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Robert L. Kindrick

Lion or Cat? Henryson's Characterization of James III



While little biographical information is available on Robert Henryson, many of his political attitudes can be inferred from his poetry. Marshall Stearns has explored Henryson's attitudes towards the kings, nobles, and peasants in the *Morall Fabillis* and other works.¹ Stearns believes that Henryson usually agrees with the peasants and the king against the barons. Henryson's commitment to monarchy and the cause of the common man is, Stearns feels, the hallmark of sincere and dedicated patriotism.

The nature of Henryson's patriotism demands further inquiry, particularly since James III, the king who is most often portrayed in the fables² was hardly a figure to inspire men to brave deeds or nationalistic rhetoric. James was apparently hated by many of his nobles. Yet he generated a curious mixture of respect and abhorrence among the lower classes and the burgesses. He lacked the political acumen of his father and grandfather. Influenced by self-seeking counselors from his youth, James was unable to confront the tough political realities of fifteenth-century Scotland. Instead of trying to govern the internal affairs of the realm, James took refuge in his arts and treasures and in the company of his courtiers and his mistress.³

James' inability to deal with domestic crises was disastrous for the commons. Many nobles felt free to act in their own

interests without regard to the welfare of the peasants or the law. In the years from about 1475 to 1482, James' popularity finally reached its nadir among the middle and lower classes. The nobles too were dissatisfied, despite their freedom from interference. When James saw fit to pay any attention at all to his barons, he was primarily interested in using them as a source of income. Some of the money he taxed or extorted from his nobles went to fill his chests with treasure and works of art. Some of it went to his favorites and councilors, such as Thomas Preston and Thomas Cochrane. In some instances, in fact, James even appropriated the hereditary fiefs of ancient families to bestow them as gifts on his "unworthye vyle counsellors."⁴ It was these gifts to his favorites that incensed the nobles to rebel and seize the king at Lauder kirk in July, 1482.

James was king during much of Henryson's working life. Although we do not have precise dates for *The Testament of Cressid*, *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, and even many of the *Morall Fabillis*, it is likely that Henryson's most active period of composition was 1475-1485.⁵ Although the poet is often concerned with the general moral and theological implications of his poems, he did not close his eyes to the political crises developing around him. He was in fact acutely aware of the state of Scotland and the harsh living conditions imposed on many of the burghesses and peasants by James' disregard of his royal obligations. Particularly striking is his characterization of James in the *Morall Fabillis*, many of which were written at the time the Scottish nobles were plotting and carrying out their rebellion against the king. The portrait of James that appears in the fables offers an interesting analysis of the king's character by a somewhat sympathetic contemporary. It also offers important insight into the nature of the relationship between politics and poetry in fifteenth-century Scotland.

That the portrayal of James expresses Henryson's views is confirmed by his known sources. The four tales in which James may appear are "The Two Mice," "The Trial of the Fox," "The Lion and the Mouse," and "The Wolf and the Wedder."⁶ "The Two Mice" seems to be based on a fable by Odo of Cheriton, while "The Lion and the Mouse" seems to be derived from a version of *Gaulterus Anglicus*. "The Trial of the Fox" shows the influence of both Odo's tales and Caxton's *Reynard* (1481), and "The Wolf and the Wedder" is based on a narrative in Caxton's *Aesop* (1484). In all instances, the sources provided Henryson a plot line and a group of major characters. But the political themes are developed from new insights and added details that must have come from Scottish court life.

James probably appears first in the *Fabillis* in the "Taill of the Uponlandis Mouse and the Burges Mouse," written in

the mid-1470's. The traditional tale basically centers on two mice, one of whom lives alone in the country, leading a life full of "hunger, cauld, and...grit distress"⁷ (l. 170). The other mouse lives in the city and has found great prosperity as "Gild brother..ane fre Burges" (l. 172). The burges mouse goes to visit her country cousin and is appalled by her living conditions. She invites the country mouse to come visit her in the city where she promises a fine meal and a good time. When the two arrive and sit down to dinner, they are first frightened by the Spenser. Once that peril has passed, they again sit down to dinner, when they are yet again interrupted by Gib, "our Joly hunter." The playful cat almost kills the country mouse until she escapes and returns to the country, vowing that there is no pleasure that can make up for the uncertainty of such a life as her sister leads.

The Uponlandis Mouse's life realistically reflects some of the facts of the living conditions of the peasant classes, including the harshness, loneliness, and relative deprivation. The Burgess Mouse's life reflects the perquisites and status of the rising urban middle class. Despite Stearn's assertion that Henryson's treatment of the two is based on his greater sympathy for the peasants,⁸ there are strong reasons for believing the portrayals are developed from a sympathetic understanding for both groups.

The snobbishness of the Burgess Mouse is an unattractive aspect of her personality. But this is partially based on the basic antipathy between her environment and that of her cousin, on differences between highlander and lowlander, sophisticate, and rustic. Her delight in worldly things reflects the love of good living by her human counterparts, but the perils she faces have their counterparts in historical conditions. Understood against the background of fifteenth-century politics, the intrusions of the Spenser and the car represent constant hazards such as foreign invasion, tariffs, and the machinations of the king which merchants were prey to. There is no doubt that, as Reid suggests, the treacherous environment of the Scottish middle class was one that required quick and decisive action.⁹

It is very likely that one of these hazards, Gib the cat, may be identified with James III. Although the extended treatment of the cat is common to Henryson's fable and his possible source in the fables of Odo, Henryson capitalizes on the political implications.¹⁰ This could likely be an expression of Scottish dissatisfaction with a monarch who toyed with his subjects the way Gib toys with the country mouse. The attack on the two mice by Gib may represent the economic havoc wrought by heavy tariffs, a debased coinage, and the grants to James' familiars. Support for this interpretation is available from

two sources. First, there is a general literary tradition in the Middle Ages which explains the application of political controls to the monarch as "belling the cat." Probably the best known literary treatment of this theme is in *Piers Plowman* (B, Prologue, 146-207), in which the timorous rats discuss who will be daring enough to try to bell the cat. A more contemporary justification for Henryson's use of the cat symbol for James is to be found in the language of the conspirators who attacked the king at Lauder kirk. Certainly they thought of their actions in terms of this traditional metaphor, for the chief conspirator, the Earl of Angus, became known as "Archibald Bell-the-Cat" after the Lauder rebellion. Although Henryson's perspective on James' ability to govern apparently changed after the Lauder rebellion, there is strong reason to believe he could have been referring to James III in the portrayal of Gib the cat, whose actions affect both the burgesses and the country folk.

James appears as a lion in "The Trial of the Fox."¹¹ In the opening scenes of this tale, the lion calls a parliament of beasts. Much of the plot hinges on the attempts of the fox and the wolf to get the mare to attend. The lion dispatches them as his agents to force her to come. When the two confront her, she still refuses to appear, asserting that she has a grant of respite written on her hoof. The foolish wolf bends down to inspect her proof and is kicked in the head for his pains. When the two return to court, the wolf is berated for his "red cap" and lack of common sense. Jamieson shows that this series of events is derived not from Caxton but from Odo of Cheriton.¹² Near the tale's conclusion, a ewe steps forward to charge that the fox has stolen and devoured her kid. The fox is tried, convicted, and hanged for his offense.

The elements of this fable which concern James are based on issues in church-state relations. For some time there had been controversy between the Church and the king about the power to appoint clergy to benefices in Scotland. The crown had attempted to extend its power over the filling of vacancies, sometimes leaving them empty simply to benefit the royal treasury. In a series of papal decrees, however, the crown's authority had been undercut by the Church, which firmly asserted its own control. The quarrels between Church and state reached a climax in 1472 when Patrick Graham was made Archbishop of St. Andrews without James' approval. In an attempt to check the Church's authority, James managed to secure the appointment of William Scheves as Graham's successor when the appointment became open in the late 1470's. Even objective contemporary accounts describe Scheves as undistinguished as a clergyman or scholar. It is quite possible that the Scheves appointment is

the subject of this fable.

As MacQueen has demonstrated, Henryson has transformed Caxton's court of animals into a distinctively Scottish court.¹³ The most important animals are those on the seal of Scotland, and the estates of Scottish society are represented by the various types of animals that crowd the parliament. Even the lion's pronouncements seem to suit the haughty temperament of James III:

My celsitude and hie magnifence,
Lattis yow to wait, that evin incontinent,
Thinkis the morne, with Royall deligence
Upon this hill to hald ane Parliament. (*ll.* 859-862)

The mare's failure to appear at this parliament is the occasion of the charge to the fox and the wolf to bring her to court. The lion's choices for the task are questionable at best. The fox has been at court in disguise because of his father's crimes. The wolf has consistently been an oppressor of the poor. If the lion does indeed represent James III, these two ambassadors may well represent real figures at his court. The fox could represent Preston or William Roger, or even Angus of the Isles,¹⁴ while the wolf might be Archbishop William Scheves. Besides the mention of the wolf's ecclesiastical garb, he is the subject of a proverb that would be directly applicable to Scheves. When the animals return from their mission, the lion scorns the wolf with the following lines:

'be yone reid Cap I ken
This Taill is trew, quha tent unto it takis;
The greitest Clerkis ar not the wysest men...
(*ll.* 1062-1964)

Scheves' position would place him among the "greatest" of clergymen in one sense, and the proverb would certainly apply to his lackluster career. Other historical events also fit the allegory.

The mare is a symbol of special relevance for the fifteenth-century Scottish Church:

This mere is men of contemplioun,
Off pennance walkand in this wildernace,
As monkis and other men of religioun.
(Bannatyne, 302-304)

Only the Bannatyne manuscript emphasizes the full significance of this passage; in other texts, the mare is "men of gude con-

dition," but here she is more specifically identified. Most likely she is a symbol of those Scottish clergymen who felt their obligations to the Pope were more important than their responsibilities to the king. These were the members of religious orders whose power was being depleted by James' attempts to bring the clergy under his control. Such men were being forced to "come to parliament" in that they were being drawn into the complicated world of Scottish politics by Scheves' efforts in James' behalf. Unfortunately for the Scottish Church, the men of contemplation were not nearly so successful as Henryson suggested.¹⁵

In his *Moralitas* Henryson makes a special effort to suggest that Noble the lion is not James, a disclaimer which is to be expected in a poem such as this. He is instead "the warld be liknes./To quhom Loutis baith Empriour and King" (ll. 1104-1105). Despite emphasis on the tropological elements of the tale, the association between Noble and James is inevitable. The portrait that emerges is consistent with the characterization of James in the other fables. This monarch governs in a corrupt court. His advisers are chosen without regard to true merit. To satisfy his own political ends, he is willing to oppress even the most righteous men in his kingdom. Despite his regal bearing and his ability to recognize his own mistakes, he is a careless ruler.

The events immediately preceding the king's capture at Lauder kirk, the capture itself, and James' ultimate release are treated in "The Taill of the Lyon & the Mous." In this fable Henryson follows many of the traditions of the dream-vision. The tale employs a persona, a dreamer who goes out into the countryside "in middis of June." When he comes to the hawthorne, he closes his eyes and goes to sleep. The dreamer's vision begins with his seeing "The fairest man that ever be-foir I saw" (l. 1348). The figure proves to be none other than Aesop, whose qualities combine the best of pagan and Christian virtues. Henryson specifically asks for a tale with "ane gude Moralitee," but Aesop avows that it will do little good in the corrupt society of fifteenth-century Scotland:

For quhat is it worth to tell ane fenyeit taill
 Quhen haly preiching may na thing avail?
 (ll. 1388-1390)

Aesop is finally persuaded, however, and tells the tale of the lion and the mouse.

The political message of Henryson's version of this tale is quite clear. The Lion is, of course, James III, and the ambivalence of his portrayal is to be expected after the relatively

unflattering portrait in "The Taill of the Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous." Although James has become a feline of more regal proportions, his noble stature is diminished by numerous vices. In the opening of the fable, the Lion is found "Beikand his breist and belly at the Sun" (l. 1407). There is no harm in the lion's enjoying his leisure, but he is so still that "the Myis wes not effeird,/Bot to and fro out over him tuke thair trace" (ll. 1412-1413). Such sloth in a monarch is hardly laudable. Even more despicable is the lion's capricious cruelty. He captures one of the little mice who have been walking over and around him. After he is persuaded to release him, the lion goes on a rampage:

...the Lyoun held to hunt,
 For he had nocht, bot levit on his Pray,
 And slew baith tayme and wyld, as he was wont,
 And in the cuntrie maid ane grit deray;
 Till at the last the pepill fand the way
 This cruell Lyoun how that thay mycht tak...
 (ll. 1510-1515)

Henryson's emphasis on the habitual nature of this action makes it even more vicious, and his tone reflects the same sort of sympathy for the humble victims as that found in "The Scheip and the Doig" (ll. 1302-1306) and "The Wolf and the Lamb" (ll. 2707-2734).

Any doubt about the object of Henryson's attack is dispelled by the *Moralitas* in which he interprets the lion as "ane Prince, or Empriour,/Ane Postestate, or yit ane King with Crown." Henryson's own comment that the ruler he describes

...takis na labour
 To reule and steir the land, and Justice keip,
 Bot lyis still in lustis, sleuth, and sleip.
 (ll. 1577-1579)

perfectly fits James III who was accused of similar vices in *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*.¹⁶

The mice who affront the lion by ignoring his power represent "The commountie." Although Stearns believes the first mouse is a symbol of "the sturdily independent peasant," he more likely is a representative of the middle classes.¹⁷ All of the mice are guilty of thoughtlessness in their trespass against the lion, but his sloth has encouraged their error, and their fault is unwitting. Their chagrin at having angered the lion is expressed by the first mouse which the lion captures early in the fable:

Se als how thingis done off Neglygence,
 Nouthur off malice nor of presumptioun,
 The rather suld have grace and Remissioun.

.....
 Ye lay so still, and law upon the eird
 That, by my sawll, we weind ye had bene deid,
 Elles wald we not have dancit ouer your heid.

(ll. 1437-1439, 1444-1446)

Though this is a kind of treason, it is carefully differentiated from that of the hunters. Moreover, this speech even contains a hint of righteous indignation, and Henryson uses this speech as an opportunity to discourse on the nature of kingship. The qualities he emphasizes are those most lacking in James III: active concern, restraint, justice and mercy.

Essential to understanding the political allegory of this tale is the role of the hunters. In his *Moralitas* Henryson describes them as "rurall men" who "waittit alway amendis for to get" (l. 1610). Stearns points out a parallel between the capture of the lion and the kidnapping of James by Sir Alexander Boyd in 1466.¹⁸ More likely, however, the subject of this fable is the Lauder rebellion, and the hunters of the lion include the Earl of Angus, Sir Robert Douglas, and even members of the king's own family.¹⁹ Their successful attack on James at Lauder resulted in the hanging of his unpopular favorites, Thomas Cochrane, Thomas Preston, and William Roger, and the king's imprisonment in the castle of his uncle, the Earl of Atholl. Doubtless the power of the conspirators as well as of the kinship some of them shared with the king could account for Henryson's reluctance to identify the hunters clearly. He states only that they are seeking revenge, and he explains cryptically "King and Lord may weill wit quhat I mene..." (l. 1613).

The lion's capture results in some soul-searching on his part and an expression of great distress. The solution to his predicament is offered by the mice who appear on the scene and chew through the lion's bonds. The lion is freed to go on his way "because he had pietie." (l. 1569). This rescue is parallel to other political events that followed James' capture by Angus and the others. The Duke of Albany, James' brother, had fled to England to escape the kind of execution carried out on the Earl of Mar, another brother. At the time of the king's capture, Albany was besieging Berwick in company with the Duke of Gloucester. When he found that his brother had been captured, he hurried into Scotland to assume the reins of government. Once the Duke took over the government, he effected a truce with England. He then began to plan to gain permanent

control of the crown. Apparently his mother recommended that James be released from prison as a prologue to his abdication in favor of the Duke. Albany attempted to find a way to release James from his captivity without arousing the ire of the Lauder conspirators, who had by then disbanded. He therefore encouraged Walter Bertram to organize the Edinburgh burgesses to lay siege to Atholl so he could arrange privately with the Earl for James' release. Free of his obligations to the Lauder conspirators, the Earl let the castle fall into enemy hands and James was released. Henryson's praise of the valor of the mice is not praise of the peasantry but of the Edinburgh burgesses, and his serious attitude toward the action proves that "Albany's exercise in propaganda was not in vain."²⁰

Henryson's attitude toward James throughout this fable is ambivalent at best. His source materials would lend themselves to the expression of sympathy for the lion instead of the hunters. But Henryson has little praise for the sloth and lust which limit James' effectiveness in his position. As Henryson develops the tale, it seems in many ways that James is only praiseworthy at all because his captors are so much worse. They represent feudal fragmentation and lawlessness. Henryson hopes for better things as he utters a prayer through the mouth of his narrator, Aesop:

I the beseik and all men for to pray
 That tressoun of this cuntrie be exyld,
 And Justice Regne, and Lordis keip thair fay
 Unto thair Soverane King, baith nycht and day.

(ll. 1616-1619)

Certainly for the king Henryson sees a solution: he believes that "for James salvation from the power of the nobility depended on the equity with which his justice was administered; that so long as the commons felt no resentment against him, the nobility would be powerless to unseat him."²¹ Unfortunately, James did not recognize his situation, and lasting peace and internal tranquility were still in the distant future for Scotland.

There is one other possible reference to James in the *Morall Fabillis*, in "The Taill of the Wolf and the Wedder." In that fable, James may be represented by the shepherd whose faithful watchdog had died, a role of minor significance in Caxton's tale. Despairing of his ability to protect his sheep, the shepherd grasps at the wether's suggestion that he be allowed to take the dog's place. The wether puts on the dog's skin and scares the wolf who has been driven to steal a kid by his hunger. The foolish wether, however, has become convinced that he

has the power of the dog and pursues the wolf until his disguise is snagged on a briar and the wolf becomes aware of the trick. He then captures the wether, castigates him for offending his betters, and breaks his neck. Caxton's *Aesop* specifies only that the tale teaches one how to deal with his betters.

All of the incidents of the fable are singularly appropriate to the Lauder bridge incident. The presumptuous wether, who is carried away by his own disguise, is interpreted by Henryson as "pure men" who are led to presumption by worldly wealth. Such men "counterfute ane Lord in all degre." (l. 2598), but "likis not to thair blude, nor thair offspring" (l. 2605). Henryson's interpretation is certainly appropriate to Cochrane, Preston, and Roger, the king's favorites who were hanged at Lauder bridge. They came from the lower classes, to whom Henryson usually refers when he uses the phrase "pure men." Their free use of the king's largesse and their influence at court appeared to be the worst kind of presumption to the barons.

The wolf most likely refers to the rebellious barons, whom Henryson characterized as the hunters in "The Lion and the Mouse."²² Henryson seems deliberately ambivalent in the portrayal of the wolf. On the one hand, the wolf is traditionally a predator, and he is surely the enemy of the shepherd and the flock. Yet his actions are mitigated by his personal circumstances and the order of nature. He is driven to attack the flock by extreme hunger. Although Henryson often uses hunger to symbolize sensuality in general, he makes it clear that the wolf's situation is desperate. There is even some justification for his killing of the wether. Once the wether has left his master's protection, he has entered a realm of nature in which his disguise is a horrible breach of order.²³ In Henryson's expanded version of the fable the wether himself admits, when trapped by the wolf, that it is not in accordance with natural order for a wether to chase a wolf. It is, of course, even less in order for him to scare the wolf so badly that he befouls himself no fewer than three times. Away from the shepherd's protection, the wolf calls himself the wether's "Maister" and the wether so acknowledges him. The wether has violated natural order because, as Henryson tells us in the *Moralitas*, he did not know himself.

The ambiguity in the portrayal of the wolf also extends to the portrayal of the shepherd. He is certainly justified in caring for his sheep. In fact, Henryson credits James with more concern than he generally showed. Yet, he flies in the face of traditional wisdom when he follows the wether's advice. Henryson shows that the shepherd's joy at finding some hope in

the wether's suggestion carries him away:

'Than,' said the scheinheid, 'this come of ane gude wit;
 Thy counsall is baith sicker, leill, and trew;
 Quha sayis ane schein is daft, thay lieit of it.'
 (ll. 2490-2492)

Henryson probably thought the sheep's offer of assistance was well-intended. Indeed, he removed any criticism of the wether's conduct from the first section of his source.²⁴ Yet, Henryson's shepherd was at the very least negligent in allowing himself to become entranced by the wether's suggestion. It is, after all, a king's task to judge the characters of those he promotes to power.

Of all the events in the complicated world of Scottish politics the Lauder rebellion affected Henryson significantly in the *Morall Fabillis*, and his characterization of James must be evaluated in terms of the events that occurred in July, 1482. There is no doubt that Henryson was a staunch monarchist.²⁵ He saw the throne as the best protection for both the peasants and the burgesses against the social disorder which resulted from the excesses of the barons. Henryson felt that barons were concerned only about their own individual fiefs. If there were to be any control of baronial powers, it could only come from the crown. Henryson's political theory seems very similar to that in *The Porteous of Nobleness*. The roles of nobles and their relationship with king and commons are clearly stated:

For treuth and lawte nobilifs war' first ordanit and
 stablit till haue lordshipe abone the commoun peple
 and thairfor' to thaim was gevin hie honour, manrent,
 and seruice of the subiectis. Thair ar' nocht sa hie
 nor ordanit for to reif or take be force in ony way
 bot thai ar' haldin in werray richt and resoun for
 to serf thair king and defend there subiectis...²⁶

It seems likely that Henryson would indeed have recommended a return to "a more consistent feudalism"²⁷ in which the barons were more closely controlled by the crown and were forced to satisfy their obligations to others above and below them in society.

Yet Henryson's support of the king over the barons did not mean that he was satisfied with James III. In "The Tail of the Lyon and the Mous" the king's sloth and lust are double dangers to the lower classes, in that they lead him to make unjust judgments and they make him easy prey for his enemies.

In "The Wolf and the Wedder," the king's lack of judgment and disregard of traditional wisdom result in his losing protection of any sort for his flock and help to lead a "pure" man to his destruction. In all of these fables, Henryson is portraying as explicitly as possible the numerous shortcomings of a weak introverted monarch, whose lack of judgment about his private and public life severely undermined the national security and the standard of living of his people.

Henryson's lack of confidence in James did not lead him to doubt the value of the institution of monarchy. Perhaps one of the most characteristically Medieval elements of his philosophy is his commitment to the ideal of kingship.²⁸ But his belief in monarchy was supplemented by a keen observation of the political events of his time. He was not blinded by political idealism to flaws in the person of the king.

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NOTES

¹ Marshall W. Stearns, *Robert Henryson* (New York, 1949), pp. 33-47.

² For a succinct review of the evidence that James III would have been Henryson's subject, see R. J. Lyall, "Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland," *Scottish Literary Journal*, 3 (1976), 5-6.

³ Recent attempts to reappraise the reputation of James III are found in Norman A. T. Macdougall, "The Sources: A Reappraisal of A Legend" and Jenifer M. Brown, "The Exercise of Power," both in Jenifer M. Brown, *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977). Macdougall points out that the maligning of James is "the Scottish equivalent of the Tudor myth of Richard III" (p. 11), and he tries to show that James' pro-English policy was quite progressive. Even his reexamination of contemporary records, however, does not redeem James from the charge of making grievous errors in domestic affairs. For a balanced account, see Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 397-530.

⁴ J. Lesley, *The History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1830), pp. 48-49. However, see Macdougall's cautionary note about Lesley, p. 27. The best modern account of the incidents at

Lauder and the nature of the king's favorites is Nicholson, pp. 495-514.

⁵ The chronology of the *Fabillis* is tentative at best. For a good modern treatment see David K. Crowne, "A Date for the Composition of Henryson's *Fables*," *JEGP*, 61 (1962), 598, and John MacQueen, *Robert Henryson* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 189-199. See also *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson*, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

⁶ Henryson's sources are still not completely identified. G. Gregory Smith, in *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Edinburgh, 1914), suggested that "The Two Mice" was associated with Lygate's fable of the paddock and the mouse in the *Fabulae Extravagante* (pp. xxxvii-xxxviii). He also identified Gaulterus' tale as the source for "The Lion and the Mouse" (pp. xxxiv). Henryson's use of the fables of Odo has been explored by I. W. A. Jamieson, "A Further Source for Henryson's *Fabillis*," *N&Q* 212 (November, 1967), 403-405. Caxton's influence on the fables has been evaluated by Denton Fox, "Henryson and Caxton," *JEGP* LXVII (1968) 586-93. Additional valuable discussions are to be found in I. W. A. Jamieson, "The Poetry of Robert Henryson" (Unpublished dissertation, The University of Edinburgh, 1964), and MacQueen, pp. 190-195, 200-221. Stearns suggests that James also appears in "The Paddock and the Mouse" (pp. 22-25), but I feel that his evidence is too vague to include the tale in this group.

⁷ Wood, p. 9, l. 170. All quotations from the *Fabillis*, except those from the Bannatyne manuscript, will be from Wood's edition, and line numbers will follow his arrangement. Bannatyne citations are from W. Tod Ritchie ed., *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (Edinburgh: 1930).

⁸ Stearns, p. 109.

⁹ W. S. Reid, "The Middle Class Factor in the Scottish Reformation," *Church History*, 16 (1947), 141-142.

¹⁰ Jamieson, "A Further Source," 403.

¹¹ MacQueen, pp. 151-152.

¹² Jamieson, "A Further Source," 404.

¹³ MacQueen, pp. 150-151.

¹⁴ Stearns suggests the identification with Angus (pp. 17-18),

but other aspects of his career do not support this case.

¹⁵ A good account of the conflict may be found in John Dowden, *The Mediaeval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1910), pp.45-50.

¹⁶ For an argument that the poem can be explained in terms of traditional complaint, see Lyall, 8-9.

¹⁷ Stearns, 117. See also Nicholson, pp. 508-509.

¹⁸ Stearns, p. 17.

¹⁹ Nicholson, p. 509.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

²¹ MacQueen, p. 171.

²² Henryson's use of the wolf as a symbol for the barons is well established in the fables. See especially "The Wolf and the Lamb."

²³ Henryson's concept of nature is treated in MacQueen, pp. 120, 181.

²⁴ I. W. A. Jamieson, "Henryson's Taill of the Wolf and the Wedder," *SSL*, 6 (1969), 252.

²⁵ Stearns, pp. 20-23.

²⁶ W. A. Craigie, ed., *The Asloan Manuscript* (Edinburgh, 1923), I, 174.

²⁷ Stearns, p. 129.

²⁸ See MacQueen, pp. 170-172.