ironic comment when the camp-followers descend upon the English at Bannockburn:

Than, wit yhe weill, withouten weyne,
 Thai war abasit so gretumly,
 That the best and mast hardy
 That wes in-till the oost that day
 Wald, with thar mensk, haue beyn away (XIII, 260-64).

A certain shrewd democratic glee animates this comment. Again, the elevated images--"the best and the mast hardy," which is elevated both because of its subjective evaluation and the adjectival-substantive construction--contrast with the fact of their fear--"abasit so gretumly." These hardy souls would have wished to be far away with their honor.

Adjectives that impute material splendor Barbour uses only to describe the English, and this emphasis on the glittering English array has its ironic overtones too, for he employs these adjectives only in describing the English army when it is defeated by the Scots--not at Methven, but at Loudoun Hill and Bannockburn. He knows very well how to describe according to romance conventions, but he husbands his resources to achieve

the maximum effect. No description is gratuitous. At Loudoun Hill,

Thair basnetis burnyst var all brycht,
 Agane the sone glemand of licht;
 Thair speirs, thair pennownys, & thar scheldis
 Of licht illumynit all the feldis.
 Thair best & browdyn bricht baneris,
 And hors hewit on seir maneris,
 And cot-armouris off seir colour,
 And hawbrekis, that war quhit as flour,
 Maid thame glitterand, as thai war lik
 Till angellis he, of hewinis rik! (VIII, 225-34).

And at Bannockburn, the Scots spies see the "gret host"

Quhar scheldis schynand war so scheyne,
 And basnetis weill burnyst bricht,
 That gaf agane the sonne gret licht.
 Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris,
 Standartis, pennownys apon speris,
 And so feill knychtis apon stedis,
 All flawamand in-to thair wedis,
 And so fele battalis and so braid,
 That tuk so gret rowme as thai raid,
 That the mast host and the stoutest
 Of Chrystyndome, and ek the best,
 Suld be abasit for till se
 Thair fais in-to sic quantite
 And swa arayit for to ficht (XI, 460-74).

Later when the English meet the Scots to fight, Barbour again says that they "richt as angelis schane brichtly,"⁷⁴ and that one might see there

mony a schynand scheld,
 And mony a burnyst bricht armour,
 And mony man of gret valour,
 And mony a maner, bricht & scheyne...(XII, 426; 440-43).

Not only adjectives but also syntax, alliteration and rhetorical repetitions create the heightened effect, but the emphasis is on light, shining, gleaming. These are images that are often used elsewhere in literature to describe the heavenly hosts (see York Play I)--an allusion that Barbour makes explicit by comparing the English twice to angels--but here the images suggest material spendor that contrasts with spiritual poverty;

for Barbour says: "Thai war all out to fele to ficht/ With few folk of ane sympill land;/ Bot quhar god helpis, quhat may vithstand?" (XI, 201-203; see also I, 456). Ironically, this angelic host does not have God on its side.

Thus although Barbour employs many adjectives of the Grand Style, they are not confined to upper-class heroes and he sometimes exploits them in a way that undercuts that style. No one adjective is repeated excessively, and none become epithets--except perhaps the light-reflecting adjectives as applied to the English. Instead, Barbour has a great many particularizing adjectives and adverbs, some elevated and some colloquial: fyne, hawtane, mody, debonarly, deliuerly, digni, strenththi, sturdy, sture, fayn, sutell, viss, renownyt, riall, sle, sleat, "most skillful," Vnabasitly, averty, verty, vilfull, vill, stalwart, stark, stowtar, sympill, vitty, vncouth, forsy, hamly, mydlike, "insignificant," lege, "free," larg, "liberal," cowartly, fouly, hidwyss, recryand, volageouss, Vnwisly, pautener, "cruel," vrechit, "poor," vilonisly, and so on.

Barbour seldom makes adjectives fill substantive function, a significant elevating feature of many Scottish romances (Oakden, p. 395). There is one that is probably spurious. "Anciente" (VI, 252) meaning antiquity is not a likely word to have been in the original on several counts. Gawain has aucnian (the elderly lady) as a noun in line 948 but the OED has no other 14th century use of the word in any sense and the MED has no 14th century citation of the word in Barbour's sense. In The Bruce only Ms. C has the word; Ms. E, also transcribed

by Ramsay, and one of the earliest printed versions, H, based on a different manuscript, both have something different and senseless, "mauitie." Therefore it is likely that Ramsay in C changed Barbour's word that did not make sense to him to one that did.⁷⁵ Also, the rime is not good because "he" rimes with "ancienne" supposing pronunciation of the final e, which is rather unlikely. "The best," an adjectival-substantive noted above also occurs in II, 353. "Gret" appears substantively in the line "And othir gret of Irlande" (XIV, 390). These few instances hardly make this stand-by of the elevated style a feature of Barbour's poem. Such substantive adjectives in romances sometimes become epithets, another elevating device; for example, the hende, referring to Gawain, but Barbour does not have any such epithets.

3) Pleonasms and Descriptive Periphrasis

Borroff notes that these usages are characteristic of the elevated style. Certainly they are inconspicuous in Barbour, but there are some: "Dreid or aw" (XI, 555), "noyis no cry" (IX, 415; XIII, 38), "With hart and corage.../ And all thair mayne and all thar mycht," an alliterative formula (XIII, 222-23). The Bruce reviews his men "With helme on hed and sper in hand" (XII, 28). Bunnock's men "Lap out, and com with swerdis bar" (X, 242). Randolph criticizes his uncle for using "woidre" and "slicht," approximate synonyms (IX, 747). The Bruce, almost incoherent with anger, begins his answer "Yeit, may fall, it may/ Cum... (IX, 748-49). Max Kolkwitz

notes the following pleonasm with infinitive: VI, 67; IX, 123; XVIII, 520; SVIII, 367; V, 258; X, 174; XII, 519.⁷⁶ For example, "Ane hachit, that war scharp to scher" (X, 174) and "With speris that war scharp to scher" (XII, 519). This construction, the line ending in pleonastic infinitive, is a formula of alliterative poems.⁷⁷ When Barbour alludes to an informant as "Vorthy and vicht, stalward and stout,/ Curtass and fair, and of gude fame,/ Schir Alane of Catcart be name..." (IX, 572-75), this is descriptive periphrasis that serves not so much to elevate the narrative as to compliment this particular gentleman in such a way that he comes to life and therefore the outrageous anecdote that Barbour tells on Cathart's authority becomes more credible.

4) Poetic Compounds

Compounds in general are few. Some are battel-sted, alanerly, gayne-coming, "attack," gayne-givyng, child-ill, for-swat, all-veldand, fut-hat, land-brist, of which only the last is distinctly poetic.

5) Technical Terms

John Mendenhall maintains that a technical term is elevated only if it is used figuratively, but this is not necessarily true, for as Borroff says, terms from some fields are definitely lower, stylistically, than from others.⁷⁸ Technical terms from agriculture, for instance ("helit," meaning "covered," XII, 146, refers figuratively to the

practice in agriculture of covering up plants with earth), are likely to be lower in value than those from religion ("precht," III, 299). Thus, a non-figurative use of a term from religion is likely to have a higher stylistic value than a figurative use from agriculture.

The Bruce abounds in terms from many fields. Barbour is, for example, an expert in battle and all that has to do with battle: armor, weapons, implements, strategy, stratagems, formations and tactics. These terms do not have any particular stylistic value because a common soldier can know them as well as a nobleman, but again in that Barbour describes and particularizes rather than idealizes and typifies, he is more realistic than romantic in his treatment. The alliterative Morte Arthure is often described as realistic, which it is in comparison to other romances, but there is a significant difference between it and The Bruce. The realism of the Morte Arthure resides for example in its depiction of battle scenes, with explicit details of blood and gore: For example in lines 2058-61, Arthur strikes "With a crewell launce cowpez full even/ Abowne the spayre a spanne emange the schortte rybbys,/ That the splent and the spleen on the spere lengez," which Finlayson translates as follows: 'With a cruel lance he smites squarely a span above the waist (?) among the short ribs, so that the small plate of armour and the spleen remain on the spear.'⁷⁹ Barbour never has details like these, for he is not interested in gore but in tactics (but see VI, 627-29), which do not interest the author of the Morte Arthure.

Barbour's synonyms for stratagem, for example, are chosen with careful attention to the connotations and are suggestive about subject or object. A gyn is a cunning artifice with the emphasis on the fabricator's intelligence (a friend, XV, 222). Gyn also means a device for catching game (see II, 576), so the connotation is that the object of a gyn, the stratagem, is to the maker of it as animal is to hunter. Edward I uses ghyle, which is insidious cunning, deceit or treachery (I, 172). Playis, crafty, underhand acts but with a residual meaning of games or tricks, is a word an Englishman ascribes to Douglas' stratagems (XIX, 364) and it suggests Douglas' exuberant, unselfcritical craftiness. A purchas, on the other hand, is a contrivance or machination used to deceive and the connotation is that the motive is gain, which is one of the meanings of the word (see OED sb³ and sb⁴). Barbour applies this word to the traitor in V, 534 and to the plot by de Soulis against the Bruce in XIX, 32. Slicht, which occurs often, is usually contrasted with nicht, not richt. When the Scots do not or the English are afraid they do not have sufficient nicht, they resort to glicht, a word which is listed in the OED under gleight and which means craft or cunning employed so as to deceive, subtle, wily dealing; artifice, strategy (sic), trickery, but with a connotation of dexterity. Sutelte, meaning craftiness, cunning, especially of a treacherous kind, implies that the perpetrator is clever. Barbour applies this word to Edward I. In another meaning, an ingenious contrivance, the connotation is also of cleverness, without

the stigma of treachery (X, 535). A trane from O.F. traîr, meaning to betray, has several meanings, some that imply treachery and others that suggest something similar to gyn. The OED has under sb⁴ the meaning "a lure to trap," for which it assigns the first use to Lydgate in 1407, but Barbour applies it in this sense in XIX, 362; X, 513; and VIII, 440, each time with Douglas. Trane has the connotation of treachery in XVII, 49--one Sym of Spalding betrays Berwick to the Scots, but of course it is questionable whether this is truly treachery or not, Sym being a burges of the town but a loyal Scot. A tranontyne is a stratagem of war, especially a forced march to take the enemy by surprise (VII, 508; XIX, 694). Wile (X, 535) emphasizes skillful cleverness, but from 1300 on it also has a connotation of deceit, mainly in poetry. Woidre (IX, 747), which Barbour has Randolph apply to Bruce's actions, means "cunning stratagem, sleight."

Besides terms from warfare, religion and agriculture, Barbour has some from seamanship, food, animal-lore, politics, the marketplace, law, hunting and heraldry. The impression throughout is that his vocabulary is full and rich, but not necessarily elevated or poetic. Some of these terms occur in the images, below.

6) Images

Not dealt with by Oakden or Borroff, images can have an elevating effect quite aside from the meaning or stylistic value of the words used in the image. We have already noticed some

of Barbour's images (for example, under the heading "comparisons," above). Here I present a few more to indicate the stylistic range.

(a) Colloquial

1. "Tuk all the bak" (retreated) (XII, 78).

2. "Thar hors fete had ner all away" (XII, 82).

These two images are both examples of vivid, homely synecdoche.

3. They "raid thair gat with weill mair schame/ Be full fer, than thai com fra hame" (XII, 85-86). H changes colloquial "gat" to "way."

4. "Howis in haill cloth sall be rent" (XI, 154), a homely proverb.

5. "...Mony men of gret valour/ With speris, macyss, and with knyvis,/ And othir vapnys vissill thair lyvis" (XII, 578-80). To use a word from the marketplace, "vissill" (exchange), is ironic and colloquial. The same kind of image occurs at V, 120: the king "sic hansell to the folk gaf he," when he and his men "slew thame euirilkane," where "hansell" means, as Skeat says, "a first portion of goods delivered to a buyer; here (ironically) first defeat" ("glossary," II, 353. See also "payment" in the sense of "delivery of blows" (VI, 148).

6. Douglas chased the English so after Bannockburn that he "leit thame nocht haf sic laseir/ As anys wattir for to ma..." (XIII, 602-603).

7. A Frenchman with the Bruce at Perth condemns the decadent lords of France who do nothing but "farsis thair panch"

(IX, 398), a comment that is a foretaste of Milton's condemnation of the lax clergy in Lycidas. The context is unlikely; a rhetorical speech does not seem appropriate to the occasion--the Scots are trying to steal into the fortification of Perth by wading into the dike--but the colloquial vigor overcomes any taint of a set-piece. The OED notes that both "farsis" and "panch" are first used in literature in these senses by Barbour.

8. "With ane trunsioune intill his nave/ To Schir Colyne sic dusche [Bruce] gave,/ That he dynnyt on his arsoune" (XVI, 129-31). "Dynnyt" seems to be a metaphorical extension from dyn (noise), a dialectal, colloquial word. The definition in the OED, "to sound, to ring with sound," does not fit the context, and the MED does not have it in the sense that Barbour has. The best explanation is that Barbour derived the word directly from the O.N. dynja, meaning "to come rumbling down" (as, for example, a waterfall does). "Dusche" is also colloquial, but "trunsioune" and "arsoune," meaning, unfortunately not derriere as Jamieson surmised but "saddle-bow," are both found almost exclusively in romance and are elevated uses.

9. "At vndir" (in subjection) (XVII, 21), is first used by Barbour.

10. "Cleyne and law" (wholly) (X, 124).

11. "Loud and still" (under all circumstances) (III, 745).

(b) Elevated

1. "Layd at erd" (thrown to the ground, dead) (III, 16).

2. "...Mony fey fell vndir feit;/ The felde wox soyne of blud all weit" (XV, 45-46). "Fey" is a poetic word for "dead," occurring in an alliterative line, and of course the image of the bloody field is common to romance and epic.

3. Douglas of his success says to Murray: "Schir," said he, "we haf drawyn blude" (XIX, 621). The rhythm as well as the understatement, contributes to the elevated effect, the individual words being neutral in value.

4. "The king him abandonyt ay/ To defend bihind his mengye (III, 48-49). The word "abandonyt" meaning "devoted himself wholeheartedly" is used mainly in religious works, for example in Chaucer's Parson's Tale.

5. "...Ane rose of his chaplet/ Wes faldyn" (XI, 546-47) is a particularly fine image, especially in its context: "The erll Thomas" rushes after the English

Anoyit in his hert and wa,
That thai so fer war passit by.
For the king had said to hym roydly,
That ane rose of his chaplet
Wes faldyn; for, quhar he wes set
To kep the way, thai men war past.

Barbour gives us first the effect of the Bruce's angry comment on Murray, who immediately translates chagrin into action. Barbour's masterly handling gives us the compression of indirect discourse as well as the immediacy of speech.

6. "Sum tynt the suet" (XIII, 32). As Skeat notes (II, 268), "the A.S. swat is often used to signify blood shed in battle, the life-blood of wounded heroes." Therefore, Barbour's image seems to be deliberately archaic and poetic and it occurs in a battle scene where elevated images are to

be expected.

7. Courtly images are employed ironically at times. A short one: "Thair fais resauit thame weill, I hycht/ With swerdis, speris, and vith macyss" (XIII, 16-17); a longer one: Douglas comes upon his enemy at meat,

And with suerdis that scharply schar
Thai seruit thame full egyrly.

....
Thai seruit thame in sa gret wayne
With scherand swerdis and with knyvis,
That weill neir all lesyt thar livis.
Thai had ane felloune entremass,
For that surcharge to chargeand wass! (XVI, 450-58).

Barbour really enjoys his puns here. Among the several notable ones, those in the last line are especially interesting.

"Chargeand" means both burdensome, onerous (See Gawain, 1604) and thick, from cookery. The OED dates this second use from 1425 and the MED from 1381. Charged means loaded or filled with provisions and the verb to charge means "to load with blows" (OED from 1596) and to fill, a vessel, for example, to capacity. A surcharge is "an additional dish or second course" (Obs. Sc.) and an additional or excessive burden. As a verb, it is used with reference to food or drink. The EDD has charger meaning a large platter or meat dish.

8. The "flour of Wllister" (XIV, 81).

9. "The afald god in trinite" (XX, 618). "Afald" seems to be a word that Barbour coined on the model of two-fold, three-fold, and so on. It expresses with magnificent simplicity the paradox of the triune God. Barbour's use is the first citation in the OED; the MED treats afald under on-fold, through which the dictionary is not yet complete.

10. "Basnetis weill burnyst bricht/ ...gaf agane the sonne gret licht" (XI, 462-63).

11. "Quhill in [Sym's] hand he left the liff" (X, 417), that is, the watchman at Roxburgh lost his life at Sym's hands. The image is elevated not so much by virtue of its diction as by its solemn pictorial vividness.

12. Philip the Mowbray, caught by Douglas' ambush,
 With spurys he strak the steid of priss,
 And, magre all his enmyss,
 Throu the thickest of thame he raid,
 And but challanss eschakit had,
 Ne war ane hynt hym by the brand;
 Bot the guid steid, that vald nocht stand,
 He lansit furth deliuerly;
 Bot the tothir sa stalwardly
 Held, that the belt brist of the brand,
 That swerd and belt left in his hand;
 And he, but swerd, his vays raid...(VIII, 74-89).

Some of the diction is distinctly elevated, like brand, priss, stalwardly; some is colloquial, like hynt, but, while the action described is heroic, the total effect is realistic in a scene that is brought to life before our eyes.

13. "Thair mycht men se mony a steid/ Fleand on stray, that lord had nane" (XIII, 194-95).

14. At the peak of battle, Barbour has a group of images in which there is movement, visual images (sparks), the sound of blows and of weapons echoing on polished armor, but dramatically, "men no noyis na cry mycht her" (XIII, 34).

7) Aureate Terms

Aureate terms are those words that, as Mendenhall states, are "new, rare, or uncommon," either coined or borrowed from

older English, French or Latin. They are a feature from 1350 to 1530 and are "approved by the critical opinion of their time," opinion embodied in rhetorics and continuous from classical times.⁸⁰ The OED often credits Barbour with the first use of a word in a particular meaning, but one must proceed with caution in assigning such words elevated status as aureate terms. A rare word or a seemingly new word may not be elevated but excessively colloquial. A first occurrence in the OED may only mark what has already been current in speech or lost works for 150 years or more. A scribe may substitute an aureate term for a simpler word.⁸¹ With these cautions in mind, we may examine some of Barbour's new terms and their possible value. No attempt has been made to be exhaustive--or exhausting. Nor have I made an effort to explore systematically those letters--J, V, P, C, E--under which Skeat says new words in the fourteenth century are to be looked for.⁸² But to give an idea of the possibilities for finding new terms in Barbour, at least three of the ten words discussed under stratagem (tranontyne, sutelte, woidre) are apparently coinages or new senses of older terms.

Aside from those neologisms already mentioned, some colloquial coinages are anerly, atour, "over," stew, wyst, schor, "menace" (also in 1375 Saints Legends), wee, with a litill, meaning "a little way"; "a short distance," brawl, "to fall into confusion," schawdest, "shallowest," bargaynyng, "fighting." Some neutral or common ones are atour, "military gear," arettet, "accused," annoyous, amonesting, apperande air, arrest, verb and substantive, flechand, "flattering," vrechit, "worthless(thing),"

assailyeours, "assailants," which the OED says is used first in the 16th century and for which the MED cites Vegetius 1450 as first, assay, "to sound the depth of" (IX, 353), for which the OED says Manly, 1665, is first; the MED does not list this meaning. Some aureate terms, that is, words that are poetic and elevated are appurvait, "provided," apane, from O.F. *à peine*--Skeat, II, 257, suggests it means "at a pinch," awisily, avisè, avisit, awisement, assay, "to battle," revede--Skeat says reft would be the usual form; revede is an archaism, avent, verb, "to refresh oneself with cool air" (not a new word but more elevated than Morte Arthure, 944, "Caughte of the colde wynde, to comforthe hym selven"), avalye que valye, "come what may," ancistry, gyrd, "a blow," raucht, "dealt," occisioune, "slaughter," punye, "a skirmish," perplexite, pundelan, "a hero(?)."

These words indicate the same kind of impulse for a mixed style that Barbour exhibits in his other usages. Diction in context will be even more revealing.

a) Bruce and Page: the expectation is that the diction will be neutral--not elevated, because of the context; not colloquial, because all involved are noblemen. The kinsman of the Bruce has agreed to kill the king for $\frac{1}{4}$ value in land. The Bruce, using his page's bow and arrow, kills the man and his two sons. The setting is a covert, where, Barbour explicitly tells us, the traitor knows that the Bruce goes "airly euirilk day/ And pas weill fer fra his menye,/ Quhen he vald pas to the preue" (V, 554-56). The information about the privy is not gratuitous because it explains why the Bruce is away from his "menye" and it

also shows how "prewe" (V, 494) to the king the kinsman was. (Barbour not only presents the word privy; he also calls attention to it by punning on it.) He knew the king's early-morning habit and thus was able to approach him alone. While the information is not superfluous, it is far from elevated. The OED cites Barbour as the first user of privy in this colloquial sense. Compare the Merchant's Tale, where Chaucer uses the word deliberately to denigrate the courtly pretensions of May and Damyan (E1954). The mixed style is often used for satiric or comic purpose. But Barbour is completely serious.⁸³

Although there are also a few words that may be of more elevated status, most of the diction of this passage, in fact, is colloquial or neutral: "tit" (meaning snatched, which H changes to took), "vmbethinkis yow" (which H changes to bethink yow), "flechand," "fenyband falsit," "tasit the vyre and leit it fle," "harnys," "gyrd," "Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt" (dealt him such a blow with great impetuous force"), "down ded to the erd drafe," "swak," "wysk," and so on, seem to be colloquial. Bruce's nicely-turned comment to the page who asks what he should do--"Stand on fer and behald vs to./ Gif thou seis me abovin be,/ Thou sall haf vapnys in gret plente:/ And gif I de, vithdraw the soyne."--contains the interesting image abovin, meaning "victor," a figurative use from wrestling, a low sport in the Middle Ages. Barbour evidently made this colloquial choice deliberately because he uses victor elsewhere (VIII, 255). Thus in this episode, setting, dialogue and description of actions are all appropriate to the low style, yet Barbour is

speaking seriously about the king.

b) The Good-Wife: If Barbour treats the king, stylistically, as if he were a commoner, he nevertheless gives more elevated status to the style of the king's conversation with the good-wife (see above, pp. 145-46).

c) A skirmish between Murray and the English who have got by him: The expectation is that the style will be elevated, because the subject is battle and the participants are noblemen.

On [†] ahir half thai war so stad,	<u>half/</u> side H
For the rycht gret heit that thai had,	<u>rycht/</u> CH omit; <u>heit/</u>
Of fechtung and of sonnys het,	bargane H
That all thair flesche of swat wes wete.	
And sic ane stew raiss owth thame then	
Of aynding, bath of hors and men,	<u>aynding/</u> breathing H
And of powdir, and sic myrknes	
In-till the ayr abovyn thame wes,	
That it wes voundir for till se;	
Thai war in gret perplexite (XI, 610-19).	

Notice that H changes some dialectal and colloquial words.

When the skirmish is over, Murray and his men

Hynt of thair basnetis in-till hy	
Till avent thame, for thai var hat;	<u>avent thame/</u> draw their
Thai war all helit in-to swat.	breath H
Thame semyt men forsuth, I hicht,	
That had fayndit thair fayis in ficht...(XII, 144-48).	<u>fayndit/</u> fended
	H

Again, although there are a few elevated constructions (the last line's diction and structure are elevated) there are many colloquialisms. The whole picture is realistic and earthy. It is not common to find such explicitly physiological--but unbloody--descriptions of nobles in battle scenes.

Yet Barbour's earthy realism does not preclude the sublime. There is no question, even in the above passage, of low diction used for comic, farcical, satiric, or merely vulgar effect.

Barbour's tone obviates such an interpretation. In the following scene from the Battle of Bannockburn, Barbour's passionate enthusiasm that he expresses in the unparaphrasable first line, his exclamations and the alliteration sublimate the colloquial vigor of the diction:

Thar wes the battell strikyn weill;
 So gret dynnyng ther wes of dyntis
 As wapnys apon armor styntis,
 And of speris so gret bristing,
 With sic thrawing and sic thristing,
 Sic gyrnyng, granyng, and so gret
 A noyis, as thai can othir bet,
 And cryit ensenyeis on euerilk syd,
 Gifand and takand woundis wyd,
 That it wes hydwiss for till her
 All four the battellis, wicht that wer,
 Fechtand in-till a front haly.
 Almychty god! full douchtely
 Schir Edward the Bryss and his men
 Amang thair fais contenyt thame then,
 Fechtand in-to sa gud cowyne
 So hardy, worthy, and so fyne,
 That thar awaward ruschit was,
 And, magre thairis, left the plass,...(XIII, 152-70).

Exclamations, alliterative rhythms and formulas, syntax, tone and many of the other rhetorical devices, such as changes in tense (I, 511; IV, 45; XI, 653-55; XII, 386-87, and so on), discussed throughout this chapter, make for immediacy and passion and contribute to the emotional impact of the work, and it is emotion rather than elevation that determines the sublime.⁸⁴ Feeling sweeps the colloquialisms into the sublime.

Even this meagre overview shows, I think, the energetic variety of Barbour's style. Where he uses elevated words they may apply to commoner as well as lord, and they are often employed ironically in a way that undercuts the grand style. His is a mixed style.

Barbour could not present his narrative within the rigid confines of the antique conception of the separation of styles. According to the doctrine, he should have used the elevated style exclusively. Moreover, his characters should all have been from the upper-classes. But his is a realistic art and as Auerbach says, it is impossible to imitate reality with an excessively elevated style that focuses attention on one class only. Realism demands a mixed style.⁸⁵

Auerbach, in his discussion of the doctrine of the separation of styles in the Middle Ages, points out that the combination of realism and the tragic-sublime--impossible to the separation of styles--was an offspring of the story of Christ's Passion: there the mundane, the common, was treated with high seriousness. Human suffering can be a catalyst that fuses coarse and grotesque realism with tragic sublimity. Christ as man suffers and all men who suffer are, so to speak, figural imitators of Christ. Dante's Commedia is the apotheosis of the figural representation of realism. In his dual conception of his work as comedy--not only because of its rhythmic pattern from low to high, but also and more importantly because of its mixed style which juxtaposes ordinary and even vulgar colloquialisms with elevated diction--and as a work that may make claims of the highest order, Dante recognizes that he is contradicting the classical and medieval conception of the separation of styles. Through the figural representation of reality, through the subordination of all creatures to God's judgment, through the constantly serious tone, Dante achieves the sublime.

The spiritual intensity of his vision is able to encompass all styles and mold all to sound out the grandeur of God and the magnificent humanity of the spectres that people his work.

Dante's work, splendid as it is, does not stand in isolation. In spite of the doctrine of the separation of styles, from Augustine on, religious works are able, through a mixed style, to achieve the sublime without sacrificing realism.⁸⁶ Religious works can accomplish this realistic-sublimity through one or another of the methods that Dante combines in his masterpiece: the representation of reality as figura (Piers Plowman and Christ); the subordination of all, even lowly realism to a Divine Plan (the Mystery Plays); or the spiritual use to which the realism refers (sermons, Ancrene Wisse, 14th century religious prose).⁸⁷ Medieval religious art is thus able to accommodate the grossest colloquialisms without descending to farce, the only medium for stark, low reality in the doctrine of the separation of styles.

But in the 14th century, there begins a shift from the religious proprietorship of the realistic. Even for Langland--while he uses the Christian-figural to sublimate--Will's desire to know is the main moving force in his great realistic and sublime work. This desire to know along with the allegorical structure--and not the religious impulse--are what free him for realism. In Troilus and Criseyde, the liberation and separation of the erotic from the religious enables Chaucer to present, with a strong admixture of the courtly-elevated, the realistic and tragic-sublime on a purely human level. For him the erotic

is "strong enough to treat reality problematically [and] even tragically."⁸⁸ In Barbour, the realism is concentrated on the thrust of the Scots' political aspirations for freedom. His realism is completely mundane and human because his concern is political, not the figural representation of the political scheme as a part of the divine plan as in Dante, but representation completely within the realm of human choices. Nor does he use the alchemy of suffering to sublimate realism, which is why the work, in spite of certain tragic overtones, is not a tragedy, but simply a serious treatment of something that mattered so much to Barbour that his passionate commitment lifts it to the sublime.

Because the motivation is not sexual but political, rooted in history not convention, encompassing all classes, Barbour's style must be mixed to represent both the sublimity and the reality of a powerful action which begins with one man but widens out to embrace all Scots. Robert Bruce and the Scots lords join in aspiration with the commoners and through the democratization of the struggle for freedom, bodied forth so dramatically at the Battle of Bannockburn with the climactic descent of the camp-followers into the field of battle, indistinguishable from the rest because all are on foot, class differences disappear, negating the basis for the separation of styles.

Rhythms that invoke an heroic past but record an immediate present, rhetorical devices that adhere to medieval doctrine but reach beyond that doctrine to the kinetic and the dramatic,

and elevated diction coupled with colloquial idiom--all these seemingly contradictory stylistic patterns are the concrete manifestation of the duality of Barbour's vision, of his harnessing of the energy of both the conventional-elevated and the realistic to express his understanding of the nature of the Scots struggle. As Croce believes, art is the revelation of the artist's world-view.⁸⁹ Barbour's stylistic patterns mirror the ideological premise that he expresses through the concepts that inform the poem, the inter-acting concepts of chivalry, freedom, history and religion. These will be treated in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1

See Paul Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts, a Study in Mediaeval Culture (N.Y.: Col. U. Teachers College, 1939 [orig. 1906]); J.W.H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase (N.Y., 1943); Charles Sears Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959 [orig. 1928]); Charles Homer Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (N.Y.: Meridian Books, 1957 [orig. 1927]), p. 305.

2

Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XVII (1942), 1-32.

3

John M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry 1485-1547 (N.Y.: MacMillan Co., 1920; reprinted by the Shoe String Press, Inc., 1961), p. 129; John Matthews Manly, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," reprinted in Chaucer Criticism: The Canterbury Tales, ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 1960), pp. 268-290, from The Proceedings of the British Academy, XII (1926), 95-113.

4

For Ad Herennium, I use the Loeb Classical Library Text, with translation by Harry Caplan (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1954) and for Geoffrey de Vinsauf the Poetria nova and the Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi, both texts found in Edmond Faral, Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle: Recherches et Documents sur la Technique littéraire du Moyen Age (Paris: Libraire Honoré Champion, 1962 [orig. 1924]).

See Faral, pp. 52-54, for a chart comparing the medieval practice to Ad Herennium. Atkins, pp. 6, 94, calls Vinsauf one of the most important of the medieval rhetoricians; see also p. 116 on influence of Ad Her. Vinsauf also uses Horace and Cicero, among others.

5

And of course the stance of the medieval rhetoricians goes back even further to the Sophists. See Benedetto Croce, "Poetry, The Work of Truth: Literature, the Work of Civilization," in Philosophy, Poetry, History: An Anthology of Essays, trans. Cecil Sprigge. (London: Oxford U. Press, 1966), pp. 296-308; J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (Garden City, Doubleday & Co., 1956 [orig. 1924]), pp. 251, 285, 297. Interestingly enough, a modern psychologist distinguishes between the image-making of the poet and the young child precisely on the basis of communication. See Robert M. Krauss, "Language as a Symbolic Process in Communication," American Scientist, LVI (Autumn, 1968), 265-278, particularly p. 277.

6

Both Baldwin and Atkins discuss the "confusion" in the M. A. of rhetoric with poetic. But perhaps we should examine this idea more carefully in the light of Dante's definition of a poem as a "fictio rhetorica" set to music. The separation of rhetoric from poetic dates from Plato and Aristotle. But that Aristotle actually connected them, we can see from the way he discusses how plot can be constructed to produce an effect in the audience and from his constant allusions to literature in his discussion of rhetoric. Rhetoric, says McKeon, in

his Introduction to Aristotle (N.Y.: Random House, 1947) p. 620, "has a moral and political dimension," but so does literature when it goes beyond the tableaux of the Greek classics Aristotle admires and encompasses all of man's activity, moral and political, as well as tragic and personal.

See Robert O. Payne, The Key of Remembrance: A Study of Chaucer's Poetics (New Haven: Yale U. Press, for the U. of Cincinnati, 1963), pp. 2-59, for a discussion of the philosophical bases of both the separation and merging of rhetoric and poetic.

7

Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard K. Trask (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1963 [orig. German 1948]), p. 282.

8

See Manly, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," Payne, The Key of Remembrance, passim, and Sister Miriam Joseph [Rauh], Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language (N.Y.: Hafner Publishing Co., 1966 [orig. 1947]). Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influence on Western Thought, 3rd corrected edition (N.Y.: Oxford U. Press, 1957), pp. 102, 218, states that Chaucer and Shakespeare learnt their craft, that is, rhetorical patterns, from the classics.

9

Payne, passim; Wayne C. Booth, The Rhetoric of Fiction (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1961); David Lodge, The Language of Fiction: Essays in Criticism and Verbal Analysis of the English Novel (N.Y.: Col. U. Press, 1966). It is no accident that Booth is an Aristotlean from the U. of Chicago. In general, the concept of the role of rhetoric in art depends on whether

the critic conceives of the poet as craftsman or as creator.

10

James J. Murphy has made a career of proving that English writers of the 14th century did not know the rhetorics, but he ignores first, the wide dispersion of the subject of the rhetorics through many disciplines, and second, the possibility of authors learning the devices of rhetoric from models rather than manuals. See his articles "The Earliest Teaching of Rhetoric at Oxford," Speech Monographs, XXVII (1960) 345-47; "Rhetoric in Fourteenth-Century Oxford," Medium Aevum, XXXIV (1965), 1-20; and "A New Look at Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," Review of English Studies, XV (1964), 1-20.

Edmond Faral points out that the rhetorics did not prescribe the ordering of personal description, "mais l'etude des exemples qu'ils proposent supplée à ce manque" (p. 80). See F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957), note to BD 11. 816-1040, pp. 776-77.

11

Campion seems to base his aversion to rime, which he refers to as the rhetorical figure, similiter disinentia (Homoeoteleuton), on Ad Her.'s caution (p. 309) not to over-use it because it suggests art and not spontaneity. See Thomas Campion, "Observations on the Art of English Poesie," reprinted in Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos, ed. G.B. Harrison (N.Y.: Barnes & Noble, 1966).

12

Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XI (1936), 88-110, points out many characteristics of oral delivery. One is the direct address to an audience

(Lordyngis); another is the call to attention, especially at transition points. Barbour exhibits many traits of oral delivery. I shall note other instances of oral techniques as they come up.

Helge Kökeritz, "Rhetorical Word-Play in Chaucer," PMLA, LXIX (1954), 937-952 says that rich rime is a variety of traductio (transplacement). It also has a punning effect.

13

The sententia could be a proverb or it could be, as I take it here, a statement of purpose. Albert C. Friend, "Medieval Latin Literature," The Medieval Literature of Western Europe (N.Y.: For M.L.A. by N.Y.U. Press, 1966), defines sententia as "higher meaning." Prayers could sometimes substitute for proverb or sententia, particularly in oral works. See Crosby, pp. 109-110.

14

The Bruce thus belongs to the epedeictic class of rhetoric, which as Aristotle says is best suited to written not oral form. Although Barbour tells us that his work is about the Bruce and Douglas, the latter is subordinated to the Bruce in a number of ways. See Friedrich Brie, Die nationale Literatur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1937), p. 98, and Michael MacMillan, trans., The Bruce of Bannockburn (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1914), p. ix.

15

Barbour has colophon-like passages elsewhere: one after Bannockburn (XIII, 689-712) that gives the time of composition, 1375, and another at XVI, 525ff. that harks back to the beginning idea that great men deserve lasting fame.

16

There has been too much discussion already of this supposed error in The Bruce, that is, Barbour's use of ayr which some believe refers to Robert Bruce, the Competitor, King Robert's grandfather. For clarification see Agnes Mure MacKenzie, An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714 (London: Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1933), pp. 45-46. Or for another reasonable explanation see W.H. Schofield, "Chief Historical Error in Barbour's Bruce," PMLA, XXXI (1916), 359-78.

17

Curtius, p. 89, notes the abruptness of the endings of romances.

18

This is possibly an allusion to a chria, that is, a proverb with the authority named, found in "The Elementary Exercises of Hermogenes," and trans. in Baldwin, MRP, p. 26: "Those affairs which succeed by chance require no toil and their conclusion brings no happiness." Hermogenes also prescribes using the contrary.

19

Ronald A. Waldron, "Oral-Formulaic Technique and Middle-English Alliterative Poetry," Speculum, XXXII (1957), 792-804, identifies "As the courss askis" as an alliterative formula of the second half line (p. 797).

20

See Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall, Piers Plowman (Evanston: Northwestern U. Press, 1967), "Introduction," pp. 50-51. J.P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English, 2 vols. in 1, reprinted by Archon Books, 1968 (orig. 1930, 1935), II, 394, says that "the device of beginning and ending a poem with

approximately the same words is found in Patience, Pearl, and Sir Gawain but not in any other alliterative work." Barbour uses the device frequently to unify sections.

21

Cp. Chaucer's friar who lisped out of affectation "to make his Englishh sweete upon his tonge." Evidently a lisp was admired.

22

Barbour's omission of description of not only Douglas' but of any Scots array is significant in the light of the Scots disdain for fancy dress and their derision of English foppishness. G.G. Coulton, Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation (Cambridge: at the U. Press, 1956), pp. 9-10, quotes Bartholomew the Englishman's De Proprietatibus Rerum, c.1250, who says that the "scottysche clothyng dysfygure them full moche." See also Skeat, XIX, 332 n. Even the English preachers condemned the English love of finery and according to some, the defeat at Bannockburn was divine retribution for decadent love for foppish dress. See G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed. with additions (N.Y.: Barnes & Noble, 1961 [orig. 1933]), pp. 131, 406-7. Cp. Barbour's depiction of the English in all their splendor at Bannockburn.

23

The Tree of Battles by Honoré Bonet, trans. by G.W. Coopland (Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1949), is a particularly good source-book for determining which of Barbour's ideas are common and which are different from those of his age, because the value of Bonet's work, c.1386, is that it reflects the beliefs of his time. Bonet deplores killing prisoners (Chapter XLVI)

and recommends that all spoils be turned over to the leader of the battle who should re-distribute them according to valor (Chapter XLIII). I shall refer to Bonet again when appropriate. Gilbert Hays translated this in 1456 as The Buke of the Law of Armys or Buke of Bataillis, the first translation of Bonet into a Teutonic language. Later, Caxton translated Christine de Pisan's version.

24

Faral, p. 79. Geoffrey, it is true, barely treats description, but in his caution against dealing with worn descriptions, he reveals that his conception is the same as that of the other rhetoricians: describing the type rather than the individual is the method. See Documentum, II, 3, para. 156.

25

Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), pp. 29-30; Joseph Bain, The Edwards in Scotland: A.D. 1296-1377 (Edinburgh: David Douglas, (1901), p. 80; G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965), pp. 431-32.

26

James Kinsley, ed. Scottish Poetry, A Critical Survey (London: Cassell & Co., 1955), pp. 4-5. See Curtius, pp. 194-200.

27

Faral points out that although the rhetoricians did not speak of battle scenes, literature carries the imprint of rhetorical theory (p. 82). See Lee Carter Ramsay, "The Theme of Battle in Old English Poetry" DA, XXVI (1965), 2758, for a discussion of the conventional features of battle scenes. Whether

such conventions are learnt from theoreticians or from oral models, we may safely call them part of a rhetorical tradition.

28

I[sabel] F[rances] Grant, The Economic History of Scotland (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1934), p. 37, calls Berwick the most important Scots town in terms of trade. Edward Balliol, made king of Scotland under Edward III of England, in 1334 handed over to the English king as a gift, all the southern counties of Scotland. "Berwick Castle was regained in 1461--only to be lost again, forever, in 1482." See William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson, Isabel A. Milne, eds., A Source Book of Scottish History, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1958), I, 167.

29

See Skeat's note to III, 99, for an interpretation of Barbour's purpose in giving the etymology, and cp. W.H. MacKenzie, ed., The Bruce, note to III, 101.

30

Wittig, pp. 14-15.

31

Wittig, p. 31. See also [Cosmo Innis, ed.] The Brus: From a Collation of the Cambridge and Edinburgh Manuscripts (Aberdeen: for the Spalding Club, 1856), p. xxv.

32

See Poetria, vss. 527-553; Documentum, II, 2, para. 17-21; II, 3, para. 156. See also Atkins, p. 106 and Manly, p. 279.

33

Some critics, who have little else to say about Barbour, fasten on to this digression with glee, proving perhaps the old maxim that a critic is never pleased unless he is displeased.

J.J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People, 3rd ed. trans. (N.Y.: Putnam's Sons, 1926) takes the space, although he devotes less than 2 pages to Barbour, to find fault with him on this digression. See also, E.M.W. Tillyard, The English Epic and Its Background (London: Chatto & Windus, 1954), who three times refers to Barbour, each time as an example of a common medieval practice (pp. 145, 197, 199), and Peter Giles, "The Earliest Scottish Literature" The Cambridge History of English Literature, II, 106. On the other hand, see J.H. Millar, A Literary History of Scotland (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. 16, and Halvdan Koht, "Medieval Liberty Poems," American History Review, XLVIII (1943), 281-89.

34

The medieval debate over free will and destiny raged as hotly as that between nurture and nature today. ("Evil men not evil conditions cause riots"; the riots are caused by the miserable living conditions in the slums.) Theodore Otto Wedel, The Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology, Particularly in England, Yale Studies in English, LX (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1920), p. 122, says that Barbour's view is "somewhat similar to that of Piers Plowman, although in the Bruce the hostile point of view is that of a rationalist, rather than that of a conservative ecclesiastic"; "The Bruce, in truth--almost alone in Middle English--expresses, in addition to a distrust of astrology on religious grounds, a contempt for it as a mere fraud..." (p. 123). For opinions like Barbour's see Bonet, p. 119, and Henry Osborn Taylor, The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Harvard U.

Press, 1951), I, 543-48; and on the other hand see Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum, ed. Robert Steele (London: for the EETS, 1898) I, 215; in Logic texts, prophecies, if 'authentic,' are considered inartificial arguments.

Aside from Barbour's direct allusion to Aristotle, which Wedel, p. 124 n, says is "curious," Barbour seems to allude to him indirectly a few times. See below, p. 122. On Aristotle's Rhetoric in England, see Marvin T. Herrick, "The Early History of Aristotle's Rhetoric in English," P.Q., V (1926), 242-57, and Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," pp. 22, 29.

35

The word "hop" is ambiguous in Barbour's northern dialect because he could be using it in the dialectal sense of "expect with certainty" (cp. Chaucer, CT, A 4029) or in the ordinary meaning of "look forward with desire."

36

Bonet, too, expresses the opinion that although one is certain that his cause is just, "he must not trust in God without doing what in him lies, by diligence, and by taking good counsel, to overcome the enemy" (p. 154). And Bonet also states that God sometimes allows sinners to win over the just (pp. 156-57). George Neilson, "Blind Harry's Wallace," Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, I (1910, reprinted 1966), pp. 85-112, who deplors Blind Harry's pillaging of The Bruce, notes that the minstrel accepts the prophecy, and thus makes his poem one of expectation satisfied.

37

See Francis Lee Utley, The Crooked Rib: An Analytical

Index to the Argument About Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568 (Columbus: Ohio State U. Press, 1944), and cp. Barbour's praise of women in II, 513-553.

38

See Aristotle's Rhetoric, I, xi, 6-9; Skeat comments that Barbour's lines are from Virgil; David Irving, The History of Scottish Poetry, ed. John Aitken Carlyle (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1861), p. 105.

39

Peter Dale Scott, "Alcuin as a Poet: Rhetoric and Belief in his Latin Verse," U. of Toronto Quarterly, XXXIII (1964), 233-57. Ad Her., aware of the tension between display and supposed sincerity, constantly cautions against excessive decoration. Geoffrey de Vinsauf too makes the point that nobility of thought is the essential ingredient to make the ornaments of style truly pleasing (Documentum, II, 3, para. 2), but Longinus says that sincerity is not marred by conventionality. When emotion sweeps all before it, the question of sincerity never arises. We can respond to the conventional-rhetorical, polished-jewel qualities of the Pearl as well as to the rough, ungrammatical vigor of a Sacco-Vanzetti letter.

40

Many critics have responded in like fashion to Barbour. Besides T[homas] F[inlayson] Henderson, Scottish Vernacular Literature, a Succinct History, 3rd rev. ed. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), pp. 40-56, there are Agnes Mure MacKenzie, Scottish Lit., p. 54; Millar, p. 18; Sir Walter Scott; all of Barbour's editors, and many more. It is difficult to understand, then, why Henderson, for example, deprecates Barbour's style,

for it is only through the medium of language that Barbour can convey the "subtly perfect" tact, the "noble sentiment," and the "lofty idealism" that Henderson so admires.

41

Brie questions the fervor of Barbour's patriotism because of his objectivity (pp. 70-71; 101-104), but he fails to realize that the highest patriotism does not depend on denigrating other nations. Barbour is not alone among Scots in his attitude toward the enemy. See the quote from Wyntoun's Orygynale Cronikil in Agnes Mure MacKenzie's delightful anthology Scottish Pageant: 55 B.C.-A.D. 1513 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd for The Saltire Society, 1946), p. 16. Neilson, "Blind Harry's Wallace," pp. 110-111, says that Barbour is never "vindictive or savage," and that he "achieves [his] purpose of patriotism in the spirit of chivalry without the incessant vengeance and refusal of quarter which makes Harry's Wallace reek of the shambles." English patriotism on the other hand, seems often to be expressed by exultant hatred of the enemy. See Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (N.Y.: Col. U. Press, 1959) nos. 4, 9, and compare Scots lyrics quoted by Coulton, pp. 409, 249. Unfortunately, Robbins' book, in spite of its title, contains no Scots lyrics although they too were written in Middle English. Nor does it even mention Barbour, although his is probably the most important historical poem of the XIVth Century. See also, Thomas Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England, from the reign of John to that of Edward II (London: for the Camden Society, 1839).

42

Agnes Mure MacKenzie, Robert Bruce, King of Scots (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), p. 289, says that the Irish approached Edward Bruce and "offered to make him king over all Ireland."

Neilson points out that Blind Harry feels no qualms when the Wallace violates church sanctuary.

Most Scottish historians have not followed Barbour's account of the slaying of Comyn, probably because it makes absolutely no attempt to justify Bruce, either by assigning the final blow to someone else or by stressing the fact that the murder was unpremeditated, as seems likely. See, for example, Bellenden's trans. of Hector Boece, II, 263; Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, I, 54; MacKenzie's Robert Bruce, pp. 151-156; Barrow, Robert Bruce, pp. 206-208.

43

Victor Shklovsky, "Sterne's Tristram Shandy: Stylistic Commentary," Russian Formalist Criticism, trans. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: U. of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 25-60. For a different opinion of Sterne's digressions see Baldwin, MRP, pp. 19-20. Baldwin praises 'onwardness' above all else, and his bias makes him ignore the author's purpose.

44

Crosby, pp. 101, 106-107. Wittig, p. 23.

45

Brie, p. 105, mentions the absence of women at the death scene. On the burial of Bruce see Skeat, XX, 293 n.

46

Ian C. Walker, "Barbour, Blind Harry, and Sir William Craigie," Studies in Scottish Literature, I (1964), 202-206. Millar, p. 20, comments on Barbour's last lines: "the passage breathes a quieter spirit than the battle-scenes to which it forms a noble and appropriate sequel; but no one who reads it will probably care to deny that the man who wrote it was a genuine poet." William A. Craigie, of course, does deny it. He says in "Barbour and Blind Harry," Scottish Review, XXII (1893), 173-190, that Barbour's expression on the death of his heroes is tame. But cp. Chaucer's simple expression of sympathy when he finally learns that the Duchess is dead: "Be God, hyt ys routhe." Chaucer knew as did Barbour that a beautiful life is panegyric enough.

47

Wittig, pp. 15, 21. P. Hume Brown, A Short History of Scotland, new rev. ed. by Henry W. Meikle (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1961 [orig. 1908]), says that indeed "the coronation was a poor spectacle" (p. 83), but Barrow disagrees (p. 212).

48

Michael MacMillan, a sensitive editor who admires Barbour's narrative genius, deplores the "excessive plainness of his style" (p. xxvi); Wittig explains Barbour's lack of poetic power on the basis of Barbour's supposed ignorance of the rhetorical tradition (in other words, Wittig equates poetry and rhetoric). For more perceptive views on Barbour's avoidance of rhetoric see Kinsley, pp. 6, 219, and Tom Scott, ed., Late Medieval Scots Poetry: A Selection from the Makars and Their Heirs Down to 1610 (N.Y.: Barnes & Noble, 1967), pp. 15-17. See also, Alexander M. Kinghorn,

"Romantic History and Poetry in Mediaeval Scotland," Dalhousie Review, XXXVII, 63-70; John Veitch, The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1887), I, 160-72.

49

For other examples see, XIV, 273-82; XV, 346-59; XVI, 592-600; 614-21; XIX, 635-713; XX, 223-34, and so on. See Manly, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," pp. 284-90.

50

[Vegetius] Flavius Vegetius Renatus, The Military Institutions of the Romans, trans. Lieut. John Clark, 1767, ed. Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips (Harrisburg, Penn.: Stackpole Books, 1965), pp. 86-87, stresses the importance of soldier morale. Vegetius' text was very popular in the M.A. It seems likely that both Barbour and the Bruce knew it. I shall refer to Vegetius in parentheses in the body of this paper, when appropriate.

Bonet, p. 156, maintains that the soul of a knight felled in battle is saved only if he fights for a just cause.

51

Vegetius, p. 90, also refers to Scipio but in quite a different way. In Vegetius, it was Scipio's disciplinary action that molds his men. Barbour makes, then, a significant change. According to MacKenzie, ed., The Bruce, Appendix F and note to III, 208, Barbour does not follow any known source.

Scottish democracy in the 14th century is neither a form of government nor an economic doctrine of equal opportunity. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to avoid the word democracy in describing the loyalty and mutual respect among Scotsmen of all classes. Through this relationship that apparently developed from the clan structure, Scots were probably approaching closer

to democracy than were other medieval peoples.

52

Perseverance is associated with the virtue, fortitude.

A good case, I think, could be made that Barbour consciously applies the medieval doctrine of the seven virtues to the Bruce's characterization. See the chart in Rosamond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1966), "Appendix." The Seven Virtues are: Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, Faith, Hope, and Charity.

53

XII, 352-82

54

Crosby, pp. 93, 98; Innis, p. xxix. See also Sec. Secretorum, p. 110, on the need to keep up men's spirits, but this work also cautions the leader to keep aloof from the men so as to win their respect. Vegetius, of course, stresses the leader's responsibility to keep up morale and to retain close contact with the men so that he always knows their condition (p. 87).

55

See Good King Robert's Testament, a popular song quoted in Charles Oman, A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, (N.Y.: Burt Franklin reprint of 2nd rev. ed. of 1924, 1959), II, 99. See also Barrow, p. 267.

56

Oman says, "For the conduct of the fight on Bruce's part no praise can be too great. It was the culminating point of that whole method of war which he left as a legacy to his subjects." Vegetius, of course, maintains that infantry is superior to cavalry, but the conditions he speaks of are so different from conditions in the 14th century, that Bruce must be given full credit for

the tactics of this battle.

57

Oman, too, stresses Bruce's psychological grasp of the situation (II, 94).

58

Agnes Mure MacKenzie, Robert Bruce, p. 270, says that this question to all his men is so unlikely for a romance, that it rings true. She goes on to say on p. 271 that "either Barbour was a first-rate novelist with a good deal of military training, or it [the speech] represents a lively recollection of what King Robert actually said, derived from a man who had heard, and as he well might, remembered the main points, even some of the phrasing." Michael Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), says that the advice of Commons about war was not asked until after 1327 (p. 236).

59

See Coulton, Social Life, p. 50.

60

Erasmus would have liked the king's style of dying; see his colloquy, "The Funeral." Froissart presents this scene also, but he has the Bruce ask that Douglas bear his heart and in doing so, Froissart eliminates the problematic and the dramatic. Froissart strikes one, also, as being more rhetorical and less natural. See Sir John Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries, trans. Thomas Johnes (London, 1839), I, XX, 26-28. Froissart also has his date wrong (1337).

61

Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard Trask (Garden City: Doubleday, 1953), p. 40.

62

See Kinsley's apt comments on these lines, pp. 5-6, and Brie's more general remarks, for example, "In den Versbiographien herrscht eine geschraubte, rhetorische und konventionelle Sprache, im Bruce eine volkstümliche und relativ gedrängte" (p. 93).

63

See Oman, II, 96, who confirms from Vita Edwardi Secundi, p. 151, that the English rear could not come into play because of the cramped formation. Oman considers Ed. I to be a superb tactician (I, 441) but he calls Ed. II an imbecile (II, 84).

64

Vegetius recommends a realistic assessment of the enemy's capability (p. 85) and avoiding general engagements wherever possible, substituting stratagem (p. 111). Oman points out that what defeated the English at Stirling Bridge in an engagement with the Wallace was "a foolish and over-weening contempt for the enemy" (II, 76).

65

This is corroborated by English accounts and would seem to discredit Oman's contention that the Bruce attacked the English before they were ready. The Bruce's strategy as Morris shows and Barbour depicts, is to force the English cavalry to attack the Scots pikemen and then to press forward as the first ranks of the English are put to confusion.

66

The Battle of Bannockburn: A Study in Medieval Warfare (Glasgow, 1913). See also, John E. Morris, Bannockburn (Cambridge, 1914).

67

Marie Borroff, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: A Stylistic

and Metrical Study (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1962), p. 96, says that "colloquial status can be assumed for those words that have descended into modern speech in the [same] meanings...."

68

I depend heavily on Borroff's work noted above for the classifications discussed in my analysis. See her chapters 3 and 4 particularly. I disagree with her, however, in that she blurs at times the distinction between colloquial and neutral or common words (that is, words used in both elevated and colloquial style), a distinction she herself draws early in the book. I also use Oakden, particularly his Vol. II, Chapter 8, "The Vocabulary of the Poems of the Alliterative Revival." It may be argued that Oakden's and Borroff's criteria do not apply to The Bruce, which is not an alliterative poem, although many lines echo that style. However, since as both Oakden and Borroff maintain, the vocabulary of alliterative works can be accounted for only partially by needs of alliteration, comparison to these works can be a guide to Barbour's stylistic level.

OED: The Oxford English Dictionary, ed. James A.H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W.A. Craigie, C.T. Onions (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1933, 1961).

MED: Middle English Dictionary, ed. Hans Kurath; asst. ed. Sherman M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1952-).

EDD: The English Dialect Dictionary: ...words of the last Two Hundred Years (London: Oxford U. Press, 1961).

SND: The Scottish National Dictionary: ...words...since c.1700, eds. Wm. Grant and D. Murison (Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association, 1931-). These last two

are not as useful because they do not take into account medieval usage to any great extent.

DOST: A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue: From the Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth, ed. Sir William A. Craigie. 22 pts.; pts. 17-22 ed. A.J. Aitken (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1934-).

69

The EDD lists the word fute; Borroff suggests that words that have descended into modern dialects are colloquial, but that does not seem to be true here. In modern dialects it means "a spoilt child, pet, darling; a fondling."

70

See Morris, Bannockburn, p. 33.

71

Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle, Fundamentals of Language ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton and Co., 1956), p. 78.

72

Falkirk, of course, was where in 1298 Sir William Wallace fought and lost a decisive battle against Edward I. The Battle of Bannockburn was waged on virtually the same spot.

73

Barbour evidently prefers to use those adjectives classified by Brink as colloquial. Using Skeat's glossary, I find that Barbour has none of the 14 adjectives in Group I, 10 or 31% of the 32 in Group II, 16 or 42% of the 38 in Group III, and 25 or 74% of the 34 in Group IV. Thus, we have another gross test indicating that Barbour's style is more colloquial than elevated.

74

Barbour probably took this image from Baston, the monk

Edward II brought to Bannockburn to write his victory song and whom the Bruce captured and forced to write a Scots victory song instead. The angel image appears in Baston's song. See Morris, Bannockburn, p. 51.

75

See Skeat's note to VI, 228. Cp. W.M. MacKenzie, ed. The Bruce, who thinks that MSS. C and E are not both by Ramday (pp. viii-x).

76

"Das Satzgefüge in Barber's Bruce und Henry's Wallace: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der altschottischen Syntax" (Halle Dissertation, 1893), 56 pp., bound in New York Public Library volume English Language (RNB p.v.11), p. 53.

77

See Waldron, p. 796.

78

Mendenhall, John Cooper, "Aureate Terms: A Study in the Literary Diction of the Fifteenth Century" (U. of Penn. Thesis, 1919), 82 pp., bound in NYPL volume English Language (RNB p.v.25), p. 11. Borroff, p. 31.

79

John Finlayson, ed., Morte Arthure (Evanston: Northwestern U. Press, 1967), p. 69.

80

Mendenhall, pp. 9, 12, 57 and elsewhere. Even Aristotle recommends words that have a "foreign air."

81

See Skeat's accounts of the Manuscripts and Editions of the Bruce, I, lxvii-xci and II, 319. Edition H, deliberately I think, tries to flatten the contour by eliminating both colloquial and aureate terms.

82

See Mendenhall, p. 39.

83

Amusingly, Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Robert The Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence (N.Y.: C.P. Putnam's Son, 1906), cannot bring himself to say "privy" (p. 153), but he so enjoys Barbour's colloquial image about Douglas chasing the English so closely that they can not even make water that he takes the liberty of presenting it, hoping it will be acceptable under cover of the Scots dialect (p. 222).

84

Longinus, On The Sublime in Classical Literary Criticism: Aristotle, Horace, Longinus, trans., T.S. Dorsch (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 125-127 and elsewhere, notes that rhetorical figures contribute to the "effect of grandeur," and he particularly notes changes in tense and exclamations. Emotion, he says, masks rhetoric.

85

I am very much indebted to the discussion in Mimesis for the doctrine of separation of styles, realism, presentation of various classes, the serious treatment of common, everyday reality, and of Dante's work in relation to these things. Unfortunately, Auerbach felt his English not adequate to treat Middle English works.

86

Auerbach, pp. 61-66; Baldwin, 51-73.

87

On the vigorous realism of 14th century religious prose see R.W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School (Oxford U. Press, 1957 [orig. 1932]).

88

I apply positively to Chaucer Auerbach's negative statement on Boccaccio (p. 200). According to Auerbach, in the Middle Ages figura was the only outlet for stark, creatural realism. Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition: A Study in Style and Meaning (Berkeley: U. of Cal. Press, 1964), discusses the relation of the mixed style in Chaucer to his maturity, his thesis being that in the early works there is an inadequate fusion of colloquial diction and overall meaning.

89

Angelo A. DeGennaro, "Benedetto Croce and Herbert Read," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XXVI (1968), 309.

CHAPTER THREE
TRADITION AND INNOVATION
Chivalric Ideals

To discuss Barbour's moral themes, it is appropriate to focus on the ideal of chivalry, both because it encompasses the secular values of society in the Middle Ages and because Barbour invites such consideration by his subject and treatment.

By the thirteenth century there are three--sometimes mutually exclusive--springs of chivalric behavior: war, religion and courtly love.¹ We may call their combination the courtly code of chivalry, whose values are prowess associated with gallantry--to women, to the weak in general and to the enemy--, religion and loyalty. The code found its fullest expression in literature, particularly in romance, but it was also the ideal that the historical knight professed.

Critics and historians disagree about when the hey-day of chivalry occurred. Léon Gautier, ignoring the courtly aspect, places its prime in the twelfth century, but Charles Oman cautions that "we must be careful, when dealing with the knight of the eleventh and twelfth century to clear away from our minds the chivalrous connotation of the same word in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." E.F. Jacobs notes "...the very late appearance of a chivalrous literature in England," and W.H. Schofield calls Chaucer the founder of English Chivalry. (Then Barbour, the author of Scottish chivairy, precedes the English founder by a number of years.)² Actually, that the concept is viable throughout the later medieval period in Britain through Caxton at least and that it existed side-by-side with a non-chivalric tradition, is evident from the fact that the same handbooks were popular from the thirteenth to the fifteenth

century.³ Hearnshaw is incorrect when he says that "...nothing more striking distinguishes the Middle Ages both from the classical Antiquity which preceded it, and the Modern Commercialism which supplanted it, than the enormous discrepancies that displayed themselves between its theories and its practices." The medieval writer was not naive, for as Ferguson says of Chaucer, he "was quick to attack the perverted form [of chivalry] but content to retain the ideal itself."⁴

The sophisticated writer was well aware of the discrepancies between practice and theory and often looked back to what he considered to be a golden age of chivalry, far in the past. Even the author of the Ancrene Wisse in the early thirteenth century looks back to a dead ideal.⁵ And Malory's work of 1469, which develops the concept of chivalry in its most idealistic form, is full of nostalgia for a time long past. But such backward looks should not obscure the fact that chivalry was at least superficially accepted by society as a standard of behavior. The very fact that the passing of the ideal was regretted shows that it still had ethical force.

Some writers attempted to make the concept of chivalry better fit the existing conditions by choosing characteristics from each of the three branches, since they could not blend all.⁶ Chaucer, for example, divides the virtues between the Knight and the Squire, the Knight embodying the ideals of war and religion and the Squire those of war and courtly love. Malory, on the other hand, makes a major theme of the conflict between the narrow values of courtly love and transcendent

religious values, and he drastically changes courtly love to diminish its impact.

It is appropriate to discuss chivalry in Barbour's Bruce not only because the code embodies the values of society of his time, but also because his work invites such consideration. Clearly, Barbour depends on the audience's expectation that they are to hear or to read a chivalric romance, both because he calls his work a romance (I, 446; but see II, 46-48), and because his purpose is, as he states at the beginning, to "preserve in the memory of the people the valorous feats" of the noble Scots who "Wan richt gret price off chewalry,/ And war woydyt off cowardy" (I, 25-26).⁷

Of course, when Barbour uses the word chivalry, he does not mean the courtly tradition of subservience to a lady, help to the weak, gallant treatment of the enemy, and loyalty to a lord, all intermingled with Christian idealism. Indeed the word did not come into general use until after the Middle Ages.⁸ To Barbour, according to the glossary prepared by Skeat, chivalry means either a body of knights, cavalry: "He gaderit a gret cheuelry,/ And toward Scotland went in hy" (IV, 187-88). Or it means a feat of bravery: "Schir Amer.../ All forvunderit wass,/ How ony man.../ Micht do sa gret a cheuelry/ As did the king...alane..." (VI, 8-12). But he does seem to be approaching a more modern concept of the word when he has Bruce say that if one has the choice "to dey, or to leyff cowartly,/ Thai suld erar dey chewalrusly" (III, 265-66). Barbour says that "Ingram the Wmfrawill perfay/ ...wes bath wyss and awerty,/ And fulfild

of gret chewalry..." (II, 212-14). In these two quotations, the meanings in the glossary--a body of knights or a feat of bravery--do not apply. Barbour seems rather to be idealizing the brave knight who is wise, prudent, and chivalrous and who prefers a glorious death to cowardice.

Although Barbour does not use the word chivalry in the courtly sense, he recognizes a set of standards of behavior for his ideal knights that approximates the courtly code. It seems reasonable, therefore, to use the word chivalry for his concept and to compare it to the courtly code in order to determine how it interacts with the themes that govern the work. We may properly consider his development of his concept of chivalry and the intermeshing of the themes as a part of his rhetoric.

Barbour has of course the same problem as other writers in depicting the ideal, with its conflicting values. To some extent he divides the virtues among the characters as Chaucer does, and he suggests the tension between these characters, but he cannot do this excessively or the depiction of the Scots as a whole will be fragmented. And he has an even greater obstacle than inconsistency in its parts to overcome, for as Coleman Parsons says, "The task of protecting their homeland against an enemy superior in numbers and in resources was to most Scottish knights a realistic and patriotic duty to which chivalry was not an inevitable adjunct...."⁹ Barbour must cope with historical fact--which romance writers could ignore-- for he has promised to "say nocht bot suthfast thing." But his

greatest difficulty in presenting the ideal is that the objects of the standard chivalry--personal fame, defeat of unbelievers, achievement of personal salvation, a lady's love--are not appropriate to the nature of the work, which is about a war of independence. Through the manipulation of an ideal that his audience who had probably read French romances would be familiar with and sympathetic to, he must express his understanding of the Scots struggle and somehow reconcile historical actuality, the abstract ideal as understood by his audience, and the concrete ideal as it operates in his work.

1. Women

The attitude toward women is, of course, one of the primary facets of the courtly code of chivalry. But what part can women play in this story of guerrilla warfare? Love is not one of Barbour's main concerns. About married love, Barbour has two attitudes. On the one hand, he likens the married state to the life of a thrall (I, 267-68); on the other hand, he notes what a comfort women are. When the ladies join Bruce and his men, Barbour says:

luff is off sa mekill mycht,
That it all paynys makis lycht...(II, 520-21).

He implies that knights will go through great travail for the sake of a woman: Love

mony tyme maiss tendir wychtis
Off swilk strenthtis, and swilk mychtis,
That thai may mekill paynys endur,
And forsakis nane auentur
That euyr may fall, with-thi that thai
Thar-throw succur thair liffys may (II, 522-27).

This accords with the courtly notion of chivalry. But these ladies, although they are "fayr and farand" are not the exalted creatures of the courtly tradition.¹⁰ Douglas, one of Barbour's ideal knights, does work diligently to procure food for them, but Barbour cannot seem to think of any other comfort that Douglas might have provided, so he can emphasize Douglas' gallantry only by amplifying on the types of meat that Douglas found and the manner in which he procured it (II, 570-589).

As for extramarital love, Barbour does refer obliquely to Bruce's amorous exploits. Often, a woman warns him of danger; presumably, these women are his mistresses:

And mony tyme, as I herd say,
Throu women that he vald with play,
That vald tell all that thai mycht here...(V, 541-43).

Often too, a woman is the only one who greets him fairly on his early travels (IV, 470ff; V, 133-36; VII, 238-64); some of these, too, may be his mistresses. Barbour, however, has no desire to expand these amorous activities lest Bruce appear to be given to debauchery.¹¹ Here, then, he abbreviates to support his view of what a good knight is. To be "suthfast," he must record that Bruce is helped by women with whom "he vald...play" but it is just as important to de-emphasize this aspect of the king's character so as not to obscure the ideal.

One man has an exploit that is reminiscent of the supernatural trials of the courtly knight. A letter is sent to him by a lady whom "he lufit per drowry" (VIII, 492)--that is, whom he serves through love--saying that if he keeps for a year a perilous castle, "Than mycht he weill ask ane lady/ Hir amouris

and hir drowry..." (VIII, 497-98; see also 456). But the episode is not developed. Sir Thomas Randolph is described as being amorous (X, 291), but again, Barbour does not develop this any further. That he is less reticent about Edward Bruce's paramour (XIII, 484-500) indicates that he intends to make Edward fit the convention. Other examples of Edward as chivalrous hero in the traditional style will appear below, where Edward is the exception, the foil against whom the others are depicted. Barbour grants that women offer some comfort to men at war, as did the women of Thebes (II, 528-47), but this is not courtly love, for the knight does not do his valorous deed for the sake of the lady. Women, then, are not essential to Barbour's idea of chivalry.

Why then does he bother, mainly in his digressions, to accord them status as inspiration and help to the fighting men? He could as easily have omitted all references to courtly love. Perhaps he does not because he wishes to suggest the romantic notion of chivalry to balance more realistic aspects of his concept. However, concentration on the role of women as motivators of valor would not have allowed him to attach any transcendent significance to the Scots' chivalry.

2. Protection of the Weak

Closely related to the courtly knight's attitude toward a particular lady to whom he dedicates all his deeds of chivalry is his attitude toward women, or weak creatures, in general. In fact, most of the courtly knight's exploits have to do with

the protection of the weak. In The Bruce, no such excuse for the knight's activities need be developed because there is already a powerful motivating force: Bruce and his men are fighting for the freedom of all Scots, and this goal transcends, I think, the limited goal of the courtly knight. There are, however, some opportunities for the heroes to protect the weak. Bruce, for example, kindly stops his march for a poor laundress who, being in labor, has been left behind; he says:

"certis, it war pite
That scho in that poynt left suld be
For certis, I trow, thar is no man
That he ne will rew vp-on voman" (XVI, 277-80),

and Barbour's comment is:

This wes a full gret curtasy,
That sic a kyng and swa mychty
Gert his men duell on this maner
Bot for a full pouir laynder (XVI, 289-92).

So he uses this episode to reveal another positive facet of Bruce's character, but in the courtly code it is supposed to be the woman of noble birth that "should enjoy his special care."¹² A pregnant laundress, a camp-follower, one feels, would hardly find a place in any ordinary romance of chivalry.

3. Attitude to the Enemy

The courtly knight's gallantry extends to respect for his enemy, and Barbour's Scots exhibit this trait to a marked degree. The gallantry takes shape in two forms: admiration for the chivalry of the enemy; treatment of the enemy once he is vanquished.

Both the English and the Scots admire the enemy's chivalry. Often, the admiration is expressed by Barbour, who consistently

praises Sir Aymer de Valence (II, 202; VII, 625) and Ingraham the Umphraville: both of these men are "wyss and awerty/ and fulfild of gret chewalry" (II, 213-14). Barbour also praises the warden of Roxburgh, who tries to hold the tower against Douglas and his men (X, 469). And when Barbour describes the English forces at Bannockburn, his tone is admiring (XI, 126-35). Of course, by praising the enemy Barbour makes the Scots' victory all the more significant, and often Barbour praises someone who will eventually become Bruce's man (Philip Mowbray, Ingraham the Umphraville). But more often the praise seems to be a response to honest admiration of a man's fortitude in battle--as when Barbour praises Sir John Breton (XVIII, 464) and refers to John of Lorn, the Bruce's arch-enemy (III, 2; VI, 503; IX, 466) as one of those "gud hertis that ar worthy" (X, 102). But Barbour, unlike Froissart in the chapters that depict the Scots and English at war, does not view all sides with equal admiration and delight. His pride in the Scots heroes far exceeds any admiration for the enemy (X, 703; XI, 429; XIV, 36; XIV, 85) and of a traitor to the Scots he says, he was "A fals lurdane, ane losengeour,/ Osbarn to name..." (IV, 108-9). MacNab, a traitor to "worthy Crystoll off Seytoun," he calls "a discipill off Iudas....In hell condampnyt mot he be!" (IV, 16-26). Treachery, untruth, is the most abhorrent act to Barbour and wrenches him from his customary objectivity. Lorn he can sympathize with, for he acts out of loyalty to Comyn; traitors he can only despise. The heroes too admire the enemy's chivalry (XII, 92) and the Bruce's mourning for slain Scots on the English side indicates

his gallantry.

The English and the Scots on the English side are more unstinting in their praise of the Scots--perhaps because the superior chivalry of the Scots excites greater admiration. And of course, this suits Barbour's purpose of elevating the Scots while not denigrating the English. He prefers to keep his tone objective, allowing his English characters to commend them. For example, one of Lorn's men, Macnaughtan, admires Bruce's "douchti deid." Interestingly enough, he is condemned for this by Lorn, but Macnaughtan answers that it is proper to praise chivalry wherever one finds it--even in the enemy:

"quhethir sa he be freynd or fa,
That wynnys pryss off chewalry,
Men suld spek tharoff lelyly.
And sekyrly, in all my tyme,
Ik hard neuir, in sang na ryme,
Tell off a man that swa smertly
Eschewyt swa gret chewalry" (III, 174-80).

The incidents in which Bruce fells a number of men elicit praise of the king by the enemy for his ability to do "sa gret a chewelry" (VI, 12; VII, 99; VII, 352). Often the person who commends the Bruce is one who is in turn praised by Barbour: Sir Aymer de Valence or Ingraham the Umphraville. In other words, the best knights on either side are willing to recognize their enemy's chivalry.

The second touchstone of gallantry is treatment of the vanquished. Clearly, the English are mercilessly cruel in their treatment of prisoners. After Methven, King Edward asks that they "draw and hing/ All the prisoneris..." (II, 455-56). Sir Aymer de Valence, significantly, does not do this; instead

he gives the prisoners an opportunity to serve Edward and he gives them land (II, 457-64). The English, when they are in control of Scotland, mercilessly persecute all those who seem to be friendly to Bruce (IV, 1-12). The manner of disposing of the enemy is significant, too. Barbour implies that it is great villainy to draw, behead, and hang a noble person. King Edward does this to Setoun: he

gert draw hym, & hede, & hing,
For-owtyn pete, or mercy.
It wes gret sorow sekyrly,
That so worthy persoune as he
Suld on sic maner hangyt be...(IV, 30-34).

It also seems shameful that the English cut off what they think is Edward Bruce's head to send to the English king (XVIII, 168). Edward II's pride is so swelled by the trophy that he decides to fight in Scotland again (XVIII, 229). Most of the English villainy is perpetrated by Edward I of England, who, even when he is dying shows no mercy to his prisoners. When asked what should be done with them, he says, grinning, "hangis & drawis!" (IV, 322). But Barbour could have stressed Edward's cruelty even more than he does.¹³ Instead he chooses to minimize the cruelty of the age, perhaps because a chivalrous encounter depends on at least a modicum of right behavior on both sides. It is impossible for one to practice chivalry if his enemy refuses to adhere to the code altogether.¹⁴

The Scots, in sharp contrast to the English, treat their prisoners for the most part gallantly, a fact that is verified by contemporary records.¹⁵ An exception is Douglas who when he wins his own castle held by Clifford lops off the heads of

all prisoners (V, 403), and Barbour makes no comment. Miss MacKenzie calls Douglas' act a psychological move, but it is likely that in unchivalrous encounters, some aspects of the code were ignored.¹⁶ Usually, however, prisoners are treated well. Sometimes they become Bruce's men (III, 743; X, 262), but even when they do not, they are seldom treated cruelly (XIII, 516-37; XVI, 228-38). One of the most notable incidents of gallantry occurs when Bruce confronts two Frenchmen, prisoners who had fought with the English. Bruce recognizes that they fought not with "wreth na euill will" but to win "gret worschip and bounte" (XVIII, 527-34), and he makes them welcome as friends, treating them "curtasly." Barbour says that they stayed with Bruce a long time and, when they wanted to return to France, were sent without ransom and with great gifts. But to Sir John Breton, a prisoner who disdained the Bruce, the king says, "war it nocht that he war/ Sic a catiff, he sulde by sair/ His wourdis that war sa angry" (XVII, 510-22); that is, if Breton were not so valuable for ransom, he would probably have been killed. As it is, Breton meekly asks mercy, is kept under close guard and ransomed for £20,000. Barbour's comment is: "His frendis thusgat curtasly/ He couth ressaue, and hamely,/ And his fais stoutly to-stonay" (XVIII, 545-47). Kilgour points out that the treatment of prisoners was influenced by the fact that they were bought and sold. He speaks of the fifteenth century, but even before that ransom had played a role in the treatment of prisoners.¹⁷ Barbour therefore presents both a chivalric and a realistic-commercial view in the Bruce's behavior to the Frenchmen and to Breton.

There is one incident that embarrasses Barbour. When Soulis' traitorous plot against the Bruce is uncovered, those that are clearly implicated are drawn, hanged, and beheaded. Barbour attempts to draw blame away from Bruce for this ignoble judgment by saying, "As men had demyt thame till do" (XIX, 58) as if Bruce had nothing to do with the decision. But when "gud" Sir David the Brechyne who did not participate in the crime but merely knew of it and did not give the traitors away is judged to be hanged and drawn, Barbour is even more dismayed.¹⁸ He is especially mortified at the people, "Lordis," who throng to see the sentence carried out (XIX, 59-72). Sir Ingraham the Umphraville, now on the Scots side, who seems so often to be Barbour's spokesman, protests:

"Lordis," he said, "quhar-to press ye
To se at myscheiff sic a knycht,
That wes so vorthy and so wicht,
That I haf seyn ma press to se
Him for his richt souerane bounte
Than now dois for till se him heir?" (XIX, 76-81)

Once the judgment is carried out he buries Sir David honorably, and then he asks that he be allowed to dispose of his land, for

"Myne hert giffis me no mor to be
With yow duelland in this cuntre.
....
For quhar sa richt worthy a knycht,
And sa cheuelruss and sa wicht,
And sa renownit of vorschip syne,
As gud schir Daid the Brechyne,
And sa fulfillit of all manheid,
Wes put to sa felloune a ded,
My hert forsuth may nocht gif me
Till duell, for na thing that may be" (XIX, 97-108).

Barbour can only offset the effect of this affair by emphasizing Bruce's courtesy in allowing Sir Ingraham to leave freely, but for the most part, Barbour is truthfully able to

represent the Scots as chivalrous to enemies, and his depiction accords with the courtly code.

4. Christian Idealism

Treatment of the enemy is motivated partly by self-interest--for the enemy may be converted to friend if he is given the opportunity, or he may be a source of ransom--partly by gallantry, and if we take into account Barbour's comments, partly by Christian idealism. He wonders, for example, at King Edward I who, so close to death, is so cruel to his prisoners. How can he ask for mercy of God when he himself is without mercy? (IV, 323-31). Christian idealism is thus, as it is in the courtly ideal, in the background of Barbour's chivalry.

Before battle, Bruce and his army hear mass (XI, 376; XII, 213), and before Bannockburn they all kneel in the field to pray (XII, 477). Dates are given according to the Church calendar, and once Barbour tells us that the enemy fail because they fought on a feast day (XV, 248-49) during a time of truce.¹⁹ He believes that God controls all events (I, 586; XI, 26-30), and he calls the escape from harm of the women and children at Berwick a miracle (XVII, 825). In spite of the Bruce's grave sin in killing Comyn at the church altar, Barbour believes that God helps the Scots (VII, 294; V, 649; VII, 485, and so on). Humility, the recognition that all the good one does comes from God, is a Christian virtue that the Bruce often exhibits. Frequently, Barbour gives a feeling of immediacy to

his history by asking God to help his heroes, using the present tense--as if the event were about to occur:

Now, bot god help the nobill king,
He is neir hand till his ending! (V, 583-84)

The Scots also seek God's help (IV, 627; XII, 324).

Many members of the religious community are for the king and some even engage in battle for him. Bishop William of Lambyrtoun helps Douglas (I, 412). When Comyn is murdered in the church and Douglas declares for Bruce, the bishop supports Douglas, offers him his horse, Ferrand, blesses Douglas, and gives him money (II, 99-133). Much later, when Bruce is helping his brother Edward in Ireland, William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, successfully opposes the English who think that they can now attack Scotland with impunity (XVI, 574-674). Douglas uses a friar who wears armor beneath his habit to spy for him; the friar leads the charge against the English at Melrose (XVIII, 300-17). There is no satire at the expense of the clergy.

In spite of the fact that members of the religious community and God seem to be on his side, Bruce himself, at his death, typically feels the weight of all his killing on his soul and is glad to have an opportunity to make good for his fighting life:

"And I thank god that hass me sent
Spass in this liff me till repent.
For throu me and my warraying
Of blud thar hass beyne gret spilling,
Quhar mony sakless man wes slayne;
Tharfor this seknes and this payne
I tak in thank for my trepass" (XX, 171-77).

He declares that had he lived he would have gone on a Crusade (XX, 178-81). But since "the body may on na viss/ Fulfill that the hert can deuisse" (XX, 183-84), he asks that his heart be sent where he would have fought.²⁰ This is done. Douglas, Bruce's heart in his keeping, is killed fighting the Saracens (XX, 482-87).

But for all the evidence of Barbour's religious faith, religion is not the moving force of the Scots' struggle, for Religious-Chivalry will not work very well when both sides are the same religion. To grasp the nature of the religious impulse in Barbour, it is essential not only to refer to the remarks he makes that exhibit religious feelings, but also to take note of those he omits and also to compare his practice to others' of his time.

There is very little of religious ritual in The Bruce; for example, the knighting ceremony could be an elaborate religious ritual,²¹ but Barbour does not portray it. The historical Bruce's religious fervor is much more marked than Barbour makes out.²² There is no mention of the king's excommunication (1306) or its remission (1328). Barbour is silent about the support of the clerics in 1310.²³ The chivalrous acts are not done for the sake of God. Even Douglas' expedition against the Saracens is motivated not by religious fervor, but by his king's request. There is an extremely laconic reference to holiness:

Men said syne eftir, this Thomas,
That on this viss maid martir was,
Wes sanctit and miraclis did,

....
But quhethir he haly wes or nane,
At Pomfret thusgat wes he slane (XVII, 873-78).

And in fact all the religious sentiments are brief and many are conventional.

There are few biblical allusions. An exception is the comparison of the Scots to Maccabees, but the point of that comparison is that, with God's help, the Maccabees strove for freedom against a much stronger oppressor.²⁴ No saints are mentioned, except St. Margaret in Book X, and there the allusion is not germane to the narrative but is used merely to point out that even valid prophecies can be misleading. He names no relics, except tangentially in the king's narrative of Ferumbas.

The king never admits that his murder of Comyn was wrong (IX, 24-25). At his death, the Bruce does not even recall his slaying of Comyn, which Barbour had told us was sacrilegious. The Bruce's remarks when he is dying are in fact conventional and as Brie points out, there is no inner connection between these thoughts and what has gone before. Except at the end in a conventional request for God's help, not once in Bruce's climactic long speech to his troops is God mentioned (XII, 214-327).²⁵

Barbour does not treat his clerics as religious men but as fighting men.²⁶ The bishop who helps Douglas is not at all deterred by Robert Bruce's sacrilegious act. There are very few references to anything specifically Christian (only III, 459; XV, 248; XX, 248, 366, 618).

Although Barbour speaks of the destiny that God sends (I, 312; IX, 68; XI, 405), at other times he seems to refer to Fate or Luck (II, 434; IV, 396; V, 428; VI, 17, 377; XV, 376;

XIX, 611; XX, 58), and when the battle turns against the Scots at Kildrummy Castle, he says, "Bot werd, that to the end ay driffis/ The varldis thingis...thame travalit..." (IV, 148-49).

Wittig explains away some of the glaring omissions by referring to Barbour's desire to create a unified work, and he stresses that the theme, "rycht," has an underlying religious basis, for which he cites in support the words that Robert Bruce, the Competitor speaks to Edward I:

'Schyr,' said he, 'sa god me save,
The kynryk yharn I nocht to have,
Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me:
And gyff god will that it sa be,
I sall als frely in all thing
Hald it, as it afferis to king' (I, 157-62).²⁷

But much more often, "rycht" is mentioned in association with men's reason (I, 46, 78, 209, 214, 509). The English acts are wrong because there is no reason in them (I, 173, 217, 280, 487-8).

Brie remarks on the expansive and frequent references in other works of the period (Scots writers Fordun and Wyntoun, and English Langtoft) and notes that in comparison to them, Barbour is strangely reticent about religious matters.²⁸ Yet Brie overstates the case when he says that all of Barbour's religious utterances are merely conventional. Wittig is more near the mark in asserting that the underlying basis of Barbour's moral conviction is religious, but it is clear that Barbour does not highlight the religious element. The fact is that a religious basis for his concept of chivalry is not appropriate to the nature of the struggle, which will be discussed in the following sections on Loyalty, Freedom and History.

5. Loyalty: The Leader-Man Relationship

Loyalty, equivalent to Chaucer's 'trouthe,' is the quality that Barbour idealizes above all others:

Leavte to luff is gretumly;
 Throuch leavte liffis men rychtwisly:
 With a wertyu of leavte
 A man may yeit sufficyand be:
 And but leawte may nane haiff price.
 Quethir he be wucht or he be wyss;
 For quhar It failyeys, na wertyu
 May be off price, na off valu,
 To mak a man sa gud, that he
 May symply gud man callyt be (I, 365-74).

Loyalty is closely associated with right (I, 366),²⁹ which is both human justice and what may be called 'the universal fitness of things.' Both Barbour (XV, 122-23) and the Bruce (V, 654-56; VII, 484-87) believe that treachery must fail; this idea, however, is not connected to any God-given controlling force, and sometimes treachery does succeed (IV, 19; IV, 109). Barbour's Bruce is about a war of independence, a war to establish Scotland's right to self-rule, and loyalty is most necessary to wage such a war, for without it, right could not prevail.

Yet loyalty is a complex ideal, for what is loyalty to one is treason to another. Barbour calls Comyn's betrayal of Bruce "tresoun" (I, 515), but King Edward of England calls it "leawte" (I, 576). Moreover, loyalty may shift. The most astounding incident occurs when James Douglas, in pursuit of Edward II after Bannockburn, meets one Sir Lawrence Abernethy,

Com for till help the Yngliss men,
 For he wes Yngliss man yeit then.
 Bot quhen that he herd how it wes,
 He left the Yngliss mennys pess,
 And till the lord Douglas richt thar
 For to be leill and trew he swar;
 And than thai bath followit the chass (XIII, 555-61).

Randolph, captured, is forced to be loyal to Aymer de Valence, and he is completely so, fighting with the English against the Bruce (II, 457-64). But once he is recaptured, he becomes loyal to Bruce again (X, 262). Yet in spite of these shifts, Barbour praises Randolph's loyalty (X, 269-99), which indicates that although loyalty is to him the highest virtue, he has little modern idea of what it means.³⁰ Certainly it does not mean unswerving allegiance to one idea, to one ruler. Thus, rather than focus on the courtly ideal of loyalty, it is more meaningful to examine the whole complex relationship between leader and man. In Barbour's Bruce we may distinguish three kinds of relationship: leader and officer; leader and men; leader and commons. But before we can examine these relationships it will be necessary to define Bruce's method of waging war, for the type of war determines the kind of relationship.

Bruce early in the war for independence made a momentous decision about the way he would wage war. The courtly way, of course, would be to face the enemy from across an open field and meet him head-on (IX, 745; XIX, 695-97). Bruce attempts this method in his first encounter with the English when he challenges Sir Aymer de Valence to do battle.³¹ Sir Inghram the Umphraville, on the English side, suggests an alternate plan to Sir Aymer. Do not face the Scots now when they are so well arrayed, he says; rather, say we will fight tomorrow and when they are unarmed we can beat them (II, 256-97). This is done and Bruce is defeated. Bruce's comment, when he realizes that he has been tricked is:

"lordingis, now may ye se
That yone folk all, throw sutelte,
Schapis thaim to do with slycht
That at thai drede to do with mycht" (II, 322-25).

Bruce learns something very important from this encounter: one can more than compensate for a lack of might³² by a judicious use of "sutelte." He also learns to ignore the chivalrous code which demanded that defeat be acknowledged by giving in or giving up.³³ Instead the Scots retreat to fight again (II, 438); III, 43; XIX, 451). Compare Sir Aymer, defeated at Loudoun Hill, who is "So schamfull that he vencust wes/ That till Ynglande in hy he gais/ Richt till the king, and schamfully/ He gaf vp thar his vardanry..." (VIII, 359-65).

Associated with the idea that retreat is despicable is the belief that God always makes the just side win.³⁴ In contrast, Barbour's belief is that the Scots must not depend on the "richtwisnes" of their cause but on their own ingenuity and resourcefulness.

After one more forced encounter in the courtly manner (III, 11-60), Bruce decides on "sutelte": ambush, sneak attack, night-time raid, in other words, guerrilla warfare. There is some embarrassment about this decision. For example, Bruce makes an excuse about slaying sleeping foes:

"And thouch we slepand slew thaim all,
Repreif vs tharof na man sall.
For veriour na fors suld ma,
Quhethir he mycht ourcum his fa
Throu strynth, or throu sutelte;
Bot at gud faith ay haldin be" (V, 83-88).

Randolph, when recaptured by Bruce, criticizes Bruce for his uncourtly way of fighting:

"For sen that yhe warrait the king
 Of yngland In-to playn fichting,
 Yhe suld press till derenye your richt,
 And nocht with woidre na with slicht" (IX, 744-47).

But it is obvious that Bruce could only have succeeded against the superior English forces by these means. Bruce is furious when Randolph accuses him of using stratagems but Randolph himself learns to use them when he besieges Edinburgh. The king continues to employ "slicht" even after Bannockburn. At the siege of Berwick by the English, he creates a diversion by having Douglas and Murray ravage the northern shires of England (XVII, 509) and the last great encounter with the English at Weardale, the turning point at the end of the war, is won wholly through "slicht" (see Douglas' fable, XIX, 648-98).³⁵ Barbour makes Bruce's choice for unchivalrous warfare all the more excusable by having Ingraham the Umphraville, whom Barbour always praises, suggest the first subtlety. It is obvious however because of the pains Barbour takes to make the way they wage war seem pardonable that he is weighing it with and matching it against an ideal of chivalry that they are not able to realize. In other words, Barbour is fully conscious of the deviation from a chivalric norm.³⁶ Against the back-drop of guerrilla warfare, we can now examine the leader-man relationship.

(a) Leader and Officer

With his officers, Douglas, Randolph, and Edward Bruce, Bruce enjoyed a most happy relationship that sheds considerable light on Barbour's idea of chivalry.

The guerrilla warfare demanded independent action on the part of the officers. In effect, this necessity makes Barbour distribute the glory among several Scots instead of focusing on Bruce alone. The Romance method is usually to magnify one hero at the expense of others.³⁷ Douglas is especially well suited for independent action. He is never afraid: "Thair wes nane auentur that mocht/ Stunay hys hart..." (I, 298-99). He does everything with wisdom and he is hard-working. His capability for individual action enables him to play the leading role near the end of the war at Weardale, where he breaks the back of English ambitions.³⁸

Barbour stresses Douglas' loyalty, who when he hears of Comyn's death, approaches Bruce, honors him, humbles himself "full curtasly," and does homage to Bruce as his rightful king. Bruce receives him very nobly and gives him men and arms. Barbour then summarizes for us the essence of the leader-man relationship: Douglas

serwyt ay lelely;
And the tothir full wilfully,
That was bath worth, wycht, & wyss,
Rewardyt him weile his seruice (II, 171-74).

It is a mutual relationship of loyalty and reward. Perhaps this is the reason that Barbour does not criticize shifts in loyalty. Douglas, for example, leaves the English side because King Edward has given the Douglas lands to Clifford. Edward, by withholding the due reward for service, loses Douglas' loyalty. There should be no criticism, then, for changing loyalty. But one must officially change--not pretend to be loyal to one and yet treasonous (IV, 19-28).

With Douglas homage to Bruce comes before reward, but with Randolph reward elicits homage. After having fought on the English side, he is captured by Bruce, put into prison, but ultimately, because he is a good man, made Earl of Murray (X, 265) and given other honors. He becomes completely Bruce's man through these rewards. He, like Douglas, is courageous, wise, strong, and "laute he luffit atour all thing..." (X, 285). He, too, is capable of independent action and the Bruce rewards him for it (X, 780).

Edward shares many of the qualities of Douglas and Randolph, but he has one serious failing that enables Barbour to present him as a foil to his brother Robert Bruce.

he wes outrageouss hardy,
And of so hye vndirtaking,
That he neuir had none abasing
Of multitude of men...(IX, 483-86).

But Edward does not combine his hardihood with wisdom. Sometimes his bravery pays, as when he follows the English host in a fog (IX, 572-631), but ultimately it leads to disaster. When Edward leads his men to death, Barbour says:

On this wiss war thai nobill men
Throu wilfulness all losit then;
And that wes syn and gret pite.
For had thair outrageouss bounte
Beyne led with wit and with mesure,

they would have won (XVIII, 175-82). Edward's foolhardiness takes shape in his refusal to give in to insurmountable odds and to accept advice (XVIII, 31-70). Furthermore, he takes too much upon himself. For example, he commits Bruce to standing combat on a prearranged day when Bruce had no stomach for that

kind of engagement (Bannockburn), and he refuses at his final battle to wait for the reinforcements that are coming. Edward is a hero in the old tradition. As with Achilles and Roland his willingness to die is more remarkable than his prowess or wisdom (I paraphrase C.M. Bowra). Bruce on the other hand is more like an Icelandic hero for whom, as Garmonsway says, caution and foresight were the cardinal virtues.³⁹

In the contrast between Edward and the other Scots, Barbour delineates the conflict between glory and the mutual goal. He criticizes Edward for putting fame first, but when he portrays the same chivalric attitude in de Argentine, he praises him. De Argentine refuses to leave Bannockburn although Edward II, perhaps led away against his will by Sir Aymer, was fleeing. De Argentine says,

"schir, sen that it is swa
That ye thusgat your gat will ga,
Haffis gud day! for agane will I;
Yheit fled I neuir sekirly,
And I cheiss heir to byde and de
Than till lif heir and schamfully fle" (XIII, 303-8).

He enters into the thick of the Scots and is killed almost immediately. Barbour comments, "Of his ded wes rycht gret pite;/ He wes the third best knyght, perfay,/ That men wist liffand in his day..." (XIII, 320-22). So it seems that Barbour only objects to chivalric disdain of death when it can endanger the goal.⁴⁰

Bruce stands out because he always combines bravery with wisdom (VI, 321-72), which is what a leader owes his men.⁴¹ He is willing to retreat when necessary, and he is always willing to accept the counsel of his officers. Indeed, he often asks

them for advice (III, 332; V, 63). He gives his officers the opportunity to express their individuality, but when he thinks they are wrong he criticizes them. For example, Bruce says to Edward about the agreement with Philip Mowbray:

"That wes vnwisly done, perfay,
I herd neuir quhar so lang varnyng
Wes gevin to so mychty ane kyng
As is the kyng of England" (XI, 38-41).

But once they are committed, Bruce fully supports his brother: He says,

"brothir, sen swa is gane
At this thing thus is vndirtane,
Schap we vs tharfor manfully,
....
Swa that gif our fayis assay
To reskew Strewillyng throu battale,
That we of purposse ger thame faili" (XI, 59-68).

Thus at a certain point honor takes precedence over practicality, although it may be said even here that Bruce had some strong expectation of winning. He could choose the terrain, had ample time to plan, and had a much more seasoned force than he had had in the early disastrous encounters.

Although individual action is necessary at times, many occasions require group discipline. Perhaps this is the major difference between Barbour's depiction and those of chivalric romances in which single combat is the rule. Early on, the Bruce points out to Lennox, jokingly but with a serious undertone, that they should stay close together (III, 645-54). Another time, when Sir Colin Campbell lunges forward impetuously the king is so angry that Sir Colin did not await orders that he strikes him and angrily bids his men to pluck Sir Colin from his horse. The other lords dissuade him from so punishing

Sir Colin, but the Bruce points out the danger of such rash individual actions (XVI, 119-136). In the same incident, Edward Bruce, the leader in this Irish expedition, had ridden on with his party, taking no heed of the rear guard, and thus he became separated from the king, who had been forced to stop by the threat of an ambush (XVI, 95-98). Edward, when he hears of the spectacular success his brother had had with the ambush, is very angry, but the Bruce says to him that he should blame his own folly, for a leader should always be aware of all his forces (XVI, 251-54).

Edward II at Bannockburn does the same thing as Edward Bruce, above, except that he, in the rear, stops without informing the vanguard, who still advance. The result is de Bohun's unchivalric charge⁴² upon the unprepared Robert Bruce, the latter's dramatic felling of de Bohun with his axe, and the total rout of the vanguard. Significantly, Bruce's men criticize him for confronting de Bohun:

The lordis of his cumpany
Blamyt him, as thai durst, gretly,
That he hym put in auenture

For thai said, "weill it mycht haf beyne
Causs of thair tynsale euirilkane" (XII, 89-95).

At Bannockburn, the king insists that no one break ranks and Barbour's depiction, although he describes individual actions also, gives the impression of all fighting together rather than in the manner of chivalry in single combat (see also V, 72-74). At Berwick, too, everyone helps, even women and children, in a symphony of cooperation.

Randolph criticizes Douglas for descending on the sleeping English without him, but Douglas points out that for that particular enterprise he had had enough men to accomplish his purpose and there had been no need to endanger them all (XIX, 622-30).⁴³ Thus Barbour demonstrates that sometimes individuals, sometimes small groups, and sometimes the whole community must act to achieve specific goals.

The officers, then, live up to their part of the relationship if they are loyal, fight bravely and act independently when necessary but without foolhardiness; the leader must, on the other hand, reward his officers, rely upon them sometimes for advice, point out their errors, but be willing to support them once their error is irrevocably made.

The relationship between the leader and his officers does not end with battle; there is a personal bond as well. All the heroes are good companions. Douglas is generous, loving, and kind; Bruce jokes and is happy. He is

A lord so swet and debonar,
So curtass and of sa fair effer,
So blith als and so veill bowrdand...(VIII, 381-83)

that he is a pleasure to be with. When Bruce and Douglas meet after a long absence they are truly joyful, and Douglas "hym salusit full curtasly" (IV, 509). Bruce has little opportunity for peaceful activities, but when he does have time, he engages in the usual play of a nobleman: "hunting, and gammyne, and gle" (XV, 314; XVII, 908). These pictures fit the courtly tradition; thus, the courtly-chivalric and the realistic are mixed in Barbour's depiction of the leader-officer relationship.

(b) Leader and Men

The relationship between leader and men is not so well outlined in the courtly tradition because the knight on his quest usually was attended only by a squire--someone of about his rank, but younger. Again, Bruce's relationship with his men is determined by the guerrilla warfare. It is clear that through his actions Bruce molded a disciplined force of men, in spite of the fact that they were not of the upper class (XIX, 165-166; 171-172). And again, there seems to be a mutual expectation of loyalty and reward.⁴⁴ The men are rewarded by the spoils that they win, and perhaps even more importantly, by victory. On the other hand, Bruce expects their unswerving loyalty and obedience, which he earns through his attitude toward them, through his deeds, and of course, through his success.

Bruce exhorts his men to courage before battle and buoys them up in time of despair. The comforting is mutual, for his foster brother gives him the courage to go on; Sir Crystall of Seton rescues the king when Sir Philip Mowbray seizes his horse's reins at Methven (II, 418-23); and Edward Bruce encourages him to grasp the opportunity at Carrick when the king is perplexed (V, 66-70). Heartening by an inferior, rescue of the hero by a secondary knight and encouragement to overcome hesitation, are kinds of help that would be impossible in the courtly tradition. The Bruce's personality, in fact, has too many facets to fit easily into the rather flat chivalric mold. At the perimeter of greatness, he seizes hold of the center by

an intemperate act of murder. From then on, events shape him and he in turn shapes those around him.

Bruce shows his regard for his men not only in words but in deeds. When they must retreat, he personally oversees the maneuver to make sure that all are safe (III, 45-60). His sincere concern for his men is evident: "The Bryss...mekill murnyn maiss/ For his men that war slayne and tane" (II, 469-70), and when his foster brother is killed by a traitor, Bruce mourns him (VII, 227). The other officers too show regard for their men (V, 435; XIV, 230; XV, 236).

Often Bruce inspires his men to bravery by his own example. At the Castle Perth, for instance, he is the first to wade into water up to his neck; his courage emboldens the others to follow him (IX, 385ff). Barbour says that always Bruce in battle was "in the thykkest press" (XVI, 194). This participation is not courtly, certainly, but it seems to be one of the chief attributes that excites Barbour's admiration.⁴⁵ All work together, knight and knave (III, 585), and this unity of purpose gives Bruce's men such a feeling of power that often their bravery makes their enemy flee before them in terror (IX, 183; 254ff; XII, 357-66). On the other hand, the English seldom exhibit such unity of purpose (III, 611-32; VII, 620; XVII, 852-72).⁴⁶

The leader is all-important, for without a leader the men are lost (IX, 63ff). All authorities are agreed on this point,⁴⁷ but for the Scots, the leader was especially important, for in the absence of the organization to gather an army, Bruce had to depend on his personal magnetism to draw men to him.⁴⁸

Douglas, realizing the importance of the leader, often wins in his encounters because he always attempts to kill the enemy chieftain (XV, 391). With a courageous leader, the men are inspired to bravery. At the battle of Bannockburn, Scots camp followers are so impressed by the fighting Scots that they participate without being asked, frightening the English at this new and unexpected show of strength (XIII, 229-64).⁴⁹ Only seldom, and that at the beginning, do Bruce's men fail him. At his first battle when the tide turned against them, "thar small folk begouth to failye,/ And fled all skalyt her and thar" (II, 393-94). "Bot the gude," says Barbour, "at enchaufyt war/ Off ire, abade and held the stour/ To conquyr thaim endles honour" (II, 395-97). As is to be expected, just as bravery frightens the enemy, so cowardice encourages them (II, 398-404). But once Bruce can promise victory, his men stay with him as a disciplined force.

Not only victory, but spoils are the men's reward (VI, 444-50). Furthermore, at Bannockburn he promises that the heirs of any who die will not have to pay death duties, but will receive their rightful inheritance with no delay (XII, 319-22). In return, he demands their obedience. They are not to spoil the field before total victory.⁵⁰ But the most important mutual reward is freedom. You are here with me, says Bruce, "for ye yarnit till haf fredome."

(c) Leader and Commons

The last reward, freedom, is of course shared not only

by the nobility and fighting men, but also by the common people. Ordinarily not even mentioned in the courtly tradition, the commons play a small but significant role in Barbour's Bruce. In the courtly tradition, the attitude toward the lower classes often is aloof disdain.⁵¹ Douglas shows this characteristic when he strikes a groom who thinks that Douglas is stealing the bishop's horse (II, 134-39). But this is justified by the circumstance: he must pretend to take the horse by force so as not to implicate the bishop. Commons, for their part, exhibit their expected cowardice. After Bruce's initial defeat, the Scots must live as outlaws because the commons desert Bruce "To pass to the Inglis pes agayn" (II, 497-99). Barbour makes a comment about this desertion:

Sa fayris it ay commounly;
 In commownys may nane affy,
 Bot he that may thar warand be.
 Sa fur thair then with him; for he
 Thaim fra thar fais mycht nocht warand,
 Thair turnyt to the tothir hand.
 Bot threldome, that men gert thaim fele,
 Gert thaim ay yarne that he fur wele (II, 500-07).

He does not, in other words, blame them for their desertion. He is realistic.⁵² Again, it is a mutual responsibility:⁵³ the leader must protect, and then the commons would be loyal; since Bruce cannot protect them, they desert him. Even after he has some success, the people do not show him open favor (V, 127), but secretly they wish him well. But while the commons as a whole cannot be loyal, some individuals do risk their lives to help, and Bruce and his officers receive their aid gladly. The kind of help they receive is necessitated by

the kind of warfare they wage. Because they enter the English held castles by "slicht" rather than "mycht," they are often in need of the advice of local townspeople. Douglas is helped by an old servant of his father when he attacks his own castle (V, 279). The commoners who help capture Linlithgow, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh have already been mentioned. There are also Gib Harper (XV, 181; XVIII, 95, 165), Sym of Spalding, a bur-gess (XVII, 23), the common people at Berwick, the Irish commoners during the Irish campaign (XIV, 376), and of course the camp-followers at Bannockburn. On the English side as well, when the Scots ravage Yorkshire, commoners participate in battle (XVIII, 540-42), but this is different from the help that the Scots commoners offer the Scots nobles. The Englishmen are forced to fight because of the indifference of Edward II to their sufferings,⁵⁴ but the Scots commoners fight with and for their lords.

Froissart's portrayal of one of the incidents in the Scottish Wars offers a significant contrast to Barbour. It is possible that Froissart and Barbour knew each other and it is probable that Froissart had the same sources as Barbour, for Froissart spent fifteen years in Scotland during Barbour's life-time.⁵⁵ Froissart may even have adapted his version from Barbour's work, although the incident Froissart relates occurred after the War of Independence. In Book X, Barbour tells that William Bunnock executes a Trojan horse trick with a hay-wagon to get into Linlithgow. In Book VIII, he tells about Douglas' feat at Douglasdale. Douglas sends about fourteen men with horses

loaded with sacks of grain as a lure to draw out a garrison of English. When the English come to requisition the grain, the Scots throw down the sacks and the gowns that had disguised them, jump on the horses and attack the garrison-men. Douglas comes out of ambush and the English flee, but none escape. Douglas then enters the castle in spite of resistance, sends all inside home to Clifford, and destroys the castle (VIII, 437-520). Froissart (I, 77) tells that Sir William Douglas captured Edinburgh by purchasing grain, dressing up ten or twelve men like poor tradesmen and having them lead "hobelars" loaded with the provisions to the castle, the rest of the force waiting in ambush. The men dressed as tradesmen gain entrance to sell their goods, but as soon as the gate is opened, they, like Bunnock, throw down their goods so that the gate cannot be closed and the castle is taken.

The significance of the possible conflation of the two events from Barbour in Froissart's account is that Froissart assiduously avoids mentioning commoners in any kind of daring exploit, and he is considered to be a good guide to chivalry.⁵⁶ Unlike most courtly knights who would disdain the assistance of the commoners, the Scots are happy to receive this aid. This is true because the war for independence is no tournament exercise, but a struggle for the freedom that is desired by all, high and low.

Barbour's depiction of the commoners' role here puts him firmly in a realistic tradition. "The chivalrous spirit is above all things a class spirit," says E.A. Freeman.⁵⁷ Yet

Barbour obliterates class lines and allows a lowly "Sym of the Ledowss" (X, 406), for example, to be the first to climb the ladder. Significantly he is named, contrary to romance practice with commoners. And again Barbour blurs class distinctions by referring to the debased version of courtly love of "and William Francass," the commoner who helped Randolph, without a hint of irony. Instead, this information provides another touch of realism, to explain how it happens that William knows a way into Edinburgh. Nor does Barbour hesitate to use for William the very same formula that he uses for his nobles. He was "Wicht, viss and curtass."

Barbour's treatment of commons is in the Scots democratic tradition. Sir Gilbert Haye, who translated Lull's (?) Book of the Order of Chivalry in 1456, is according to A.F. Byles more democratic than Caxton. According to Haye "the people in thair richtis" are the proper objects of a knight's care, third only to Christ and his natural lord.⁵⁸ Haye's democratic sensibility is based on the feudal and Christian idea of a hierarchy of responsibilities (p. 21), which promotes not equality, but a mutual regard for the common profit. The Christian idea is, however, capable of generating a more modern democratic tradition. For example in Piers Plowman, Piers cautions the knight not to abuse his serfs, for

Though he be thyn vnderlynge here . wel may happe in heuene,
 That he worth worthier sette . and with more blisse,
 Than thow, bot thou do bette . and lyue as thow shulde;
Amice, ascende superius.
 For in charnel atte chirche . cherles ben yuel to knowe,
 Or a kniȝt fram a knaue there . knowe this in thin herte
 (B, VI, 47-51).

Such Christian beliefs emphasize the essential equality of individuals under God and can produce, as Trevelyan points out, a desire for personal liberty; for why should one's temporal superior oppress him when they are of equal stature finally?⁵⁹

The Scots democracy that Barbour portrays is not like the modern concept of personal liberty with equal opportunity for all, nor is it like the medieval idea of equality under Christ. It comes closer to Haye's concept of the common profit, but Barbour omits any religious references that could make the human hierarchal situation a figure of the divine chain of being, nor is his idea essentially feudal. As Brie says, "Es sind nicht so sehr die Bande einer Feudalherrschaft...die bei Barbour Bruce mit den schottischen Grossen und dem gemeinen Manne verbinden, sondern das gemeinsame, ethisch zu bewertende Band des Kampfes für Freiheit und Recht."⁶⁰ Barbour's concept of democracy is that it depends on a mutual relationship between classes of responsibilities and loyalties that focuses on the goal of freedom for their nation. His democracy is inseparable, as Haye's and Langland's is not, from freedom and nationalism.⁶¹

Freedom and Nationalism

Barbour does not mention Gael, Pict, Highlander or Lowlander; his heroes are all Scots with a consciousness of themselves as a nation striving to secure the state.⁶² He stresses at the beginning of the work that all are thralls, "Bath pur, and thai off hey parage" (I, 276). The heroes deliver the "sympill folk and worthy.../ Fra Folk that, throw

iniquite/ Held thaim and thairis in thrillage:/ ...And delyuryt thar land all fre..." (I, 463-75). All lives are touched by such a war and this total involvement is the catalyst that triggers the Scots' nationhood.⁶³ Thralldom makes the people yearn for Robert Bruce's welfare, although they cannot openly help him (II, 506-7). Even before he appears the people have the will to be free, but they need a leader to crystallize and organize their yearning.⁶⁴ Barbour, in presenting Comyn's talk with the Bruce has Comyn say:

"...lat me ta the state on me,
And bring this land out off thryllage,
For thar is nothir man na page,
In all this land that thay ne sall be
Fayn to mak thaim-selwyn fre" (I, 498-502).

It is the tragedy of the struggle that after Comyn's death, his allies "yarnis mair than ony thing"--even freedom--for vengeance on the king (IX, 20-23).

Although the Bruce does not use the word freedom as a rallying cry until Bannockburn and although early in the struggle he exhibits less exalted aims, he has a consciousness of the idea of freedom, for he pities the people suffering in thralldom (I, 479-80) and considers that in taking castles and land he is liberating them (IX, 308-9; 328). Douglas' motive in returning to Scotland is both to win his heritage "And his men out of all thryllage" (I, 352).

The Scots had a tradition that lent itself to the new nationalism. As Grant points out, the Gaels had "highly developed social ideals...." and "...the devotion to the greater nobles among the lesser folk... [is a] distinctive feature in

the...development of Scots social history." She speaks of the "independence and self-respect of the lesser folk," who were "not a down-trodden peasantry" and credits the clan organization for this development (See Barbour, XVII, 318ff). She also asserts that in Scotland there were "strongly democratic elements in the relationship between the feudal superior and his vassal." G.G. Coulton quotes Bartholomew's De Proprietatibus Rerum (c.1250) which says that the Scots "love nyghe as well death as thraldome."⁶⁵ Barrow believes that the idea of the "community of the realm," referred to so often in official documents, had come to mean, even before the Bruce's participation in the War, the nation, the people as a whole.⁶⁶

Historians are agreed that Scots nationalism came to birth during the War of Independence.⁶⁷ Serfdom virtually disappeared, the first Scots parliament that included representatives of the burghs convened in 1326, and most significantly, the Declaration of Arbroath was written by the Barons to the Pope (1320).⁶⁸ It states that Scotland had always been "free from all manner of servitude and subjection, as ancient histories do witness." More importantly, it expresses the basis for Robert Bruce's claim to kingship of an independent Scotland. First, "the Divine Providence," second, "the right of succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend till death) and [third]

The due and lawful consent and assent of all the people [*italics mine*], made him our king and prince. To him we are obliged and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon account of his right and his own merit as being the person who hath restored the people's safety in defence of their liberties.

Then the Declaration goes on to state most strongly the principles of the Nation:

But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavor to expell him as our enemy and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king, who will defend our liberties: For so long as there shall be one hundred of us remain alive we will never give consent to subject our selves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life.

This remarkable document clearly puts the desire of all the people for freedom above even the divine right of kings.

Barbour's achievement is that although he does not mention the 1326 Parliament or the 1320 Declaration, he captures the spirit of the new nationalistic force and makes his concept of chivalry accommodate the role of the common people and subordinate the courtly code to the goal of freedom. Chivalry is an international ideal, but Barbour makes it serve the ideal of nationalism, democracy and freedom, which for him means the right of the Nation to independence from England. He was one of the few medieval poets to recognize and take as his poetic material the patriotic impulse; few poems in two centuries after his, Blind Harry's Wallace excepted, deal with the topics of freedom, democracy and nationalism.⁶⁹ More important, his is the first literary expression of the concept of national freedom in Western Europe.⁷⁰ There is nothing like Barbour's panegyric on freedom in all the Middle Ages. "Die Liebe zur Freiheit steht für Barbour so hoch," states Brie, "dass sie

gelegentlich fast religiösen Charakter annimmt."⁷¹ I may add that religion itself must take a secondary role before the passion for freedom.

Barbour clearly identifies the awakening of the concept of freedom with the cruelties inflicted by Edward I.⁷² After describing in detail, in a manner reminiscent of The Peterborough Chronicle's complaint about Stephen I (1137), the affronts of Edward and his flunkies against the Scots people, he says,

Alas! that folk, that euir wes fre,
And in fredome wount for to be,
...
War trefyt than sa wykkytly,
That thar fays thar iugis war;
Quhat wrechitnes may man have mar? (I, 219-224)

Then follow the noble words on the joys of freedom:

A! fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at ess that frely levys!
A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
Na ellys nocht that may him pless,
Gyff fredome failyhe; for fre liking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing (225-32).

Finally, he points out the relationship between Edward's oppression and the consciousness of freedom:

Na he, that ay hass levyt fre,
May nocht knaw weil the propyrte,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thryldome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
And suld think fredome mar to pryss
Than all the gold in warld that is (233-40).

The consciousness of freedom is for Barbour the moving thrust of the narrative.

He develops an ideal of chivalry that is not the narrow ideal of war-chivalry, centered on personal fame. Nor is his

the limited ideal of courtly-love-chivalry, which merely shifts the center from self to other. Religious chivalry serves his purpose, but in a subordinate role, for the good that men do is not for God and Barbour does not highlight the religious elements. Yet Barbour maintains the transcendence possible before only in religious-chivalry and in a way that bears the first great imprint of modernism: the nation and the desire for freedom are for him the motivating forces of this new transcendent chivalry. These forces not only affect his code of chivalry and, as we have seen in chapter two, his style, but also his representation of history.

History

Barbour promises to "say nocht bot suthfast thing," but chivalry, we have seen, can supersede historical truth. That is, if Barbour must choose between historical fact and presenting the Bruce's character in a chivalrous light, fact takes second place. This is surely why he omits all of the king's earlier turbulent career. We have also seen that he treats factually the elements of guerrilla warfare that run counter to the courtly code, and yet he does not altogether reject that code. Huizinga notes that historically chivalry yields to strategy, but in Barbour strategy is absorbed into chivalry. To determine what role history plays in the development of the themes of democracy, freedom and nationalism, the motivating forces of Barbour's chivalry, we must examine his concept of history, which, if we are to accept Hanning's view, is different

from that of his contemporaries.

History for Bonet, as for most medieval people, is the manifestation of God's providence,⁷³ but Barbour believes that, although only God can know the future, men can learn from history to shape the future (I, 95-134). The Bruce reveals this same concept of history in his exemplum to his men about Scipio (III, 287-98). Clearly, if divine providence controls history, learning cannot become an issue, and historians cite exempla not to teach men how to behave but to illustrate that over and over again, God re-enacts the events of the Bible or that the fate of nations is a figure of personal salvation. Such exempla can serve as explanation and justification for history, as for example, historians of the twelfth century, assigning the Normans a role as figural representatives of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea and conquering Canaan, explain and justify the Norman Conquest of England, or as English preachers and chroniclers explain the English defeat at Bannockburn as God's punishment for vanity. Barbour neither explains the Bruce's defeat at Methven by referring to his murder of Comyn, nor does he suggest that the English defeat at Bannockburn was punishment for sin. Tactics, not eschatology, determine victory.

Barbour's attitude to history is associated with his belief in free will, which he stresses in his digression on astrology and prophecy. The consciousness that right must eventually prevail is one with Barbour's faith in a rational and moral universe in which rational and moral men may operate, with God's grace, to achieve the good, which he conceives not

in a Christian, but in a nationalistic sense.

The Bruce's concept is that although the Scots do not know what the God-given result will be, they must nevertheless do what they are there to do. Their attitude may be summed up by Edward Bruce's words: "Myne auenture heir tak will I, / Qhethir it be eisfull or angry" (V, 69-70). In other words, men are on their own to make their choices. The fact of God's control does not enable men to know how to act when history is a function of a nationalistic desire for freedom and not a Christian figure of personal salvation. No eschatological inference can be drawn from the narrative as Barbour presents it. In fact, he recognizes that the goal of freedom--or of a perfect political situation on earth--is in conflict with the Christian belief that man can experience perfect freedom only in heaven (XX, 612-20).

Barbour is not only opposed to the idea that only God's providence directs history or that human history is figural--either a re-enactment of past history or equivalent to the individual's quest for salvation--but also to the cycle idea, which makes history an unceasing turn from low to high to low controlled by fortune. He minimizes references that could forebode Dupplin Moor and Halidan Hill by making the marriage between David Bruce and Edward III's sister a gay affair (XX, 90-96), ignoring Edward III's insulting absence and refusal of dowry and making illness the excuse for Robert Bruce's absence from the wedding, when actually the king was probably responding to Edward III's affront.⁷⁴ He also eliminates all reference to the

Wallace struggle, which was the prior cycle.

To Barbour, history is largely moral and in man's control. His limits of the courtly ideal are truly significant, because while the courtly ideal bears the seeds of its own decay in its all too elevated idealism, the ideal that Barbour describes is close enough to possibility to be capable of setting a standard for real behavior. The heroes of Barbour's Bruce, the embodiment of a practical chivalry, are models that the Scots could follow. By his skill he is able to transform chivalry, the ideal so beloved by medieval men at least in theory, without blurring its essential outlines. His purpose in writing is to enlighten the leaders of the country so that they, with God's grace, will be able to learn from "thair nobill elderis gret bounte!" (XX, 617). He grasps that to make the lesson of his history meaningful to his audience, he must make use of the accepted standard of behavior embodied in the concept of chivalry.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the historical accuracy of Barbour's work.⁷⁵ Barbour obviously does not consider his work a history or he would have called it a chronicle. Changes in chronology and fabrication--to develop the rhythm of incidents and of the whole, to dramatize, to stress a moral point, to highlight his chivalry--have already been noted (for example, changes in chronology in Book X, placing Edward I's death early to emphasize Loudoun Hill as a turning point, presenting the dramatic confrontation between the Bruce and Edward I, and so on) as has Barbour's essential veracity.⁷⁶ What is significant is that Barbour is true to history in the most important

way--he grasps the idea that freedom and nationalism are at the heart of the struggle.

Sometimes to emphasize this moral aspect, he makes accuracy secondary to this perception of the basis of the Scots struggle. The most dramatic representation of the Scots drive for freedom is, as I have already noted in chapter two, the descent of the camp-followers at the battle of Bannockburn. Historians either find the incident superfluous (Oman, Morris) or they explain it as deliberate strategy by the Bruce (MacKenzie, Brown).⁷⁷ The fact is that Barbour portrays it as neither but as a spontaneous burst on the part of commoners, and significantly, he makes it, and not the chivalry of the nobles and fighting men, the turning point and decisive incident in the battle. The spirit of these commoners and its effect on the English is what enables the Bruce's valor to win.

At the time of the descent, the Scots had managed to drive back the English only "a litell we" (XIII, 217), and Barbour clearly states that the "Yhemen, swanys, and poverail/ That in the parc to yheyne vittale [*italics mine*]/War left" decide to join the fight (XIII 229-40). That they were not reinforcements called into action by the king is evident because they had been left to guard the stores. Also, Barbour expressly says that they choose a captain from among them (XIII, 235) and that they make banners out of sheets fastened "apon lang treis and on speris." If they had been reinforcements, the king would have already assigned a leader, a nobleman, and they would not have improvised banners. They evidently

made them because they too had heard the Bruce's exhortation to the soldiers stressing that they have banners ready in the morning before the battle (XII, 216).

When the English see this new fighting force coming at them, they falter, and Robert Bruce, sensing that "thai war neir discomfyting," presses on them, making them retreat more and more, until finally all flee (XII, 228-340). At this point Barbour states that the "laddis, swanys, and rangall," who actually had not yet participated in the fight, perhaps being still in the process of descending, enter into the mopping-up operation (XIII, 341-45).

Barbour modifies but does not discard both the courtly code of chivalry, which would have omitted such participation of commoners, and history, which does not substantiate his account, to express his understanding of the Scots' drive for freedom. He had promised to "say nocht bot suthfast thing" and this is what he does, but it is a higher truth than mere adherence to facts would allow. Because he bows to practicality he reconciles reality and idealism. As he describes it, the chivalric ideal is no farfetched one, for he blends perfectly what is and what should be so that, in Arnold Kettle's words, he presents not only life but pattern,⁷⁸ that is, not only realism, but also a vision of the transcendent qualities that make life meaningful.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹ Sidney Painter, French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965 [orig. 1940]), p. 35. Although the concept of chivalry in Britain differed from that in France, Painter's general remarks about its nature are valid for both forms.

Raymond Lincoln Kilgour, The Decline of Chivalry: As Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1937), p. xviii. See also F.J.C. Hearnshaw, "Chivalry and Its Place in History," Chivalry: A Series of Studies to Illustrate Its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence, ed. Edgar Prestage (London, 1928), pp. 8-9.

² Léon Gautier, La Chevalerie, ed. Jacques Levron (France: B. Arthaud, 1959), pp. 27, 53. Charles Oman, A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages (N.Y.: Burt Franklin reprint of 2nd rev. ed. of 1924, 1959), I, 366. E.F. Jacobs, "The Beginnings of Medieval Chivalry," Chivalry, ed. Prestage, p. 53, W.H. Schofield, Chivalry in English Literature (1912). See also Dietrich Sandberger, Studien über das Rittertum in England, vornehmlich während des 14. Jahrhunderts (Historische Studien, heft 310, 1937, reprinted by Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1965), p. 241.

³ Gilbert of the Haya translated in 1456 both the 13th century Le Livre de L'Ordre de Chevalerie and the Secreta Secretorum (the latter worked on by both Lydgate and Hoccleve also; the former translated by Caxton after Haya). The first breathes the spirit

of religious chivalry; the second contains the highly unchivalrous advice to the prince that to win he should not hesitate to poison arrows and the enemy's water. Vegetius, who continues to be greatly popular throughout the medieval period, does not even hint at chivalry. Fight or dodge to win is his motto.

⁴ Hearnshaw, p. 11. Most moderns, I think, do not share Hearnshaw's sanguine opinion that our ideals are so closely related to our practices. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (Durham, N.C.: Duke U. Press, 1960), p. 223. Ferguson, p. 226, also states that the Elizabethans based their ethical code of conduct on the chivalric code. A decadent ideal, it seems to me, cannot inspire emulation. See also Marie Borroff's "Introduction" to Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, a new verse translation (N.Y.: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967), p. vii.

⁵ Ancrene Wisse: The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien (London: Oxford U. Press, for the EETS, 1962), p. 199. The author says of Christ: "Ant he as noble wo here.... & schawde thurh cnihtschipe that he wes luue wurthe. as weren sumhwile cnihtes iwunet to donne" [*italics mine; orthography normalized*].

⁶ Painter, p. 166. Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 536, says that there is no "system," no "triad": "The peculiar charm of the chivalric ethos consists precisely in fluctuation between many ideals, some of them closely related, some diametrically opposed" (p. 535). Sir Walter Scott also

rejects the triad idea and says that chivalry is valor connected to some ideal such as loyalty, God, lady, generosity, or personal freedom. See his "Essay on Chivalry," Essays on Chivalry, Romance and the Drama (London, 1887).

⁷ Borroff, "Introduction," Gawain trans., p. xi, says, "In the oldest heroic poetry, the functions of the narrator and historian are combined, and both narrator and historian confirm the virtues and preserve in the memory of the people the valorous feats of 'our own.'" She connects the Gawain poet to this tradition.

⁸ The earliest mention that the OED makes for chivalry as "the brave, honorable, and courteous character attributed to the ideal knight; disinterested bravery, honour, and courtesy" is 1790. In the MED on the other hand, the earliest mention of the word used for "the ethical code of chivalry comprising allegiance (honor), valor, generosity, courtly manner, or any one aspect of it" is 1385: Chaucer's Knight's Tale, A2106. In neither dictionary is Barbour's work cited for these meanings, although he used it in 1375.

Both Haye and Malory, a century later, use the phrase "the order of knighthood"—chivalry, although Malory also uses the word chivalry.

Neither the SND nor Craigie's DOST contains the word chivalry.

⁹ "A Scottish 'Father of Courtesy' and Malory," Spec. XX(1945), 51-64. If as Janet Smith says in The French Background of Middle Scots Literature (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1934), pp. 1-12,

Barbour took French romances "as his pattern," he modified what is found in them to fit the Scottish situation.

10

Married ladies, it may be argued, are not put on a pedestal by husbands. But this is a common error. Even in Chretien, for example, married love is often courtly love. And in Britain the notion of adulterous love was not popular and was never an integral part of the system. Chaucer's Franklin's Tale is a story of married but courtly love. King James I of Scotland in the Kingis Quair writes of his courtly love for the lady that he married. Gawain in Gawain and the Green Knight successfully resists the adulterous advances of his hostess. Thus even in works that are courtly, adultery plays a negative role, if any. And the whole concept of courtly love was not as popular in Britain as in France in spite of these three great examples of it. Hays condemns adultery in very strong terms in his Buke of Knychthede, Vol. II of the Scottish Text Society edition of Gilbert of the Hays's Prose Manuscript (A.D.1456)..., ed. J.H. Stevenson (Edin.: 1914), p. 32, and he avoids the courtly-love aspect of chivalry. Nor does Caxton, who translated the French manuscript after Hays, restore it. See also Margaret Adlum Gist, Love and War in the Middle English Romances (Phil.: U. of Penn. Press, 1947), p. 8.

11

G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (London, 1965), says that the woman mentioned by Barbour as being deliriously happy at Bruce's return to Carrick (V, 133-36) was probably his mistress and mother of two of his

illegitimate children (p. 243). Barrow calls Bruce "a begetter of bastards" (p. 370). Certainly, Barbour assiduously avoids giving this impression.

12

Kilgour, p. xviii.

13

Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Robert the Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence (N.Y.: C.P. Putnam's Son, 1906) p. 141, comments that putting the sentence on the lips of the dying Edward is Barbour's invention. Maxwell does not recognize that this is Barbour's way of dramatizing Edward's cruelty, which is historical fact. According to Barrow, Edward I was hideously and unreasonably vindictive: "it would be charitable to suppose that [the reign of terror that followed the rout of Methven] coincided with a genuinely paranoid attack" (p. 228) "...the peculiarly maniacal quality of King Edward's vengeance has always seemed most startling in his treatment of the women prisoners...Mary, King Robert's...sister...and the Countess of Buchan...were placed in cages of timber and iron, specially made for the purpose and perched upon or hung from the walls of Roxburgh and Berwick castles respectively. These two courageous ladies remained...exposed to the mockery of passers-by, treated for all the world as if they were beasts in a menagerie..." for four years! (pp. 229-30).

See also Agnes Mure MacKenzie, Scottish Pageant: 55 B.C.-A.D. 1513 (Edin.: Oliver and Boyd, 1946) pp. 179-81, whose quotations show that the cage story is confirmed by English chronicle and record; Sandberger, p. 201; Friedrich Brie, Die nationale Literatur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance

(Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1937), p. 103. Maxwell, pp. 139-40, is wrong to belittle the hardship of the cages.

14

Craigie's supposition that Barbour's lenient attitude to the English was because he was indebted to the English king for safe-conducts is both unnecessary and untenable. See William A. Craigie, "Barbour and Blind Harry," Scottish Review, XXII (1893), 173-190.

15

The ideal treatment of the enemy found its way out of chivalrous romance and into contemporary mores. See Honoré Bonet, The Tree of Battles, trans. G.W. Coopland (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1949), pp. 134, 152-153. For confirmation of Scots treatment of the enemy see Sir John Froissart, Chronicles of England, ..., trans. Thomas Johnes (London, 1839), II, 368, 369, 372, and so on.

16

Agnes Mure MacKenzie, Robert Bruce (Edin.: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), p. 192. See Froissart I, 24, 55-57 for some accounts of Scottish mistreatment of prisoners.

17

Kilgour, p. 326.

18

Contrast Haye who says that if a knight knows of the wrongdoing of another but does not bring him to justice before his lord, "he is wer na he that did the dede..." (p. 30).

19

Compare Bonet who says that it is lawful to battle on a Feast day only if it is necessary and that it is always wrong to break truce (p. 155). H changes God to Christ, whom Barbour seldom refers to directly.

20

J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 95-96, says that "each king... felt virtually bound to set out and recapture Jerusalem"; King Henry V moments before his death in Paris in 1422 "declared that he had intended to go and conquer Jerusalem... if it had pleased God, his Creator, to let him live to old age." That these endeavors often proved abortive is demonstrated by what happens to Douglas.

See also the Declaration of Arbroath in A Source Book of Scottish History, ed. William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson, Isabel A. Milne, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1958), I, 158.

21

Cp. Hays who describes the religious ritual.

22

See Barrow, pp. 436-39; also Brie, pp. 76-77.

23

See their document in Dickinson, pp. 143-46.

24

The Maccabees are mentioned in the Declaration of Arbroath also, and it is possible that Barbour took his image from that document. See Dickinson, p. 156.

25

See Brie, pp. 77, 78.

26

Gist says that fighting clergy are extremely rare in romances, but historical accounts show that they did fight (p. 151).

27

Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edin.: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), p. 14. T.H. Kean, "The Religion of

Barbour: A Scots Poet of the Fourteenth Century," Month, XXII, 212-23, is certainly wrong to take issue with Wittig, asserting that Wittig does not recognize Barbour's religious faith. Kean himself curiously mixes historical fact with evidence from The Bruce to support his contention that Barbour is a poet who breathes the spirit of Catholicism.

28

pp. 72, 73, 79.

29

Wittig, p. 14; Brie, p. 62

30

The earliest mention of loyalty meaning "faithful adherence to the sovereign or lawful government" according to the OED is 1531 (Elyot Gov III, vi), and it is interesting that Elyot mentions it as if it were a new word: "For the subjects or seruant to his souerayne or maister it is properly named fidelitie; and in a frenche terme loyaltie." Chaucer's word for this concept is "trouthe": see Schofield, p. 33. Barbour's form of the word loyal, "leill, leaute," is not defined very precisely by the OED and unfortunately the MED is not yet complete through "L." Craigie's DOST says that Barbour is the first to use the word Laute meaning loyalty in friendship or love towards one's sovereign, country, lord, etc.; fidelity. But in sense 2, meaning loyalty to a duty of obligation, Wyntoun is first and Haye second. Barbour is first in sense 2a, faithful adherence to one's plighted word or to one's obligation. Kilgour, p. 78, notes that Froissart rarely questions changes in loyalty. See also MacKenzie, Robert Bruce, p. 60.

31

Chivalry and strategy are antithetical. Oman speaks of the "blind courage..., stupid neglect of the elementary rules of strategy and tactice" in historical battles (I, 355). He says that Edward I as prince in 1265 supplies the first example of a strategic campaign (I, 440). He also believes that Robert Bruce learnt from Edward, and in turn the English learnt from Bannockburn.

Kilgour, pp. 21, 325, says that the use of strategy and treacherous ambush were not considered chivalrous. But H.G. Atkins, "Chivalry of Germany," Chivalry, ed. Prestage, p. 89, says that loyalty in the older epic "swept aside all other moral claims and justified lying, treachery and assassination." Cp. Bonet, pp. 154-55. See also Gist, pp. 159, 161, 169. For a vivid account of how the Scots waged war see Froissart, I, 18.

32

Historians are generally agreed that while Barbour greatly magnifies the numbers of fighting men on both sides, he does not distort the ratios at the major battles. See, for example, Ranald Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335 (London: Oxford U. Press, 1965), p. 33n.

33

See Barrow, p. 102.

34

Gist, p. 118. See also Haye, p. 31. In romances, death is preferred to retreat (Gist, p. 179). See also Randolph's remarks below.

35

See Froissart's account of these engagements, I, 19ff.

36

Or at least a southern norm. G.N. Garmonsway, "Anglo-Saxon Heroic Attitudes," Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of F.P. Magoun, Jr., ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., and Robert Creed (N.Y.: N.Y.U. Press, 1965), p. 145, says that for Icelandic heroes caution and foresight are the cardinal virtues. They should seek truce when the odds are too great, make a "preliminary estimate of danger ahead," and rely on trickery when strength alone will not suffice.

37

Garmonsway, p. 140.

38

Nicholson, pp. 26-41.

39

Bowra, From Virgil to Milton (London, 1945) p. 10; Garmonsway, p. 145.

40

Froissart, II, 372, tells a similar story about Sir Thomas Felton.

41

Curtius points out that fortitudo and sapientia "frequently appear divided between two people.... But the ideal continues to be their union in one person" (p. 176).

42

Maxwell calls de Bohun's charge "in the best manner of chivalry" (p. 205), but cp. Charles Mills, The History of Chivalry, 2nd ed. (London, 1826), I, 403, who rightly says that de Bohun's charge is not gallant because the Bruce is mounted on a palfrey. See also Gist, p. 128.

43

The friendly rivalry between Randolph and Douglas is in

the chivalrous tradition (see XII, 110ff; XVII, 52-57; XVII, 403).

44

On Bruce's generosity see P. Hume Brown, History of Scotland to the Present Time (Cambridge: at the U. Press, 1911), I, 130, 131n, 137. He points out that all were rich after Bannockburn.

45

The Secreta Secretorum cautions the leader against active participation. Gist, paraphrasing Gower's "In Praise of Peace" says, "if kings suffered as much as common people, they would be careful to avoid conflict" (p. 128), a remark that indicates that most kings did not expose themselves to danger and suffering as the Bruce does. See, for example, Barbour's comment on the king's last illness (XX, 75-79).

46

See Nicholson, p. 36, for an historical instance of English disunity during the Weardale campaign.

47

See Froissart, II, 369; Gautier, p. 302.

48

Nicholson, p. 5; MacKenzie, Scottish Pageant, pp. 158-59. She says that The Bruce is a study of leadership.

49

Hearnshaw says that "the battle of Bannockburn was lost by the English...because of the chaotic incompetence of the masses of chivalric lunatics who were all seeking personal glory rather than common victory" (p. 26). This assessment is however only part of the story and obscures the reality of the Scots' success.

⁵⁰ Sir Ingraham proposed to King Edward that they hide and leave their armor on the field. This would, he said, cause the Scots to break ranks in their rush for the spoils. Then the English could easily conquer them (XII, 458-70). This proposal is ironic in the light of the English lack of discipline.

⁵¹ Bonet does pity the commoners, but his remarks show that they are disinterested bystanders, not vitally concerned in the outcome of battle (p. 153).

⁵² Nicholson quotes Wyntoun's Chronicle which says that the people were afraid to declare allegiance to King David II, when Balliol came on the scene with English might behind him (p. 7). Michael MacMillan, ed., The Bruce of Bannockburn by John Barbour (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1914), p. xxi, says that Barbour exhibits a contemptuous attitude to commons and he cites II, 500-510 and VIII, 275-77 as proof, but his supposition is not supported by those quotations, and in fact the whole work breathes a different spirit.

⁵³ Compare Piers Plowman B, VI, 25ff.

⁵⁴ See Nicholson, p. 45.

⁵⁵ See Agnes Mure MacKenzie, An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714 (London, 1933), p. 52. But Froissart makes a mistake about the identity of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen (II, 370).

⁵⁶ Coulton, p. 281. See also James Westfall Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, 2nd volume with Bernard J. Holm

(N.Y.: MacMillan, 1942), who says that the English chronicles of the 14th century "reflect...contempt for the lower classes..." (I, 395).

57

In The Norman Conquest, V, 482, quoted by Kilgour, p. 15. See also Gist, p. 73, and Sandberger, p. 240.

58

Byles, "Medieval Courtesy Books and the Prose Romances of Chivalry," Chivalry, ed. Prestage, p. 201. Haye, p. 22. Wittig makes much of the democratic spirit of the Scots. See p. 31 for a discussion of this spirit in Barbour. Also, MacKenzie, Scottish Pageant, pp. 159-60.

59

William Langland, The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, in Three Parallel Texts, ed. W.W. Skeat (London: Oxford U. Press, 1886), I, 196. George Macaulay Trevelyan, England in the Age of Wycliffe (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1948), p. 202.

60

Brie, p. 66. I am often indebted to Brie's very full discussion of freedom, democracy and nationalism, pp. 45-72.

61

See Aristotle's Rhetoric, I, viii, 5. Aristotle says that freedom is the goal of democratic government. Of course Barbour, who never uses the word democracy, does not envision a representative democracy.

62

See Agnes Mure MacKenzie's remarks on the signers of the Declaration of Arbroath in the Saltire pamphlet, On the Declaration of Arbroath (Galashiels: The Reiver Press, 1951), p. 14.

63

Nicholson, pp. 2-3. See also Georg Lukács, The Historical Novel, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 19-30. Lukács' description of the "Social and Historical Conditions for the Rise of the Historical Novel" sounds very much like the conditions under which Barbour wrote. It is no coincidence that the first writer that Lukács deals with is Sir Walter Scott, who was so much indebted to Barbour.

64

Barrow, p. 204.

65

I.F. Grant, The Economic History of Scotland (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1934), pp. 6, 27. Coulton, p. 9. See also MacKenzie's Scottish Pageant, pp. 3-4 (Fordun quotes Isidore to the same effect as Bartholomew), 43-44, 71, 170.

66

MacKenzie, Robert Bruce, p. 62, says that by 1296 the common people had begun to feel themselves to be Scots. Barrow says the concept of the community of the realm was viable by the late 13th century. See also Dickinson, pp. 128, 144-47.

67

Brown, I, 123; Sir Reginald Coupland, Welsh and Scottish Nationalism, a Study (London: Collins, 1954), pp. xvii, 72; Wallace Notestein, The Scot in History: A Study of the Interplay of Character and History (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1947), pp. 68-69.

68

See Brown I, 136 on the Parliament. Compare the remarkable document presented and discussed in George P. Cuttino's article, "A Reconsideration of the Modus Tenendi Parliamentum" in The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century, ed. Francis Lee Utley

(Columbus: Ohio State U. Press, 1961). The document maintains that "all that ought to be...done by parliament, exists out of the...proctors of the clergy, the knights of the shires, citizens and burgesses, who represent the whole community of England, and not out of the magnates, because each of these is at parliament for his own person and for no other" (pp. 54-55). See Dickinson for the Declaration of Arbroath (pp. 151-58).

69

Notestein, p. 73; John Buchan, ed. The Northern Muse, An Anthology of Scots Vernacular Poetry (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1924), pp. 481-82; and compare the Otterburn ballad, No. 161 in Francis James Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 10 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898). David Lindsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, ed. James Kinsley with Intro. by Agnes Mure MacKenzie (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1954), shows great sympathy for the suffering of the Common Man, John the Common-Weill, but he is mainly concerned with abuse of poor John by the Clergy, not with democracy and nationalism. His idea, in fact, is that of the hierarchy of responsibilities. See pp. 124-40. Brie, however, proves that the nationalistic feeling remains alive in the Chronicles.

70

OED lists Barbour as the first to use the words free and freedom in a national sense. The MED has a few earlier citations for free: Trinity Homilies, a1225; Layamon's Brut, a1225 and Glo. Chron., c1325, but these works do not make freedom their subject, and for freedom, the MED has a1398 as the earliest use. Craigie's DOST lists Barbour as first to use free and freedom in the significant senses.

See Halvdan Koht, "Medieval Liberty Poems," American History Review, XLVIII (1943), 281-89, who says Petrarch is first to express the idea of liberty in Parma liberata, and that Barbour is next.

John W. Oliver and J.C. Smith, eds. A Scots Anthology From the 13th to the 20th Century (Edin.: Oliver and Boyd, 1949), p. xvi, say that The Bruce "contains the first great statement in modern European literature of the right of nations and individuals to freedom." Compare A.J. Carlyle, Political Liberty: A History of the Conception in the Middle Ages and Modern Times (N.Y.: Barnes & Noble, 1963), who states that the concept of liberty in the M.A. was neither individual freedom nor national freedom but the "supremacy of the law...as expressing the habit and custom of...the community." It is significant that neither Gilbert Highet, nor Curtius, nor Huizinga discuss freedom or nationalism in the Middle Ages.

71

p. 61.

72

See Benedetto Croce, "History as the History of Liberty," Philosophy. Poetry. History: An Anthology of Essays (London: Oxford U. Press, 1966), pp. 546-88, who says that "...a man who enslaves another awakens the other's self-awareness and fits him for liberty...", and loss of liberty makes men hunger for liberty-- what has been unappreciated is newly appreciated with its loss.

73

The following discussion of history is based in part on Robert W. Hanning, The Vision of History in Early Britain: From

Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth (N.Y.: Col. U. Press, 1966).

Hanning, in spite of the sub-title, does look ahead to the following centuries.

74

Nicholson, pp. 52-53.

75

Craigie correctly states that accuracy is quite beside the point in judging the Bruce, but historians affirm Barbour's accuracy. See for example Skeat's quotation of Joseph Bain's Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland (III, ix), on p. lxiin.

76

Barbour also accurately depicts the character of the Bruce, for he provides a portrait of the whole man. Barrow notes that "record and chronicle, which show us the defects and shortcomings of the king, also give abundant proof of his courage, prudence and magnanimity. Perhaps, indeed, it was above all the king's humanity which won the affection of his people..." (pp. 370-71).

77

Morris' comment is significant in what he reveals of his historian's obtuseness about an artist's purpose. Barbour, he says, "had made people think too much of unimportant things..., the deaths of Bohun and Argentine, the charge of the camp followers, which things the thoughtless love to read, and think to be of more importance than the tactics" (p. 92).

78

An Introduction to the English Novel (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1960), I, 11-26.

CONCLUSION

In his prosodical techniques, in his manipulation of the rhetorical tradition, in his adaptation of the ideal of chivalry, Barbour's artistic method is both to exploit the conventions and to invent new modes that enable him to represent the reality of the Scots' struggle for independence. As a poet, he fashions rhythms that complement meaning, at times allusively recalling the heroic poems of the alliterative tradition, but more often dramatizing an immediate present with speech rhythms. As a story-teller, he weaves in the rhetorical tropes, which he knows very well, but he avoids those devices that will tend to obscure the spare realism of the narrative. His avowed purpose is to tell a true tale well so that his audience may derive pleasure from the telling and to keep alive the memory of those great ones who have gone before. He further has the purpose, although he does not explicitly state it, of making a moral statement--that freedom is a noble, transcendent goal, that it may be achieved by a code of behavior embracing a practical chivalry, and that men of all classes may share in the aspiration of liberty. He makes this moral statement not in overt, didactic sermonizing, but by realistically, persuasively presenting recognizably ordinary men engaged in an extraordinary activity--wrenching a beleaguered Scotland from the greedy hands of the Edwards of England.

Realistic portrayal is an adjunct purpose of the narrative. But it is clear in spite of what Barbour himself says about

"suthfastnes" that the facts of history are for him a means to illuminate the ideals of chivalry and freedom. His realism depends not so much on the accuracy of details and chronology as on circumstantiality, full characterization, a mixed style, and avoidance of the romantic and the marvelous. If he aims not only to depict a fervent desire for freedom won by a practical chivalry, but also to suggest that Scots of his day and later should continue to embrace these values, it is essential that his audience be able to identify with the events and characters of the narrative, and not view it as mere entertainment. For this to happen, the narrative must apply to life and be realistic and it must also make use of the accepted standards of his time.

Because Barbour's work is realistic, and because it presents moral problems in the framework of a political and historical actuality, it foreshadows later works, such as the historical novel; but because it portrays these without abandoning traditional prosody, rhetoric and morality, it also is tied to its own time and place. Barbour's great achievement as an artist is that he took from the current practice of his day materials to fashion a coherent whole of powerful impact. Letters, chronicles, sermons and other religious works of the fourteenth century abound in realistic details. Political awareness was already alive, as is abundantly evident from the Declaration of Arbroath and other contemporary documents. That chivalry in its most ideal forms was giving way to a more pragmatic practice is an historical fact, nowhere so manifestly

apparent as in the Battle of Bannockburn. The great traditions of prosody and rhetoric were richly wielded by such artists as Langland, Chaucer, the author of the Morte Arthure and the Gawain poet. But it is Barbour who first combines realism, political awareness and practical chivalry with skillful prosody and rhetoric.

Although Barbour's style does not have the range of Chaucer's nor the beauty of the Gawain poet's, he deserves a place among the giants of the fourteenth century because his is the first great representation of the aspiration for freedom as a moving political and poetical force. He is the first to carve out of prosodic and rhetorical tradition, out of chivalric ideals and historical fact, out of materials that could have been a romance but in his hands became a national epic, a work that, as Agnes Mackenzie says, moves in either sense of the word. It is a work that can be read on many levels--by the general reader for its lively incidents and simple, straightforward narrative, by historians for its clear delineation of the War of Independence, by patriots for its ardent patriotic statement, by students of social history for its accurate depiction of standards of the time. But for students of literature, it is a whole of significant interest. Style and subject are perfectly married in a work that is at once a recapitulation of an older tradition and a prophetic introduction to the conceptions--of freedom, democracy and nationalism--that were to become the moving ideals for men in later centuries, especially our own. Neither historian nor philosopher, Barbour subsumes these roles to his art, for he is a craftsman, a true poet, the first of the Scots makars.

APPENDIX I

Symmetrical Arrangement of Key Incidents Before and After Bannockburn

METHVEN, defeat, Scots waver (II) 1306

Treachery; incidents involving Lorn (III-VII)

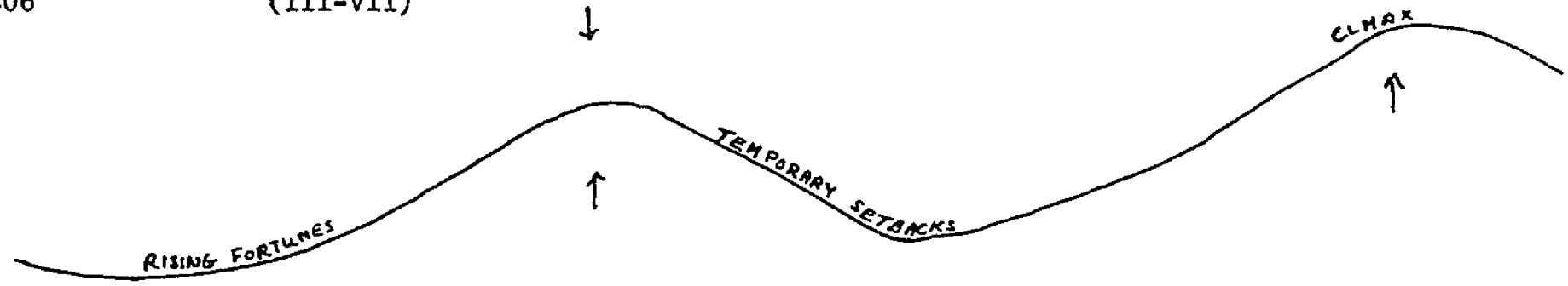
LOUDOUN HILL (VIII) 1307

Illness & retreat (IX) 1307

CASTLES, stratagems (IX-X) 1307-1314

BANNOCKBURN strategy (XI-XIII) 1314

no peace



Irish campaign (XIV-XVIII) 1315-1318

Treachery of de Soulis (XIX) 1320

Scots victory at MITTON, on English soil (XVII) 1319

End of Irish campaign; death of Ed. Bruce (XVIII) 1318

Berwick taken & held; victories at Melrose & Biland in open warfare (XVII-XVIII) 1318;1322

WEARDALE, stratagems (XIX) 1327

Peace & deaths (XX) 1328-32

Wm. Sinclair's buoying-up of wavering Scots (XVI) 1317

Lorn's capture (XV) [ahistorical]

APPENDIX II

A Garland of Prosodical Types

A. English

1. "Good sir, telle me al hooly
In what wyse, how, why, and wherfore
That ye have thus youre blysse lore."
"Blythely," quod he; "com sytte adoun!
I telle the upon a condicioun
That thou shalt hooly, with al thy wyt,
Doo thyn entent to herkene hit."
"Yis, syr." "Swere thy trouthe therto."
"Gladly." "Do thanne holde hereto!"
"I shal ryght blythely, so God me save,
Hooly, with al the wit I have,
Here yow, as wel as I kan."
Chaucer, B.D., 11.746-58

2. 'Nay, for sothe, beau sir,' sayd that swete,
'Ye schal not rise of your bedde. I rych yow better:
I schal happe yow here that other half als,
And sythen karp wyth my knyght that I kaght have;
For I wene wel, iwysse, Sir Wowen ye are,
That alle the worlde worchipes, quere-so ye ride.
Your honour, your hendelayk is hendely prayed
With lordes, wyth ladyes, with alle that lyf bere.
And now ye ar here, iwysse, and we bot oure one;
My lorde and his ledes ar on lenthe faren,
Other burnes in her bedde, and my burdes als,
The dor drawen and dit with a derf haspe.
And sythen I have in this hous hym that al lykes,
I schal ware my whyle wel, quyl hit lastes, with tale.
Gawain and the Green Knight,
11.1222-36

3. Medea thanne knewe and wiste
Hir medicine is for to triste,
And goth to Eson ther he lay,
And tok a swerd, was of assay,
With which a wounde upon his side
Sche made, that therout mai slyde
The blod withinne, which was olde,
And sek, and trouble, and fieble, and cold.

And tho sche tok unto his us
 Of herbes al the beste jus,
 And poured it into his wounde,
 That made his veynes fulle and sounde.
 And tho sche made his wounde clos,
 And tok his hand, and up he ros.
 And tho sche gaf him drink a drauchte,
 Of which his youthe agein he cauhte,
 His hed, his herte, and his visage
 Lich unto twenty wynter age.
 Hise hore heres were away
 And lich unto the freisshe Maii,
 Whan passed ben the colde schoures,
 Riht so recovereth he his floures.

John Gower, Confessio Amantis:Medea
 Restores Eson's Youth, ll.4153-74

B. Scottish

4. A thousand thre hundir yhere and foure,
 Fra he his lentyren thus held oure,
 Fra Saynt Andrewys he passyd syne,
 And set his sege a-bowt Stryvelyn.
 Than bathe the Castell and the town
 Wes yholdyn, wyth condycyown,
 That all the Scottis men suld be
 Off all harmys qwyt and fre,
 That wyth-in the castell ware
 In lettyre that was swyttyn thare.
 To that this kyng gert put his selle:
 Bot in that heycht he wes noucht lele.
 Fra he the castell than had gottyn,
 That cunnand swne he had for-yhottyn.

Wyntoun's Cronykil, Book VIII,
 Chapter XVIII, ll.2707-20

5. Allace, Scotland, to quhom sall thow compleyn!
 Allace, fra payn quha sall the now restreyn!
 Allace, thi help is fastlie brocht to ground,
 Thi best chyftane in braith bandis is bound!
 Allace, thow has now lost thi gyd off lycht!
 Allace, quha sall defend the in thi rycht?
 Allace, thi payn approchis wondyr ner,
 With sorow sone thow mon bene set in feyr!
 Thi gracious gyd, thi grettast governour,
 Allace, our neir is cumyn his fatell hour!
 Allace, quha sall the beit now off thi baill?
 Allace, quhen sall off harmys thow be haill?
 Quha sal the defend? quha sall the now make fre?

Allace, in wer quha sall thi helpar be?
 Quha sall the help? quha sall the now radem?
 Allace, quha sall the Saxons fra the flem?
 I can no mar, bot besek God off grace
 The to restor in haist to rychtwysnace;
 Sen gud Wallace may succour the no mar.
 The loss off him encessit mekill cair.

Blind Harry (Henry the Mistrel),
The Wallace, XI, 1109-28

6. Ane spark of lufe than till his hart culd spring,
 And kendlit all his bodie in any fyre.
 With hait fevir ane sweit and trimbling
 Him tuik, quhill he was reddie to expyre.
 To beir his scheild his breist began to tyre.
 Within ane quhyle he changit mony hew,
 And nevertheles not ane ane uther knew.

Robert Henryson, The Testament
 of Cresseid, 11.512-18

7. Hale, sterne superne! Hale, in eterne,
 In Godis sicht to schyne!
 Lucerne in derne for to discerne
 Be glory and grace devyne;
 Hodiern, modern, sempitern,
 Angelicall regyne!
 Our tern inferne for to dispersn
 Helpe, rialest rosyne.
Ave Maria, gracia plena!
 Haile, fresche floure femynyne!
 Yerne us, guberne, virgin matern,
 Of reuth baith rute and ryne.

William Dunbar, "Ane Ballat
 of Our Lady," Stanza 1.

APPENDIX III

Some Allusions in Barbour's Bruce¹

- Bible
 Maccabees (I,465-75)
 Judas Iscariot (IV,18)
 Pythoness (the Witch of Endor) (IV,753-60)
- Classical Past
 Hector of Troy (I,395-406); Troy (I,521-28)
 Julius Caesar (I,537-48; III,277-85)
 Dionysius Cato (I,343)
 Virgil (verbal echoes: II,520; III,561,705; V,87)
 Thebes (II,528-47); Tydeus (VI,179-268)
 Hannibal and Scipio (III,207-48)
 Minerva (IV,263)
 Aristotle (IV,739)
 Alexander (X,705-32)
 Fabricius (XX,521)
- Romance
 Arthur (I,549-60)
 Thomas of Erceldoune (II,86-87)
 Gaul Mac Morna, Fingall (or Fionn: see J.T.T. Brown, "Some Desultory Notes...", Scottish Antiquary, XIII (Edinburgh, 1899), 6-12) (III,68-70)
 Gaudifer de Larys (III,73-88)
 Charlemagne, Fierabras (III,436-62)
- History²
 Wales and Ireland conquered by Edward I (I,100-10)
 (English overlordship of Ireland actually began under Henry II in the 12th century.)
 Robert of Artois (?) (I,339-40)
 Ferrand, the war between French and Flemings, 1214 (IV,238-307)
- Saint's Legend
 Saint Margaret (X,736-55)
- Fable
 The Fox and the Fisher (XIX,648-91)

¹ Skeat has a list of most of the allusions (pp. lviii-ix).

² Three categories, the classical past, romance and history overlap somewhat; for example, the allusion to Gaudifer de Larys, that I place in the romance category, is part of the Alexander story. Also, some romances were accepted as history.

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