

# The Reception of Bridget of Sweden in Late Medieval Scottish Statecraft: 1441-61<sup>1</sup>

Katherine E. Basanti\*

THIS study explores the impact of Bridget of Sweden<sup>2</sup> in fifteenth century Scottish historical literature and political thought.<sup>3</sup> An extensive analysis of Bridget's main tenets in relation to holy war rhetoric and matters of governance is provided by the Augustinian canon regular and prior of Inchcolm Abbey, Walter Bower, in his voluminous chronicle entitled *Scotichronicon*.<sup>4</sup> Whilst Bridget's *Liber Caelestis* constitutes the key intellectual apparatus for Bower's discussion of the Baltic Crusade and Albigensian heresy,<sup>5</sup> Bower does not merely interpolate her text into his own chronicle. Instead, he explores the intricacies of Bridget's pronouncement of the crusade ethos as vital to the Christian commonwealth, and pertains her discourse on government and civic

---

\* Katherine E. Basanti is a PhD candidate in History, University of Aberdeen.

1 The author of this article would like to profoundly thank both peer reviewers for their invaluable feedback.

2 Birgitta of Vadstena (1303-73) was founder of the Augustinian religious order renowned as the Birgittine Order (*Order of the Most Holy Saviour*) confirmed by Urban V in 1370. Birgitta or Bridget was canonised as a saint in 1391 by Boniface IX. For the disputed foundation date of this order in Sweden (1344 or 1346), see Sahlin 2001, 16 n.13.

3 Due to innumerable scribal and translation discrepancies, along with omissions of the original text in subsequent editions, this study focuses on the primary source material regarding Bridget's main tenets found and expounded in *Scotichronicon* which is *Memoriale Effigiatum Librorum Prophetiarum seu Visionum B. Brigidae alias Brigittae*; hereinafter cited as *Memoriale*. The impact of *Memoriale* in *Liber Pluscardensis* is also considered.

4 Between November 1441 and October 1445, Bower (c.1385-1449) expanded the five books of *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (formerly attributed to John of Fordun) to sixteen. Bower kept making additions and further emendations at least until October 1447, and presumably until his death; see Bower 1998, ix, 208; and Borthwick 1998, ix, 354-5.

5 For debates surrounding Bridget's texts, often regarded as controversial concerning her perspectives on *deus vult* versus human initiative, within the late medieval intelligentsia see: Harris 1990, 4, 40-6, 62; Jorgensen 1954, i, 208-9, 248; Morris 1999, 74-8; Sahlin 2001, 136, 143-7; Voaden 1999, 70-108.

duty to the sociopolitical realities of his own day.<sup>6</sup> Appropriating an idealized crusade past to the volatile political trajectory following the assassination of James I of Scotland on 21 February 1437 until the early reign of James II in the 1440s, Bower not only utilizes but affirms Bridget's stochastic commentary;<sup>7</sup> he builds upon her analysis of the role of the sovereign in foreign military expeditions in tandem with domestic state-of-affairs, especially when the phenomena of heresy and treason pose a threat to both Church and crown. In addition, Bower furthers Bridget's argument regarding the significance of crusading and pilgrimage by intensifying the duty of a sovereign in promoting pilgrimage not as a religious journey alone but also a means to reclaim the Holy Land from Islamic rule.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the ways in which Bridget's advice to military and political leaders alike evolve in *Liber Pluscardensis*, redacted at the Benedictine priory of Pluscarden in circa 1461,<sup>9</sup> are considered; adopting a more secularized approach in discussing the role of the sovereign within Scotland,<sup>10</sup> *Liber Pluscardensis* never acknowledges Bridget on the analysis involving Scottish statecraft, and nearly dispenses with Bower's pro-crusade rhetoric. Instead, Bridget's *exempla* are significantly reduced in *Liber Pluscardensis* and appropriated to Scottish realities and national anxieties. Using a comparative approach comprising the aforesaid texts, this article aims to explore the level of influence concerning Bridget's discourse on military conduct and sound governance in Scottish historical literature and political thought following the regicide of James I in 1437.

---

6 Primary source material concerning *Scotichronicon* discussed in this article is derived from the nine-volume series edited by D.E.R. Watt *et al.* Watt has specified that his main working text constitutes the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 (Corpus Manuscript), and in each section, where regraded necessary, he specifies further manuscript sources, in particular, MS CA (*The Coupar Angus Manuscript*); see Bower 1993, xiii-xvii. Linguistic and scribal differences regarding the various manuscript versions of *Scotichronicon* devoid of holy war rhetoric and political purpose (as discussed in this article) are beyond the scope of this study.

7 See further concerning the sociopolitical implications and repercussions of the above-mentioned regicide in Anglo-Scottish affairs: *Auchinleck Chronicle*, Appendix 2, 160-73; Brown 1994, 194-201; Brown 2000, 165-88.

8 Bower 1995, viii, 97; Bower's argument on crusade-infused pilgrimage in *Outremer* is discussed at length below.

9 Concerning the debate on the publication date of *Liber Pluscardensis*, Mapstone construes that its composition most likely began in the 1450s and completed in circa 1461; see Mapstone 1999, 40-54. Mapstone has disproved authorship by Maurice Buchanan, and the discussion of authorship now advanced has argued for a connection to Dunfermline abbey; see Mapstone 1999, 31-55.

10 Pluscarden was a Valliscaulian priory up until 1454, and did not have abbatial status until the twentieth century; see Dilworth 2010 (Chapter 8, in particular, where Pluscarden is stated as a Benedictine house), 87-103. Again, this article is in debt to the peer revision for specifying these significant points.

## ***Bride of Christ and Adviser for Kings***

There are two women in Bower's chronicle who are described as 'Brides of Christ',<sup>11</sup> Katherine of Alexandria<sup>12</sup> (*regenerata anulo fidei a Christo subarratur*)<sup>13</sup> and Bridget of Sweden (*sponsa Christi*).<sup>14</sup> Both women are commemorated for their profound erudition as well as physical beauty. Nonetheless, the predominant features ascribed to both these women are their intellectual independence and ecclesiastical influence.<sup>15</sup> Bridget of Sweden, in particular, is lauded by Bower for her piety as well as power; her religious and political influence during the reign of Magnus Eriksson has been documented in primary and secondary sources alike.<sup>16</sup> Bower states that wise sovereigns are those who accept counsel from equivalently sagacious women providing discourse on reason, the latter equivalent to *miles Christi*.<sup>17</sup> Bower construes that *hostis Christi* bears a multitude of forms, both tangible and intangible, within the borders of the state and, above all, the state of mind. The enemies of the state and Church, as judged by Bower, lie neither in Islamic forces nor heretical sects alone. Instead, one's own moral failings and loss of self-discipline constitute a severe enemy to sound ecclesiastical networks as well as civic unity. The concepts of the chivalric ideal<sup>18</sup> and crusade ethos are employed not only within the battlefield but are also used to define conduct within a sovereign's own kingship and governance.<sup>19</sup> Regarding the events and legacy of crusading, Bower is profoundly influenced not only by Bridget of Sweden, but also Peter of Blois and James of Vitry. Bower delineates the

- 
- 11 See further concerning this term and concept: Atkinson 1983, 131-43; Schulenburg 1986, 29-72.
  - 12 For the life and legend of Katherine, see Capgrave, *passim*; Metcalfe, 442-77; Lewis 2000, 9-15, 52-9, 222-6.
  - 13 Bower 1993, i, 294; for the whole section on the conversion of Katherine to Christianity see Bower 1993, i, 284-97; this account belongs to Bower alone, its source is unknown, and it is found in no other Scottish text.
  - 14 Rex quidam Suecie rogavit sponsam Christi quod consuleret Dominum si placeret ei quod iret in exercitu contra paganos quia hoc habebat in voto; Bower 1989, ii, 178 (on Bridget as the 'Bride of Christ').
  - 15 For further analysis on the translation of Katherine of Alexandria mentioned by Bower see Lewis 2000, 107-10.
  - 16 See further with regards to Bridget's political as well as religious influence during the reign of Magnus Eriksson (1316-1374); Borresen 1993, 188-200; Gill 1993, i, 129-41; Obrist 1984, 227-51.
  - 17 For the influential role of erudite women in the political sphere of late medieval Europe, see Ferrante 1980, 9-42.
  - 18 See further on the didactic function of chivalry within the higher echelons of society in Scotland: Edington 1998, 69- 81; MacDonald 2001, 150-65; MacLeod-Higgins 2008, 197-228; Mapstone 1998, 321-47.
  - 19 Bower 1989, ii, 178-81.

Albigensian Crusade by quoting Bridget's holy war justifications albeit not relying on a mere reproduction of her accounts and interpretations. Instead, he furthers Bridget's analysis on adept leaders mustering power, politics and piety not only in war but also state. The excerpt below, interpolated in Bower's chronicle, stresses that a ruler's legislative and administrative duties should be prioritized to any decision in launching a crusade:

[Bower's Introduction] Because it was stated in the previous chapter that those who are going to be killed in battles with the Saracens will gain pardon for all their sins, I have accordingly taken the trouble to note down the following points in this chapter in order to make known the way in which pagans can be safely attacked. [...]

[Bower quotes Bridget's *Liber Caelestis*] 'If the king wishes to go out against the pagans,<sup>20</sup> I advise him rather than command him, because it is more meritorious to act according to advice than to carry out commands. [...] So let him first of all go round his kingdom, examining how justice has been observed, in what manner and through whom the laws and government are administered, [...] and to urge them on by examples of virtue.'<sup>21</sup>

## ***Deus Vult* and Freedom of the Will**

Interestingly enough, Bridget contends that embarking on crusade expeditions does not guarantee absolution of sins but constitutes a matter of choice; this aspect contradicts the *crux* of Urban II's crusade launching speech at the Council of Clermont on 27 November 1095.<sup>22</sup> Bridget argues that *compos*

20 The term 'pagan' in late medieval and early modern texts is elusive and mutable as it comprises and often conflates (alleged) heretics, heathens, as well as Muslims, Jews, Byzantine Greeks and Armenians. The Latin originals used in *Scotichronicon*, and Bridget's texts, in particular, are *paganus*, *idolicus*, *ethnicus*, *haereticus*, *gentiles*, all of which may refer to the aforesaid groups; such characteristic examples of linguistic nuances are evident in the following sections: Bower 1989, ii, 179-83; *Memoriale*, viii, c.39, section H; c.40, sections B-C; c.43, sections E-G. Yet, in *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 48, the Danes are also referred to as pagans (Sequitur de eodem Alfredo, qualiter cum paganis Dacis et Fresonibus nequiter vexatus est).

21 Retrieved from *Memoriale* viii, c.39, section H; Bower, following his own brief introduction to Bridget, has made infinitesimal linguistic alterations to her text in this particular section: Bower 1989, ii, 179, 181. This section is found in neither *Liber Pluscardensis* nor *Extracta*. Although Bower has kept this section almost unaltered, the positioning of this text is significant as it is placed at the end (Chapter 63) of his commendation on the firm legislation and pious governance of Charlemagne, regarded as exemplary, in Book III (Chapters 56-62).

22 For analysis on possible ulterior motives concerning the launching of the First Crusade see Tyerman 2006, 61-74.

*mentis* within one's own intellect and sociopolitical equilibrium within the realm are required prior to any foreign military venture.<sup>23</sup> She continues that the process of embarking on a crusade should not be perceived as a means to satisfy personal interests and ambitions but viewed as an act of initiative and responsibility; peace and the establishment of law are reliant upon logic and sensibility, whether within one's own realm or in foreign lands, as evident in the excerpt below:

'It is said that no one ought to be driven against his will to the kingdom of heaven. [...] Therefore let those who go to the lands of the infidels first offer them peace and good faith and liberty; and if the infidels do not accept their advice and admonitions, then zeal and force must be used.'<sup>24</sup>

Again, the aspect of personal freedom is elucidated in the extract below, emphasizing the quintessence of choice amongst Christians and infidels alike; yet, it is debatable whether 'choosing' between conversion or death, as in the case of non-Christians, constitutes a matter of choice or fear:

'Let the king who seeks a harvest of souls and wishes to lead an expedition against the pagans have two banners. On the first let my passion be portrayed to illustrate mercy. On the second let the sword of my justice be shown. Therefore when the king comes to the pagans, let him first raise the first banner of mercy, offering them peace. If they refuse to accept it, let him thereafter raise the banner of justice [...]

Let the king also take with him clerics of approved life and religious of various orders who truly despise the world, because there are many in heathendom and among the gentiles who bring forward their own doctrines and they must be answered wisely. Let the clerics also instruct and influence the people not to run the risk of anathema because of their greed nor to die on account of rebelliousness and intemperate way of life.'

<sup>25</sup>

As seen in the account above, Bridget states that crusade paragons or exemplary leaders muster power as well as piety whether on the battlefield or within their own realm. It is imperative for sovereigns, as depicted by Bridget, to firmly uphold and affirm their principles, hence, be immune to any flattery

---

23 Further on the criticism against Bridget as 'saint' in Continental Europe and Scandinavia is thus: Jorgensen 1954, i, 202, ii, 276-7; Harris 1990, 62-3; Morris 1999, 2-3, 68-9, 152-9; Sahlin 2001, 137-8, 143; Voaden 1999, 73-108.

24 Bower 1989, ii, 181; *Memoriale* viii, c.40, sections B-C.

25 Bower 1989, ii, 181, 183; *Memoriale* viii, c.43, sections E-G.

or empty rhetoric.<sup>26</sup> The importance of firm and judicious government is a recurrent theme in *Scotichronicon*, and Bower often deploys the tenets and issues raised in Bridget's work to appraise the sociopolitical events of his own time and country.<sup>27</sup> Bridget's extensive account culminates with an enumerated structured set of rules, akin to a prescriptive instructor's manual:

'Every man who desires to visit the lands of the infidels ought to observe five rules:

1. He ought to unburden his conscience by means of contrition and true confession, as if he were on the very point of death.
2. He ought to lay aside all frivolities in his behaviour and in his dress, paying attention not to new fashions but to those praiseworthy customs instituted by his ancestors.
3. He ought to refuse to have any temporal possessions except for what is essential and what is to the honour of God. And if he knows of anything wrongfully acquired either through himself or his parents, he ought to wish to make restitution, whether it be large or small.
4. He ought to strive towards this goal, that the infidels should come to the true faith, but he should not covet their riches nor their oxen nor any other thing except only what is necessary for the body.
5. He ought to be willing to die for the honour of God and so to organise himself beforehand in a praiseworthy way of life that he may deserve to attain a precious death."<sup>28</sup>

The significance of the above-mentioned extract lies in its crusading content as well as the contextual framework of Bower's chronicle. Albeit textually situated in Book III of *Scotichronicon* where emphasis is placed on the descriptive accounts of the eighth and ninth centuries, the passages quoted from Bridget respond to the later crusading era. In particular, Bridget is referring to the crusade against the 'pagans' of Estonia and Latvia.<sup>29</sup> Using the holy war justifications against heresy, Bridget specifies that a Christian sovereign should first maintain sociopolitical equilibrium within the borders

---

26 *Memoriale* viii, c.43, sections E-G; for the sagacity of a king in matters of holy war and state see Gill 1993, 129-30.

27 Mapstone 1998, 321-3; Voorbij 1998, 260-80.

28 Bower 1989, ii, 183; Bower has conflated textual material from *Memoriale* viii, c.43, sections E-G, and vi, c.41, sections H-A, placing them in a non-chronological order in his text, arguably, purported for a more thematic approach concerning his *exempla* on moral martial ethos; the aspect of honourable death is analysed but without direct reference to Bridget's argument and connection to holy wars (crusades) in Book VII, Chapter 14 of MS CA.

29 Jensen 2007, 35-41, 54-6, 129-30, 210-2; 325-7; see also Watt's interpretation (Bower 1989, ii, 264).

of his own realm before embarking on *Outremer* military expeditions.<sup>30</sup> Watt astutely identifies key aspects explaining Bower's interest in the moral as well as political justification of the crusades.<sup>31</sup> Eugene IV published a crusading bull on 1 January 1443. The purpose was to encourage support for Constantinople, threatened by the advance of the Ottoman empire.<sup>32</sup> The resulting crusade ended in a decisive victory for the Ottoman-Turks at the Battle of Varna on 10 November 1444.<sup>33</sup> According to Watt, this contemporary event partly explains Bower's interest in crusade and anti-Muslim propaganda. The supposed moral degradation within Christendom, in tandem with the looming Islamic military threat appear to have underpinned Bower's political concerns and didactic reasoning.<sup>34</sup> Moral attributes as well as political acumen were clearly required to be shown by the political and military leaders of Christian Europe. Through Bridget's instructive reasoning, specific qualities vital for sound governance in tandem with effective military strategic planning are enumerated.<sup>35</sup> First, a leader should muster moral qualities and virtues; second, this leader must maintain sociopolitical equilibrium in their realm as the cooperation between magnates and the crown is essential; third, only upon establishing and maintaining the previous two aspects may this leader proceed into *Outremer* expeditions. Bridget specifies the importance of identifying enemy threat not only beyond one's borders but mainly within. Bridget contends that heretical sects constitute a threat to Church and crown, and Bower reinforces this argument by stating that the ultimate threat to Christendom is the phenomenon of heresy and treason which corrode the realm from within. At many points in his chronicle Bower warns his intended reader, the young ruler at the time, James II, of the need to suppress such disruptive phenomena, as discussed further below.<sup>36</sup>

## **Wisdom and Discipline; the Quintessence of Sound Governance**

Bower develops his argument on the vital importance of sound governance via his analysis concerning the civic duty and piety of just

---

30 *Memoriale* vi, c.41, sections H-A.

31 Bower 1989, ii, 264-5.

32 For the ecclesiastical diplomacy of Eugene IV (1383-1447) involving his crusade call against the Ottomans, see Jensen 2007, 18-9, 68-9; Imber 2006, 8-15, 18-20, 24-5, 32-5, 42-4, 77-8, 113-25, 165-6, 180-1, 190, 200-1.

33 Further on the implications and political ramifications of the Crusade of Varna is thus: Imber 2006, 199-204.

34 Watt appears convinced that the Crusade of Varna had a profound impact on Bower's crusade interests and concerns; see Bower 1989, ii, xix-xx, 264-5.

35 *Memoriale* vi, c.41, sections H-A.

36 Bower 1989, ii, 179-83; and Bower 1987, viii, 277-81; heresy as blasphemy against the Church and treason against the crown constitutes a recurrent theme in *Scotichronicon*.

sovereigns in Scotland. He not only quotes but affirms Bridget's commentary on the importance of military discipline in governance and domestic policies, relating them to the national anxieties and Anglo-Scottish geopolitical conflicts of his day and age. This is particularly evident in his thoughts on firm legislation, jurisprudence, and diplomacy. Either deliberately or inadvertently, Bower appears to equate respect to the laws of the state to obedience and fear (as in Bridget's analysis above) in his *exempla* entitled *Triplex est officium regi*.<sup>37</sup>

Just as antiquity tells us, kings ought to observe three functions, namely that they establish reasonable laws by their wisdom, secondly that they bring malefactors to justice by means of their power, thirdly that they grant mercy to those who need it freely and compassionately.

And in response to these three functions their subjects ought to show three qualities, honour, fear and love. For a king who establishes rational laws wisely deserves to be held in honour; a king who punishes rebels through his power ought to be feared; but above all he who rules mercifully ought to be loved. In addition to the fact that a king establishes reasonable laws by wisdom, it is requisite that the laws are established harmoniously, observed habitually and confirmed through reason firmly based on natural law.<sup>38</sup>

In the section below, Bower incorporates a brief comment regarding cultural discrepancies between rural and urban Scotland following his commentary on Bridget's analysis on law and state:

To begin with no law can be established except by the unanimous will of some nation, because a nation which is on the one hand impious in itself and on the other hand mixed (that is derived from different and diverse kinds) will never agree in establishing law, because, just as they are by nature composed of different varieties, so also will they be diverse in their wishes. And on that account it is very difficult for a very mixed nation

---

37 *Propter huiusmodi rigorem justicie merito debetur regi servicium timoris* (Bower 1989, ii, 422); Bower argues the necessity of the infrastructure of military law incorporated in civic practice. He often adulates the military feats and firm legislative force of Philip II Augustus (Books VII-IX), and Louis IX (Books IX-XII), both of whom are used as a blueprint or working prototype by Bower for a young Scottish sovereign, James II, in particular. These sections belong to Bower alone and are found in neither *Liber Pluscardensis* nor *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*.

38 Bower 1989, ii, 422; throughout the sixteen books of *Scotichronicon*, Bower continuously refers to the Classics with regards to aspects of martial ethos, Frontinus, in particular. Concerning aspects of judicious governance, selection of counsellors, and the civic duty of the sovereign and citizens alike, Bower invokes Aristotle, Plato, and Cicero.



of different blood (say composed of Scots and English or of country and town Scots)<sup>39</sup> to agree on establishing anything or observing it in practice, because in such a community a man loves himself and no-one loves his country, just as is clear enough the other way round. For example some six or seven legitimate brothers, who are devoted to some state or community, will be more useful to that state than twenty men of mixed origin, as it is made clear in the case of the Maccabees, sons of Mattathias [ut patuit in filiis Matathie Machabeis-added in MS G i, 235, fo.85v].<sup>40</sup>

### **Concept of Pilgrimage and Crusading: Physical and Spiritual Quest**

The following chapter is also Bower's creation, bearing no influence from his chronicle predecessor;<sup>41</sup> it is not found in subsequent Scottish texts either. Instead, this chapter is inspired by Bridget's pilgrimage under the title provided by Bower, *De Virtute quinque Locorum in Jerosolim*:<sup>42</sup>

Likewise Our Lady showed the Lady Bridget through a revelation [...] the indulgence and grace which good pilgrims obtain from visiting the Sepulchre of the Lord with right intention and holy purpose. Where also she beautifully informs Bridget about the salvation of the knight Sir Charles her dead son, whom, as I Scriptor have heard [added to MS G, i, 281, fo.100v], was knighted by Sir William Lindsay of the Byres at the Holy Sepulcher [...] she said the following among other things about her son.<sup>43</sup>

Bower then proceeds to quote Bridget's military encomium for her son, Sir Charles, in order to reinforce his holy war justifications against Islam, stressing the obligation of Christian leaders to recover Jerusalem from Muslim control:

---

39 Watt states that this reference may correspond to 'Highlanders and Lowlanders' (see Bower 1989, ii, 505).

40 Bower 1989, ii, 423, 425; this section is then linked to citing Bridget and James of Vitry on the Albigenians with regards to matters of faith and threats deriving from factions and heretical sects. (Bower 1989, ii, 432, 434).

41 *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* was formerly attributed to John of Fordun; for discussion regarding this disputed authorship see: Broun 1999, 15-7; Utz 1986, 139-49.

42 Bridget had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1371; see further: Rossi 1993, i, 49-64.

43 Bower 1995, iii, 97; *Memoriale* v, (Bower incorrectly states vi), Revelation 13; and *Memoriale* vii, c.14, section E; Bower is inaccurate in his referencing when 'pivoting' between cc.13-14 of *Memoriale*, and he is providing a summary of Bridget's narrative in his own chapter, arguably, adding information based on hearsay or *selective* memory. Indeed, Bower's reference to Sir Charles assumes a rhetorical rather than historiographical function.

'And behold after God had been pleased with for a long time in this way, He poured his blessed spirit into Charles' heart. The Virgin Mother of God gave him from her own virtue what he lacked in spiritual arms and accoutrements which pertain to knights who are due to be enrolled in the kingdom of Heaven under the Supreme Commander. The saints also who were established in the heavenly kingdom, and whom that knight had loved while he lived in the world added consolation to him from their own merits.

He [Sir Charles] gathered up treasure, just as those pilgrims do who daily exchange fleeting possessions for eternal riches; and because he did so, he will obtain everlasting joy and glory, and especially because of that burning desire which he had for going on pilgrimage to the Holy City of Jerusalem, and because he had frequently desired to endanger his own life, while fighting gladly so that the Holy Land might be brought back under Christian rule, to the end that the glorious sepulchre of God might be held in due reverence, if only he could have been good enough for such a great task.<sup>44</sup>

Bower ends Bridget's eulogy for her son, using it as a springboard for his holy war rhetoric in tandem with accusing the English for thwarting further crusade campaigns due to their hostilities:

We insert these matters here so that our readers may more eagerly aspire to undertake such a salutary expedition. The English certainly interfere with this by disturbing all the kingdoms on their borders to such an extent that their neighbours have no leisure for anything else except to defend themselves against their machinations and attacks.<sup>45</sup>

A common feature in late medieval Scottish texts in relation to crusade-infused pilgrimage is the emphasis on impeded Scottish crusade aspirations due not only to border strife, civil discord, but also poverty. The Scottish genuine interest in crusading and fidelity to *deus vult* constitute recurrent themes in

---

44 Ibid.

45 Bower 1995, iii, 97, 99; this castigation of the English is akin to that against Edward I in *Chronica Gentis Scotorum: Idemque rex totam decimam papalem, in regno suo per sex annos, secundum verum valorem omnium proventuum ecclesiasticorum, in subsidium terrae sanctae collectam, et in diversis monasteriis et ecclesiis cathedralibus regni sui depositam, manu valida asportavit, proinde viagio terrae sanctae praepedito* (*Gesta Annalia II*, lxxv, 308). Bower has interpolated this condemnation of Edward I into his text, and expanding it into a chapter (39) entitled *Quomodo huius tyranni cupiditate rapida passagium Terre Sancte praepeditur*; see Bower 1990, v, 414, 416; this accusation against Edward I as embezzler of crusade proceeds is also retained as a chapter (32) in *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 111-2.

late medieval Scottish political thought. However, Bower's crusade rhetoric is often accompanied by his condemnation of the English, presenting the latter as almost Saracen like enemies of Scotland and Christendom.<sup>46</sup> Bower oscillates between historical narratives of the First Crusade and itinerary descriptions of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Such technique had been used prior to *Scotichroncion*, in *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*.<sup>47</sup> Yet, this description is not a mere travel guide; in Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Jerusalem epitomizes the physical and spiritual landscape, and interpreted as *the intellect at peace*.<sup>48</sup> *Terra Sancta* appears to be defined in a variety of ways. Historically, Jerusalem represents a specific city, if not the mecca, for crusade warriors and (non-belligerent) pilgrims. Allegorically, it represents the sacred terrain where the Holy Sepulcher is situated along with a multitude of equivalently sacred landmarks. Tropologically or morally, it is a spiritual entity embedded within the psyche of the devout Christian who endeavors to attain a vision of eternal peace. Anagogically, it refers to life eternal bestowed upon heavenly citizens who have established both *compos mentis* within themselves as well as within their environment. Jerusalem is more than an exotic place to visit; it reflects an *Outremer* spiritual quest. Through the descriptive analysis provided by Bower and his predecessors, Jerusalem is defined as a utopian polity as well as a transcended state of mind.<sup>49</sup> The concept of *Terra Sancta* is instrumental to the understanding of the significance of crusading assets, hence, rhetoric developed. Jerusalem constitutes a mirror reflection of the human mind. In both worlds, the exemplary feature is discipline and harmony reliant upon martial ethos and judicious governance.<sup>50</sup>

---

46 Bower's criticism of aggressive English military tactics and their part in impeding Scottish crusade aspirations is omnipresent in his text. However, the English hurled equivalent insults against the Scots, castigating the latter as being worse than the Saracens in causing trouble to their king and land. See further regarding the mutability of the term 'infidel' and the concept of godly governance within the *Atlantic Archipelago*: Brundage 1966, 289-310; Calkin 2005, *passim*; Macquarrie 1985, 57, 83, 93, 101, 132; Hurlock 2013, 109-12. The phenomena of mutual accusations between England and Scotland through the use of Islamic polemics is discussed further below.

47 *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, 98-101.

48 See on Guibert of Nogent's elucidation of the Jerusalem-Utopia construct and *Imitatio Christi* aspect of pilgrimage: *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 98-100.

49 For Scottish perceptions of the Middle-East in literature and lore, see MacLeod-Higgins 2008, 197-228.

50 Pilgrimage was often conflated to crusading in late medieval chronicle sources of the Continent and the North; see Kempshall 2011, 48, 55-6, 71, 104-7, 205, 244, 391-3, 403-6; McRoberts 1969, 80-106; Jotischky 2013, 245-63.

## Politics of Counsel and Crown-Prelate-Magnate Cooperation

Watt suggests that the concern with sound government and trustworthy counsel is very much Bower's own, whether invoking Bridget or not.<sup>51</sup> *Liber Pluscardensis* develops Bower's argument, never directly citing Bridget, on the detrimental effects of unscrupulous counsellors.<sup>52</sup> Interestingly enough, *Liber Pluscardensis* elaborates on the role and ethos of the sovereign in tandem with the welfare of the state; this is most akin to Bridget's analysis.<sup>53</sup> In *Liber Pluscardensis*, the main tenets are expanded from ten to twelve, and providing a far more secularized analysis regarding the role of the sovereign in domestic policies, civic duty, and charity.<sup>54</sup> Albeit not quoting Bridget, *Liber Pluscardensis* extensively elaborates on those tenets delineated in *Liber Caelestis* regarding *compos mentis* within a governor's intellect, court and realm, all of which had been elucidated by Bower.<sup>55</sup>

Under the title *Quales consilliaros debet rex habere et de x consiliis morabilis*,<sup>56</sup> Bower cites Bridget's ten moral precepts regarding the conduct of a king in matters of warfare as well as state. However, in *Liber Pluscardensis*, the phrase *Consilium dignum facit durable regnum* precedes the chapter (*Sequitur de consulibus regis, quales debent esse; cum incedentibus*) specifying the twelve tenets on sound governance.<sup>57</sup> *Scotichronicon* and *Liber Pluscardensis* agree on the first precept concerning the damage a deceitful and unscrupulous counselor may incur within a realm. Yet, Bridget's second precept on pilgrimage and

---

51 Watt considers that *Liber Pluscardensis* provides an entirely different set of rules on kingship; Bower 1990, v, 446.

52 Bower has interpolated a section from *Memoriale* (viii, c.57) in his chapter (9) discussing the detrimental effects of egocentric and avaricious government, whereas humility constitutes the panacea for such transgressions; this section is included verbatim in MS CA albeit positioned in a different chapter (48): '*Dicit Maria sponse quod propter tria peccata venit plaga super regnum, scilicet superbiam, incontineniam, et cupiditatem.*'; see Bower 1994, iv, 24.

53 *Memoriale* viii, c.39, section H; c.40, sections B-C; c.43, sections E-G; see also *Memoriale* vi, c.41, and sections H-A, for the final enumerated section on pious or godly (*Imitatio Dei*) governance.

54 *Memoriale*, (*Liber Caelestis Imperatoris ad Reges Revelatus Dvinitus*), viii, c.2, A-F; c.3, A-B; c.4, C-F, F-A; Bower 1990, v, 306, 308, 310, 312, 314; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 86-88; ii, 60-3.

55 The author of *Liber Pluscardensis* does not acknowledge Bridget as a source while Bower does, despite the fact that *Liber Pluscardensis* seems to have drawn on very similar material. It is inconclusive whether *Liber Pluscardensis* had received this material through another intermediate text rather than directly from Bower's manuscript or an additional source which could be identifiable as Bridget's work. *Liber Pluscardensis* may have used Bower's version of Bridget's text but it has jettisoned her holy war rhetoric, ecclesiastical concerns and views on godly governance.

56 *Memoriale*, viii, c.2, A-F; Bower 1990, v, 306.

57 *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 85-6; ii, 60-1.

converting infidels to Christianity is jettisoned in *Liber Pluscardensis*, the latter presenting an entirely different precept stating the need for a king to select ethical law-abiding counselors who are immune to avarice and political corruption.<sup>58</sup> *Liber Pluscardensis* also dispenses with the sacramental duties of a king (delineated in the third and fourth precepts), and extracting only Bridget's emphasis on the moral obligations of a sovereign maintaining the welfare of the state.<sup>59</sup> In the fifth and sixth precepts, Bower includes verbatim in his text Bridget's instructions involving charity and humility; *Liber Pluscardensis* stresses defence for the Christian faith against *hostis Christi*, without referring to crusading in the fifth precept, and proceeds to the sixth precept to specify the duty of a sovereign in protecting widows and children.<sup>60</sup>

The interesting changes, arguably, take place in the final precepts; while Bower retains the structure and enumeration of Bridget's analysis on firm legislation and austerity of behaviour and attire, *Liber Pluscardensis* states the importance of morality for a king, and provides additional precepts to elaborate on the need for a ruler to avoid civil or foreign wars. The seventh precept, stated verbatim in Bower's text, specifies the issue of equal dissemination of wealth and benefices amongst the prelate and magnate powers of a king's court; *Liber Pluscardensis*, however, advises the king to revere religious rituals (akin to Bridget's third and fourth precepts).<sup>61</sup>

Bower provides a separate chapter for enumerating the eighth, ninth, and tenth precepts, the common denominator constituting the king's duty in establishing and, above all, adhering to the laws of the state as well as *lex Dei*<sup>62</sup>; *Liber Pluscardensis*, however, resumes to discussing matters of war and the role of military and political leaders alike in perpetuating peace.<sup>63</sup>

---

58 *Memoriale*, viii, c.2, A-F; Bower 1990, v, 306; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 86-7; ii, 60-1.

59 *Memoriale*, viii, c.2, A-F; Bower 1990, v, 306; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 87; ii, 61.

60 Whilst in the sixth precept Bridget uses the phrase '*et audiat illa die querimonias subditorum communitatis regni*', *Liber Pluscardensis* uses the phraseology '*quod debet bene regere provinciam suam sive patriam, vel regnum si rex est, quantum ad commune bonum et rem publicam, et ad uniuersum populum sibi subiectum*'. *Liber Pluscardensis* appears to be providing a more secularized interpretation of Bridget's tenets on aspects of governance, arguably, appropriating this discourse on statecraft to Scottish realities; see also *Memoriale* viii, c.2, sections A-F; Bower 1990, v, 308; compare with *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 87; ii, 61.

61 *Memoriale*, viii, c.2, A-F; Bower 1990, v, 308; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 87; ii, 61. The emphasis on avoiding conflict with neighbouring countries and the significance of self-knowledge for a king appear to form the two additional precepts not found in Bower's text but belong to *Liber Pluscardensis*.

62 See Housley's analysis of *lex Dei*: Housley 2002, 33, 37-44, 49-51, 89-90, 124-5, 168-73, 177, 193.

63 *Memoriale*, viii, c.2, F-H; Bower 1990, v, 308, 310; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 87-8; ii, 61-2.

*Liber Pluscardensis* acknowledges Aristotle's *Ἠθικά* (*Ethics*) as counsel for an exemplary philanthropic sovereign rather than Bridget's holy war rhetoric:

This is gathered chiefly from three points which are touched upon by Aristotle, the chief of philosophers, in his *Ethics*: namely that, firstly, he ought to govern his own self virtuously, as regards himself personally; secondly, that he ought to govern his house well, as regards his household; thirdly, that he ought govern his province or country well, or his kingdom, if he be a king, as regards the commonweal and the state, and the whole people subject unto him. If he shall do these three things [...] shall deserve to be called king; and then shall his Lord say unto him, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord'.<sup>64</sup>

The politics of counsel deployed in *Scotichronicon* and *Liber Pluscardensis* appear to follow different trajectories;<sup>65</sup> whilst *Liber Pluscardensis* provides general advice for sovereigns, Bower may have preferred a more personal readership being James II and, arguably, this king's circle of influence (minority).<sup>66</sup> Watt makes an interesting point as regards Bower's use of *Liber Caelestis*, construing that Bower may have maintained the diction employed in Bridget's text but not necessarily the actual purpose of her text; Bridget's rhetoric concerning the qualities or assets of the crusade ideal embedded in Scandinavian issues and affairs acquires Scottish-related politics of counsel

---

64 *Liber Pluscardensis*, ii, 62; the original Latin form is thus in *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 8: *Quod cognoscitur in tribus principaliter punctis quae junguntur per Aristotilem philosophorum principem in suis Moralibus. Hoc est quod, primo, debet virtuose regere personam suam quantum ad se ipsum; secundo, quod debet bene regere domum suam quam ad suam familiam; tercio, quod debet bene regere provinciam suam sive patriam, vel regnum si rex est, quantum ad commune bonum et rem publicam, et ad universum populum ibi subjectum. Quod si haec tria fecerit, merito rex dici poterit; [...] gaudium Domini tui*; see also Bower's use of Augustine on *φιλαργυρία* (avarice or *philargiria*): Bower 1990, v, 320.

65 Bower adds a brief section in his next chapter (8) comprising the secularized duties of a king, whereas an extensive analysis encompassing two chapters concerning advice to the king in matters of war, border strife, and public welfare, is evident in *Liber Pluscardensis*; Bower 1990, v, 312; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i, 88-92; ii, 62-5.

66 Bower did specify to James II that his text was intended to please him (*Non Scotus est Christi cui liber non placet iste*), offering some revealing information on his approach to redacting his chronicle as evident in the final chapter of his immense work; see entire section in Bower 1987, viii, 337-41. In this final chapter, he is far more direct in seeking to attract James II as a reader. Whether or not James II responded affirmatively to this invitation remains inconclusive. In MS CA (text1.51), Bower expresses interest in subsequent sovereigns (not necessarily limited to Scottish ones) in accepting his counsel; see further concerning Watt's analysis on Bower's intended and preferred readership (Bower 1987, viii, 391-2).

in Bower's text.<sup>67</sup> In contrast to the original text, Bower has omitted, either inadvertently or deliberately, the second of the ten precepts developed in *Liber Caelestis*. In particular, Bower has excluded the precept in which Bridget requests financial support from the king of Sweden and Norway, Magnus Eriksson (1316-74), for the building of her own monastery in Vadstena in 1346.<sup>68</sup>

Adopting a thematic rather than chronological sequence, Bower returns to describing events following the death of David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, on 26 April 1253; Bower then proceeds into his own analysis of the minority of Alexander III and Anglo-Scottish strife.<sup>69</sup> Bower links his *exempla* inspired by Bridget to the ill counsel and avarice of certain Scottish magnates:<sup>70</sup>

Among the prime movers in that kidnapping was Walter Comyn [...] his [Alexander III's] first counsellors should be removed because they were guiding the king and the kingdom badly. [...] But no doubt the possessions and revenues of the king which came into the hands of his counsellors and of those who did not think that they would have to render an account to him for them caused them to stray from the path of trust and equity. This is why Augustine says that: 'Avarice, which in Greek is *philarguria*, is to be understood as subsisting not only in the sphere of money [*argentum*] from which it has clearly got its name, but in all things which are desired to

---

67 *Memoriale* viii, c.2, sections A-F; Bower 1990, v, 310, 312, 314; Watt specifies that *Liber Pluscardensis* offers a 'quite different set of twelve characteristics of good counsellors'; Bower 1990, v, 445-6. Despite certain differences in linguistic nuances and enumerations, the *crux* of Bridget's argument, and as subsequently adopted by Bower, remains the same. Although *Liber Pluscardensis* provides a more secularised delineation of Bridget's discourse on governance, her concepts of authority in relation to judicious governance and rigorous legislation are retained. The author of *Liber Pluscardensis* may have been more intent on continuing the late medieval Scottish chronicle legacy or 'tradition' rather than providing accreditation to the pro-crusade and anti-Islamic polemics deployed by Bridget.

68 *Memoriale* viii, c.2, sections A-F; Bower 1990, v, 307-13. Bower appears uncomfortable in elaborating on financial, if not pragmatic or even cynical aspects of Bridget's financial management and liaisons with Magnus Eriksson. Instead, the inclusion of this event could have jeopardized his argument on civic piety and godly governance, and especially his subsequent opprobrium against phenomena of simony infesting the ecclesiastical as well as political cosmos (Bower 1994, iv, 351-3). For an alternative interpretation to this aspect see Spencer-Hall 2013, p 112.

69 Bower 1990, v, 314, 361, 318, 320, 322.

70 Bower defines and elaborates on this term: '*Avaricia, que Grece philargia [...] intelligenda est.*'; Bower 1990, v, 318, 320. This may explain why he refrained from including Bridget's financial demands from Magnus Eriksson on the reinforcement of her religious order, perhaps inadvertently including her in his criticism against *philargiria*.

excess and seized'. [...] So every king ought to have the sort of counsellors we mentioned above in [our quotations from] St Bridget.<sup>71</sup>

### **Anomie, Regicide, and Heresy; Enemies of the State and Church during *Vile Times***

The following chapter (39) is dedicated to Bridget. Bower not only affirms her discourse on holy warfare and jurisprudence, but applies her *exempla* to past and contemporary Scottish issues:

In the same year [...] Walter earl of Atholl [...] who was later convicted of treacherously killing King James I, [...] [1373] died the lady of Sweden, the most saintly Bridget, who is called the *Bride of Christ* [...] of the Swedish kings.<sup>72</sup>[...] The knight William Lindsay of the Byres dubbed this Charles as knight at the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>73</sup> [...] She began to have revelations in 1338. Christ revealed to her a rule for a new religious order [...] 'Rule of the Holy Saviour'.<sup>74</sup> It was confirmed by Urban VI, who canonized her, [...] An angelic message also was revealed to her when she experienced a vision at Rome<sup>75</sup> in the cardinal's house which is next to the church of St Lawrence in Damaso.<sup>76</sup>

After providing a well-informed account of Bridget's career, Bower draws upon William Lindsay of the Byres, and then James I, interpolating his

- 
- 71 Bower 1990, v, 319, 321; *Liber Pluscardensis* elaborates on Bower's own account, castigating the Comyn faction even further and laying more emphasis on Scottish-related aspects; *Liber Pluscardensis* i, 92-6 ; ii, 65-70.
- 72 Närke was the origin of Ulf Gudmarsson; Vadstena was the place where Magnus Eriksson of Sweden had given Bridget a mansion for a convent as well as finances; see Jorgensen 1954, i, 67-9.
- 73 Sir William had not dubbed Charles at the Holy Sepulcher since he died in Italy on 12 March 1372; Jorgensen 1954, ii, 236. *Liber Pluscardensis* (i, 314; ii, 238) incorrectly notes Bridget's father as having been knighted by William. Bower's account may have been reliant upon mere hearsay. Instead, Bridget's son Birger was knighted at the Holy Sepulcher. This may be a simple case of mistaken identity. Scottish chroniclers knew that William had knighted a member of Bridget's family, but in Bower's case he got the wrong son; in *Liber Pluscardensis* the sources on father and son may have have been conflated. This article is in debt to the peer revision for specifying this aspect.
- 74 *Sancti Salvatoris Regula* was approved by Urban V in June 1370 and confirmed by Urban VI on 3 December 1378. However, Bridget was not canonized until 1391 by Boniface IX; see Jorgensen, i, 302-4.
- 75 Bridget was based in Rome from 1349 to 1373; see Jorgensen 1954, i, 302-4.
- 76 '*Sermo Angelicus de Excellentia Beate Marie Virginis*' was found in twenty-one chapters compiled in *Memoriale, Revelations*, vii, c.17, sections F-G; included in MS CA (text 1.62); Bower 1996, vii, 374, 376.



own criticism concerning the events which escalated to the assassination of James I. In the extract below, Bower explains, and appearing to speak directly to James II, the reasons for his profound reverence for Bridget and her work:

You should know therefore that these revelations are like an epistle or letter sent by God to this endangered world [...] to make known to the world the most severe wrath of God which is already threatening them on account of the sins of both lesser and grander people which are more than usually on the increase. [...] to cheat their subjects [...] and introduce new refinements, inventions and exactions so that a semblance of supposed justification on their side can be raised and the community neatly crushed underfoot.<sup>77</sup>

In the following segment, Bower continues to quote Bridget, inserting his own analysis of *secula perfida, secula fetida* of his times.<sup>78</sup> This segment is intriguing as Bower discusses his views on heresy in fifteenth century Scotland by incorporating James Resby's execution in Perth for heresy in 1408. Bower furthers his discussion on the threat of heresy to the state (treason) and Church (blasphemy) into a wider attempt to Lollard teaching by exposing the alleged flaws and demarcations of the controversial philosophy of Wycliffe. Bower's response to the Wycliffite defiance of papal authority is that a pope represents indisputable *lex Dei* irrespective of his flaws; Bower states that one may dispute the character of a pope but not his authority as *Christi vicarius*:<sup>79</sup>

By [...] Bridget's book of *Revelations* [...] <sup>80</sup> 'Say [...] to those who say that there is no true pope and that it is not the true body of Christ [...] should answer the heretics thus [...] For it is true and catholic faith that a pope, though he is free from heresy, is stained to some extent by other sins; but he is never so evil as a result of these sins and his other bad deeds that he does not always possess full authority and the perfect power of binding and loosing souls. This authority the blessed Peter himself held and received

---

77 Bower's eulogy for Bridget in this chapter as well as his opprobrium against the events leading to the assassination of James I are found only in *Scotichronicon*; Bower 1996, vii, 375, 377; see Watt's views (Bower 1996, vii, 508-9).

78 See regarding this phraseology used by Bower in his text: Bower 1987, viii, 324, 326; see also Brown 2000, 165-88.

79 This term stands as *Petri vicarius* in MS CA, and *Petri vicaus* in MSS C, D. Watt attests that Bower's views echo resolute anti-conciliarism; see Bower 1993, i, 291. For analysis on Northern European perceptions of Wycliffe and Lollardy see: Cook 1973, 330-5; Murray 2010, 413-9; Kaeuper 2012, 287, 209 n. 62; Fudge 2014, XVI 90, XVII 74.

80 This may be referring to the aforementioned discussion on Bridget's interpretation of the Albigensians, albeit having re-numbered her text; Bower 1989, ii, 180-3; *Memoriale* viii, c.39, section H; c.40, sections B-C; c.43, sections E-G.

from God. Even though there were many supreme pontiffs before Pope John<sup>81</sup> who are in hell, nonetheless their just and reasoned decisions made while they were in the world are enduring and acceptable to God.<sup>82</sup>

By quoting Bridget once again in the final Books XV-XVI of his chronicle, Bower stresses the continual threat of heresy within Christendom and within his own nation. If there is crusade rhetoric deployed in *Scotichronicon*, it may constitute a response to the bellicose anti-Scottish propaganda<sup>83</sup> produced in the English realm. On the whole, Anglophobia or national sovereignty anxieties seem to represent only a segment of Bower's ideological project. His *exempla* appear to be threefold and more intricate; first, the emphasis on judicious governance and civic unity; second, the significance of martial ethos; third, the importance of diplomatic interaction and cooperation among the nations of Christendom. The Crusade of Varna had a profound impact not only on Bower but on writers and political leaders across Christendom. Bower raises equivalent concerns defining the chain-reaction effect of political turmoil within Christendom, expressing his concern surrounding the concurrent ecclesiastical schisms within the Church.<sup>84</sup> He emphasizes the vital importance of vigilance on the part of the Scottish sovereign to guard against the growth of political factions and proliferation of heretical sects. Although not using the term 'crusade' in this context, Bower, outspokenly advocates the imposition of state-endorsed and Church-endorsed violence against the establishment as well as proliferation of Lollard and Hussite sympathies within the Scottish intelligentsia and political elite:

Thus whenever Lollardy or the Lollard heresy begins to sprout heresies of this kind in a kingdom, the inquisitors must strive to cut it down, calling

- 
- 81 It is unclear which pope Bridget had in mind; perhaps John X (deposed in 928) or John XII (deposed in c.963x964).
- 82 Bower 1987, viii, 66-73; *Memoriale* vii, c.7, sections D-E; *Liber Pluscradensis*, i, 348-9, provides a summarized version maintaining Bower's perspectives regarding the unquestionable authority of the pontificate instrumental to the perpetuation of unity and stability within Christendom, albeit not citing Bridget's text; *Extracta* adds a terse statement on Wycliffe's forty opinions which is thus: '*cuius liber adhuc restant curiose seruantur per Lolardos in Scotia*'. (*Extracta*, 214). For Scottish cases and perceptions of Lollards and Hussites see Fudge 2002, *passim*; Small, *passim*; Cook 1973, 330-5; MacNab 1935, 10-22; Moonan 1976, 3-23; Spinka 1956, 16-26; Vysny 2003, 1-19.
- 83 The *Chronicle of Lanercost* (161-8) would frequently refer to the Scots as being 'even worse than the Saracens' in wreaking havoc within the *Atlantic Archipelago*. Housley provides an astute discussion on the concept of *hostis Christi* evident in ecclesiastical and secular politics as a means to castigate not necessarily the infidel, but any threat to the interests of the Church or state; for further analysis concerning "The Three Turks" see Housley 2002, 131-59.
- 84 For Scottish perceptions of the Middle-East in literature and lore, see MacLeod-Higgins 2008, 197-228.

for the help of the secular arm if need be. As Jerome says: 'Kill while the enemy is small, so that villainy is crushed in the seed [...] lest the whole household be consumed and the flocks are infected'.<sup>85</sup>

Bower's lengthy account of the Lollards and Hussites, and his assertion that they had managed to enter Scottish political life, becoming influential in the intellectual realm, reflects his opposition to their dogmas. Irrespective of the disputable historical veracity surrounding 'threatening' Lollards, it is noteworthy how Bower perceived them as imminent dangers especially to the Scottish youth.<sup>86</sup>

## Conclusion

Dissecting the elements of crusade rhetoric, whether inclining towards ideology or criticism, is almost impossible as sociopolitical events within Scotland and beyond are embedded in crusade polemics. A complex conjunction of contributing factors form the infrastructure of crusade rhetoric developed in *Scotichronicon*. It is inconclusive whether Bower was intent on a revival of the crusading era. He was, nonetheless, a proponent of the qualities of an idealized crusade past which advocated solidarity vital within Christendom. Bower provides further explanations indicating his motive for completing his work with the additional and final Book XVI, the latter documenting and commenting upon the turbulent events of Scotland in the 1440s. Furthermore, the Council of Constance and Council of Basel constitute key events in Books XV-XVI; heresy, treason, and ecclesiastical schisms are the main topics of concern for Bower in these final chapters of his text.<sup>87</sup> As discussed above, Bower expresses concern regarding the concurrent ruptures within Christendom, rendering the Christian world vulnerable to foreign infidel and domestic heretical threats. Imber and Housley contend that the Ottoman-Turk victory following the Crusade of Varna stunned Christendom.<sup>88</sup>

---

85 Bower 1987, viii, 281; MS CA includes extended analysis on the council of Basel (c.6, 1.8-c.8, 1.12); on Lollards (c.21 and c.22 to 1.45); summarized versions found in *Liber Pluscardensis* i, 377-8; ii, 285-6; and *Extracta*, 233-4.

86 Bower completes a cycle via the unification of three key points; first, his analysis of the 'Donation of Constantine' in Book II, Chapter 47, bridging it with his perspectives on heresy, and culminating with his opprobrium against the Lollards and Hussites (Bower 1993, i, 276-7); second, his refutation of mid-fifteenth century heresies in Book XV, (Bower 1987, viii, 66-73); third, further elaborating on these two aspects in Book XVI, directly relating them to matters of the mid-fifteenth century Scottish political sphere (Bower 1987, viii, 276-87).

87 Bower 1987, viii, 85-93, 221-81.

88 Imber 2006; Housley 2002, 63; Housley 2007, 189-208.

In parallel, Watt suggests that this decisive Islamic victory against a severely eroded Christendom had a profound effect on Bower.<sup>89</sup> He continuously states that civil discord and ecclesiastical disunity threatened to tear asunder the foundations of the Christian doctrine as well as the infrastructure of Christian law. The assassination of James I in 1437 did not signify high treason alone to Bower; this regicide left Scotland in political turmoil and volatile anomie, a microcosm of the wider crisis affecting the kingdoms and duchies of Christendom.<sup>90</sup> Book XVI epitomizes Bower's *exempla* to James II involving the quintessence of martial ethos, sound government, and constructive diplomacy.<sup>91</sup> It would not only be far-fetched but *naïve* to assume that the crusade rhetoric deployed in Bower's text constitutes the alpha and omega of Bower's cerebration. Nevertheless, this rhetoric outlines the key features of Bower's argument, invoking the authority of Bridget's texts, concerning the purpose and importance of Christian sovereigns as exemplary figures in the military defence of Christendom and establishment of just and stable government. It is noteworthy to specify that in Books XV and XVI, crusade military logistics are not mentioned once. Instead, pronouncements on aspects of warfare and jurisprudence form the infrastructure of Bower's advisory text. In terms of Bower's impact on James II, there is no conclusive evidence to support such event.<sup>92</sup> It has yet to be confirmed if rulers ever accredited a chronicler as instrumental to their intellectual growth, let alone military or political career. Irrespective of a writer's purpose, it is debatable whether the intended readership paid ample heed to the advice generously provided.<sup>93</sup>

---

89 See Watt's analysis: Bower 1987, viii, 214-5; in Book XVI, Chapters 3-7; see text: Bower 1987, viii, 223-39.

90 See English conceptions of the assassination of James I, juxtaposed with the Scottish perspective: Matheson 1999; Balfour-Melville 1936, 241-7, 278-80; Brown 1994, 183-188; *Auchinleck Chronicle*, Appendix 2, 160-73.

91 Bower 1987, viii, 336-41; for defining *pax Dei*; *pax et unitas*, and *fidei defensor*, see Mastnak 2002, 34-7, 48, 279.

92 Financial records reveal James II's financing of Scots' pilgrimage to the Holy Land albeit devoid of crusade rhetoric: *Rotuli Scaccarii*, 1878-1908, v, 156, 179. There is also a brief reference to James II having endorsed a knight's journey in taking James I's embalmed heart to the Holy Sepulchre, perhaps intended to follow the example of Robert I's final testimony and James Douglas' mission: *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 244-6, 313.

93 Mapstone provides an interesting analysis concerning the significance of late medieval Scottish literary corpus as advice-not necessarily political influence-to royal households, nobility, as well as *exempla* and *encomia* addressed to the higher echelons of Scottish clergy and intelligentsia; see Mapstone 1999, 40-6. Brown, however, states that James II probably did not take Bower's series of *exempla* into much consideration, his political career following an utterly different trajectory to that suggested by this abbot of Inchcolm; Brown 2000, 187-8.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Acta et Processus Canonizacionis Beate Birgitte*, Collijn, I. (ed), 1924-31, Uppsala: Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskrift-sallskapet, Series 2, Latinska skrifter 1.
- Aristotle, *The Rhetoric, Poetic and Nichomachean Ethics*, Taylor, T (trans), 2002, Frome: Prometheus Trust.
- 'Auchinleck Chronicle', in McGladdery, C., *James II*, 1990, Edinburgh: John Donald, Appendix 2, 160-73.
- Auchinleck Manuscript: National Library of Scotland Advocates' Manuscript 19.2.1.*, Pearsall D and Cunningham I C (eds), 1979, London: Scholar Press.
- Baldric de Bourgueil, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 1879, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, Paris, vol. iv.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume I, Books I and II*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1993, vol. i, Edinburgh: Mercat Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume II, Books III and IV*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1989, vol. ii, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume III, Books V and VI*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1995, vol. iii, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume IV, Books VII and VIII*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1994, vol. iv, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume V, Books IX and X*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1990, vol. v, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume VI, Books XI and XII*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1991, vol. vi, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume VII, Books XIII and XIV*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1996, vol. vii, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume VIII, Books XV and XVI*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1987, vol. viii, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bower, Walter, *Scotichronicon: Volume IX, Critical Studies and General Indexes*, Watt, D.E.R. et al. (eds), 1998, vol. ix, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Caelestis, Books VI-VII; The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden: Volume III*, Morris, B. (ed), Searby D (trans), 2012, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Caelestis; The Middle English Version in British Library MS Claudius Bi: Together with a Life of the Saint from the Same Manuscript: Volume I*, Ellis, R. (ed), 1987, Oxford: English Text Society.
- Bridget of Sweden, *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta*, Patterson-Cumming, W. (ed), 1929, London: English Text Society.
- Capgrave, John, *The Life of St Katherine of Alexandria*, Horstmann, C. (ed), 1893, London: Early English Text Society, Original Series 100.
- Chronicle of Lanercost: 1272-1346*, Maxwell, H. (ed and trans), 1913, Glasgow: James Maclehose.

- Cicero, *De Re Publica; De Legibus; Cato Maior de Senectute; Laelius de Amicitia*, Powell, J. (ed and trans), 2006, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coupar Angus Manuscript*: National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.1.7.
- Declaration of Arbroath (1320) and the Nation of the Scots*, Duncan, A. A. M. (ed), 1970, London: Historical Association.
- Documents on the Later Crusades: 1274-1580*, Housley, N. (ed and trans), 1996, Basingstoke: MacMillan.
- Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie: From the Ancient Manuscript in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh*, Barclay, W. and Turnbull, D. D. (eds), 1842, Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club.
- Frontinus, Sextus Julius, *Strategemata*, Ireland, R. (ed and trans), 1990, Leipzig: Teubner.
- Fudge, T (ed), 2002, *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-37: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, Ashgate: Aldershot.
- Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Migne, J. P. (ed), 1844-1855, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, Paris: Vrayet, cols. 844, 847.
- Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*. Hill, R. (ed), 1962, London: Nelson.
- Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Levine, R (trans), 1997, Woodbridge: Boydell.
- In Canonizatione Beate Birgitte: A Vadstena Sermon*, Vitalis, H. (ed), 1991, Uppsala: Uppsala Studia Seminarii Latini Upsaliensis iv.
- Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis*, Hinnebusch, J. (ed), 1972, Fribourg: Spicilegium Friburgense xvii.
- John of Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum: The Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, Skene, F. et al. (eds), 1993, vols i and ii, Lampeter: Llanerch.
- Liber Pluscardensis*, Skene, F. et al. (eds), 1877-80, vols i and ii, Edinburgh: William Paterson.
- Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* (folio), 1872, xxii, Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 377-475.
- Matheson, L M (ed), 1999, *James I, King of Scotland, 1394-1437: Assassination; Death and Dissent: Two Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Memoriale Effigiatum Librorum Prophetiarum seu Visionum B. Brigidae alias Brigittae*, Magnus, O (ed), 1556-7, Rome: Impressum per Duodecimum et Antonium Socios per Franciscum Mediolanensem de Ferrarijs.
- Metcalf, W M (ed), 1881-91, *The Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society.
- Mustanoja, T F (ed), 1948, *The Good Wyfe Taught her Daughte, The Good Wyfe Wold a Pilgrymage, The Thewis of Gud Wuman*, Helsinki: Suomalaisan Kirjallisuuden Seuran.
- Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, Migne, J P (ed), 1844-55, Paris: Vrayet.
- Peter des Vaux, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii Monachi Hystoria Albigensis*, Guébin, P (ed), 1926-39, Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France, cols. 412, 422, 442.

- Peter of Blois, *Letters of Peter of Blois*, Revell, E. (ed), 1993, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Plato, *The Laws*, Saunders, T J (ed and trans), 1970, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Plato, *Res Publica: Book V*, Halliwell, S (ed and trans), 1993, Warmister: Aris and Phillips.
- Receuil des Actes de Philippe Auguste*, 1916, Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France.
- Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 1738-1904*, Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France.
- Renatus, Flavius Vegetius, *Epitoma rei Militaris*, Reeve, M. D. (ed), 2004, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, Burnett, G. et al. (eds), 1878-1908, vols i-xxiii, Edinburgh, General Register House.
- Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, Macpherson, D. et al. (eds), 1814-9, Great Britain: Record Commission.
- Small, John 1861, *Some Account of the Original Protest of the Bohemian Nobles against the Burning of John Huss, by the Sentence of the Council of Constance, in 1415 and on the Connection between the Kingdom of Scotland and the Council of Constance in the Fifteenth Century*, Edinburgh: Neill and Company.
- Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale (Excerpta)*, 2011, Turnhout: Brepols.
- William of Puylaurens, *Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, Sibly, W. A. et al. (eds and trans), 2003, Woodbridge: Boydell.
- William of Tyre, *History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, Babcock, E. (ed), 1976, New York: Octagon.
- William the Breton, *Guillemus Armoricus: De Gestis Philippi Augusti and Philippidos Libri XII*, in *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 1738-1904*, Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France, xvii (Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France, 1818), 62-287.
- William the Breton, *Guillaume le Breton: Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton Historiens de Philippe Auguste*, 1882-5, Paris: Societe de l'histoire de France, 210, 224.

## Secondary Sources

- Akbari, S C and J Ross (eds), 2013, *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Atkinson, C 1983, 'Precious Balsam in a Fragile Glass: The Ideology of Virginity in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Family History* 8, 131-43.
- Balfour-Melville, E W M 1936, *James I, King of Scots, 1406-37*, London: Methuen.
- Blamires, A 1995, 'Women and Preaching in Medieval Orthodoxy, Heresy and Saints' Lives', *Viator* 26, 135-52.
- Boardman, S 1997, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland: Robert the Steward, John of Fordun and the *Anonymous Chronicle*', *Ante* 76, 23-43.
- Boardman, S 1990, *Politics and the Feud in Late Medieval Scotland*, St Andrews: PhD Thesis.
- Boardman, S and A Ross (eds), 2003, *The Exercise of Power in Scotland, 1250-1500*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

- Bombi, B 2013, 'The Debate on the Crusades and Making of Europe', *History Compass* 11, 751-64.
- Borresen, K 1993, 'Birgitta of Sweden as Model of Theological Inculturation', in *Santa Brigida: Profeta Dei Tempi Nuovi*, Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 188-200.
- Borthwick, A 1998, 'Bower's Patron, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth', in D E R Watt (ed), *Scotichronicon: Volume IX, Critical Studies and General Indexes*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 354-64.
- Broun, D 1999, 'A New Look at *Gesta Annalia* Attributed to Fordun', in B E Crawford (ed), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*. Edinburgh: Mercat, 15-7.
- Broun, D 1994, 'The Origins of Scottish Identity in its European Context', in B E Crawford (ed), *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, St Andrews: University of St Andrews, 21-31.
- Brown, M H 1994, *James I*, Edinburgh: Canongate Academic.
- Brown, M H 2000, 'Vile Times: Walter Bower's Last Book and the Minority of James II', *Scottish Historical Review* 79:2, 165-88.
- Brundage, J 1966, 'Cruce Signari: Rite for Taking the Cross in England', *Traditio* 22, 289-310.
- Brundage, J 1991, *The Crusades, Holy War, and Canon Law*, Aldershot: Variorum.
- Bysted, A L, Jensen, C S, Jensen, K V and J H Lind (eds), 2012, *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades: 1100-1522*, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Calkin, S 2005, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: Auchinleck Manuscript*, New York: Routledge.
- Cnatingius, H 1963, *Studies in the Order of St Bridget of Sweden: The Crisis in the 1420s*, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Cook, W 1973, 'John Wyclif and Hussite Theology: 1415-1436', *Church History* 17, 330-5.
- Coulton, G 1935, 'Nationalism in the Middle Ages', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 5, 15-40.
- Dilworth, M 2010, *Monasteries and the Reformation in Scotland*, Edinburgh: BPR Publishers.
- Drexler, M 1979, 'Attitudes to Nationalism in Scottish Historical Writing from Barbour to Boece', PhD Thesis: University of Edinburgh, 278-84.
- Edington, C 1998, 'Paragons and Patriots: National Identity and the Chivalric Ideal in Late Medieval Scotland', in D Broun, R Finlay and M Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland through the Ages*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 69-81.
- Engels, L J 1998, 'Bower's Latin', in D E R Watt (ed), *Scotichronicon: Volume IX, Critical Studies and General Indexes*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 281-314.
- Feiss, H 1993, 'The Many Lives and Languages of St Birgitta of Sweden and her Order', *Studia Monastica* 35:2, 313-29.
- Ferrante, J M 1980, 'The Education of Women in the Middle Ages in Theory, Fact and Fantasy', in P H Labalme (ed), *Beyond their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, New York: New York University Press, 9-42.



- Fudge, T 2014, *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe*, Surrey: Ashgate, Variorum Collected Studies Series.
- Gill, P 1993, 'The Judgment of the King', in *Studies in St Birgitta and Birgittine Order*, J Hogg (ed) vols i and ii, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, vol. i, 129-41.
- Hankins, J 1995, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmet II', *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 49, 111-207.
- Harris, M T (ed), 1990, *Birgitta of Sweden: Life and Selected Revelations*, Rome: Order of St. Birgitta.
- Heath, M 1986, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rhetoric against the Turks*, Geneva: Droz.
- Housley, N 2002, *Religious Warfare in Europe: 1400-1536*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Housley, N 2007, 'The Crusades and Islam', *Medieval Encounters* 13, 189-208.
- Hurlock, K 2013, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades: c.1000-1300*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Imber, C 2006, *The Crusade of Varna: 1443-1445*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Jensen, J M 2007, *Denmark and the Crusades, 1400-1650*, Leiden: Brill.
- Johnston, F 1985, 'English Cult of St Bridget of Sweden', *Analecta Bollandiana* 103, 75-93.
- Johnston, F 1993, 'English Defenders of St Bridget', in *Studies in St Birgitta and the Birgittine Order*, J Hogg (ed) vols i and ii, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, vol. I, 263-75.
- Jorgensen, J 1954, *Saint Bridget of Sweden: Volume I (1303-1349)*, I Lund (trans), London: Longman, vol. i.
- Jorgensen, J 1954, *Saint Bridget of Sweden: Volume II (1349-1373)*, I Lund (trans), London: Longman, vol. ii.
- Jotischky, A 2013, 'Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Crusader States', in K V Jensen, H Vogt and K Salonen (eds), *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades*, Odense: University of Southern Denmark, 245-63.
- Kaeuper, R 2012, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kempshall, M 2011, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500*, New York: Manchester University Press.
- Kieckhefer, R 1984, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lewis, K J 2000, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge: Boydell.
- MacDonald, A A 2001, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst of Cultural Change in Late Medieval Scotland', in R Suntrup and J R Veenstra (eds), *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change*, Oxford: Peter Lang, 150-65.
- MacFarlane, L and J McIntyre (eds), 1982, *Scotland and the Holy See: The Story of Scotland's Links with the Papacy down the Centuries*, Edinburgh: Scottish Catholic Heritage Commission.

- MacLeod-Higgins, I 2008, 'Shades of the East: Orientalism, Religion, and Nation in Late Medieval Scottish Literature', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, 197-228.
- MacNab, T 1935, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5, 10-22.
- Macquarrie, A 1985, *Scotland and the Crusades: 1095-1560*, Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Maier, C T 1995, 'Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera', *Journal of Medieval History* 21, 343-85.
- Maier, C T 2000, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mastnak, T 2002, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mapstone, S 1998, 'Bower on Kingship', in D E R Watt (ed), *Scotichronicon: Volume IX, Critical Studies and General Indexes*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 321-47.
- Mapstone, S 1999, 'The Scotichronicon's First Readers', in B E Crawford (ed), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, Edinburgh: Mercat, 31-55.
- McGladdery, C 1990, *James II*, Edinburgh: John Donald.
- McRoberts, D 1969, 'Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land', *Innes Review* 20, 80-106.
- McRoberts, D 1968, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *Innes Review* 19, 3-14.
- Montag, U 2000, 'The Reception of St Bridget in Germany', in B Morris and V O' Mara (eds), *The Translation of the Works of St Birgitta of Sweden*, Turnhout: Brepols, 106-16.
- Moonan, L 1976, 'Pavel Kravar and some writings once attributed to him', *Innes Review* 27, 3-23.
- Morris, B 1999, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Murray, A V 2010, 'The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 41, 413-29.
- Obrist, B 1984, 'The Swedish Visionary: Saint Bridget', in K M Wilson (ed), *Medieval Women Writers*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 227-51.
- Petroff, E (ed), 1986, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pezzini, D 2000, 'The Italian Reception of Birgittine Writings', in B Morris and V O' Mara (eds), *The Translation of the Works of St Birgitta of Sweden*, Turnhout: Brepols, 186-212.
- Pippidi, A 2013, *Visions of the Ottoman World in Renaissance Europe*, London: Hurst.
- Riley-Smith, J 2011, *The Crusades, Christianity and Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rossi, M 1993, 'St Bridget's Social Activism: The Rome Years', in J Hogg (ed), *Studies in St Birgitta and the Birgittine Order*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, vol. i, 49-64.

- Ruether, R 1990, 'Prophets and Humanists: Types of Religious Feminism in Stuart England', *Journal of Religion* 70, 1-18.
- Sahlin, C L 2001, *Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy*, Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Sawyer, B and P Sawyer (eds), 1993, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800-1500*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Schulenburg, J T 1986, 'The Heroics of Virginity: Brides of Christ and Sacrificial Mutilation', in M B Rose (ed), *Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 29-72.
- Scott, W 1998, 'The Scottish Annals in Books 5, 8, 9 and 10: A Review', in D E R Watt (ed), *Scotichronicon: Volume IX, Books XVII and XVIII*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 251-9.
- Setton, K 1960, *The Papacy and the Levant: 1204-1571*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Simpson, G G (ed), 1990, *Scotland and Scandinavia: 800-1800*, Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Spencer-Hall, A 2013, 'Textual Authority and Symbolic Capital: Birgitta of Sweden's Inclusion in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*', *Journal of the North Atlantic* 4, 107-19.
- Spinka, M 1956, 'Paul Kravař and the Lollard-Hussite Relations', *Church History* 25, 16-26.
- Tamm, M, L Kaljundi and C S Jensen (eds), 2011, *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Tipton, C L 1966, 'The English and Scottish Hospitaliers during the Great Schism', *Catholic Historical Review* 52, 240-5.
- Trim, D J B 2003, *Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, Leiden: Brill.
- Turner, V and E Turner 1978, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tyerman, C 2006, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, London: Palgrave.
- Utz, H 1986, 'Traces of Nationalism in Fordun's *Chronicle*', *Scottish Studies* 4, 139-49.
- Voaden, R 1999, *God's Words, Women's Voices: Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late Medieval Women Visionaries*, Woodbridge: York Medieval Press.
- Voaden, R. (ed), 1996, *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Voorbij, J B, 1998, 'Bower's Use of Vincent of Beauvais', in D E R Watt (ed), *Scotichronicon: Volume IX, Critical Studies and General Indexes*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 260-80.
- Vysny, P 2003, 'A Hussite in Scotland: The Mission of Pavel Kravař to St Andrews in 1433', *Scottish Historical Review* 82:1, 1-19.
- Watt, D 1996, 'The Prophet at Home: Elizabeth Barton and the Influence of Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena', in R Voaden (ed), *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late-Medieval England*, 161-76.
- Watt, D E R 1984, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in B Dobson (ed), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, Gloucester: Sutton, 115-32.

- Watt, D E R 1971, 'The Minority of Alexander III of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21, 1-23.
- Webster, B 1998, 'John of Fordun and the Independent Identity of the Scots', in A Smyth (ed), *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke: MacMillan, 71-84.
- Weever, J 2013, *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic*, New York: Routledge.
- Westcott, C 1992, 'Birgittine Devotion and the Campinesque *Virgin in the Apse*', *Athanas* 11, 32-41.