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SHADY PUBLISHING IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND:
THE CASE OF DAVID LYNDSEY'S POEMS*

FROM THE TIME OF ITS LATE BEGINNINGS, thirty years after Caxton, Scottish printing enjoyed royal protection but was also under royal control. In 1507 James IV had issued a printing patent to Andrew Myllar, a bookseller and printer trained in Rouen, and to Walter Chepman, a wealthy merchant and royal clerk.¹ The patent granted Chepman and Myllar a monopoly, but it also required the partners to print 'the bukis of our Lawis, actis of parliament, cronicles, mess [mass] bukis, and portuus [portable breviaries] efter the use of our Realme, with addicionis and legendis of Scottis sanctis . . .'.² Rather than foreshadowing *Pravda's* role under the Communists, this would appear to have been an enlightened reaction to the newly-emergent nationalist sentiments that had spread across Europe during the fifteenth century. James IV, at whose court the arts and sciences were encouraged, evidently saw the new medium of the press as a means to express his own country's national identity in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres. Among the early publications were such varied works as two romances, a courtly ballade, verses of counsel for princes, and a highly skilled, if almost unprintably insulting flyting.³ Nonetheless the issue of the Aberdeen Breviary in 1510 best illustrated James IV's purposes for the press: by the addition of over seventy Scottish saints, all with lessons and assigned feast days, the Scots work was clearly designed to replace the English Sarum breviary as the national liturgy.⁴

When David Lyndsay joined the court of James IV in or not long before 1511, these liberal conditions and emphases on Scotland's place in a new Europe were already accepted.⁵ Lyndsay, born about 1486, eldest son of a family of some standing in Fife, was soon perceived to be a 'man of pairts'. The year he joined the court he took a role in a play performed before the king and queen at Holyrood Palace and, the next year, was appointed by James IV usher (or chief page) to his baby son.⁶ This was the beginning of Lyndsay's close association with the future James V. The early death of the infant James's father at the battle of Flodden in 1513 served only to strengthen the relationship, as did the remarriage of James's mother, Margaret Tudor, to Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Angus — for Douglas used his role as stepfather to the child-king chiefly to further his own ambitions.⁷ Through most of the difficult fifteen-year period

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of the king's boyhood, David Lyndsay was royal familiar, protector and playmate, in later times justly able to remind the king that his first syllables had been 'Da Lyn'.⁸

By the time James V was in personal control of government, Lyndsay appears in surviving documents as a herald.⁹ By 1530 he was certainly acting, though not yet formally recorded, as Lord Lyon King of Arms.¹⁰ To understand both the themes and the reception of Lyndsay's works once printed, it is necessary to consider what it meant to be Lyon King — the chief herald, or chief officer of the Crown and of the Kingdom — at this time. This post gave Lyndsay responsibility for the ceremonial of the royal household in all its many forms, and appointed him guardian and recorder of Scottish arms and pedigrees. Important though both functions were, however, the Lyon Kingship involved much more than those duties.¹¹ The kind of power Lyndsay had as Lyon King is demonstrated by his role in the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament. The Lord Lyon was placed at the king's right hand, and would convey to the monarch those formal messages brought to him by the heralds and pursuivants from the assembly. In complementary action, he would also proclaim to the parliamentary assembly the sovereign's own words.¹² Such a role was pivotal, yet mediating; formal, yet deeply involved. Lyndsay acted in place of the realm in addressing the king, as representative of the crown in communicating to the people, and, by extrapolation, on behalf of the kingdom when furth of Scotland. Though in no formal sense, this role also gave his literary pronouncements more than usual authority and protection.

Lyndsay's play, *Ane Plesand Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, was performed at the 1991 Edinburgh Festival, but not many of Lyndsay's other works are easily accessible today.¹³ What were these poems like? Just how did they relate to Lyndsay's activities as Lyon King? Were they circulated in print?

The eight or so poems written during the reign of James V are metrically and stylistically varied.¹⁴ Their chief and constant focus is the role and person of the king — both as an individual and as leader and representative of his people. Hence, for example, even when Lyndsay is engaging James V in the kind of poetic word game that was at this time a mark of a court's sophistication, he uses the double entendre at once to compliment the king on his literary leadership and to caution him about his injudicious love affairs. And hence, again because a particular king is his focus, Lyndsay spends much of his poetic time setting out for James factual information — on the state of the borders, or the outer isles, for instance; on the needs and oppressions of the king's humbler subjects, or on the dangerous deficiencies of specific noblemen at James's court.¹⁵ In most of his poems, Lyndsay refers satirically to corruption in matters of State and even more often to its frequent and varied appearances within the Church. In one ambitious, mock-heroic piece, *The Complaynt and Testament of the Papingo*, Lyndsay takes the king's parrot as his main commentator on the flaws in contemporary Scottish society. Though the parrot is brilliantly articulate she is fatally vain and fat. When she climbs onto a branch too high and green to support her, she falls heavily and is impaled on a sharp stob. Taking several hundred last dying words to do so, she complains to Fortune, warns her king and brothers of the court to heed the example of her fall from prideful height, and then addresses her religious executors. The satire on church hypocrisy that follows is lengthy and sharp. Lyndsay maintains the avian setting — so that, at the last, the holy men gathered at the parrot's 'bedside',

in their sober, black and white habits, are a magpie, a raven and a kite — all, of course, predators! Certainly, Lyndsay designed such poems not merely to entertain but to inform and instruct his monarch as well: even the story of the royal parrot, which had literary precedents in England and France, also had a basis in fact, to judge from contemporary treasurer's accounts.¹⁶

Did Lyndsay also use poetry as a medium in which he could speak *for* his king, as well as *to* him? *The Deploratioun*, a poem mourning the untimely death of the king's young wife, the French princess Madeleine, certainly speaks for monarch and subjects alike, and for the realm of Scotland in a European context, in its emphasis on the Queen's death as a means of strengthening, not severing, the links between Scotland and France.

There is also persuasive, if largely circumstantial, evidence to suggest that Lyndsay did view his efforts, especially where they emphasized the need for reform of the established church, as those of a spokesman for his king. Although the first prints of Lyndsay's poems no longer survive, thorough bibliographical investigation reveals that most if not all of the poems Lyndsay wrote in these years were published during James V's lifetime, by Thomas Davidson, the printer closely associated with the king from the beginning of his personal reign.¹⁷ An undated yet logically early Davidson print exists of a Latin poem celebrating James V's accession in 1528. Copies of another work printed by Davidson about 1540 have also survived. This, a translation of Boece's Latin *Chronicles of Scotland*, had been officially commissioned by the king. On its title page Davidson had described himself as 'prenter to the kyngis nobyll grace'.¹⁸ There is official record of this in the following year, 1541, when Davidson was granted the royal licence and privilege to print the Acts of James V's parliaments.¹⁹ A fine full-page wood engraving of James V's arms appears in both *Chronicles* and *Acts*. That this would either have been designed by Sir David Lyndsay, Lyon King, or drawn up under his direction, links king, printer and poet the more closely and adds support to the argument that what Lyndsay was writing and publishing at this time had royal sanction.²⁰

In charting the growing impact of Reformed doctrine on publishing and censorship in Scotland, the Acts of Parliament themselves can also reveal something of royal attitudes to these questions and in turn of whether Lyndsay conveyed these attitudes in his poetry. In 1525, the importation of books by Luther and his followers was banned; ten years later, their possession by persons within the realm was added to the import restriction.²¹ If these bans suggest that the Scottish king was on the defensive and losing the battle, they must also be seen in terms of the international politics of the day. Henry VIII had just passed his own Acts of Supremacy — by which he declared himself head of the Church in England. James V's Acts defending the old Catholic faith were therefore in part to retain his European allies and the financial concessions from the Papacy that this stance brought him.²² Nevertheless, since Scotland at this time was important in the European balance of power, the Scottish king had some room for manoeuvre: he was not averse to hinting, since the established church in Scotland was far from perfect, that he might be persuaded to join his uncle in England in rejecting the Pope. Thus there are also several Acts 'For reforming of kirkis And kirkmen' during the years to 1542. Something of these political strategies is indeed

found in Lyndsay's court poems, especially in their finely-balanced criticisms of the Church. In the latter, Lyndsay did not proceed beyond orthodoxy on basic liturgical points, yet he spoke on related issues — such as the lack of theologically trained bishops, or the improper use of church revenues, also making specific proposals for improvements in some areas — with the freedom that betokened the personal and formal support of the king.²⁴

This changed swiftly to a less flexible environment in 1542, with the defeat of the Scots by the invading English forces at Solway Moss and the death of the king soon after. The new-born infant Mary became the monarch, with the French Dowager-Queen, Marie de Guise, and the Governor, the Earl of Arran, ruling on the child's behalf. Initially, the new leaders, although now closely linked to Catholic France, sought to accommodate the reformers by allowing into Scotland Tyndale's English translation of the Bible. Under the influence of the leading churchman Cardinal Beaton, however, the Church hierarchy took on an increasingly zealous role, until attitudes towards the reformers became unbending. Some Scots suspected of Lutheranism fled to England for safety, books were smuggled, translations were made in secret, and Scottish publishing was more strictly controlled.²⁵

How did Lyndsay fare at this time of change? His pen is quiet. He continued his duties as Lyon King, travelling to Henry VIII's court, for example, to return the late king's insignias of the Order of the Garter.²⁶ Even so, Lyndsay could not have remained detached from the mounting religious and political tensions: as Lyon King he was now formally standing in place of a monarch who could not yet speak. Lyndsay therefore had an increasingly difficult role to play within Scotland, especially after Cardinal Beaton ordered the burning of the reformer George Wishart and was himself murdered by a group of reformers that included some of Lyndsay's own neighbours in Fife.²⁷ In the ensuing conflict, Lyndsay negotiated on behalf of the Crown with these rebels, who had seized the Cardinal's castle and were holding the governor's son as hostage.²⁸

Lyndsay's poem about Cardinal Beaton's rise and fall was composed during 1547, several months after Beaton's murder. It was written in the traditional form of a moral tragedy, familiar from Boccaccio and Lydgate, with Lyndsay presenting himself as a mere listener and amanuensis, and the Cardinal, an apparition from the dead, as the narrator of his own life.²⁹ So it is, that in a deceptively plain and straightforward account, the Cardinal damns himself. The self-accusing tale is the familiar mode of the medieval tragedy, yet here it is transformed, no distant or dull lesson, but a highly politicized narrative, addressing with some urgency the need for the Scottish realm to examine where its policies are leading. At the end, indeed, 'Beaton' lays ultimate blame for the current unhappy state of Scotland equally upon the secular and religious leaders of England, France, and Scotland. Only after this general condemnation does he refer to his own culpability.³⁰ It could have been construed an affront to the sovereign herself to call her Lord Lyon into question over the controversial matter of this poem, but Lyndsay's narrative strategy gave his own part in the *Tragedie* an appearance of neutrality that would not have been easy to attack.³¹ It could not work the same way, however, for the poem's printer, John Scot. His arrest and incarceration

in Edinburgh Castle were ordered in April 1547 — although Scot was not captured — by a Privy Council comprising mainly Churchmen.³²

In London, by contrast, an English translation of the *Tragedie* (now the earliest surviving text) was issued by the printers John Day and William Seres in 1548, the first year of their short partnership.³³ The Day and Seres print shows how Lyndsay's work was taken over for — and in some respects distorted by — the reformist press: the poem is prefaced by a prose address by the Protestant Robert Barrant, in which the story of Adam and Eve and their descendants is presented in terms of corrupt doctrines (Eve's), envious ministers (Cain) and tyrannous persecutions (Abel's). Then, following Lyndsay's poem (which is printed in the smallest fount of black letter, medium fount for the rest), there is a sympathetic account of the accusation and trial of George Wishart.³⁴ It is not known whether this Day and Seres print found its way back into Scotland, but there is evidence that by 1549 Lyndsay's poem had definitely become illicit material there: it was condemned in that year by the Provincial Council, along with many other satirical 'ballads, poems and blasphemationis'.³⁵

Against this public comment on his literary work, was Lyndsay himself also threatened? On the contrary, his safety or freedom were not in question. The senior heraldic post was evidently sufficient protection, with the condemnation of his latest piece by the Provincial Council perhaps even something of a further qualification for his next official assignment. In late 1548 Lyndsay could be found in Denmark, that long-standing, though now Protestant, ally of Scotland.³⁶ The Lyon King had been instructed to point out to Christian III the devastation in Scotland caused by the recent English attacks, and to apply for permission to continue the Scoto-Danish trading link, especially in guns and powder. He was to mention, furthermore, the willingness of France to assist Scotland and to ask that Denmark also provide naval aid to help protect the Scottish coasts.³⁷ At the same time, England (then under Protector Somerset for Edward VI) sent an ambassador of its own whose credentials emphasized the point that England and Denmark, unlike Scotland, were both officially Protestant countries. This was Sir John Borthwick, a Scot now in exile in England for his Protestant beliefs. It may not have been unregarded that Lyndsay and Borthwick had worked together eight years before, when the latter was welcome at the Scottish court. Both men, possibly partly because they were known to have an 'English' interest in church reform, had been chosen by James V to accompany Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, during his official visit to Scotland in 1540.³⁸ It is difficult to gauge how much or in what ways this affected the negotiations or, indeed, Lyndsay's own thinking and writing on Scotland's civil and religious strife. Lyndsay, however, was the more successful negotiator and was rewarded for his mission when he eventually returned to Scotland towards the end of 1549.³⁹

Danish records show that Lyndsay had actually tried to return to Scotland much earlier, in February 1549, but had been forced by icy seas, and then the wreck of his ship, to remain in Denmark for several additional months.⁴⁰ It is possible that he took that unexpected opportunity to begin writing his *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and Ane Courteour*. This is not only Lyndsay's longest but also his most scholarly work, a history of the world that is also a history of the Church. In particular it sought to reach those for whom the Scriptures had been up till then inaccessible. Thus it incorporated

material from many sources, including both the English Bible and translations from the Vulgate.⁴¹

Whether or not he did begin to write *Ane Dialog* in Denmark, Lyndsay was in most congenial surroundings to do so, for the printing of a Danish translation of the Bible was just nearing completion. The translation, based on Luther's German version, was begun in 1540 and sponsored by the Danish king. It was the work of several eminent theologians, among them another expatriate and Protestant Scot, John MacAlpine, known abroad as Johannes Macchabeus. MacAlpine had been a Dominican prior at Perth until the 1530s, when he had joined reformers in England. There he had met, and in time become the brother-in-law of, English bible-translator Miles Coverdale. Later he had studied with distinction in Germany and had been welcomed and honoured in Denmark: MacAlpine was Rector Magnificus at the university of Copenhagen when Lyndsay could have met him.⁴² This is indeed probable: earlier in the same year, the Governor of Scotland had sent a letter (about the St Andrews siege) specifically to MacAlpine.⁴³ A meeting of Lyndsay and MacAlpine is of great interest to the bibliographer, for when Lyndsay's *Ane Dialog* was printed several years later, its title page bore the following: 'And Imprentit at the Conmand & Expenis of Doctor Machabevs, In Copmã houin'.⁴⁴

The distant patron and the absence of either date or printer's name have led all editors of Lyndsay since the early 1800s to view *Ane Dialog*'s imprint with suspicion — and to label it deliberately deceptive or fictitious.⁴⁵ The question of authenticity cannot, however, be dismissed with such assurance. First, although the date and printer were omitted from the imprint, both have been identified from internal evidence. On the verso of R1 is the colophon: 'Quod Lyndesay, 1552', while within the text there is a calculation of the number of years until the Last Judgement that refers to the present as 1553. Both dates, one noted by the printer, the other used by the author, agree if New Style and Old Style calendars are taken into account, as would be sensible for this period.⁴⁶ Similarly, the woodcut placed unobtrusively on the verso of N8, of Hercules and the Centaur, is and was known in the 1550s to be the device of the printer John Scot. Scot therefore did not disguise his own work, but possibly he did not wish to draw too much attention to his renewed association with a work of Lyndsay's.⁴⁷

Indeed, whatever reason Scot had for maintaining a low profile as printer of Lyndsay's *Ane Dialog* in particular, he was also repeating his actions of the previous year, for the publication of the *Catechism* that was associated with efforts to reform the established Church from within.⁴⁸ Scot omitted his own name from the title page of that work, too, and in the colophon stated only that the *Catechism* was 'Prentit at sanct Androus, be the command and exp̃sis of . . . Iohne Archbisshop of sanct Androus' in 1552. Interestingly, although this earlier work is invariably called 'Hamilton's *Catechism*', John Hamilton was not its author.⁴⁹ Rather, as the president of the Provincial Council of 1552 that initiated and oversaw the document's preparation, Hamilton was vitally involved in the *Catechism*'s production. This observation may seem to be a digression, yet it allows instructive comparison with John MacAlpine's part in the printing of the Danish translation of the Bible. As one of the leading professors of theology in Denmark, MacAlpine is often given much of the credit for the translation itself, but his biographer, Bredahl Petersen, has argued that this is unlikely, given that

Danish was not his first language. Remarks made by the bible's printer, Ludvig Dietz, about MacAlpine's favouring of him support the view that MacAlpine's involvement was that of chief administrator, his service to the Bible project, as Petersen puts it, 'primarily that of having [the Bible] published and distributed'.⁵⁰

These small pieces of information, especially those of Scot's revealingly similar descriptions of MacAlpine and Hamilton and the more exact definition of MacAlpine's considerable yet not translational role in the Danish Bible project, are important when one returns to the consideration of the publication of Lyndsay's *Ane Dialog*. MacAlpine's interest in the printing of the Scriptures in the vernacular is amply attested, and his desire to encourage this in his native Scotland — by way of support for Lyndsay's work, which used biblical translation at every step — is a reasonable inference to draw from these facts. By about 1553, moreover, when Scot printed Lyndsay's poem, MacAlpine's financial interest in the publication was also feasible, for from February 1550 Christian III had recognized MacAlpine's service to Denmark with a remunerative preferment for life to a canonry in Roskilde.⁵¹

So it would appear that a fictitious imprint for Lyndsay's final work is highly unlikely. The patronage of MacAlpine is certainly not implausible; it emphasizes a commitment to church reform, especially to the encouragement of the Church's use of vernacular texts, that the work itself bears out. Nevertheless this patronage, and the work itself, may at first sight seem at some remove from notions of what was proper decorum for a Lyon King. Yet, at a time when the sovereign is still an infant being nurtured in France and her subjects are troubled by political instability and theological conflict, it is arguably in keeping with the duties of the chief officer of the Crown and Kingdom to act and speak as Lyndsay did. That at the time of its publication Lyndsay did not view *Ane Dialog* as likely to be condemned for its heretical opinions (or for its Protestant financial backer), and therefore in need of a shady imprint, is evident in Lyndsay's willingness to put his own name to it. His dedication, given in general terms, 'To thame quhilk hes the realme in governance' and immediately repeated with specific reference to the names of Scotland's principal secular and religious leaders, adds support to these conclusions.

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NOTES

1. See Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing: From the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1890), pp.1-88.
2. *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, 1488-1529*, ed M. Livingstone (Edinburgh, 1908), charter no.1546, 223-4.
3. See *Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS together with The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, ed. G. Stevenson, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1918).
4. See further, D. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *Innes Review*, XIX, No.1 (1968), 3-14; Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1985), pp.231-46.
5. See Lord Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, I (London, 1849) — but the information on Sir David should not be accepted without question — and, for a discussion of Lyndsay's life and an appendix of related con-

- temporary material, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, IV, ed. Douglas Hamer, STS (Edinburgh, 1936), pp.ix-xl and 241-77.
6. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* [TA], IV, ed. J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1902), 313 and 441.
 7. See W.K. Emond, 'The minority of James V 1513-1528', Diss. St Andrews, 1988.
 8. Lyndsay makes this claim c. 1530 in *The Complaynt of Schir Dauid Lindsay*, ll.91-2, *The Works*, I, ed. Hamer (1931).
 9. See, for example, TA: V, 431-2 (1530); VI, 44 (1531-2).
 10. 'Protocol Book of Mr Meldrum 1520-33', Scottish Record Office B 30 1/1/1, fol. 110^r, where Lyndsay is described (4 January 1529) as acting 'nomine et ex parte Leonis regis armorum'.
 11. For a detailed discussion of the origin and functions of the Lyon King of Arms, see Thomas Innes of Learney, 'Heraldic Law', in *An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law*, ed. Hector McKechnie (Edinburgh, 1936), pp.379-95. See also Charles J. Burnett, 'The Court of the Lord Lyon', *The Scottish Genealogist*, XXVIII, No.4 (1981), 181-224.
 12. Thomas Innes of Learney, 'The Scottish Parliament; its Symbolism and its Ceremonial', *Juridical Review*, XLIV (1932), 87-124.
 13. The best complete edition is still Douglas Hamer's (*The Works*, 4 vols, 1931-36), but there are recent editions of *Ane Sayre*, by Peter Happé, in *Four Morality Plays* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp.431-615 and 663-75 (Notes), and by Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh, 1989).
 14. For a more detailed examination of Lyndsay's narrative method, see Janet H. Williams, "'Thus euery man said for himselfe": The Voices of Sir David Lyndsay's Poems', in *Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval Scotland*, ed. J. Derrick McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen, 1989), 258-72.
 15. This last is further discussed in Janet H. Williams, 'The Lyon and the Hound: Sir David Lyndsay's *Complaint and Confessioun of Bagsche*', *Parergon*, No.31 (1981), 3-11.
 16. The poem makes lighthearted, but sophisticated allusion to Skelton's *Speke Parrot*, and to the new writing appearing in France, in particular to Clément Marot's *L'Amant Vert*. See TA, VI, 390 and 429; both references postdate Lyndsay's poem – did poem inspire the fact? *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo* was the first of Lyndsay's works to be noticed furth of Scotland: John Byddell printed an English translation in London in 1538. It was also printed in 1558 by Jean Petit in Rouen.
 17. See D. Hamer, 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555)', *The Library*, Fourth Series, X, No.1 (1929), 1-42; Dickson and Edmond, *Annals*, pp.105-35.
 18. A modern facsimile makes this print accessible: Hector Boethius, *Chronicles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1540?), English Experience No.851 (Amsterdam, 1977).
 19. Evidence of printers or printing in Scotland between the time of Chepman and Myllar and Thomas Davidson is extremely scanty.
 20. On the licence and the engraving see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals*, pp.109-10.
 21. *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* [APS], ed. Thomas Thomson, II (Edinburgh, 1814), 295 and 341.
 22. See R.K. Hannay, 'A Study in Reformation History', *Scottish Historical Review*, XXIII, No.89 (1925), 18-33; W.J. Anderson, 'Rome and Scotland', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), pp.463-83, especially pp.469-73; and J. Wilson Ferguson, 'James V and the Scottish Church, 1528-1542', in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. T.K. Rabb and J.E. Seigal (Princeton, 1969), pp.52-76.
 23. APS, 370.
 24. A good discussion from a non-literary viewpoint is I.B. Cowan's in *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland* (London, 1982), pp.72-7.
 25. See J.H. Burns, 'The Political Background of the Reformation, 1513-1625', in *Essays*, ed. McRoberts, pp.1-38; M. Mahoney, 'The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513-1565', in *Essays*, ed. McRoberts, pp.39-84; and A.A. MacDonald, 'Poetry, Politics, and Reformation Censorship in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *English Studies*, V (1983), 410-21.
 26. One poem written about this time, *Kitteis Confessioun*, has shady associations with Lyndsay, but if published, it was published anonymously. Only in 1568, after Lyndsay's death, was it attributed tentatively ('as is beleuit') by the printer to the Lyon King. For Lyndsay's reception at the English court, see Henry VIII's letter to Governor Arran, BM Addit. MS 33531, fol.13.
 27. See W. Stanford Reid, 'Lutheranism in the Scottish Reformation', *Westminster Theological Journal*, VII (1945), 91-111; Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'The Earl of Rothes in Denmark', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, ed. I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), pp.60-74, especially pp.60-1; and M.H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c.1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), which includes a survey of the involvement of Fife and elsewhere at this time.

28. *State Papers King Henry VIII*, V, (London, 1837), 580-2 (a letter from Henry Balnaves, a reformer within St Andrews Castle, describing events).
29. For a discussion of this literary form see D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London, 1970), pp.223-54 and A.G.S. Edwards, 'The Influence of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* c.1440-1559: A Survey', *Medieval Studies*, XXXIX (1977), 424-39.
30. Hamer, *Works*, I, *The Tragedie*, ll.421-7.
31. In 1515 Lord Drummond was held to have 'forfeited his lands and property, and even his "lyffe" for striking the Lyon'. An account of this is given within Thomas Innes of Learney, 'Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy Lord Lyon King of Arms 1512-1519', *Juridical Review*, LX, No.1 (1943), pp.35-7, but there were probably other factors involved in this incident, since it occurred during the minority of James V, when the Governor, the Duke of Albany, was seeking ways to reduce the power of his opposition.
32. See D. Hamer, 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555)', 11-20.
33. See F.S. Ferguson, 'Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (-1640)', *The Library*, Fourth Series, VIII, No.2 (1927), p.150 and C.L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford, 1975), pp.6-7.
34. STC 15683, 'The Tragical death of Dauid Beaton . . . Wherunto is ioyned the martyrdom of maister George Wyseharte . . .' [1548], BM 288.a.49.
35. M.A. Bald, 'Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland: 1500 to 1625', *Scottish Historical Review*, XXIII (1926), p.257, assumes that the Day and Seres print did find its way to Scotland; *Concilia Scotiae*, ed. J. Robertson (Edinburgh, 1866), II, 120.
36. *TA*, IX, 259; see also W. Standford Reid, 'The Place of Denmark in Scottish Foreign Policy, 1470-1540', *Juridical Review*, LVIII, No.3 (1946), 183-200.
37. Christensen, 'The Earl of Rothes in Denmark', pp.68-9, quoting from the Danish National Archives (*Rigsarkivet*).
38. See T.L. Christensen, 'John Borthwick og hans plan om et samlet protestantisk Nordeuropa', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (Copenhagen, 1976), pp.44-66, especially pp.47 and 51-2; and John Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, XXI, Part 2 (1982), 152-3.
39. Christensen, 'The Earl of Rothes in Denmark', p.68; *TA*, IX, 347.
40. Christensen, 'The Earl of Rothes in Denmark', p.69, referring to Niels Krag and Stephan Stephanus, *Den Stormætigste Konge Kong Christian den Tredie . . . Hans Historie*, I (Copenhagen, 1776), 321-2.
41. See Hamer, *Works*, III, 237-47.
42. *DNB*: MacAlpine, John; F. Bredahl Petersen, 'Dr Johannes Macchabeus John MacAlpin Scotland's Contribution to the Reformation in Denmark', Diss. Edinburgh, 1937 (for discussion of the Danish Bible project, see pp.204-14). See also T. L. Christensen, 'Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, XLIX, No.2 (1970), 137-8.
43. See *TA*, 387.
44. A facsimile of the title page appears in Hamer, *Works*, IV, adjacent to p.23.
45. See *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, ed. George Chalmers (London, 1806), II, 324-6; *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1871), II, 331; Hamer, *Works*, IV, 23.
46. See Hamer, *Works*, III, 238; G. Thomas, 'Making a firm date', *New Scientist* (25 March 1982), 770-2.
47. Hamer, *Works*, IV, 23-5, also points out these details. He does not find them incompatible with a fictitious imprint.
48. See M. Taylor, 'The Conflicting Doctrines of the Scottish Reformation', in *Essays*, ed. McRoberts, pp.252-5.
49. Taylor, 'The Conflicting Doctrines of the Scottish Reformation', p.253 and Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation*, p.81.
50. Bredahl Petersen, 'Dr Johannes Macchabeus', p.212.
51. Bredahl Petersen, 'Dr Johannes Macchabeus', p.218.

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