



An End of an Old Song? The Paratexts of the Waverley Novels and Reference to Traditional Song

C. M. Jackson-Houlston
Oxford Brookes University

Which British author has the most index entries in Gérard Genette's definitive study *Paratexts*?¹ Walter Scott, with forty four, one fewer than Stendhal and way ahead of Sterne's twelve. The reason is not far to seek. As well as importing chapter mottoes from the Gothic novel into a supposedly more realist form (Genette, pp. 146-47), Scott was an avid preface writer and annotator, and, in his fiction, both prefaces and notes come in two kinds, those avowedly by 'the Author of Waverley' and those by a variety of (mostly) heterodiegetic fictional antiquarians, framing a variety of narratives, sometimes at several extra removes. After the financial crisis of 1826 that prompted the formal declaration of his authorship in 1827, Scott added layers of both prefatory and note material for the Magnum Opus edition of 1829-33. He saw this as restoring to him a more open 'sort of parental control' which enabled him to correct and improve his work.² So substantial are the differences presented to the reader that the Magnum prefaces and notes are to form the last two volumes of the new Edinburgh edition of the Waverley Novels, rather than appearing with the first-edition-based texts now being newly restored for a modern audience.

This article will address some of the implications of Scott's practice through a focus on one small part of his paratextual riches, his use of traditional songs as or within other paratexts.³ Their verse format already declares their difference in origin and authority status from the prose that forms their matrix. The argument begins with the ballads as texts in their own right, and their relation to the paratexts with which Scott surrounds them. I then examine the use of ballads and songs as intertexts in Scott's first novel, and the effects of the later notes on this, followed by Scott's use of mottoes in the subsequent novels, and then how song is deployed in the delayed Magnum paratexts, concluding with comments on their part in Scott's authorial games.

Ballads as Texts

Scott's first substantial excursus into the literary world was as the scholarly collector of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03), attached to his own name through its dedication. In this, the ballads form the supposed main text, but Scott sought to establish his credentials as editor, antiquarian and historian through a labyrinthine note system that is comparable to that of Joseph Ritson's collection of Robin Hood ballads.⁴ Ritson's prefatory material demonstrates the ambivalent contrast between romance and history that is also to be found in Scott, and which is, indeed, a commonplace of the writing of the period. This is followed by a hundred and four pages of 'Notes and Illustrations' from historical and literary sources. The notes themselves are annotated. The ballads have textual headnotes and some footnotes, often textual ones. There is a Glossary in volume 1, and additional notes and

corrections in volume 2. Ritson and Scott clearly share a concept of annotation not as absolute finality but as potentially continuing revolution; not only did Scott almost immediately amplify his 1802 collection of traditional material with more romantic and modern ballads in 1803, but by the third edition of 1806 (which is the one referred to here) he is already correcting and expanding his earlier notes.⁵

Scott opens his own collection with a hundred and thirty two pages of historical introduction with literary cross-references. This introduction is itself annotated and has date glosses in the margins. The notes are largely historical and sometimes take up more page space than the text (for example, I, vi and xiv). The first footnote is typical in its implied appeal to a scholarly gentleman reader; it includes a translation from a Welsh bard whose sentiments are said (in the main text) to match the description of a well-known tag from Tacitus, given in untranslated Latin. This policy continues in the notes to the poems, where a note to 'Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead' says that the verse about 'the captain's disaster (*teste laeva vulnerata*) is rather too *naïve* for literal publication' and he omits the offending line about an injury to the left testicle (I, 152).⁶ Thus, the implicitly masculine classical scholar is privileged over the general reader of the ballads themselves, and we see in Scott a characteristic residual reluctance to spell out sexual references to the full.

Six illustrative appendices follow the introduction. Once we get to the ballads themselves, each has its own headnote, sometimes with its own footnotes, the songs themselves have brief footnotes on the vocabulary, and there are also more extensive endnotes. Thus, the songs are accompanied by eight kinds of paratext (some of them citing these or other ballads). Like Ritson, in terms both of variety and of bulk, Scott is very happy to let the paratextual tail wag the textual dog. For example, the disputably-authentic 'Auld Maitland' is given ten pages of headnote and seventeen of endnotes (themselves annotated) to the thirteen pages of the ballad (I, 15-56). This arrangement clearly differs from the one chosen by Scott's other collector model, Herd, whose *Antient and Modern Scottish Songs* (1786) Scott owned (in the 1791 edition). This is much more sparsely annotated, though, like Scott, Herd annotates the historical ballads more intensively, and his three-part division resembles Scott's in the first two categories (heroic/historical ballads, sentimental songs/romantic ballads). What Scott offers us is a consolidation of text, note, gloss and appendix to reinforce the notion that the work is primarily an historical enterprise, relying on documents such 'various bonds of manrent' (I, xxv). However, this impression is modified by the standard desire of the gentlemanly writer to demonstrate a wide acquaintance with texts which implicitly contradicts the concept of linear history, even when those texts are historical.⁷ The Tacitus quotation mentioned above is employed to demonstrate the similarity of 'waste and devastation of mutual havoc' across the ages. Moreover, in spite of Scott's continuous demonstration of awareness that history and romance are different kinds of discourse, he also continuously deconstructs this distinction by stressing their interpenetration. Thus, the young James V is shown to have modelled his affection for Douglas of Kilspindie, whom he called 'Graysteil', upon 'a champion of chivalry in the romance of *Sir Eger and Sir Grime*' (note, I, xxi).

The historical value of the ballads themselves is treated equivocally. The Historical Ballads are said to have 'some foundation in history', and Scott adds that ballads are repositories of common knowledge of historical events (I, cxvi-cxvii). As an example, he cites a ballad on the death of the Lord of Liddisdale, fragments of which are supposed to be included in the collection, but he does not say where, and this is not obvious from the titles. Indeed, he is more likely to refer the reader to the

notes for a ballad than to the song itself. The most blatant example of the notes taking precedence over their host text occurs with the headnote to ‘A Lykewake Dirge’, which quotes extensively from a manuscript version of ‘Sir Owain’ but the song itself is actually omitted. By p. cix Scott is admitting that he needs to address ‘the more immediate subject of the present collection’ but he only takes twenty three pages to do it. Thus, he is presenting himself as first and foremost a historian of Scotland’s monarchical and family politics, and of popular beliefs. His comments display a tension between a progressivist historiography and a more cyclical view apparent through remarks on morality.

Scott’s editorial methods were not ones that would be sanctioned today. Nevertheless, they were fairly typical of the period and more conscientious than those of some collectors. In spite of his own huge knowledge of oral sources, he shared a suspicion of the effects of oral tradition with Ritson, who declared it to be ‘a species of alchemy which converts gold to lead’.⁸ Scott strove to reconstruct his texts so as to provide a unitary coherent version that could be treated first and foremost, though not only, as an historical document:

No liberties have been taken, either with the recited or written copies of these ballads, further than that, where they disagreed [...] the editor, in justice to the author, has uniformly preserved what seemed to him the best, or most poetical, reading of the passage. (I, cxxiii)

This statement combines an expressed respect for the authority of the original composers (whom he identifies on p. cxi as bards) overlain with the meta-authority of the editor in being able to detect ‘obvious corruptions’ (I, cxxiv). The *Minstrelsy* exhibits one unusual feature. Although the first edition focused on material that Scott deemed to be authentically traditional, he rapidly added a section of explicitly modern ballad imitations by himself and by others. These he often treats as viable repositories of information for historical enquiry. Of ‘Lord Soulis’ he argues that local tradition has been ‘more faithful to the popular sentiment than history’ (III, 251). However, since he employs the common practice of literary illustration throughout the notes, and since he clearly distinguishes the modern material, the oddity of his appearing both as primary textual source and as paratextual authority does not actually disrupt the conventional hierarchy of discourses.

Nor does his practice raise the questions about the problems of authenticity that arise when the relations between self-generated texts and assumed paratexts shift in the novels. Historical scholarship may appear as an incomplete, self-sustaining project but there is no sense that the proliferation of parasitical paratexts is self-parodic. They are not used as a space for play. Moreover, the position and font size imply decreasing degrees of importance, so that even if the task is not yet accomplished, there is an implicit goal, and asymptotic progress towards it rather than a sense of infinite deferral. Scott is operating as an editor in a way that fits the eighteenth-century assumptions identified by Anthony Grafton, ‘that a serious work of history must have footnotes’ and that they must lead accurately to original sources.⁹ As time went on, work published under his own name acquired an extra aura of authority from his status as a professional legal administrator (Sheriff-Depute of Selkirkshire from 1799, Clerk of the Court of Session in Edinburgh from 1806 to almost the end of his life). He also became a biographer, for example, in the prefaces to the Ballantyne Novels series, and in his nine-volume *Life of Napoleon* (1827). His authority as a poet led to an offer of the Laureateship in 1813, but even his poetic reputation was enhanced by his historical notes, those for *The Lady of the Lake* in

1810 (which include folk song quotation) being successful in their own right.¹⁰ The public face of Scott as a writer was as an editor and historian who added spectacular success as a poet to his achievements.

Waverley

The Author of *Waverley*, however, was not the public Scott. At this point a clear distinction must be drawn between the readers' experience of the *Waverley* of 1814, and indeed, three quarters of Scott's other fiction, and the Magnum versions that became the basis of standard editions after Scott's death. The post-1826 novels were known indubitably to come from Scott's pen, though this was not apparent on the titlepages, but also underwent the Magnum editing process. The first readers met a novelist who was playfully engaged with the generic debates of mid-eighteenth century predecessors about truth and fiction. Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) opens with a famous prefatory discussion, and the first chapter of *Tom Jones* (1749) is all general comment on the contract between author and reader. Similarly, Scott's introductory comments are labelled 'Chapter 1' and they deal with the author's choice of genre. There is a more Shandyeian disruption of sequencing expectations in that his final chapter is 'a postscript, which should have been a preface', deliberately placed at the end of the novel text to catch the impatient reader who skips prefaces and turns to the end to anticipate the closure of the story.¹¹ After two pages commenting on historical change and citing other writers, Scott switches attention to an account of Highland superstitions, and to two other novelists, including Henry Mackenzie, to whom he dedicates the novel in what he calls 'a second violation of form'. Whatever function the brief but significant references to ballad and song are going to have here, they are clearly going to be embedded in a very different kind of matrix.

The first edition lacks a notable paratextual feature of the other novels: mottoes. It has a few very sparse footnotes, but not the substantial apparatus that confronted later readers, which (though it varies between editions) could run to around ninety, about a quarter of these being simple references to the more extensive endnotes. Ballads and songs appear in the form of quoted intertexts, along with copious quotation from other kinds of poem. In so far as they are marked as allusion by quotation marks or typographical distinctions, they imply the existence of a separate and prior authorial generator. They have a presumed life outside the novel. Their significance is, however, equivocal. For example, in Chapter 30, are Mrs Mucklewrath's snippets of song to be considered historical evidence of the strength of Jacobite feeling at the time? No, for the best-known of them postdates 1745.¹² In any case, our judgement of this feeling is coloured by its being voiced by a masculine virago who boasts to her husband that her children are not his, which seems obscurely to undermine claims about the legitimacy of the Jacobite cause. As is going to become standard for Scott's novels, traditional-type song is associated with lawlessness, and an excess of imagination over reason. It is located on the 'romance' side of a binary division between romance and history, where the hero's success is judged by his move from one to the other: 'the romance of his life was ended, and [...] its real history had now commenced' (*W*, Edin., p. 301). However, the assumptions of the *Bildungsroman* are contradicted by Scott's authorial self-defence when he claims that 'the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact' (*W*, Edin., 363). Scott employs the word 'romance' in two conflicting ways according to local need, to mean either 'entirely fictitious' or 'resembling the discourse of fiction'. Any reader looking for consistent distinctions is clearly going to be disappointed.

If Scott's concept of historical truth seems excessively elastic, his editorial scrupulousness fares no better. One of the prime users of song material in the novel is Davie Gellatley, whose mental alienation allows him a measure of vatic status. Davie appears singing 'a fragment of an old Scotch ditty', which is true of six lines of it, but the last two have been subjected to Scott's editorial tidying and homogenizing (*W*, Edin., 41). To confuse matters further, Davie sings 'many fragments of songs and music unlike those of this country' by Scott himself, but supposedly attributable to a dead brother (*W*, Edin., 59). This can be used not as a clarification but for deliberate obfuscation, as at the opening of Chapter 14, where Davie begins 'part of an old ballad' which isn't one. Scott is here creating what I have described elsewhere as a 'false intertext', that is, something that lays claim to extra-textual origins it does not have (Jackson-Houlston, p. 5). Scott develops two ways of signalling false intertexts, which he uses sporadically throughout his novels. One is to claim that his words are a translation. The other is to employ a disclaimer such as 'or something very like it', for the metrical spell in Chapter 24, (*W*, Border, p. 223). This can be Scott-ese for either 'I have made this up' (as here, p. 223) or 'I can't be bothered to check', as with the reference to 'Lilliburlero' discussed below (*W*, Border, p. 392).

Surely, then, the Magnum notes would be the opportunity for the conscientious public historian to redress the vagaries of the playful romancer? Scott argues for the decisiveness of all the Magnum material because of its finality as far as the author is concerned: 'the publication was intended to be posthumous, and [...] old men may be permitted to speak long, because they cannot in the course of nature have long time to speak'.¹³ This solemn authority tends to be respected by editors, who cease to offer commentary once they reach Scott's notes, thus offering a presumption of his accuracy. (The Edinburgh edition will address this omission.)

Scott does offer copious extra historical information and even points out his own anachronisms. He often combines the roles of distant magisterial historian, conduit of hearsay evidence, or eyewitness. Thus, he becomes both the provider of evidence and its judge. As far as traditional songs go, he does identify some sources, but leaves many more open. Although in the *Minstrelsy* he manipulated text to achieve a putative coherence and fullness of detail, in the novels he subordinates the original texts to dramatic propriety. Thus, when Waverley visits Glenaquoich and is pursuing Flora rather than Rose, Davie turns up with a letter from Rose and his presence is announced by his singing of two quatrains. The first, 'My Heart's in the Highlands', is a romantic tribute to the general attractions of the area with a sly hint of Edward's change of love object. These words were likely to be recognised as part of a Burns adaptation of a traditional song.¹⁴ The second quatrain is supposedly a different song. It is caustically satirical about Highland poverty, with an ironical reference to the idea of the return of King Jamie as a guarantee of prosperity. The verses are quite different in tone, one aligning Davie with a vaguely Jacobite nostalgia for the Highlands, one presenting him as a licensed satirist. They can both be sung to the same tune, but Scott prises them apart through exploiting the ambiguity between the literal and metaphorical meanings of 'the minstrelsy of Davie changed its tune' (*W*, Edin. p. 146). No note explains this; in fact, each quatrain gets its own Magnum note (*W*, Border, pp. 261-2). The first gives the Burns attribution. The second implies a completely different source; it is 'also ancient, and I believe to the tune of "We'll never ha'e peace till Jamie comes hame"'. This too is a Burns song, and the only way I can document Scott's knowledge of it as traditional is through his friend Thomas Wilkie. Even in 1814, and almost certainly by 1829, Scott could have known these

two quatrains together, as they occur in the same song in a manuscript written down by Wilkie in 1815.¹⁵

Davie's first song in Chapter 9 really is 'a fragment of an old Scotch ditty' (*W*, Edin., p. 41). The later footnote merely reduplicates this claim: 'This is a genuine ancient fragment, with some alteration in the last two lines' but gives no source (*W*, Border, p. 71). In fact all Scott has done here is to tidy up a version he seems to have found in the manuscripts of David Herd,¹⁶ but only for the sake of metrical polish, for the sense of the original is the same, and could equally well have been used to hint at the ready transferability of Waverley's affections. On the other hand, he offers no comment on Davie's next song, which is Scott's own, with just a couple of references to characters in real ballads (*W*, Edin, pp. 41, 538). In Chapter 63, the first six of eight lines are attributed to 'an old ballad called the Border Widow's Lament' (*W*, Border, p. 568). Apart from the spelling, this is the *Minstrelsy* version, but Scott does not say so. Again, there is no comment on the last two lines, which appear to be his own, and which show Davie deliberately misleading Waverley by implying that the Baron is dead. The get-out clause of Davie's memories of his dead brother's words can hardly be held to operate in the paratextual context of the Notes. Scott is the annotator, but the Author of Waverley is still a significant silence. In a footnote to Chapter 42, Scott invokes the authority of his own knowledge, even though his memory is at fault with regard to detail. He says of words based on the offensively ironic 1688 Revolution song, 'Lilliburlero', 'these lines, or something like them, occur in an old magazine of the period' (*W*, Border, p. 392). A more helpful reference would have been to Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*¹⁷ for this example of a political tune dialogue with words adapted to both sides of the cause. All Scott's note does is imply the song is genuine, but his failure to give the sources replicates the formulas used in the novels themselves.

It would be possible to conclude that Scott is simply slapdash and deceitful; his health could have been an excuse after his first stroke in 1830, but not in 1829, when the *Waverley* notes were being completed. From a modern editorial perspective, such an accusation would often be valid, but it seems to arise from an assumption in Scott about the holistic authority of the writer. This conviction of overall power is at odds with the paradoxical presumption that the paratexts, conceived of as dependent on and therefore *subsequent* to any given text, derive their authority from material that *precedes* it. We can see more readily how this works by considering Scott's use of the motto.

Mottoes

After *Waverley* it was Scott's almost universal practice to give each novel chapter at least one prefatory motto. These are drawn from a huge range of sources, including traditional song, and are nearly always in verse.¹⁸ They have an assumed relevance to what follows, though logic dictates that the chapter must have been at least conceived before the motto was chosen. One example from Scott's second novel, *Guy Mannering* (1815), must suffice for this general point. Chapter 15 is preceded by two verses from the ballad 'The Heir of Linne' (C 267), in which a spendthrift is offered composition for his debts through a land transfer. In the main text, Gilbert Glossin, referred back to the ballad's character as 'the Galwegian John o' the Scales' has just taken over the Ellengowan estate (*GM*, Edin, p.82). The attributions to the mottoes tend to be brief and somewhat vague (as are those in Scott's models) whether they are to traditional song or not. 'Old play' and 'old ballad' are common. Sometimes this is just a smokescreen, though not as often as is sometimes assumed.¹⁹ Contributing to

this suspicion is Scott's confession in the Author's Introduction to the *Chronicles of the Canongate* (1827) that he drew on his memory as long as he could, and 'eked it out with invention', even providing false attributions (CC, Edin., p. 9).

The mottoes appear at their most artificial in *Rob Roy* (1818) since the novel purports to be autodiegesis by the hero, Frank Osbaldistone. He explains, 'I have tagged with rhyme and blank verse the subdivisions of this important narrative, in order to seduce your continued attention by powers of composition of stronger attraction than my own' (RR, Border, p. 3). If the point of the mottoes is their expressive success, then the exact source is unimportant, and vague or even erroneous attributions do not matter much. What the ironic Frank does not explain, though, is why nearly all are in verse. This again is typical. For example, in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818) there are fifty two mottoes. Forty eight are in verse, and the four in prose are all from Shakespeare. 'Old ballads' are prominent, but age is not a universal criterion, since Scott also uses, anachronistically, Wordsworth, Byron and Coleridge. I would argue that the verse form is itself an authority claim that operates in three ways. First, poetry in the Romantic period is aligned to bardic or even prophetic status. Secondly, all these mottoes are produced from the capacious knowledge of the Author of Waverley. Thirdly, they refer the operations of the prose text to a concept of tradition and the individual talent cognate with that of T. S. Eliot's definition of the 'historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal and of the timeless and the temporal together'.²⁰ Thus, Scott's invention of false intertexts is an extra layer of a claim for membership of the literary elite by way of his facility as a poet, or the skills and knowledge that allow him to be a parodist. Moreover, the Author openly enjoys playing games with the reader, though he is always in control. This is obvious in the Introductory Epistle to *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822) when he chastises readers who have too hastily assumed that the 'scraps of old plays' quoted are his own work, claiming that he has recovered fragments of ancient drama on the instructions of the ghost of a cook-maid who had burnt much of the collection (FN, Edin., p. 11). The process continues in the Magnum notes to *The Antiquary* (Border, p. 35). Oldbuck enthuses about broadsides of various types including one with a complex and fantastic title, which enforces its truth claims by citing the addresses of witnesses. The author's note claims that he owns this unique 'thrice and four times rare broadside'.²¹

These last two pieces of play apply equally in principle to both integral quotations and to mottoes. Yet the motto is a kind of paratext that can be distinguished readily from the text. Not only is it marked out by its placing, typography, and the frequent presence of its own minimal paratext by way of attribution, it also has a more homogeneous function. In so far as mottoes make a truth claim, it is a straightforwardly Aristotelian one: 'poetry is something more philosophical and more worthy of serious attention than history; for while poetry is concerned with universal truths, history treats of particular facts'.²² Scott's assent to this division of kinds of discourse could be seen as implicit in his use of general attributions ('Old Ballad') for Chapters 32 and (later) 27 of *Old Mortality* rather than the specific identification of 'The Battle of Bothwell Brig' (C 206), even though the ballad is directly relevant to the action of the novel, which describes this battle, and is in the *Minstrelsy* (II, 78-99). Thus, on the whole, the paratextual mottoes operate more straightforwardly on the reader than the marked intertextual quotation within the body of the novel, where the question so frequently arises of whether the verse is to be regarded as evidence of particular historical fact, especially when it is embedded in the matrix of a character's enunciation rather than in authorial commentary. Mottoes

posit a textual generator who is to be distinguished from the Author of *Waverley*²³ and they rely on homogenising assumptions about the value established simply by the use of poetic form and the claims this implies to some sort of bardic function, however, modest.

Games

When we come to the notes, as a separate category of paratext, we find that they contain copious amounts of what Genette calls ‘embedded enunciating’ (p. 323). He argues that ‘the authorial annotation of a text of fiction or poetry, by dint of its discursive nature, unavoidably marks a break in the enunciative regime—a break that justifies our assigning it to the paratext’ (p. 332), and divides notes into two kinds. Notes contemporary with the text offer ‘a second level of discourse, one that sometimes contributes to textual depth’ and this ‘calls into question its paratextual character’ (p. 328). On the other hand, later notes or delayed prefaces ‘clearly belong to the paratext’ and the *Waverley* novels are an example of where, because they are ‘impure’ texts ‘very conspicuous for [their] historical references’, the notes ‘always play a corroborative role’ (p. 332). However, I would argue that this assessment of degrees of paratextuality between Scott’s contemporaneous and his delayed notes should be reversed, and that it is the latter that offer the greater contribution to textual depth and belong more to the text.

This can be demonstrated through Scott’s use of ‘delayed’ prefaces or notes which involve ballad material and which offer perspectives that reflect back into the text and modify our reception of it. These songs invoke wine and women. The drink is in *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) where a delayed endnote to Chapter 14 uses four lines from ‘Poverty Parts Good Company’/‘Todlin Ben’ to illustrate the ancient custom of providing copious alcohol in guest bedrooms.²⁴ The song, however, refers to quite different social circumstances; there is no ‘honoured guest’, but two equally poverty-stricken boon companions. It is linked in the note to a humorous anecdote about visiting ministers requesting extra ale rather than bibles. Drink is presented as a leveller, and as a mark of human conviviality. The Lord Keeper’s entertainment on his visit to Ravenswood is all the product of the servant Caleb Balderstone’s harrying of his neighbours to muster canary wine and brandy, though ironically, Sir William only wants water. The note, therefore, through its shift of focus, performs some of the same functions as Caleb himself, undercutting social pretensions and the rigid protocol of aristocratic society.

There are a few areas which Scott makes it obvious he will not explore, including blasphemy (*Quentin Durward*, Note XII) and unrelieved villainy (*Kenilworth*, Note VII). Scott boasted that nothing in his writing deserved reproach ‘on the score of religion or morality’ (CC, Edin., p. 10). This concern is sometimes visible as a slight nervousness about sexuality. References originally to a sexual context are hijacked for a more innocent one; for example, in *The Fortunes of Nigel* (Edin., p. 15), the frame narrator Captain Clutterbuck sings four lines originally referring to making love and applies them to making money. Small-scale bowdlerisation occurs, for example, in a footnote to *Woodstock* (1826), where twelve lines of quoted song are referred to Ramsay’s *Tea-table Miscellany* with the words ‘such a song, or something very like it’. The novel’s ‘I spent all my means / Amid sharpers and queans’ has been adapted from the original ‘on whores, bawds and queans’.²⁵

The two most complex examples of sexual squeamishness are in *The Abbot* and *Rob Roy*. A delayed footnote to Chapter 15 of the former refers to twelve lines of

anti-clerical polemic also alluded to in *The Monastery* (1820) as ‘taken, with some trifling alterations, from a ballad called Trim-go-Trix’ for which two detailed references are given (*Abbot*, Border, p. 192). The original is franker at much greater length on the illicit sexual proclivities of monks and nuns, and Scott has toned down and altered the lines annotated, and these in the following chapter, where ‘Saint Monance’ sister,/ The grey priest kist her’ (p. 218) replaces ‘The sillie Nunnis keist up thair Bunnis,/ And heisit thair Hippis on hie’. The full meaning is deferred to an arcanum outside the novel, access to which is actually deflected by the first attribution in the note.²⁶

The most teasing and problematic example occurs with Rob Roy, who focused for Scott the essential tensions between the construction of an heroic Highland Robin Hood and the historical risk-avoiding freebooter. One problem for him here is that the ballads, which one would expect to confirm Rob’s romance status, are equivocal, and Scott cites the old ballad (‘The Battle of Sheriff-muir’) as testimony to his cupidity and cowardice (*RR*, Border, p. lxiii).²⁷ His interest spills over into the rest of Rob Roy’s family, especially his wife Helen and sons James and Robin Oig, also called Rob Roy. For a writer of romance, the theme of rape is an ever-present one, since the topic of the abduction of women is key to romance story-lines. Here it occurs in two forms, one in the novel and both in the paratexts. Helen MacGregor is raped, but Scott is so uncomfortable about addressing the subject directly, that he never actually says so. Instead, he simply outlines a significant gap, as in the 1829 introduction: ‘the legal satellites [...] had insulted MacGregor’s wife, in a manner which would have aroused a milder man than he to thoughts of unbounded vengeance’ (*RR*, Border, p. xlvi). In the novel, it is Helen who acts with unbounded savagery by projecting her violent anger onto Morris, but her motive is never spelled out.

Indeed, Scott displaces the rape motif into the paratexts and deflects it onto Rob Roy’s sons, where it features quite extensively not as an act of violent political and economic dominance, but as the kidnap and enforced marriage of Jean Key by James and Robin. Scott still makes no actual mention of rape, although his formal condemnation is clear through words like ‘crime’, ‘infamy’ and ‘vile outrage’. He refers the seizure of prosperous Lowland women for exogamic marriage to the rape of the Sabine women, the Book of Judges, and to Scots ballads (Border, lxxxv), claiming that the women often accepted their fate. The court dealing with Jean Key’s case believed she would rather submit than appear ‘in such a cause in the open court’ (lxxxviii). No sooner has Scott said he has concluded the ‘long account of Rob Roy and his family’, than he follows it with extra material, quoting three ballads (Border, cxi-cxii), ‘Bonny Baby Livingston’ (C 222), what is probably a version of ‘Eppie Morrie’ (C 223) and seven verses of ‘Rob Roy’ (C 225). With the first two, Scott omits any mention of the happy endings that occur in at least some versions (including the Jamieson one of C 222 that Scott would have known) where the heroines resist and are rescued. The third, for which Scott says he has selected ‘the following words from memory’, is a patchwork of lines partly derived from the ‘Materials for the Minstrelsy’ (C 225), while some of the other words can be found in other manuscripts or tradition. It ends with the *fait accompli* ‘you are my wedded wife’. Scott omits the stress found in the Materials version on young Rob’s attraction towards Jean’s 50,000 marks rather than herself, and the degree of physical coercion. The added lines emphasize Rob’s consequence and confidence in his own courage and attractions, and the value of his father’s reputation. This, then, is a version that makes the best of a bad job, but nevertheless paints a picture of the MacGregors as victimisers rather than as victims, and in an area relating to intimate physical violation

rather than property theft. Yet another footnote to the Introduction argues that some of the opprobrium laid on one of Rob's ancestors may be attributable to another man who 'committed an act of brutal violence on two defenceless women' but was stabbed by 'the female he had outraged' (Border, xxxiv-xxxv). The effect of all this diverse extraneous material is to destabilize the relations between fictional text and evidential paratext in a way unusual for Scott, in that he does not manifest his usual sense of overall control. Being autodiegetic, the main text has delegated authority beyond that of personal testimony, and the paratextual apparatus has to over-compensate, an effort strained the more by Scott's nervousness about how to handle the rape theme.

In most of his novels, a Magnum editor whom we can conveniently designate 'Scott', who frequently employs the first person as well as the third, is amplifying the fictional production of the Author of Waverley. Such a distinction is Scott's own, aired in the first fiction for which his authorship was indubitable, the *Chronicles of the Canongate*. He discusses the effects of anonymity and 'the audacity which a sense of incognito bestowed' (CC, Edin. p. 3). This audacity was largely the licence of romance. He very clearly presents all his novels as romances, not just *Ivanhoe*, which Genette speculates is 'meant to emphasize that work's historical, and more precisely medieval, flavor' (p. 95). This seems the opposite of what Scott is doing. In fact, he is more than usually sparing of historical notes since much 'general history' is already available and much of the tale is taken 'from the stores of old romance' (*I*, 1830 introduction: Border, p. xxxii). He had already insisted on a universalist, non-progressive model of history:

the proportion [...] of manners and sentiments which are common to us and to our ancestors [...] or which, arising out of the principles of our common nature, must have existed alike in either state of society.²⁸

Later he added 'large' before 'proportion' (Border, p. xlvi). If Georg Lukács is right that 'the greatest obstacle to an understanding of history lay in the Enlightenment's conception of man's unalterable nature', then Scott, as an Enlightenment thinker, is not so much a modern historian as a writer of parables.²⁹ The novels are a way into the history of one's country, (*FN*, Edin., p. 7) not themselves history.

The effect of these commonly repeated ideas is constantly to balance the valuation of the genres of romance and historical realism. Romance is mere harmless amusement but also moral and clearly dominant in terms of length and size. Undiluted history is earnest, but marginalised to the beginnings and ends of books, and the bottoms of pages, and less weighty in terms of book-space. This struggle is not just posited within the text, but is enacted in the paratexts through Scott's proliferation of vicarious author figures. In the Prefatory Letter to *Pevekil of the Peak* (1822) it is suggested that the problem is not so much misleading readers about history as leading them to neglect proper history in favour of historical novels. Sensible as this analysis seems, it comes from the ironically named Dr Dryasdust, and is only a cue for the Author to defend himself (*PP*, Edin., p. 10). Recent criticism has become increasingly appreciative of the games Scott plays with his narrative personae.³⁰ It is not appropriate to rehearse all their subtleties here, but the competing claims of Dryasdust and Clutterbuck to have encountered the Author of Waverley in the introductory materials to *The Fortunes of Nigel* and *Pevekil*, and the joint-stock company discussion about producing novels by steam that precedes *The Betrothed* (1825) are extensive and audacious examples. Scott makes early and continued use of multi-layered narrative framing through ironically self-betraying antiquarian narrators (Cleishbotham, Dryasdust, Clutterbuck, Templeton) and these figures form extensive

networks of initial paratext, and occasional mid-text annotation, cross-referencing from novel to novel, and also managing to shift from extra- to intradiegetic figures, and vice versa. Cleishbotham, for example, tells the Pattieson stories that are really invented by Scott, but also, in minor ways, becomes the topic of the enunciation as well as the enunciating subject (*Black Dwarf*, Edin., p. 12). The imaginary Dr Rochecliffe, cited as an historical authority at the beginning of *Woodstock*, actually appears in the novel.

This game did not stop with the revelation of Scott's authorship, but it did alter. In *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Chrystal Croftangry is another antiquarian narrator, but much more self-questioning of himself and of authorship: 'no shop is so easily set up as an antiquary's' and 'if he add a sheaf or two of penny ballads and broadsides, he is a great man—an extensive trader' (CC, Edin., p. 51). Chrystal's reliability is seriously called into question through his altercation with Christie Steele and her use of 'The Auld Gudeman' to condemn him.³¹ Rather than presenting Chrystal as utterly uncharitable, she replaces the line 'he gart the poor stand frae the door' with an indication that he was merely spendthrift. However, she accuses him of bringing 'harlots to the door-cheek of his father's house, till he made it nae residence for his mother' (p. 43). Chrystal calls her 'prejudiced' but leaves the reader to balance authorities (p. 44). Sexual incontinence has not so far been a distinguishing feature of Scott's parodic antiquarians.

The paratextual Chrystal effectively becomes an alternative text. His initial narrative occupies fifty three pages to the Highland Widow's fifty four. It is dignified with chapter mottoes (which not all the chapters of the tales are). If Scott the historian frequently became the history through personal reminiscence, the story-teller here is becoming the story.

The Magnum notes reinforce this playful aspect of Scott. For example *The Antiquary* ends with mention of Oldbuck's notes for the Caledoniad, and what follows are Scott's Notes, some of which would certainly be appropriate for it.³² Footnotes from Scott mingle with those from Cleishbotham in the *Tale of Old Mortality*. Some notes make an appeal to what Roland Barthes calls the cultural code of shared experience.³³ For example, the endnote to the song-conversation in the last chapter of Darsie's journal in *Redgauntlet* says 'everyone can remember instances' of happy allusions in the choice of tunes. The endnote to Letter 2 links Darsie's knowledge to Alan's and that of other Scots: 'alluding, as all Scotsmen know, to the humorous old song', 'The Old Man's Mare's Dead'.³⁴ In Scott, such a hegemonic technique carries only the veneer of equality of knowledge, of course, since it transparently informs the ignorant (especially the non-Scot) and therefore makes a claim to superiority.

The Author of Waverley emphasises his unique status in relation to his creations by stressing that he has the power of both life and death over them. He kills off Cleishbotham (in a footnote to a letter to Clutterbuck [*Monastery*, Edin., p. 29]) and threatens to 'unbeget' his frame narrators (*Betrothed*: Border, p. xxxix). Clutterbuck addresses the Author as 'magne parens' (FN, Edin., p. 5) and Dryasdust calls the Author 'our great progenitor', phrases that identify him as, essentially, God (*Peveiril*, Edin., p. 3). No wonder, then, that he feels confident enough to justify the creation of a separate world in his fiction that is superior to the world of mundane fact and its fragmentary evidence. The purpose of *The Pirate* is to improve on history and any supposed facts about the original are inaccurate if contradicted by 'the following veracious narrative, compiled, from materials to which he himself alone has had access, by THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY' (*Pirate*, Edin., p. 4). Dryasdust mentions the traditional story of Blind Willie warning the conspirators in *Redgauntlet*

to flee arrest and execution by playing ‘The Campbells Are Coming’. He calls this ‘some inaccurate account of the transactions’ represented, but of course accuracy is not in question, because the event never happened anyway, and the freemasonry of song that Scott testifies to so insistently has no practical effect either here or in releasing Darsie from Redgauntlet (Edin., p. 379). The later introductions replicate this elevation of fiction over historical source. *The Abbot* offers ‘a more minute account of that romantic adventure [the escape of Mary Queen of Scots] than is to be found in histories of the period’ (Border, p. xxviii) and a note to *The Talisman* says that historians ‘appear to have been ignorant of the existence of Edith Plantagenet’ (Border, p. 710).

This intricate interweaving suggests that Genette’s argument that later notes or delayed prefaces ‘clearly belong to the paratext’ is not entirely appropriate to Scott. What Genette admits of the original type of note, that its dialogue with the text ‘calls into question its paratextual character’ seems even more true of many of the longer, later notes. He sees the early fictional prefaces as ‘the most fascinating parts of Scott’s oeuvre’ and ‘a form of extravagant humor that prefigures the unsettling masquerades of twentieth-century fiction’ (p. 288). Shari Benstock’s argument that the self-conscious notes of Fielding, Sterne, and Joyce ‘remain part of the fiction’ is also true of some of Scott, with the same implication that ‘authority in fictional texts rests not on extratextual sources that support an intellectual aesthetic, but on the implied presence of the author’ engaging with the reader.³⁵ She goes on to argue that ‘footnotes in fiction *cannot* serve the ends they serve in the scholarly tradition’ because they draw attention to ‘faulted authority’ (p. 220).

I would not suggest Scott is such a thorough-going post-structuralist as this, for two reasons. First, Scott himself does continue to take the idea of historical truth seriously even if he is cynical about how historical discourse is constructed.³⁶ Neither he nor the readers of the *Life of Napoleon* disbelieve in history; and they would all have recognised from Gibbon, for example, modes of annotation that provide conflicting claims without undermining the historical enterprise entirely, but ‘go beyond any authenticating function to set up a variety of interactions with the text’.³⁷ Many of the notes, introductions and prefaces to the Waverley novels contain material that fits this model of discourse, and this includes the citation of ballads as evidence, even where Scott has reshaped them in the hope of constructing an *ur*-ballad that told the truth as the composer saw it. Secondly, the very intention of the Magnum is to shift the balance of authorial power. If the early, apparently paratextual, prefaces protect the Author, there is a sense that the later paratextual apparatus both undermines the Author and circumscribes imaginative play by exposing the earlier ‘assumed buffoonery’ (*CD*, Edin., 207) through the editorial control of the author known as (but not named as) Scott. The mode of this exposure, though, with ballad material as much as anything else, reinscribes that playfulness by offering Scott’s notes as allographic notes. Allographic notes, for Genette, fall ‘outside the definition of the paratext’ (p. 337) but these, of course, being the product of a split authorial self, do not. They contribute to undermining the distinction between text and paratext altogether. Scott is also claiming an absolute right over his creative production, and this includes the right to invoke material from his commanding memory and the experience and authority to alter song material both for historical and creative purposes.

Envoi: Scott Becomes the Text

By the time of *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous*, the fourth series of *Tales of my Landlord* (1831), Scott was ill, and flagging. The first edition of *Count Robert* ends with a statement from Scott, very open about his illness and calling the novel ‘probably the last’ of his fictions (Edin., 361).³⁸ There was no Magnum introduction, but Cadell and Lockhart prompted him to compose a Cleishbotham introduction for the series (*CRP*, Edin., p. 404). This allowed for a comic satire on Scott’s own problems with pirated editions, and even the overweening ambitions of authors and editors, but Scott also identified directly with Cleishbotham’s decline, threatened by the dizziness of apoplexy. Only one thing saves him from surrendering to it—a desire not to give way to his feelings in front of Paul Pattieson, summed up in a line from the ‘old ballad’, ‘Earl Percy sees my fall’ (*CD*, Edin., p. 206). Scott had already used this line from one of his favourite ballads, ‘Chevy Chase’ (C 162) to express the mingled pathos and shame of David Deans’s appearing before the public a lesser and more fallible figure than he was wont to be. (*HM*, Edin., p. 102). Now Scott uses Jedediah as Jedediah uses the ballad.

Endnotes

¹ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

² The rationale and effects of this are described in the General Preface in all volumes of the thirty-volume Edinburgh Edition, general editor David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993--ongoing). A few volumes, including the Magnum ones, are not yet in print. References to these novels, and to later material, will be to the 24 volume Border edition ed. by Andrew Lang (London: Macmillan, 1900-06). This is a standard Magnum-based edition more widely available than the 1829-33 volumes, though placing of the paratexts is not always the same. However, motto references are to chapter numbers and as the endnotes have sequence numbers these too have been used in preference to page numbers. Hereafter references to the Border edition will take the form [italicised contracted title, edition, page] as here: *W*, Border, p. xi.

³ For a persuasively-theorised general account of Scott paratexts, see Robert Mayer, ‘The Illogical Status of Novelistic Discourse: Scott’s Footnotes for the Waverley Novels’, *ELH*, 66:4 (1999), 911-938 and for the making of the Magnum edition, Jane Millgate, *Scott’s Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987). For discussions focusing on the song allusions included within the main texts of Scott’s novels, see Chapter 2 of C. M. Jackson-Houlston, *Ballads, Songs and Snatches: The Appropriation of Folk Songs and Popular Culture in British Nineteenth-century Realist Prose* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1999), and Claire Lamont, ‘The Poetry of the Early Waverley Novels’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975), pp. 315-36.

⁴ *Robin Hood: A Collection of All the Ancient Poems, Songs and Ballads Now Extant*, ed. by Joseph Ritson, 2 vols (London: Egerton and Johnson, 1795).

⁵ *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border: Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads, Collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland; with a Few of Modern Date, Founded upon Local Tradition*, 3 vols (London and Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, and Constable, 1806), I, cxxviii. This third edition overlaps substantially with the second (1803) but is more logically ordered.

⁶ See Frances James Child’s standard work, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882-1898), which uses the *Minstrelsy* as one of its many sources of texts. References hereafter will be in the form C plus ballad number. This one is C 190A; the captain has been shot ‘through the left ba-stane’. Other examples of moral squeamishness in the *Minstrelsy* occur at II, 147, III, 63-65, 98.

⁷ For the tension between historiographic models of time’s arrow and time’s cycle in relation to ballads of the period, see C. M. Jackson-Houlston in Chapter 11 of *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815*, ed. by Mark Philp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁸ Joseph Ritson, *Scottish Songs*, 2 vols (London: Johnson, 1794), p. lxxxii. For Scott’s methods, see Charles G. Zug, ‘The Ballad Editor as Antiquary: Scott and the *Minstrelsy*’, *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 13:1 (1976), 57-73.

⁹ Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 2003), p. 101.

- ¹⁰ Walter Scott, *Waverley*, ed. by Peter Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 369. Further references to this edition will take the form italicised contracted title, edition, page.
- ¹¹ For an account of Scott's debt to his predecessors in this area, see Patricia S. Gaston, *Prefacing the Waverley Novels: A Reading of Sir Walter Scott*, American University Study Series 4, (New York: Laing, 1991), cxxx.
- ¹² For further discussion, see Claire Lamont, 'Jacobite Songs as Intertexts in *Waverley* and *The Highland Widow*', in *Scott in Carnival*, ed. by J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1983), pp. 110-21.
- ¹³ *W*, Border, pp. xxxiii-iv.
- ¹⁴ *W*, Edin. p. 146. For the song, see James Johnson, ed., *The Scots Musical Museum* 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1787-1803), no. 259 ('My heart's in the Highlands'). Future references to this work will be given thus: *SMM*, no. 259.
- ¹⁵ National Library of Scotland MS 123, p. 5. For the text of this second song, see *Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, ed. by James Hogg, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1819-21), I, p. 59. For notes, see the edition by Murray G. H. Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), I, p. 446.
- ¹⁶ *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, ed. by Hans Hecht (Edinburgh: William Hay, 1904), p. 134.
- ¹⁷ II, 457, and Pittock's note, I, 480-81.
- ¹⁸ For a broader discussion, see Dieter Berger, "'Damn the Mottoe": Scott and the Epigraph', *Anglia*, 100:3-4 (1982), 373-96.
- ¹⁹ Of the fourteen 'old ballad' chapter tags Tom Haber implies are false, at least ten are not. 'The Chapter-Tags in the Waverley Novels', *PMLA*, 45 (1930), 1140-49 (p. 1145).
- ²⁰ T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', in *The Sacred Wood*, 7th edn. (London: Methuen, 1960), p. 49.
- ²¹ This really exists, but it has not been traced to Scott's library. See p. 461 of the Edinburgh edition, but note that several generic titles are conflated into one for the earlier part of Oldbuck's speech.
- ²² *Aristotle, Horace, Longinus: Classical Literary Criticism*, trans. by T. S. Dorsch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 43-44.
- ²³ Scott confirms the universalising applicability of the quotations by saying in the Advertisement to the first edition of *Rob Roy* that 'the mottoes for the Chapters have been selected without any reference to the supposed date of the incidents', by the editor of Frank's story.
- ²⁴ *BL*, Border, p. 459. *SMM* no. 275 would be one of several sources known to Scott. The song is also used for the motto of Chapter 7 of *The Abbot*.
- ²⁵ *Woodstock*, Border, p. 659. Scott's reference seems to be wrong, but this traditional song was widely printed. *SMM* no. 322 is his most likely source.
- ²⁶ Scott's first reference is to Andro Hart's, *An Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*. The 1765 Edinburgh edition substitutes asterisks for many explicit passages on the grounds that 'some expressions' resemble 'the style of prophaine songs' (p. 36). Ramsay gives a full text in *The Ever Green*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1724), II, pp. 236-39.
- ²⁷ Scott could have found this in Ritson's *Scotish Songs*, II, 56-67 or in David Herd, *Antient and Modern Scotish Songs Heroic Ballads, etc.*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Lawrie and Symington, 1791), I, 170-75.
- ²⁸ *I*, Edin., p. 9, and compare *W*, Edin., p. 6.
- ²⁹ Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), p. 27. (Lukács sees Scott's work as manifesting a deeper understanding than his expressed opinions, p. 30).
- ³⁰ For example, Fiona Robertson, *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic, and the Authorities of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Richard Waswo, 'Story as Historiography in the Waverley Novels', *ELH*, 47 (1980), 304-30, and Gaston.
- ³¹ *CC*, Edin., p. 42. The song is widespread: Herd, II, 155-57, as well as in *SMM*, *TTM*, and in Scott's own collection.
- ³² The effect is somewhat diluted in the 1829 edition of the Waverley Novels, vols V-VI (Edinburgh: Cadell) by the practice of printing Scott's longer delayed notes at the end of the relevant chapters.
- ³³ Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller, intro. by Richard Howard (London: Cape, 1975), p. 20.
- ³⁴ *Redgauntlet*, Border, pp. 442, 436. The song appears to be a traditional one subjected to the attentions of Burns: in *SMM*, no. 485.
- ³⁵ Shari Benstock, 'At the Margins of Discourse: Footnotes in the Fictional Text', *PMLA*, 98:1 (1983), 204-25 (p. 207).
- ³⁶ For two of many arguments that Scott's novels are a form of historiography, see Waswo, and Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (New York:

Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 195-236. The Author threatens the joint-stock company, 'I will write HISTORY' and announces his biography of Napoleon (*Betrothed*, Border, p. xi).

³⁷ Peter W. Cosgrove, 'Undermining the Text: Edward Gibbon, Alexander Pope, and the Anti-Authenticating Footnote', in *Annotation and its Texts*, ed. by Stephen Barney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 144.

³⁸ In fact, much of the novel was not even by Scott, but altered by Cadell and Lockhart. J. H. Alexander provides the details in the Edinburgh edition, pp. 396-405.

Works Cited

Anonymous, *An Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Sangs* (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1765)

Aristotle, *Poetics*, in *Aristotle, Horace, Longinus: Classical Literary Criticism*, trans. by T. S. Dorsch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965)

Barthes, Roland, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller, intro. Richard Howard (London: Cape, 1975)

Benstock, Shari, 'At the Margins of Discourse: Footnotes in the Fictional Text', *PMLA*, 98:1 (1983), 204-25

Berger, Dieter, "'Damn the Mottoe": Scott and the Epigraph', *Anglia*, 100:3-4 (1982), 373-96

Child, Francis James, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston: Mifflin, 1882-1898)

Cosgrove, Peter W., 'Undermining the Text: Edward Gibbon, Alexander Pope, and the Anti-Authenticating Footnote', in *Annotation and its Texts*, ed. by Stephen Barney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 130-51

Eliot, T. S., 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', in *The Sacred Wood*, 7th edn. (London: Methuen, 1960)

Ferris, Ina, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991)

Fielding, Henry, *Joseph Andrews* (London: New English Library, 1960)

---, *Tom Jones* (London: New English Library, 1963)

Gaston, Patricia S., *Prefacing the Waverley Novels: A Reading of Sir Walter Scott*, American University Study Series 4, cxxx (New York: Laing, 1991)

G rard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Grafton, Anthony, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 2003)

Haber, Tom, 'The Chapter-Tags in the Waverley Novels', *PMLA*, 45 (1930), 1140-49

Hecht, Hans, ed., *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts* (Edinburgh: William Hay, 1904)

Herd, David, ed., *Antient and Modern Scottish Songs Heroic Ballads, etc*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Lawrie and Symington, 1791)

Hogg, James, ed., *Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1819-21)

-
- , *Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, ed. Murray G. H. Pittock, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002)
- Jackson-Houlston, C. M., *Ballads, Songs and Snatches: the Appropriation of Folk Songs and Popular Culture in British Nineteenth-century Realist Prose* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1999)
- Johnson, James, ed., *The Scots Musical Museum*, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1787-1803)
- Lamont, Claire, 'Jacobite Songs as Intertexts in *Waverley* and *The Highland Widow*', in *Scott in Carnival*, ed. by J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1983), pp. 110-21
- , 'The Poetry of the Early *Waverley* Novels', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975), 315-36
- Lukács, Georg, *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962)
- Mayer, Robert, 'The Illogical Status of Novelistic Discourse: Scott's Footnotes for the *Waverley* Novels', *ELH*, 66:4 (1999), 911-938
- Millgate, Jane, *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987)
- National Library of Scotland, Materials for the Minstrelsy, MS 123
- Philp, Mark, ed., *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Ramsay, Allan, *The Ever Green*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1724)
- , *The Tea-table Miscellany*, 5th edn (London, 1730)
- Ritson, Joseph, ed., *Robin Hood: A Collection of All the Ancient Poems, Songs and Ballads Now Extant*, 2 vols (London: Egerton and Johnson, 1795)
- , ed. *Scottish Songs*, 2 vols (London: Johnson, 1794)
- Robertson, Fiona, *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic, and the Authorities of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Scott, Walter, *The Abbot*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1900), XI
- , *The Antiquary*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1901), III
- , *The Antiquary*, *Waverley* Novels (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1829), V-VI
- , *The Betrothed* and *The Talisman*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1904), XIX
- , *The Black Dwarf*, ed. by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993)
- , *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1904), VIII
- , *Castle Dangerous*, ed. by J. H. Alexander (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

-
- , *Chronicles of the Canongate*, ed. by Claire Lamont (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)
- , *Count Robert of Paris*, ed. by J. H. Alexander (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)
- , *The Fortunes of Nigel*, ed. by Frank Jordan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)
- , *Guy Mannering*, ed. by Peter Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)
- , *Guy Mannering*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1905), II
- , *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ed. by David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)
- , *Ivanhoe*, ed. by Graham Tulloch (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998)
- , *Kenilworth*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1904), XII
- , *The Lady of the Lake*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1810)
- , *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French*, 9 vols (Edinburgh: Longman, 1927)
- , ed., *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border: Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads, Collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland; with a Few of Modern Date, Founded upon Local Tradition*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London and Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, and Constable, 1806)
- , *The Monastery*, ed. by Penny Fielding (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)
- , *Peveril of the Peak*, ed. by Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007)
- , *The Pirate*, ed. by Mark Weinstein and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)
- , *The Pirate*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1901), XIII
- , *Quentin Durward*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1902), XVI
- , *Redgauntlet*, ed. by G. A. M. Wood with David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997)
- , *Redgauntlet*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1901), XVIII
- , *Rob Roy*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1901), IV
- , *The Tale of Old Mortality*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1901), V

-
- , *Waverley*, ed. by Peter Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007)
- , *Waverley*, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1901), I
- , *Woodstock* ed. by Andrew Lang, Border edn (London: Macmillan, 1906), XX
- Waswo, Richard, 'Story as Historiography in the *Waverley* Novels', *ELH*, 47 (1980), 304-30
- Zug, Charles G., 'The Ballad Editor as Antiquary: Scott and the *Minstrelsy*', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 13:1 (1976), 57-73