

GEORGE BUCHANAN'S RERUM SCOTICARUM HISTORIA

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In accordance with Regulation 2.4.15 of the Postgraduate Study Programme I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and is my own work.

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Summary¹

The thesis attempts to examine the author's aims and methods and assess the Rerum Scoticarum Historia as a whole. The controversial relationship between Buchanan and Mary Queen of Scots is discussed. After information on Buchanan's career, the intellectual background of the sixteenth century and the work of his predecessors Major and Boece, consideration is given to the various editions and one manuscript of the Historia and to the eighteenth-century dispute over the state of the text. A summary of textual differences is contained in an appendix. The evidence concerning exactly when the Historia was written and what was the author's conception of his task is reviewed. In the subsequent account of the content of the work, starting from the anthropology and geography of the first two books, special attention is paid to the use of sources, passages which ^{reveal} the method of working and personal comments by the author. There follows discussion of the tradition of Roman historiography, of the nature and extent of its influence on Buchanan and of difficulties in assessing style. The final chapter reviews Buchanan's attitude to kingship as revealed in the Historia and notes some contrasting estimates of the work. In view of sixteenth-century beliefs about history, the conclusion is proposed that the Historia was a serious piece of historical work and that, although at times openly prejudiced, it represented an advance in historiography in that, by comparison with the more rhetorical approach of Boece, it showed closer interest in understanding the real causes behind events.

1. Regulation 6.9.

Chapter One

George Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia (1582) is of interest from many points of view. Although now of limited value as a historical source, it is a useful record of the impressions made on a sixteenth-century writer by the past and his own time. It is a prime example of Latin as used by Renaissance writers and representative of the effect of that movement on Scotland. It also reveals some of the hazards and consequences of history being written under a close political influence. That Buchanan's Historia has never ceased to be discussed in entanglement with the fate of Mary Queen of Scots is a circumstance which may be regarded as inevitable but regrettable because his relations with the Queen formed only a small part of his career. He has been seen as either rightly condemning or unscrupulously betraying her.

It is apparent that a fair appreciation of the Historia requires considerable background knowledge. A full commentary could amount to a history of Scotland in itself. In addition the ideal commentator would be particularly familiar with the political scene in Scotland during Buchanan's later years, would be thoroughly acquainted with the intellectual history of sixteenth-century Europe and would be an expert on Latin language and literature in the Renaissance era. Since mastery of all these fields is well nigh impossible and since any attempt to account for such background within a limited compass will necessarily be inadequate, it is tempting to concentrate on some portion of the work or on one or more themes. This approach has disadvantages and, while analysis is essential, it has been

thought that a greater contribution to understanding of the author would be made here if the work were also viewed as a whole. Needless to say the present treatment and conclusions do not preclude other interpretations. Buchanan's much discussed relationship with Mary Queen of Scots may provide a starting point.

On the one hand, Buchanan had a personal association with the Queen. Some of Buchanan's feelings for France were expressed in verse: 'Adventus in Galliam' (Fratres Fraterrimi XXVIII), 'Desiderium Lutetiae' (Silvae III) and 'Ad invictissimum Franciae Regem Henricum II post victos Caletes' (Liber Miscellaneorum 1). This vein of writing was adapted for Mary while she was still in France, notably in 'Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuartae, Regum Franciae et Scotiae, Epithalamium' (Silvae IV):

Hunc vitae mihi fata modum concedite, donec
 Juncta Caledoniae tot seclis Gallia genti
 Officiis, pactisque, et legum compe, fratrum
 Subdita dehinc sceptris animo coalescat: et undis
 Quos mare, quos vastis coelum spatiisque solumque
 Dividit, hos populum concordia nectat in unum,
 Aequaeva aeternis coeli concordia flammis (ll. 281-7).

There followed from Buchanan's pen 'Deploratio status rei Gallicae, sub mortem Francisci Secundi Regis' (Silvae V). When the Queen returned to Scotland he wrote masques for her arrival, her marriage to Darnley and James VI's baptism, epigrams to Mary herself, Moray, Mary Fleming and Mary Beaton, verses to Elizabeth for Mary and acted as "poet-laureate."¹ Buchanan and the Queen must have shared an affection for France and a taste for literature; they read Livy together. Among benefits bestowed on Buchanan he was made pensioner

1. Hume Brown, Chapters 12-13.

of Crossraguel Abbey in 1564.²

The relationship between a writer and literary patron is often difficult to analyse: the views expressed may be less important to the poet than the opportunity to practise his craft. Thus to the question whether Buchanan's "begging" epigrams to Mary and Moray were genuine requests for money or fanciful compositions the answer is probably a combination, a form of art which reflected a source of financial support for Buchanan. He probably did not see his loyalty to the Queen as extending beyond these particular purposes, for even in the early 1560s there could have been three areas where difference of opinion was hard to conceal.

Buchanan could have been shocked to see a woman on the throne. "To promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire above any realme, nation or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance, and finallie, it is the subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice."³ Buchanan may not have agreed fully with Knox but the words of the admired James Kennedy in the Historia are in similar vein: "Natura enim ab initio, non modo viros a foeminis animi corporisque viribus discrevit, sed sua cuique sexui munia, suas virtutes, genere quidem easdem, gradu vero longe diversas, attribuit." On the other hand there is no suggestion in the Historia of doubt about a woman's right to succeed. Thus "Alexandro, cum tota stirpe (praeter unam ex filia neptem) extincto" Edward I recognised "eandem regni Scotorum legitimam haeredem" and James V "puellam... haeredem reliquerat." Of the regency of James IV's widow Buchanan remarks,

2. See below, chapter two.

3. Knox, First Blast, in Jack, Scottish Prose, p.46.

"Id etsi praeter morem patrium, et primum imperii muliebris exemplum apud Scotos fuit, tamen inopia virorum fecit, ut tolerabile plerisque, ac maxime pacis cupidis, videretur." Women are on occasion praised in the Historia, but usually for beauty (the heiress Beatrix and the sister of the Earl of Angus), a restraining influence (the wives of James III and James V) or "masculine spirit" ("mulier animi virilis", "Black Agnes," "virilis animi facinus aggreditur" of James I's widow and "virilis in foemina animi fortitudo" of the Earl of Angus's sister). Buchanan seems to estimate feminine virtues within traditionally restricted bounds. Although he accepted the fact of a queen ruling in her own right it was a circumstance scarcely preceded in Scotland.

Secondly Mary's Catholicism, even if personal only, may have irked Buchanan. He had been in conflict with religious authority when he left Scotland in 1539 and even if "the extent to which he sympathised with the Reformers in 1550 has sometimes been exaggerated" and the Portugal documents suggest that he was a Catholic Reformer rather than a Protestant,⁴ his study of theology in the later 1550s made him a Protestant when he returned to Scotland. As Lord Reay pointed out, the Historia gives a very limited account of the Reformation as a religious movement but by 1563 when he became a member of the General Assembly Buchanan's religious differences with Mary must have been apparent.

The third aspect of potential conflict with Mary was political. Buchanan's attempts to formulate a political philosophy may have

4. Aitken, p.lxi. The correct title of Buchanan's "History of Scotland" is "Rerum Scotticarum Historia." "Historia" will be used as an abbreviation.

developed after 1567 but he must have formed some strong convictions about the responsibilities of monarchs before then. It is possible to detect in Buchanan's career a streak of anti-authoritarianism covering both politics and religion. The Baptistes was formerly seen as "a kind of Protestant manifesto"⁵ in which John is a Protestant reformer. De Mirmont suggested that John represented Patrick Hamilton, Herod James V. Hume Brown proposed French equivalents with Herod representing Francis I. Following the emergence of the Portugal documents, however, the new interpretation of an English setting came to light, with Herod a type of Henry VIII, John of Sir Thomas More. Under this scheme, as Aitken pointed out, the play is not primarily religious but an attack on the tyranny of Henry VIII. Greek tragedy would have brought to Buchanan's mind problems of moral dilemma and in Jephthes it is probably the priest, trying to eradicate Jephthah's determination to sacrifice his daughter in fulfilment of a vow, who expresses the author's opinions.⁶ Buchanan's French connections, such as de Grouchy, and his emphasis at the Lisbon trial on French freedom of speech⁷ support the view that he was not inclined to be subservient to authority.

It is, then, at best a simplification to propose that from being in sympathy with Mary Buchanan in 1567 turned abruptly against her.

5. Ibid., p.130.

6. Ibid., p.66 n.1. To a modern audience, the rigid adherence to a vow may seem unrealistic. Cf. Cicero's opinion "that promises which bring no advantage to those to whom they have been made need not be kept nor need they be carried out if they are more harmful to the promisor than they are to the advantage of the promisee" (quoted by Feenstra in Daube Noster (ed. Watson), p.90.

7. Ibid., p.70.

This view is based largely on exaggerated importance of the effect of Darnley's death on Buchanan: the murder of his "chieftain" was the prime factor in his "change of allegiance." It is, however, unlikely that Buchanan who had lived most of his life away from the west of Scotland and had wide experience in various countries held unshakeable loyalty towards Darnley. Secondly, Darnley appears to have been a rather weak character unlikely to win Buchanan's admiration. Although he is portrayed in the Historia as badly treated by Mary, hardly anything positively complimentary is said about him. No particular significance should probably be attached to "Ad Regem Scotiae Henricum" (Epigr. III.1):

Ast ego, ne lassem tibi vanis aethera votis,
 Optime Rex, opto, sit tibi certa salus.
 Hoc satis est unum: quoniam te sospite nobis,
 Succedent regno prospera cuncta tuo.

The Genethliacon or birthday-poem for James VI, presumably composed within a few weeks, perhaps days, of his birth in June 1566, is noteworthy for its forecast of Anglo- (or Saxon-) Scottish unity, a change from the Franco-Scottish theme in Buchanan's earlier verse, and reveals Buchanan's high expectations of rulers: "the poem is really in verse what the De Iure is in prose."⁸ The Genethliacon can more easily be seen as expressing hopes for a future ruler than comment on the present rulers. Buchanan, who translated the Alcestis whose heroine is prepared to give up her life for her husband, may have been appalled not so much by the death of Darnley himself as by the possibility that Mary was a party to his murder; furthermore,

8. St. And., p.324.

he does not believe the view that the crucial step in Mary's downfall was her marriage to Bothwell.

The 1567 revolution was "something unprecedented in the history of the Scottish monarchy" and "opinion must have been in a shocked and puzzled state."⁹ Yet Buchanan was too prominent a figure and by temperament unsuited to adopt a position of neutrality. Opinion must have quickly begun to coalesce round two poles, one attracting Catholicism, personal loyalty to Mary and disdain of popular right to depose a monarch. Since these features must have been recognised in 1567, it should not be false to trace them forward, particularly as represented by the historian John Leslie. Born in 1526, Leslie studied at the University of Aberdeen. He urged Mary to return to Scotland and became a trusted adviser, being appointed a member of the Privy Council and Bishop of Ross. After Mary's escape from Lochleven in 1568 he became her confidential agent but was imprisoned by Elizabeth for his involvement in the Norfolk plot. Following release in 1573 he travelled on the continent and settled near Burssels where he died in 1596. In 1571 he presented to Mary a vernacular Historie covering the period from the death of James I, where Boece concluded, until 1561 - Mary's arrival at Leith on 20th August, the appointment of her council and her choice of her brother as adviser.¹⁰ While in Rome Leslie published in 1578 his De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum. This work contained a modified, slightly less full, version of the Historie and a summary of earlier Scottish history. There are ten books, divided into

9. Donaldson, Mary Queen of Scots, pp.121-2.

10. The text was printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1830 from a manuscript in the hands of the Earl of Leven and Melville and a copy, probably dating from the early seventeenth century, in the Laud manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. There was at least one other copy extant in 1830 (in the library at Dupplin) and a portion of the work in a manuscript of Lord Calthorpe's.

sections, one each on the monarchs in the series used by Boece and Buchanan, and Leslie includes some standard preliminary material - commendatory poems and epistles (including one to the Pope and a Paraenesis to the nobility and people of Scotland) and a forty-page 'Regionum et Insularum Scotiae Descriptio'. Leslie's Latin history has not been reprinted. It was rendered back into Scots by Father James Dalrymple (1593) but "the Dalrymple translation is not impressive. The Father's prose style is unmemorable and his Latin inaccurate."¹¹

The prefaces to the two versions of Leslie's work give clear illustration of his aims and his conception of history. On the one hand, he shows a genuine desire to produce an accurate account of the past. During his detention in England he has been reading histories of England "in the quhilkis I consider mony and sundry thingis sett forth by thair aucthouris, of the deedis and proceedings betwix Scotland and England, far contrar to our annales, registeris and trew proceedingis collectit in Scotland." Noone has taken up the story since the end of Boece's history. Some idea of Leslie's approach is given when he says that he has to deal with "alteration of religion in our countrey" - "yit I doe witheowte reprochfull wordes rehearse the thing as yt wes done, adding thairto no odious judgement of my awne, bot leaving to the reader to juge of thingis as he sall thincke gude." Awareness of the need for reliable sources is also found in the Paraenesis: "ne historiae lex violaretur, illa, quae

11. Jack, Scottish Prose, p.82.

prius scripta erant, non solum exegimus ad veritatem annalium, qui in publico Regni nostri Archivo, aliisque antiquissimis codicibus, quos majores nostri Pasleti, Sconae, ac in aliis monasteriis religiose servarunt, continebantur; verumetiam cum Tacito, Suetonio, Ammiano Marcellino, Eutropio, Herodiano, aliisque Romanarum rerum, ac vicinarum gentium scriptoribus diligentissime contulimus. Atque haec quae nos primi monumentis nostris illustravimus, vel ipso tempore gesta praesentes libavimus, vel a summis viris, quibus et auctoritatem Magistratus et fidem consensio fecerat, sumpta sincere persecuti sumus." Leslie prudently omitted to discuss Mary's personal reign lest he appear biased by affection for Mary or hatred towards her enemies. Even though he had carried out some revision of his vernacular version, he did not intend to publish it "quhill it be more diligently overseene and corrected."

Leslie was modest about his Historie which he called "this sempill treatise" or "summarye of the principell daidis in these dayes" which he had "compiled and gathered (and nocht maide) ... nocht takand upon me to wreitt ane Historie, for I knowe weill quhow unmeit I am thairto." Nevertheless he had an elevated view of history in general. Wise men from Cato onwards had been aware of the "delight and profit" in reading history. Some actually recovered good health by hearing histories read. Scriptural history reveals the will of God, the works of Aristotle and Pliny show natural causes and human histories show the lives of good men "to be followit" and of bad men "to be declinit and eschewit." The instructional value of history, morally and practically ("As to the utilite and proffeit to

be gaderit of histories, it evidently does appeire") is reiterated in the Paraenesis, and in this respect Leslie is alongside Boece and Major.

One sentence in the vernacular preface illuminates Leslie's distinctive position in sixteenth-century Scottish historiography: "And siclik, be perpetuall observing in historeis, the subjectis are admonisheit to obey thair prince and magistrate; for that rebellicoun has always brocht gryt harme to the comone weill, and never ony gude to the authoris tharof, bot utter ruine to thame, and decay in the end." Unlike Buchanan, Leslie was a partisan of Mary and remained a Catholic. His religious point of view is revealed much more openly in the Latin work, where there are repeated references to the preservation of Catholic faith in Scotland. To Pope Gregory he writes: "vix ullam profecto inueniemus, quae Religionem susceptam, aut acriori studio persecuta fuerit, aut cura diligentiori excoluerit, quam Scotorum nationem." The Paraenesis discusses the falsity of objections to Papistry; the faith of our ancestors is contrasted with recent heresy. Other historians, from Livy to Boece, had written of moral decline; Leslie associates it specifically with abandonment of Catholicism. He defends his exposition of religion in a "profana historia" by saying that to recover the virtues of old it is more valuable to know by what faith people lived than by what stratage^u they waged war. In a rhetorical climax to the Paraenesis he asserts: "(vos) ut in rectam religionis virtutisque viam traducam, non solum has jam voces fundo, verum etiam ipsum sanguinem profundere, ut semper fui paratus, sic nunc paratissimus." Although his outlook may not have influenced his

history unduly since he avoided Mary's personal reign because he did not want to spread knowledge of events of which he did not approve, Leslie was, despite a cautious method in some respects, no less a partisan than Buchanan.

It seems likely that Buchanan would not know of Leslie's vernacular Historie. He mentions Leslie in his Historia and a correspondent apprises him of the publication of the De Origine but he probably did not make much use of the work. Leslie's De Origine, although it reflects firm convictions, is a less absorbing work than the other sixteenth-century histories. Referring to the vernacular version, C.S. Lewis wrote, "The truth is that he writes primarily as a man of affairs; he has read too many state papers and sat on too many committees to be either affected or racy."¹² More trenchant opposition, at once religious and political, came to Buchanan from outside historiography; opponents believed in "a demonstrable connection between Protestantism and sedition."¹³ The three most noteworthy were Adam Blackwood, teacher of philosophy and lawyer, whose Adversus Georgii Buchanani Dialogum, De jure regni apud Scotos, pro regibus apologia was published at Poitiers in 1581, Ninian Winzet, schoolmaster at Linlithgow and after travels on the continent abbot of Ratisbon, and William Barclay, Professor of Law at the University of Pont-à-mousson in Lorraine and later of Civil Law at Angers. The first two books of Barclay's De regno et regali potestate, published in 1600, were apparently written twenty years before. Winzet, an

12. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, p.116.

13. Burns, "Critics of G.B.," Inn. Rev., vol. 1, p.95.

associate of Leslie, published together in 1582 his Flagellum Sectariorum, qui religionis praetextu seditiones iam in Caesarem, aut in alios orthodoxos Principes excitare student, quaerentes ineptissime quidem Deone magis an Principibus sit obediendum? and Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum circa Dialogum, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos. Winzet's acquaintance with Buchanan makes him perhaps the most interesting critic. At the beginning of Velitatio he records his pleasure when he heard of the subject and author of the De Iure, particularly in view of Buchanan's high reputation. He soon discovers, however, that the book is an inversion of the subject. For a moment he thought that Knox (spelt Nox to provide puns such as nocturnal) had been recalled from the dead to write the dialogue - but Winzet does not believe in Pythagorean transmigration of souls. He recalls that Buchanan was born in Lennox, north-west of Renfrew, his own home, that they had a common church tradition and that he had known his brother Patrick. George himself he had met once at Holyrood when in a discussion with John Robertson, treasurer of Ross, Winzet had carried the day with a quotation from Chrysostom. The style of the De Iure, however, and recent rumours of Buchanan's complaints against the Queen, put the authorship beyond doubt. The dialogue is unworthy of Buchanan, royal tutor, and Winzet sees it as his duty to defend, concentrating for his part mainly on religious grounds.

Had Buchanan followed this alternative course of opinion, promoted by such as Leslie and Winzet, he would have been making a volte face from his previous career. Contemporaries would look to Buchanan, close to events, for guidance. He was undoubtedly shocked by the events of 1567, but his interpretation of them was unremarkable

in the light of, rather than a reaction against, his background. The exact evolution of Buchanan's writings on Mary is somewhat complex. First apparently came Detectio, containing the substance of his criticism. The twenty chapters ranged from April 1566 to May 1567. The work was evidently written in haste ("quam brevissime fieri potest, rem perstringemus ... ut summa rerum capita non tam explicasse, quam percurrisse videamur"¹⁴ and "facile sentio, dum exitum aliquem narrationis quaero, multa me praeteriisse, plurima festinandi studio leviter percurrisse"),¹⁵ probably in 1568 under commission from Moray. It circulated in manuscript and was published in 1571 when Elizabeth withdrew her ban on public defamation of Mary. Other editions were printed at St. Andrews and in France and Germany and a translation into English, probably not by Buchanan, was produced. The Detectio and a narrative prepared by the Earl of Lennox were antecedents to the Book of Articles, the official case, prepared by Buchanan and others, against Mary presented at her trial at Westminster. By 1571 Thomas Wilson had written a Latin Actio contra Mariam, formerly attributed to Buchanan: this was printed in the original and in translation with Detectio and some of the Casket letters. When, therefore, Buchanan came to write the last books of his Historia a framework of events must have been already established, originally for other purposes, in his mind; in particular Book 18 covered a similar span to Detectio.

The examination of his writings on Mary by Gatherer¹⁶ reveals a

14. Chap. 1.

15. Chap. 20.

16. The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart, ed. W.A. Gatherer.

number of faults in Buchanan's account. The Act of Oblivion covered not 10th March to 1st August 1560 but 6th March 1558-9 to the date of the parliament of 1st August 1560 (p 46 n 2). Noaille, senator of Bordeaux, arrived on 11th March 1561, during, not after, the "special convention" and his business was not postponed until Parliament met again on 20th May; he spoke to the lords on 12th March. That Noaille appealed for renewal of the French alliance and restoration of displaced priests is supported by Knox but rejected by Gatherer (p.50 nn.2,3 and 5). Buchanan confuses Bothwell's visits to France: he was not recalled by the Queen when he came back in March 1565, but was recalled in July after returning to France and arrived in Scotland in September (p.83 n.3). Mary arrived in Aberdeen on 27th, not 13th, August 1562 (p.72 n.2).

There are instances too where Buchanan's interpretation or attribution of motive is false. The reason given for breakdown of negotiations between the French and Scots in June 1560 is incorrect, a further period of skirmishing is erroneously inserted and the motivations for peace are inadequately explained (p.45 nn.4,6 and 7). The threats to Protestantism in France, rather than deteriorating French-English relations, were the reason for the postponement of a meeting between the Queens of Scotland and England in 1562 (p.70 n.2). Sir James Sandilands of Calder was not "free from the discords of faction" (p.46 n.9).

Thirdly, Buchanan can be accused of deliberate bias, in favour of Moray, for example, who is complimented more than once, as that he "from youth had managed great affairs with courage and success" and

"had attained glory and authority in the eyes of all men" (p.50). Occasionally Buchanan indulges his literary skill to point a contrast between the degraded life at court and Moray's qualities, as in Book 17: "Aulam ... indormientem suis vitiis, et in omnem luxum solutam, vix excitarunt latrones" - Moray is sent to repress the rebels "non tam, ut multi existimabant, ut augetur honore, quam, ut objiceretur periculis"¹⁷ - and "Ab hoc initio, aula in luxum et lasciviam praecipite, jus tamen adhuc aequabiliter dicebatur, et scelera plectebantur. Summa enim rerum penes Jacobum Reginae fratrem erat, qui ob fortitudinem et aequitatem cunctis erat carus."¹⁸ Buchanan changed Knox's account of the battle against the Gordons, 1562, to give Moray, not Maitland, credit for keeping the line firm (p.78 n.2). Haste is exaggerated, of Moray to Mary after Francis' death (p.48 n.5), of Mary to the injured Bothwell (p.107 n.1) and of Darnley to the ill Queen (p.107 n.6). There are a number of unfounded statements, such as that Mary sought money from the Pope in 1562 (p.71 n.4) and concerning the existence of a bond in 1567 to defend the Queen and Bothwell (p.137 n.1) and Mary's threats to the city when she entered Edinburgh as a prisoner (p.146 n.1).

Some of Buchanan's faults, however, shade into more dubious questions of interpretation. Gatherer's summary of Book 16 shows that although Buchanan was opposed to French policy in Scotland and some "self-seeking Scots" and saw the régime as tending to "tyranny" and "imperious arrogance," he nevertheless had sympathy for Mary of

17. Chapter 20.

18. Chapter 24.

Lorraine, exposed to undiplomatic advisers. It is evident at a number of points that Buchanan followed Knox (e.g. p.51 nn.2 and 3; p.61 nn.2,3 and 6; p.62 n.1; p.63 n.1); perhaps some mitigation may be pleaded for Buchanan when he errs in Knox's company (p.74 n.2; p.77 n.2). Buchanan's explanation of Mary's first northern progress in 1562 is unlikely, but no alternative has won universal support (p.72 n.1). His allegations are exaggerated on the strength of Huguenot rumours but "there can be no doubt that the Guises were adamant in their determination to repress the new religion" (p.47 nn.2 and 3). Supplementation is more often required than correction (e.g. p.55 n.1; p.67 n.1; p.75 n.7; p.138 n.4); more precise dating may be established from elsewhere. It has been pointed out that "in spite of Buchanan's spleen against Mary his attitude towards her is not completely lacking in sympathy,"¹⁹ as is shown particularly by the poignant ninth chapter of Book 17. Moreover from Gatherer's notes instances can be assembled where Buchanan is supported or commended, increasingly through the edited portion. Of contemporary historians Buchanan alone noted that a day had been appointed for Mary's arrival in Scotland (p.49 n.3) - it emerged later that she had arrived a week later than expected. His summary of the uplifting and disposing of the Thirds of Benefices is accurate (p.64 n.3). Randolph confirmed that Mary posted watches on all the approaches to Inverness in 1562 (p.75 n.3) and Kirkcaldy of Grange and Robert Melville also believed that James VI might be handed over to the custody of his step-father. Buchanan's version of the Carberry

19. U. of E. Journal, 19 (1958-60), p.213.

campaign accords with those of the Diurnal, Melville and an anonymous French officer and a contemporary letter supports Buchanan in the view that Bothwell did not intend to fight (p.142 n 3 and p.144 n 1). Privy Council accusations and the victim of a ship seizure confirm Bothwell's piracy (p.147 n 3). The account of the interview between the Regent and the French ambassador de Beaumont is corroborated by the latter's report (p.156 n 2); "Buchanan's allegations of Boyd's double-dealing seem to be justified" (p.157 n 1). Finally Gatherer gives general acceptance to Buchanan's account of the battle of Langside (p.160 n 2).

Gatherer's introduction discussed more general questions rather than analysed and weighed up his annotations. He himself admitted a distinction between the research which he conducted and his deductions: "Such is the complexity of the material ... that different conclusions may well be drawn from the same evidence" (p.ix). His verdict, which has on the whole been accepted by subsequent writers, was that "whatever may be the truth about Mary, Queen of Scots, it is not to be found in the writings of her opponents' major apologist" (p.42). Somewhat paradoxically, however, he also accepts (p.10) Hume Brown's view of Buchanan's writings on Mary: "such a statement from a man of Buchanan's powers of mind, with his wide experience of men and things, and intense interest in the great movements of life, puts us in a far truer relation to his century than any modern reconstruction we may base on piles of State documents." Although it is surprising that Buchanan, later in life more likely than most to have access to official records, did not make more efforts towards accuracy, some account should be taken of standards of

sixteenth-century historiography. Gatherer's appendix of contradictory statements may illustrate Buchanan's inconsistency, but it is wrong to underestimate the difficulties of producing a universally acceptable account of recent events - even the much more developed publicity of the twentieth century has not prevented the truth about some major political incidents from being obscured. In short, while Buchanan's account must be read with caution, there is a tenable view that his errors are not so great as to invalidate his whole narrative. A further reservation should be made about Gatherer's dismissive attitude to the rest of the Historia; it is not entirely clear whether his remarks apply only to the annotated portion.

Buchanan's view of Mary's reign is one legitimate approach to the Historia. Another, no less germane, is Buchanan's literary outlook. It should be remembered not only that Buchanan had a wide range of literary experience but also that style and the literary aspect had a more prominent part in historical writing in his time than now. Frontiers between history and literature are not rigid: primarily literary works may be used as historical quarries and at least in the sixteenth century historical content did not exclude literary effect. On the first of November 1576, at Stirling, he recalled that one of his plays, written thirty or so years earlier, had been intended to draw young men back to antiquity: "a vulgari fabularum scenicarum consuetudine ad imitationem antiquitatis."²⁰ Buchanan was a man of letters. Already in his "primus foetus" he

20. Baptistes, pref.

was aware of the unpredictability of literary reputation: when presented with the old, audiences seek the new and vice versa. He was not to be deterred: "Horum severa supercilia nihil moror." He had a firm intention to provide material

- si quis sit aestimator candidus,
 Qui puriores promoventi litteras
 Studeat benignus, et favore sublevet,
 Et (quando ab omni parte sincerum nihil
 Humana gignit mens) levibus erroribus
 Ignoscat. 21

"Puriores litterae" were presumably rooted in classical antiquity or Christianity. His translation of the Psalms, not then so esoteric an occupation, won him the accolade of chief poet of the age and best served to keep his reputation high:

In te locavi spem meam,
 Rerum creator optime:
 At tu benignus prospice, 22
 Ne spei pudeat irritae.

Even late in his life Buchanan must have paused to reflect on his literary aims.

Buchanan has often been described as a scholar. There is some justification for the rejection of that description in that the bulk of Buchanan's work of which we have knowledge was literary not academic, in the restricted sense of textual criticism, but apart from his teaching, his translation of Linacre's Latin grammar from English into Latin and of Euripides' Medea and Alcestis²³ into Latin

21. Ibid., ll. 33ff.

22. Psalm xxxi.

23. Seneca had written a Medea in Latin but it differed structurally from Euripides' play: cf. Costa's edition, 1973.

there is evidence for his acquaintance with scholarship. Lambinus, in his commentary on Cicero's inheritance-case speech pro Caecina, stated that Buchanan had criticised the vulgate reading at the end, c. 36: *Multo enim minus quaeri, A. Caecinae fundus sit, necne: me tamen id ipsum docuisse, fundum esse Caecinae.* This passage was ill-fitting with the rest of the speech: "hunc locum nimia castigantium audacia dicam, an inscientia, corruptum esse non dubito." His conjecture was Caecina in both places but fundus equivalent to civis is more difficult than he believed and the conjecture is not mentioned in modern editions. Turnèbe witnessed Buchanan's correction of Augusti clavium to angusticlavium (as laticlavium) in Tranquillus, Octav. August., c. 73.²⁴

If Buchanan was familiar with the world of scholarship he was also attracted by themes popular among other writers of the time. For many years intermittently he worked on the verse De Sphaera, unfinished. It was probably conceived in the 1540s when the Copernican theory revived ancient controversy whether the earth moved, begun in the 1550s and continued until the 1570s (Book V refutes the emphasis on astrology in Tycho Brahe's De Nova Stella, published in 1572). Buchanan was well-informed rather than expert on astronomy and besides using classical sources such as Pliny's Natural History and Aristotle's De Caelo he presented a synthesis of contemporary thinking on astronomy and features of the earth, including such topics as the relationship of the intellect to heaven: the subject-matter was traditional, the work original perhaps only in its literary

24. These passages are in Op. Omn. (Burman), ii. pp.170-2.

improvement and moralizing. "To adorn the poem with moralizing passages about the futility of strife and the insanity of Avarice was a Roman mannerism."²⁵

Astronomical writing, like Psalm-translating, was not uncommon in the sixteenth century and it had some connotations for the fringe of Scottish historiography. The Complaynt of Scotland, attributed to Robert Wedderburn, a propaganda pamphlet with a patriotic appeal for Ciceronian concord, is a compilation including various genres; it raises the question of "the providential pattern presumed in contemporary historiography." The author is aware of views on astrology in classical antiquity and his outlook can be summed up in the phrase "sapiens dominabitur astris," a phrase traditionally ascribed to Ptolemy, used by St. Thomas Aquinas, Gerson and D'Ailly and recurring in the context of sixteenth-century debate on Lutheranism and free-will. The Complayner believes that "By mastering the stars, that is by being forewarned and forearmed, and by exercising freewill with the help of divine guidance, men can obtain their objectives irrespective of the influence of the stars."²⁶

Wedderburn is linked with Sir David Lindsay by their common reference to the chronicle of Johann Carion (1499-1537, born in Germany) in the context of an historiographical commonplace, the three ages of History, *lex naturalis*, *lex scripta* and *tempus gratiae*.²⁷ Both Wedderburn and Lindsay had links with Adam Abell: the former because

25. Naiden's edition of the Sphaera.

26. Stewart, A.U.R. xlvi 1. On Buchanan and freewill, cf. Aitken p.11.

27. Ibid., xliv 3.

Abell, although not as classically learned, discussed the theology of freewill in the mixed context of astronomy and history which was the background to his "Roit or Quheill of Tyme," the latter because the theme of flattery of a monarch, present in Abell's Tale of King Lear,²⁸ occurs in The Three Estates. It was a theme attractive to Buchanan. Lindsay also links the theme with the equation of the ship of state and ship of fools: Brant's Das Narrenschiff, thought to follow the structure of oratio suatoria in Rhetorica ad Herennium, was popular in the sixteenth century.²⁹ It had a pessimistic view of the world; Buchanan, likely to be aware of these strands, could also be pessimistic:

Nam donec hominum genus erit, semper novae
 Fraudes, novaeque suppetent calumniae:
 Livorque semper improbus premet probos.
 Vis jura vincet, fucus innocentiam. 30

A pessimistic mood probably induced him to doubt the worth of his other poetry: "quorum hanc aetatem nescio aetatem pigeat magis an pudeat" and "Haec omnia si per amicos licuisset, sempiternae oblivioni consecrassem."³¹

This background reveals something of the complexity of Buchanan's character and also shows that we must credit him with much literary sophistication. Consequently we must consider the possibility, obscured by Gatherer's approach, that Buchanan's writings on Mary had different purposes. In view of the "long and

28. Ibid., xlvi 2.

29. Wilkie, Univ. of Leeds Review, vol. 16, no. 2.

30. Baptist, ll. 48-51.

31. Epistle III (24th July 1566) and XXVII (9th Nov. 1579).

involved pedigree" of the Book of Articles³² Buchanan's responsibility for the work cannot be certain. Moreover, it represents, under commission, one side of the case and was never intended to be balanced. Differences, however, between it and the Historia should be noted: for example the Book of Articles is silent about the Rizzio murder.³³ Similarly the Detectio, although it may be regarded as Buchanan's work alone, presents one side of the case. One may find it necessary to go back a century to find a sagacious judgement of the work: "while those who have gone into the intricacies of the story cannot accept the conclusions of the Detection, they cannot read it without acknowledging that it is a great work of rhetorical art. It bears up throughout the grand forms of ancient classical denunciation, rising, with blow after blow, up to the thundering climax "... with all its exaggerations and extravagances, the Detection is the work of a man thoroughly sincere. Buchanan believed in the fundamental fact of the guilt, and he brought out his belief in the fashion of his special accomplishments as a classical scholar, with due devotion to the method of the rhetoricians."³⁴ The unattractive side of ancient oratory is illustrated by Cicero's Second Philippic: "unbridled use of attack on family and personal life as a means of discrediting the character of the opponent and a general willingness to use lies and deceit and sophistry on behalf of

32. Donaldson, First Trial, p.137.

33. Ibid., p.146. Cf. pp.167, 182.

34. Burton, History of Scotland, vol. iv, p.447 and p.450.

a cause regarded by the orator as true."³⁵ Besides ancient rhetoric, a literary motif may have influenced Buchanan, that of flyting as in the Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie. Flyting itself was probably a descendant of the Greek "agon"³⁶ and is paralleled not only in ancient literature (such as the contests in Aristophanes' Frogs and the poems of Theocritus) but in the later tenson or jeu-parti, forms which may not have entirely died out.³⁷ These traditions of robust debate may be closer to Buchanan's intention in the Detectio than historical accuracy and there are important differences in content between it and the Historia: the Lady Reres episode does not occur in the Historia and in the Detectio Buchanan writes that Darnley was killed by the explosion as is recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal³⁸ whereas in the Historia he writes that Darnley was strangled as modern opinion believes likely.

The historian or literary critic must try to assess works in accordance with their purpose. Buchanan must have been conscious of genres. Ill-health partly explains his inability to eliminate entirely in the Historia the tone of his already prepared writings on Mary, but the fact that the Historia unlike the other works does not take the form of a personal attack on Mary and continues to discuss the reign of her successor should alert us to the need for an assessment of the work by standards of historiography appropriate to Buchanan's time.

35. Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman world, p.271.

36. Scott, Dunbar, p.175.

37. Cf. Theokritos (ed. Dover), p.lxii.

38. R.S.S. vol. VI, p.v.

Chapter Two

For details of Buchanan's career we depend largely on the Vita, a short autobiography which first appeared in 1598 in Boissard's Icones Virium Illustrium. A second version, with minor differences, was printed in Andrew Hart's Edinburgh edition of Buchanan's Poemata. The Vita was edited by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1702 and published at Edinburgh; it was included in Ruddiman's Opera Omnia and was printed in the works of Hume Brown and Aitken. Chalmers¹ suggested that Buchanan was not the author (Peter Young, assistant tutor to James VI, might have been an alternative), but Hume Brown refuted this suggestion and John Johnston's words in a letter to Beza, 18th February 1595, "Mitto ad te Buchananani vitam a se descriptam" make Buchanan's authorship of the Vita "sufficiently vouched for to dispel all doubts."² The Vita has almost nothing to say on the years after 1560, but this gap can be filled from other sources.

George Buchanan was born about the beginning of February 1506 in the parish of Killearn, Stirlingshire, where his parents had the farm of Mid-Leowen or the Moss. His father Thomas sprang from the Buchanans of Drummikill,³ a family poor but ancient, and George was probably brought up with Gaelic as his first tongue.^{3a} Thomas Buchanan

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1. Life of Ruddiman (1794).
 2. J.K. Cameron, "Further Information on the Life and Likeness of George Buchanan," S.H.R., 1963, pp.135ff.
 3. Cf. Aitken's Appendix I for genealogy. Buchanan's first cousin married Margaret, d. of Maitland of Lethington.
 - 3a. Enright, S.H.R. 1975. But the contention that "In his History of Scotland he showed partiality for the Gaelic storyteller and for the highlanders" is doubtful.

died when George was aged six or seven: his own father was bankrupt and George's mother was left to look after a family of five sons and three daughters. She was Agnes Heriot, of the Heriots of Trabroun in East Lothian and in 1513, with her sons, she took a lease of lands near Cardross, Menteith.

Buchanan does not name the schools he attended but he distinguished himself sufficiently for his uncle James Heriot to send him, aged about fourteen, to Paris. There he revealed aptitude for exercises in verse composition and may also have sensed something of impending religious controversy, for conservatives were then holding ground against Lutheran opinions. Buchanan, however, was compelled to leave Paris because his uncle's death deprived him of financial support. His health, too, was poor but in 1523 he joined the Duke of Albany's ineffective expedition against England through eagerness to acquaint himself with military affairs.⁴ Although this seems to have been his only military experience he later wrote that military affairs and literature were not incompatible.⁵

After another period of ill-health Buchanan was sent to St. Andrews to study under John Major and matriculated in the Pedagogy in

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4. studio rei militaris cognoscendae (Vita). The expedition is described at Hist. xiv. 22 & 23 but Buchanan's participation is not noted.
 5. Neque enim inter rei militaris et literarum studium ea est, quam plerique falso putant, discordia (dedication of Jephthes).

1524.⁶ Major had a European reputation as a philosopher. He taught in Paris and Glasgow (Knox was among his pupils) and although in the scholastic tradition with a contorted style and tendency to quibble he had some radical ideas on political and ecclesiastical organisation. Apart from his theological works he had published in Paris in 1521 his History of Greater Britain. Buchanan evidently did not think highly of Major "qui tum ^{ibi} ~~ibi~~ Dialecticen, aut verius Sophisticen, in extrema senectute docebat" - Major was about fifty-five at the time whereas Buchanan wrote the Vita in his seventies. Buchanan also penned the epigram:

Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
 Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libre,
 Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat:
 Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

Nevertheless on completing his B.A. (3rd October 1525 in the second class of Nomina Determinantium) Buchanan followed Major to Paris. Residing at the Scots College, he was admitted B.A. in October 1527 and M.A. in March 1528 and was appointed to teach grammar at the liberal College of Ste-Barbe. One of his poems describes the hardships of academic life at Paris. This post he held for about three years. The exact chronology of this part of his career is in doubt; we know that he was elected procurator of the German nation on 3rd June 1529 for a month and was re-elected four times. Probably not long afterwards he left Ste-Barbe on becoming tutor to the Earl of Cassillis. This was the third earl, son of Gilbert Kennedy who according to Buchanan⁷ was killed in 1527 by James Hamilton and Hugh

6. Dunlop, Acts of the Faculty of Arts, St. Andrews, p.li.

7. Hist., Bk. xiv, p.268.

Campbell sheriff of Ayr. Cassillis is described as "vir magni animi" who refused to be subject to the Hamiltons: the two grandfathers had had a treaty of friendship "quo in foedere suus avus, velut honoratior, semper prior nominatur." After the murder the young Cassillis fled to his relative, Archibald Douglas, by whom he was well received "ob altam indolem." In Book xv Buchanan may have over-estimated his former pupil's character.⁹ His Elegy 19,

Hic situs est heros humili Gilbertus in urna
Kennedus, antiquae nobilitatis honos etc.

has been thought to refer to Cassillis' father (Ruddiman), Cassillis himself (J. Clericus and Hume Brown) and Cassillis's son (George Crawford). Buchanan's pupil died in 1558. To him Buchanan dedicated his first published work, the translation from English into Latin of Linacre's grammar (R. Stephanus 1533).

Buchanan remained with Cassillis about five years and returned with him to Scotland. The Scots Peerage (II. 468) dates Cassillis's return in May 1537; but since Buchanan is mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts as being allocated gifts from February 1536, he was probably in Scotland in 1535 and soon took up the post of tutor to Lord James Stewart (d. 1558). Then Buchanan's first serious literary conflict arose. He wrote Somnium, a satire attacking monastic life, especially that of the Franciscan order, and based on a poem by William Dunbar. Despite the Franciscans' anger the King approved of the satire and requested more. Buchanan's subsequent 'palinode' pleased neither his patron, for whom it was not sufficiently extreme, nor his adversaries. In the Franciscanus, however, (not completed

9. Hume Brown, p.84.

until 1560) he went too far; although it was written at James' request the King allowed Cardinal Beaton to persecute those who accepted the new doctrines. Buchanan was imprisoned and escaped into exile. Thus in the Historia he records under the year 1539 the emergence of "Lutheranism" in Scotland: "complures exilio damnati. In his fuit Georgius Buchananus, qui, sopitis custodibus, per cubiculi fenestram evaserat."¹⁰

Buchanan was received in London by Sir John Ransdert and then crossed to Paris whence, to avoid Cardinal Beaton, he went to Bordeaux and took up the post of professor of Latin at the newly-founded College de Guyenne. The principal, André de Gouvea, was nephew of the principal of Ste-Barbe. At Bordeaux he taught for about three years (his pupils included Montaigne), met a number of scholars including the elder Scaliger, and wrote Latin translations of Euripides' Medea and Alcestis. He also composed his own Jephthes and Baptistes of which the former is the greater drama but the latter, with its attack on tyranny and priestcraft, of more interest for Buchanan's political opinions. There followed some years of greater obscurity in Buchanan's life;¹¹ ~~about~~ 1542 he seems to have returned to Paris where he became regent in the College of Cardinal le Moine and made further contacts among humanist scholars. He was in Toulouse about 1544¹² and in 1547 went, with his brother Patrick, to the University of Coimbra in Portugal where de Gouvea, himself Portuguese, was appointed principal. This period ~~turned~~ out

10. Cf. Aitken, Appendix 2.

11. Cf. Aitken, Appendix 4.

12. Hist., p. 11e.

unhappily, however, as Gouvea died within a year and in August 1549 Buchanan was arrested. The trial centred on his religious views which seemed to be at that time those of a Catholic reformer rather than a Protestant. From a study of documents on Buchanan's Portuguese experience which came to light about 1890 Aitken deduced that Cardinal Beaton and the Franciscans had no, the Jesuits little if any, influence on events and that the real informer was Di^{ogo} de Gouvea, resentful that Coimbra's growth had drawn students from Ste-Barbe where he was principal. Buchanan was finally released at the end of February 1552. Notwithstanding the harrowing practices of the inquisition, he exaggerated, in the Vita, his hardships and tended to overlook the fact that the ending was not a triumphant acquittal but his abjuration.

During his confinement in a monastery Buchanan made his famous translation of the Psalms, published in the 1560s, and he continued to write other poems. Although asked by the King to stay in Portugal he went to England and then (1553) to France, where he became regent in the college of Boncourt and in 1555 tutor to Timoléon de Cossé; to him the unfinished De Sphaera, five books of verse on the old Ptolemaic system of cosmology, was dedicated. Buchanan spent the five years he was with de Cossé partly in France and partly in Italy. His pupil was the son of Count de Brissac who thought highly enough of Buchanan to admit him sometimes to his council of war. Buchanan now devoted more study to theology and about 1560 he returned to Scotland.

On his return Buchanan gained the favour of the Crown. He was

mentioned in a letter from Randolph to Cecil dated 7th April 1562 as reading Livy with the Queen.¹³ In the Treasurers' Accounts payments of £125 to Buchanan were recorded for each of Martinmas term 1561, Whitsunday term 1562 and Martinmas term 1562.¹⁴ He was named by the Privy Council on 6th February 1562 "to interpret the writtis productit in proces, writtin in Spanis langage, furth of the samin in Franche, Latyne or Inglis, that the Quenis Grace and Counsale mycht thair eftir understand the samin"¹⁵ and in 1563 Parliament included Buchanan among commissioners to investigate the University of St. Andrews. In 1564 he was granted the temporalities of Crossraguel Abbey¹⁶ and in an entry under 16th October the Privy Council, following a complaint by Buchanan that Gilbert Earl of Cassillis had refused to hand over the abbey since the death of the last abbot, ordered the Earl to do so within six days.¹⁷ The Queen, Randolph noted that month, would have made Buchanan abbot: "with spiritualties he wyll not meddle, bejcause he cane not preache."¹⁸ About 1566 Buchanan was in France again, possibly on government business.

Over the next few years Buchanan was closely associated with the Earl of Moray. He became principal of St. Leonard's College in 1566, an appointment in the hands of Moray as commendator, and attended

13. C.S.P. i (1547-63).

14. Accounts of the Treasurers of Scotland, vol. xi (1559-66).

15. R.P.C. I (1545-69), p.234.

16. R.S.S. v (1556-67), no. 1783 (9 October).

17. R.P.C. I, p.288.

18. C.S.P. ii (to Cecil, October 24, 1564).

Moray at York and Westminster besides composing political works. The Treasurers' Accounts¹⁹ record letters sent to Buchanan in St. Andrews in May and June 1568 and allocations of black velvet (August 1570) and money (November 1570) "by lord regent's command."

Although it was said in connection with Moray's assassination that Buchanan "never rejoiced since the Regent's death"²⁰ he continued to take part in state affairs. He became keeper of the privy seal in succession to John Maitland: "Quinto Septembris 1570 sigillum secretum de mandato domini Regentis deliberatum fuit Magistro Georgio Buchanan."²¹ He demitted this office on 30th April 1578 in favour of Thomas Buchanan.²² For a short time about 1570 he was director of chancery, appearing as a witness "Cancellarie Director;" thereafter he is described as "Pensionarius de Corsragwell, Secreti Sigilli Custos."²³ In 1575 he was named member of a committee to advise on the form of grammar to be taught in schools²⁴ and four years later he joined Thomas Smeaton and Andrew Melville on another commission for university reform.²⁵ He attended the Privy Council at intervals until 1579, being made temporary secretary by Parliament at Stirling in June 1578,²⁶ but seemed to cease attendance thereafter,

19. Vol. xii (1566-74).

20. C.S.P. vol. iii (1569-71), p.93.

21. R.S.S. vi, p.168n.

22. R.S.S., vii, no. 1534.

23. R.M.S. (1546-80).

24. R.P.C. II, p.478.

25. R.P.C., III, p.200.

26. Ibid., p.14n and p.23n.

although included in the Council by Act of Parliament of 11th November 1579. The best-known of Buchanan's occupations in these later years was his tutorship to King James. In January 1572 Buchanan and Peter Young were to continue as pedagogues to the King - "or sic as salbe heireftir appointit be the said Lord Regent to that charge aggreing in religioun with the saidis Maisteris George and Petir"²⁷ - and in May 1578 the instruction "in literature and religioun" under Buchanan and Young is to continue. By this time, however, Buchanan's health was in decline, a contributing factor in Sir James Melville's portrait of him: "He was also of good religion for a poet: but he was easily abused, and so facill that he was led with any company that he haunted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his old dayis: for he spoke and writ as they that were about him for the tym informed him; for he was become sliperie and careless and followed in many things the vulgar opinions; for he was naturally populair and extreme vengeable against any man that had offendit him, quilk was his gratest fault." George Buchanan died in Edinburgh on 28th September 1582, aged 76, "just after the Ruthven Raid Revolution, with which he must have sympathised," as Masson wrote,²⁸ "and just after he had finished his last work, his Latin History of Scotland." He was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard and Janet Buchanan, the wife of George's nephew Thomas, was executrix by his will.

Some interest attaches to the intellectual background against which Buchanan wrote the Historia. One way of ascertaining the

27. R.P.C. II, p.181.

28. R.P.C. III, p. lxxxv.

intellectual interests of the time is by investigation of contemporary books which have survived or been recorded. Thus the twenty-eight surviving books of the library of Bishop Elphinstone, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his day, reflect his legal interests.²⁹

Notes against certain passages highlight such topics as the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction and rules governing clerical life and the library also contained works on diction and pastoral and biblical volumes in which the relative merits of ecclesiastical and secular power are discussed.

The work of Durkan and Ross³⁰ gives a more general picture of the content of early libraries. The authors point out that some caution is required in drawing conclusions from their investigations: books recorded may not correspond exactly to books actually read and some items which must have been common have not been traced. The most remarkable library was that of Henry Sinclair (1508-65), bishop of Ross and Lord President of the Court of Session. He wrote some additions to Boece's History and his interests included Greek, Latin poetry and the position of the Papacy. Two points of particular interest are the evident popularity of John Major's work and, somewhat paradoxically, a background "which makes Hector Boece no longer a lonely, ineffectual representative of humanism." Aberdeen seems to have been something of a centre of scholarly activity.

Four of Boece's gifts to Aberdeen University Library and four of

29. Macfarlane, 'William Elphinstone's Library', A.U.R. 37 (1957-8), pp.253ff.

30. Early Scottish Libraries.

his personal volumes are extant.³¹ Buchanan donated books to St. Andrews and Glasgow, the latter donation including a copy of Strabo (1515), a Bible (1532) and Cicero's Academicae Quaestiones (Paris 1544); his collection of Greek books evinces "the fact that George Buchanan's acquaintance with the language and literature of ancient Greece was as intimate and thorough as was his Latin scholarship."³² As interesting as any bibliographical evidence for Buchanan, however, in view of his connections with the royal family, is the royal library. Although we have no knowledge of a royal library before Mary's time, lists exist of her books transferred in 1569 to Moray and in 1578 on the accession to power of the king. Mary's library was probably the best in Scotland at the time and tended to "poetry in its lighter forms, and very often to theology in its more embittered and severe."³³

Although the nucleus of James VI's library was his mother's, by far the greater part of his books were acquired by gift and purchase. Donors included Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and other clergy and the Earls of Mar, Caithness and Angus, but the purchases reflect what the king's tutors thought suitable. From 1573 to 1583 Buchanan's assistant, Peter Young, was royal librarian. Born in Dundee in 1544, he had been educated under

31. W.D. Simpson in Aberdeen Quatercentenary Studies.

32. G.Q.S., p.391 and pp.393ff.

33. Sharman, The Library of Mary Queen of Scots (1889).

his uncle Henry Scrymgeour, professor of philosophy and civil law at Geneva and a friend of Buchanan's. Young's son Patrick later held a more formal post of royal librarian. Latin writers were more plentiful than Greek in James's library (it was suggested³⁴ that "apud tuum Sallustium" in Buchanan's dedication of Baptistes indicated that Sallust was a favourite of the king's, but perhaps he was a bete noire) which also contained the histories of Boece and Leslie, the De Jure and (by November 1583) Buchanan's history. James's library includes a copy of Tacitus, an author who does not appear in Durkan and Ross's researches. An interesting part of the library is the "Apophtegmata Regis" inscribed on fly-leaves.

Scotland was not quick to develop printing. Although parchment-sellers and binders of the fifteenth-century are known and books had been imported to Scotland since at least 1470, the grant to establish the first printers, Chepman and Myllar, was given under the great seal on 15th September 1507. Scots authors, like Major and Boece, tended to have their works printed abroad, often in Paris, but Scottish printing might have developed more had not the wars of the 1540s intervened. Most of the international book-trade was in Latin volumes; yet "the level of Latinity even of educated men varied extraordinarily."³⁵

Another key to intellectual climate is education. Evidence about

34. Warner, 'The Library of James VI', S.H.S. Misc. 1 (1893).

35. Durkan, 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', Innes Review x, p.386.

schools before the Reformation is limited; afterwards curricula, the schemes of the Book of Discipline and lists of schoolmasters are more revealing. Some schools are known to have been despoiled at the Reformation and the existence of mediaeval schools is sometimes obscured by their subsumption in a religious foundation, with the schoolmaster described as a chaplain or prebendary. Nevertheless we "can only wish that we had the parish records in medieval times that we have in post-medieval."³⁶

"Little schools" included song schools, originally under the authority of the precentor, where learning of the alphabet was incidental to staffing the choir, and reading schools where, at least in Edinburgh, the rudiments of Latin grammar were taught by means of Donatus' Ars Minor. Theoretically there was a song school in each parish; there is evidence for their existence in some remote areas such as Newburgh in Buchan, Dornoch and Dalry in Galloway. The parish clerk sometimes acted as master; some of the teachers were musicians of considerable ability. The practice of teaching everything in Latin in little schools was no longer universal by the sixteenth century.

After two years or so in a little school a pupil might spend rather longer in a grammar or high school where if the rudiments had been learnt before entry the other "grammaticalia", rhetoric with versification and dialectic, would be taught. Mastery of Latin was the main aim of the grammar school. Little is known about early

36. Durkan 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', in MacRoberts ed., Essays on the Scottish Reformation, p.67.

sixteenth-century curricula but in 1547 at Musselburgh grammar school Patrick Waus was reading Ovid, Caesar and Sallust. Winzet refers to composition in Latin. Some Greek, even if perhaps little more than the alphabet, and other languages may have been taught. By the sixteenth century most sizeable burghs, if not most burghs, in Scotland had grammar schools. Grammar school-masters were subject to the diocesan chancellor or archdeacon but most of the control had been taken over by burghs. Well over a hundred grammar school pupils were fitted for universities in Scotland in 1539; "provision for education and especially for musical education, was remarkable for the time."³⁷

As early as records exist Scots are found at universities such as Oxford, Paris and Bologna and despite difficulties because of Schism many Scots were reluctant to break a tradition of study abroad. Nevertheless the University of St. Andrews had been founded in 1411, its foundation bull, more than most, expressing the aim of combatting heresy. By the end of the century the influence of the Renaissance was beginning to be felt. Notable students included Dunbar, a licentiate of 1479 and Gavin Douglas, student of St. Salvator's in 1492. The Chancellor, William Scheves, collected books on astronomy and the arch-deacon Alexander Inglis, who presented copies of Virgil, Ovid, Cicero and Seneca to the library in 1496, encouraged new interest in the study of grammar. Records show an attempt in 1478 to raise the standard of Latinity. Some idea of university life not long before Buchanan's time is given by the original regulations for

37. Ibid., p.87.

St. Leonard's College. Students had to rise at half past four in summer and half past five in winter for religious devotion which was also held at three and seven. Every Sunday students were to say a dirge of nine lessons for founders and benefactors. Confession was monthly (in this as in other respects St. Leonard's followed Montaigu) and in addition before Easter, Pentecost, Christmas and the Assumption; communion followed. The first morning lecture was public; the masters then held the different classes at times fixed by them. After lunch lectures were held on grammar, poetry or oratory; on Saturday there were disputations at two. At eleven and five the bell went for the rule, for punishment of faults. Latin was to be spoken by all residents except the cook and his boy. Women were forbidden entry to the college proper and nobody could leave without special permission to visit the city.

The University of Glasgow founded in 1451 underwent, like St. Andrews, vicissitudes of fortune. Thus Durkan noted³⁸ that after its initial flourish under Turnbull civil wars in the west put its continuation in jeopardy; yet in the latter years of Andrew de Durisdeer's Chancellorship (1455-73) Glasgow, particularly in the faculty of arts with some detectable influence of the Italian renaissance, was peaceful in contrast to the dissensions at St. Andrews. Stimulation from the example of Aberdeen and the arrival of John Major interrupted periods of less distinction. Whereas Glasgow was modelled on Bologna, Aberdeen's projected foundation of 1497 followed Orleans and envisaged one each of theologian, canonist,

38. The Scottish Universities.

civilist, mediciner and regent in arts, six students and six priest chaplains - largely a teaching and theological college but later rhetoric and poetry are "considered too important to be entrusted to a mere theological student acting as a monitor." There are some indications that neo-classical Latin was being taught at Aberdeen: the rules of 1553 of Theophilus Stewart, who succeeded John Vaus, were written in Renaissance Latin with some Greek transliterations (e.g. nomophylaces). Major is one of the first in Scotland to use Greek terms for university (academy, gymnasium, museum). Although evidence is not always strong, the universities do not seem to have been greatly affected by antecedents of the Reformation, but the 1540s seem to have been a period of decline.

Much though humanist ideas influenced Scotland in the sixteenth century, it should not be forgotten that scholarship and some signs of humanist learning existed earlier. For example the Declaration of Arbroath was considered by Lord Cooper to be, as the work of Bernard de Linton, "a practically faultless specimen of the ars dictaminis of the thirteenth century."³⁹ Scots about 1400 writing in Latin on ecclesiastical and philosophical subjects included Thomas Rossy, Lawrence of Lindores, William Croyser and Thomas Livingstone⁴⁰ and there are men in fifteenth-century Scotland who might be described as precursors of humanism - Archibald Whitelaw who was secretary to James III but about whom little is known apart from the remains of his classical library and a polished oration delivered

39. Supra Crepidam.

40. J.H. Baxter, 'Four 'New' Medieval Scottish Authors', S.R.R. 1928 (no. 25), p.90.

before Richard III, William Scheves, Archbishop of St. Andrews and student of medicine and astronomy and Bishop Elphinstone. "The great vernacular poets William Dunbar, Robert Henryson and Gavin Douglas did not mature in a cultural vacuum"⁴¹ but as the sixteenth century advances personalities and connections become clearer. Boece, who had met Erasmus on the continent and remained an admirer of his throughout his career, was described by Hume Brown as "the earliest representative in Scotland of what is designated humanism" and was associated in both Paris and Aberdeen with scholars such as Patrick Panther (1470?-1519), fellow-student at Montaigu, royal tutor and secretary, abbot of Cambuskenneth, whose reputation as a latinist rests on the state letters which he wrote and John Vaus professor of Latin who published besides his 'Rudimenta' a commentary on Part I of the 'Doctrinale' of Alexander de Villa Dei.

No doubt there was some tension among the humanists themselves and some general opposition to the 'new learning'. Thus the essentially scholastic Major also had a group of Scottish followers, such as James Foulis of Colinton who published a volume of Latin verse in 1511, but they too came to be influenced by the classical revival. Contact between Scotland and the continent, especially Paris, in the interests of the new learning, which was characterised as much by the new spirit in which familiar texts were read as by the reading of new texts, continues throughout the century as is illustrated by the following men. David Panther, nephew of Patrick, bishop of Ross and secretary to King James V, travelled in France

41. Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', Innes Review IV, pp.5-24.

with Sir John Campbell of Lundy who was also an associate of Ferrerius. The latter came to the Scottish court in 1528 and went to Kinloss in 1531. Henry Sinclair (1508-65), Panther's successor as bishop of Ross, also visited France and died at Paris. David Lewis, an Edinburgh man, had assisted Jacques Lefèvre and a defence of Lefèvre by his disciple Symphonien Champier was dedicated to another bishop of Ross, Robert Cockburn. Books published on the continent by Scotsmen range from David Douglas's 'De Naturae mirabilibus opusculum' (1524) and William Cranston's 'Dialecticae Compendium' (1545) with a preface praising Cardinal David Beaton's work for the University of St. Andrews, to the 'Institutiones oratoriae' (1583), with a preface dedicated to Archbishop James Beaton and Mary Queen of Scots, by Thomas Ricarton who graduated from St. Andrews in 1574, and the 'De Musarum ac Poetarum imprimis illustrium autoritate, atque praestantia ... Judicium' (1585) of James Crichton, a native of Dumfriesshire who studied under Buchanan at St. Andrews and travelled widely in Europe.⁴² It has been remarked, however, that Scots humanists were above all concerned with philosophy in a broad sense: "what really interested men like Boece, Archibald Hay, Wilson and Bishop Reid was reform and reform from within the household of the faith."⁴³

The career and ideas of Florence Wilson (Florentius Volusenus),⁴⁴ though distinctive, are typical of some aspects of Scottish humanism and have particular interest because of his acquaintanceship with both Boece and Buchanan. Brought up in Moray and educated at Aberdeen

42. Catalogue of E.U.L. exhibition, 'French Humanism', 1974.

43. Durkan, 'The Beginnings...', p.17.

44. Taylor's Memoir; Hume Brown, S.H.R. x; Baker-Smith, The Writings of F.V.

University, Wilson became tutor to Cardinal Wolsey's son in Paris and by 1528 was residing with Wolsey at Richmond. Thomas Cromwell became his patron. In 1530 Wilson was again in Paris and four years later he visited Scotland. Becoming ill on a journey to Italy, he visited Bishop Sadoletto at Carpentras and took up a schoolmaster's appointment there. He became intimate with some of the distinguished men resident at the time in Lyons. Although 1546 used to be thought the year of his death, he is now known to have survived until after 1551. Buchanan wrote the following epitaph:

Hic musis, Volusene, jaces carissime, ripam
 Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria!
 Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quae foret altrix
 Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.

Wilson's Major work, the 'De Animi Tranquillitate',⁴⁵ is a dialogue in which Wilson, one of three participants, recounts a dream wherein he envisages two temples, the lower symbolising pagan philosophy and the higher, Christianity. He saw faults in the Church, but probably never broke from it: "Quod si oratio mea, ea parte, qua religionis antistitum desidiam carpsit, tibi paulo acerbior visa est, ita superstes sim, atque ita mihi propitius sit Christus, ut ego, quod in hac cause vehementior fui, atque gravius in eum ordinem invecus sum, non malevolentia, aut atrocitate aliqua animi, sed publicae salutis atque dignitatis ipsorum studio sum commotus." This statement might be in accord with Buchanan's attitude. Interest in Hebrew,⁴⁶ thorough knowledge of Greek, attention to style and

45. 1751 edition.

46. E.U.L. possesses a Hebrew dictionary inscribed 'Georgius Buchananus: Ex munificentia Florentii Voluseni'.

philology and discussion of topics such as immortality and especially the office of the ruler (two prominent subjects in Wilson's scholia on 'Somnium Scipionis' from Cicero's De Republica) are features common to Wilson and Buchanan. "We do not know a great deal about the influence of Voluseus upon Buchanan, but it may have been considerable."⁴⁷ Conjunction of the classical and Christian tradition is not found in Renaissance Latin alone; thus "Medieval Latin at its apogee in the twelfth century was the fruit of a marriage of two cultures, the fruit of the interpenetration of the Classical and Christian experiences, so that the Archpoet can in a single poem put on the mask both of Job and of Horace, and Walter of Chatillon can evoke both Juvenal and Ecclesiastes in a single stanza. Perhaps Edinburgh ... is one of the few places ... where the phrase Christian humanism is still acceptable as a description of our culture."⁴⁸ Yet the De Animi, with its absolute fideism and "faith in the transforming power of the classical heritage",⁴⁹ is a remarkable example of the kind of Christian humanist writing which was a background to Buchanan's work.

Buchanan had an exceptional range of humanist and scholarly contacts on the continent which influenced his educational, political and constitutional and religious views. Little is known of his first stay in France as a student about 1520-2 and of his second, in the train of Major, not much more than bare details of his university career. Before leaving for Scotland, however, he had probably won

47. McFarlane, 'G.B.'s Psalm Paraphrases', For. Mod. Lang. Studs. 1971, p.357.

48. P.G. Walsh, Inaugural Lecture, Edinburgh 1971.

49. Baker-Smith, p.57.

a high teaching reputation. The reference to him in the archives of Paris University before 1530 as 'cet homme capable le doctissime en grec et an latin' suggests acquaintance with such leading Hellenists as Jacques Toussaint who encouraged his pupils to translate from the Greek Anthology into Latin and Pierre Rosset, the teacher of Greek who contributed verse to the 1527 edition of Boece's History.

On his departure from Scotland in 1539, Buchanan took up a teaching post at Bordeaux, either offered to him there or while he was at Paris en route. At Bordeaux his colleagues included Nicholas Grouchy, Elie Vinet and Antoine de Gouvea, friends and patrons F. Belcier, Innocent de Fontaine, Briand de Vallée and Ptolomée de la Taste. He was also an associate of J.C. Scaliger. Besides Montaigne, Bernard Poey du Luc, who was later in Paris and contributed liminary verse to Vascosan's 1555 edition of 'Orlando Furioso', was a pupil of Buchanan's and other acquaintances included Jean Binet who was uncle of Ronsard's biographer, taught at the College de Guyenne, composed Latin verse and had connections with Orleans. It is also possible that at this period Buchanan was known to Marguerite de Navarre's entourage at Nérac and the de Mesmes family.

Apart from the scanty information previously known about the years 1543-7 - his teaching at the Cardinal Lemoine, his stay in Toulouse, his friendship with Adrian Turnèbe and Charles Estienne, his supervision of his Medea at the press of Vascosan, who published many humanist works, and his teaching of Greek to David Panter - McFarlane pointed out⁵⁰ that it was at this time that Buchanan came

50. 'G.B. in France' in Studies in French Literature presented to H.W. Lawton; also 'G.B. and French Humanism', in Humanism in France at the end of the Middle Ages (ed. Levi).

to know Beza well. Some of Beza's acquaintances, probably including a number of Orléannais and Salmon Macrin, considered the finest neo-latin poet in Renaissance France, were also known to Buchanan. Several persons seem to have been interested in patronage of Buchanan. He claimed to have stayed at the house of Jean de Gagny, who was an orthodox theologian, published an anthology of Italian humanist poetry and translated into Latin verse seventy-five Psalms. Since other writers showed interest in Psalm paraphrase - Francois Bonade as early as 1531 and Macrin, Bourbon and Sussannée besides Marcantonio Flaminio - Buchanan himself may have thought of attempting this genre before he went to Portugal. It is likely that Buchanan's stay in Paris in these years was fairly continuous, while he built up connections both with persons highly placed at court and with what was to become the Pléiade group, as is shown by his friendship with Lazare de Baif, Jean du Bellay and perhaps also Jacques Peletier du Mans. Other possible acquaintances include Rabelais and his friend Tiraqueau.

Buchanan returned to Paris from Portugal about the end of 1552. He obtained 'lettres de naturalité' in 1557⁵¹ and apart from periods in Piedmont and Italy as tutor to Timoléon de Cossé stayed in Paris until 1560. McFarlane has pointed out that "the contacts he enjoyed during these years were exceedingly important, not only for his poetic activity, but for the development of his thought, both religious and political" and has noted Buchanan's contact with Scots and exiles of the reign of Mary Tudor. Another associate was

51. Durkan, 'G.B.: some French connections', Bibliothek iv (1963).

Vascosan, who published the second edition of Jephthes and Alcestis and was interested in astronomy and, increasingly after 1554, historiography. Vascosan also published the 'De comitiis romanorum libri III' of Nicolas de Grouchy, who had a friendship with Buchanan lasting over thirty-five years. He had interests in philosophy and astronomy and although he had settled in Normandy probably saw Buchanan during the 1550s; in 1567 Buchanan stayed with him at Dieppe on the way home from Paris. The 'De Comitiis' was an influential book in Protestant circles (a copy was bought for James VI's library); it developed the thesis that the Roman republican constitution was essentially a democracy, as the Preface (quoted by McFarlane) shows:

Respublica Romanorum quandiu fuit libera, ex tribus illa quidem Reip. generibus (quemadmodum docet Polybius) constabat *βασίλεια ἀριστοκρατικὴ δημοκρατικὴ*; Sed merito tamen maximam partem obtinuisse mihi videtur *δημοκρατικὴ*. Quamquam enim regiae potestatis species quaedam in (in) Consilium imperio, in Senatus vero potestate optimatum principatus quodam modo agnosceretur: populi tamen tanta erat auctoritas supra omnes magistratus, et Senatum, ut non immerito dici possit omne imperium, omnem maiestatem illius Reip. penes populum fuisse...Iam vero de capite civis, ominoque (sic) de libertate ac iure civitatis, nullius erat nisi populi iudicium.

The third group of contacts suggested by McFarlane for these years were the Pléiade. Buchanan had the patronage of Marguerite de France, "a warm protectress of the Pléiade", and drama may have been a common interest with such as La Peruse and Jacques Grévin.

Ronsard was said to have been acquainted with Buchanan, but the member of the Pléiade "closest to Buchanan's heart" was probably Joachim du Bellay who was also a participant in the increase in encomiastic verse, relating to the court and to military events,

from 1558 onwards (Buchanan was at this time on excellent terms with the Guises) and an acquaintance of the Morels. Finally, there were other scholarly contacts such as Ramus, who in 1567 urged Buchanan to support the cause of mathematics at St. Andrews (though Buchanan, whose close friend Antoine de Gouvea was an opponent of Ramus, still advocated much Cicero and Aristotle in the academic programme), and Louis Le Roy. More tentative are contacts with Pierre Paschal the historiographer royal, Jean Dorat, Pierre de Montdoré and Florent Chrétiens; one of the most interesting contacts is that with Henri Estienne II who edited a collection of Psalm paraphrases.

Such were some aspects of the European cultural climate to which Buchanan was an heir; in it historiography had a part, even if not prominent. Chroniclers had long acted in the service of rulers and by the sixteenth century court historiographers were established in Italy and France.⁵² An example of contemporary historical writing is Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia, of which work editions in various stages of revision were produced between 1513 and the year of the author's death in Italy, 1555. Many features are shared with the sixteenth-century Scottish writers of history. Polydore complains of a shortage of sources although his authorities are numerous: classical writers for the Roman period, Gildas, the much admired Bede, the less respected Geoffrey of Monmouth, Malmesbury, Matthew ^rPa^ris and ^rFoissart. More frequent are the unspecific phrases like "ut ai^unt" or "quidam tradunt" and for more recent times he uses oral tradition, memories of older contemporaries and his own

⁵². Hay, S.H.R., vol. 30, p.15.

direct observations. Some attention is paid to documentary evidence but printed statutes, for example, are not reproduced; linguistic evidence is more prominent. A biographical approach predominates in Polydore's method; although there are digressions, he "considered his work essentially as a series of royal 'lives'".⁵³ On occasion, as with the fable about Brutus as originator of the English race, he was capable of critical discernment but in his inclusion of mythical material, miracles and portents and his adherence to certain moral preconceptions he stands apart from modern ideas of historical writing. Polydore's style of classical Latin is more precise as well as being more ornate than chroniclers' Latin and he was a literary craftsman; his style became more complex in the later versions. As commonly among humanist writers, he gave a Latin form to English proper names, but he had difficulty in finding Latin equivalents for some technical words, such as feudal terms.

Polydore Vergil showed some interest in Scottish history but most of this material was inserted in later versions after the works of Major and Boece had been published, and their two works, notwithstanding the extensive cultural background, are the dominant antecedents of Buchanan's Historia. Major combined patriotism with the common belief that history was largely represented by the achievements of kings. He referred to his work as a "narration of the glorious deeds of your ancestors" (i.e. James V's). Political and military arrairs predominate, and there is scant consideration (apart from his description of Scotland) of economic and social history. He did,

53. Hay, Polydore Vergil, p.100.

however, take notice of some intellectual figures, such as the theologians Richard Middleton and John Duns Scotus (Bk IV, c. XVI) and he commented at Bk II, c. XI, "Illustrium virorum in devotione prolixius vitas q̄ [such is the printed abbreviation for quam] pugnatorum describo: ut historiam audiens refocilletur et spirituali pinguedine coalescat."

An important element in Major's view of his work is that of moral purpose. As he wrote in the second point of his preface, where he refuted the objection that it was unbecoming for theologians to write history, his history is to have an educative effect: "I will not believe that I transgress when I narrate not only what has come to pass, or by whose counsel such and such matters were carried, but if I also make distinct definition whether these matters were carried rightly or wrongly. And, indeed, I have given my utmost endeavour to follow this course in all cases and most of all where the question was ambiguous, to the end that from the reading of this history you may learn not only the thing that was done, but also how it ought to have been done." Despite this moral approach, Major's method has been much admired.⁵⁴ Establishing what happened, analysing and, if necessary, commenting what was right or wrong is a more advanced attitude than an ingenuous belief (of which it is hard to acquit Leslie and Boece) that deeds of the distant past are in themselves worthy of admiration, a belief which may lead the writer to depict events in a more glowing light than is warranted. Major was aware, as he stated in the preface, that the historian's first law is to

54. Cant, in *Veterum Laudes* (ed. Salmond) thought that he lacked the prejudice of Buchanan and the gullibility of Boece and that Buchanan mainly derived "his knowledge of the essentials of historiography" from Major.

write the truth. He dismissed the suggestion that dedication of a work to a patron suggested flattery, to avoid which he has deliberately omitted more recent history. He did not refrain, however, from expressing his opinion on some contentious topics, such as union between Scotland and England, ecclesiastical organisation and kingship.⁵⁵ A good example of Major's method is the passage on Wallace's flight at the battle of Falkirk.⁵⁶ After relating how Wallace took to flight, he considered the objection that 'flight' was not an appropriate word to use of Wallace. It was sometimes right, Major believed, for a general to flee for safety. "Wherefore Wallace was justified in seeking safety for his men in flight." Although Wallace, not Bruce, was his hero, he does not accept *uncritically* all his actions (for example, he considered whether Wallace can be criticised for allowing himself to fall into English hands) and he realised that a disproportionate amount of time should not be spent on one man.⁵⁷

Perhaps no greater than the influence of Major, but requiring more elucidation, is the influence of Boece.

The family of Bois or Boyis had been settled at Panbride, Angus since the mid-fourteenth century. Various members are recorded: tenants of Arbroath Abbey in the fifteenth century; Alexander Boyis, burgess of Dundee, between 1481 and 1487;⁵⁸ William Boys at St.

55. On kingship, cf. Chapter Eight.

56. P.200 (Mackay ed.).

57. P.206.

58. R.M.S. (1424-1523), nos. 1502, 1508, 1674.



Andrews 1422; James Boyis innkeeper in Dundee about 1522 and his brother Patrick; George Boiss master mason who contracted with the Town Council 1536; David Boys clerk of works at the rebuilding of Ravenscraig Castle 1460-4. Hector Boece was born in Dundee about 1465 and attended Dundee Grammar School with his brothers Arthur (later teacher of civil law at Aberdeen) and Walter (later Rector of the parish church of Old Aberdeen).

Boece is next known to have entered Montaigu College at the University of Paris, where he took his M.A. and was from 1492 to 1498 a Regent. In his Bishops Boece speaks of the following scholars with admiration: Standonc, Principal of the College, Peter Syrus, Peter Roland, John Gasser and "the splendour and ornament of our age," Erasmus. Erasmus dedicated his *Carmen de Casa Natalitia Jesu* (1495) to Boece; and the only extant letter of Boece's is to Erasmus, Aberdeen May 26th 1528. Of his compatriots, Boece noted Patrick Panther, later secretary to James IV, Walter Ogilvy, George Dundas and Major. Erasmus found conditions at Montaigu hard, but Boece and Major mentioned it with respect.

In 1498 Elphinstone invited Boece to the new King's College, Aberdeen. Durkan suggested that Adam Elphinstone, a relative of the bishop studying with Boece in Paris, might have been involved: "perhaps Boece, with his ability to cite Virgil, Lucan, Ovid and the contemporary neo classicist, the Carmelite, Spagnuoli (Mantuanus) ... appealed to Elphinstone more than a simple dialectician would." The Bishops recorded a number of colleagues and acquaintances admired by Boece: David Guthrie, professor of civil and canon law, James

Ogilvie, D.D., John Vaus, William Hay, sub-principal and a contemporary of Boece's in Dundee and Paris, Alexander Hay, later Rector of the University and John Adam, Professor of Divinity. Boece's salary as principal was 40 marks, but he seems to have been only regent in arts at first. He also became a Canon of the Cathedral, Rector of Tyrie, Vicar of Tullynessle and Chaplain of the Altar of St. Ninian in the Town's Kirk of Aberdeen and his two major literary works brought him a royal pension. The foundation charter of 1505 was less explicit about the principal's duties than the new constitution promulgated by Bishop Dunbar in 1531; he was responsible for upkeep and supervision of staff and students and had to share in teaching. Although information about the library only comes later in the sixteenth century, Boece acted as first librarian. Four of Boece's gifts to the library and four of his private volumes survive. Boece died before November 22nd, 1536.⁵⁹

Although Boece taught philosophy and wrote a volume of logic (*Explicatio quorundam verborum*) of which only one copy can now be traced, his two major literary works were historical. There were two editions of his Historiae Scotorum: the first was published at Paris in 1526-7. It described the history of the Scots from their earliest origin, now known to be myth, until the death of King James I in 1437 in seventeen books. The second edition was produced, also at Paris, by Ferrerius, abbot of Kinloss, in 1574. He added his own preface in which he explained that he had found an almost complete chapter by Boece on James II. This he printed; to the few pages

59. Simpson, in A.Q.S.

which Boece had put together on James III, Ferrerius added his own account to the end of the reign.

Before the narrative, Boece inserted a description of Scotland and other introductory material which is of interest as illustrating his conception of history. In the first edition there is a list of contents, a poem by P. Rossetus celebrating the lion as the symbol of the royal house, a verse commendation of the history by Jodocus Badius which contains the lines:

Scilicet historiae Livique decus patavini,
Lacteaque ad Scotos transtulit eloquia.
Nec minus antiqua repetens ab origine, stemma
Ducit adusque atavum Rex Iacobe tuum and concludes
Palladiaeque artes vigeant, Scotisque retenta
Cecropio studio floreat alma fides. Amen., the Praefatio

to James V (6pp), the Commendatio of his history by Boece to James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp), Idem ad Lectorem ($\frac{1}{2}$ p), Gulielmus Gordonus illustri academiae Aberdonensi S.P.D. ($\frac{1}{2}$ p), Catalogue of the Kings, list of old and new equivalent place names, an index to the history, a list of corrigenda, a Tabella in sequentem Isagogem, Description (29pp), De Scotorum priscis recentibusque institutis ac moribus paraenesis Hectoris Boethii accommodatissima (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp), De Serie Regum..recensio (an exposition of British kings - 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp), list of kings and Alexander Leo Moraviensis ecclesiae Cantor, Scotorum nobilitati Salutem (ex Parrhisiorum Academia). The passages of Leo and Gordonus are largely commendations of Boece.

A moral element is prominent in Boece's thinking. The thesis of his paraenesis is that Scotland is in a state of moral decline which set in about the time of Malcolm Canmore. The old times are characterised, as one might expect, by frugality in diet and dress,

physical fitness, stern discipline, honorable military service, chastity and above all temperance (evidently in a broad sense, since even then aqua viva was distilled). He does, however, see some redeeming features in the present: "Illud autem significatum universis ac eorum memoria retentum velim, quicquid in huius seculi mores invecti dicemus, non in omnes dictum iri, sed in eos modo, quos immoderata intemperantia adeo transversos agit ut etiam multo maioribus increpationibus digni merito censeantur" and later "praesentis seculi in Scotia proceres sunt priscis in vestitu cultiores, in aedificiis et literis elegantiores, in templorum aedificatione et exornatione magnificentiores."

Boece's belief in moral decline as a matter of history is distinct from, but perhaps allied to, his view that his book will provide moral instruction. In the preface to King James, which begins by quoting Plato's assertion that we are not born for ourselves alone, he stated that the book will not only recount "quae a maioribus tuis gesta sunt", but "malorum conatum pariter et bonorum exitus demonstrabit, illorum quidem foedos fugiendosque, horum autem laudabiles et expetendos." A few lines later Boece claimed, "Omnium enim virtutum pariter et vitiorum innumera hic exempla invenies." The virtues evinced in the past (for he passes over the faults, being unable to mention them without pain) include bravery (not always, it is implied, linked with sufficient prudence,⁶⁰ although very wise men were not lacking and will be recognised in the book), religious piety and constancy to the catholic faith, justice and austerity in diet. If

60. Cf. the beginning of Plutarch's Pelopidas.

the latter were adopted again, the fighting strength displayed against the Romans and the perseverance against the Saxons would return.

A. Leo echoed this moral theme: "Ergo avitis insignioribus gestis memoriae nunc proditis habemus praeter Romanos, Horatios, Scipiones, Fabiosque, ex nostratibus quos in omne virtutis exemplar facile citabimus."

Belief in the moral value of history shades into another of Boece's preconceptions, that history is useful, particularly to statesmen. He commended his work to Beaton "qui...ostenderes adolescenti Regi, quam utilis sit historiae lectio." This view, that a king will be able to rule more effectively if he has learnt the lessons of the past, was reiterated in the preface to James himself: "cognosces..ex hac historia..quonam pacto potissimum ipse quoque regnum istud tuum quam optime administrare debeas." James will be able to understand all the peoples of his kingdom without having to endure the same hardships as the renowned and admired men of the past and the sum of experience contained in this book is greater than any man could encompass in one lifetime. The inexperienced administrator is, in the old ship-of-state simile, likened to an inept sailor: "Nec vero minimae tempestates gubernantibus respublicas oboriuntur quotidie. Eas igitur praevidenti in aliis, eorumque periculo sapienti salutem tibi quaerere liceat, nec eisdem impingere scopulis quibus illisos iam antea aliquos conspexeris."

The introductory material reveals two other less explicit aims of Boece. He was anxious to make clear the antiquity of the Scottish monarchy, "quibusque artibus imperium hoc iam supra millesimum

octingentesimum quinquagesimum sextum annum retentum est, externis nullis unquam subditum imperiis (quanquam interim et ab Romanis et ab Anglis gravissimis afflicti fuimus malis: tantumque non oppressi vix caput evertere potuerimus)." Lec picked up this point: "reges per mille octingentos quinquaginta sex annos, quod haud scio an cuiquam alteri populo aut genti a condito orbe sit datum, regnare." Boece also made out that the early Scots had an advanced political system. "Clearly Boece believed that the sovereign power in Scotland, even from its earliest manifestation, was of the nature of a trust vested in the monarch by the nation, and that this trust could be cancelled or withdrawn by those from whom it came, whenever they deemed it necessary in the public interest".⁶¹ Thus the kings between the two Ferguses are either good or bad and come to a humiliating end. Often the nobles meet to discuss measures against an unsatisfactory king who may be put to death, driven into exile or kill himself. "Multa sunt eiusmodi tum superiorum (ut Caractaci, Galdi, Gregorii, Fergusii utriusque et caeterorum) tum etiam recentiorum, egregia libertatis tutandae exemple." This constitutional theory is anachronism.

Boece expected readers to take delight in recalling at ease noble exploits such as of Wallace and Bruce, but he is aware of the magnitude of his task - "opus arduum atque difficile, et quod summo ingenio parem requirat eloquentiam." In the epistle to Beaton he referred to "duo..quae in historico probato quaeri solent prima, fides et eruditio." Nevertheless his tone is one of extreme

61. Black, in A.Q.S.

modesty: "ingenii felicitate (quod in me equidem exiguum fateor);
 Quamvis enim longe imbecilliozem, ac qui tantum oneris sustinerem
 me cognoscerem; quum eruditio desit." He asked the reader's pardon
 for the work's faults and omissions and ~~will~~^{would} make a thorough revision
 if the opportunity ~~arises~~^{arose}. In defence of his undertaking, he
 referred to the encouragement of friends, notably Gavin Dunbar, bishop
 of Aberdeen and argued that no historian can be comprehensive:
 "Nulli enim auctori quamvis doctrina et ingenii felicitate pollenti
 in rebus scribendis cuncta comprehendere datum existimo." On style,
 he hoped that "si summam non attingerem eloquentiam, ne tamen extreme
 barbarus censerer." He trusted that careful reliance on sources would
 make up for his own deficiencies.

The problem of Boece's sources is a fascinating one. It is
 misleading to say, as Durkan did, that his history is "quite
 uncritical," since he undertook to say nothing which is unsupported
 by evidence: "fidei ita adiuratus sum, ut nisi probatis depromptum
 ex auctoribus, aut gravissimorum testimoniis subscriptum, in
 praesentia prorsus nihil memoriae dederim." Erasmus had testified to
 his good faith, and Boece cited some authoritative sources such as
 Caesar, Strabo, the writers of the *Historia Augusta*, Eutropius and
 Tacitus. It is interesting that Boece should choose to quote at
 length in Book IV the speeches attributed to Calgacus and the Roman
 commander in the *Agricola* which was first printed about 1475-80.
 Boece followed the outline of Roman relations with Britain as found
 in the classical writers, "nihil hic ingerentes quod iure possit

refelli" ("editorial" plural).⁶² But although he may fairly say that Roman writers used Britannia and Britanni of the British Isles and their inhabitants collectively, he exaggerates the role of "Scots" in combatting the Romans; he does admit that the name "Scot" was not familiar at the time.^{62,63}

For the post-Roman period Boece used such sources as Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth and (with differences) the Scotichronicon. But his treatment of remote history is more remarkable. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century when the dispute over English suzerainty was acute, belief grew in the ancient origin of the royal line of Scotland. While the English claimed descent from Brutus the Scots asserted the prior existence of their independent kingdom, using an equally fabulous version of history. The claims were argued before the Papal court at Rome in 1301 and in the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath, for instance, it is stated that "This kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of 113 kings." After Fordun, the accepted chronology was something like: 1500 B.C. departure of Gathelos and Scota from Egypt; 443 B.C. the Scots settled Dalriada; Fergus, sone of Ferchard, founded the Dalriadic line of Scottish kings and began to reign in 330 B.C.; 360 A.D. the kingdom was overthrown by the Romans; 43 yæars later the unbroken line was restored by Fergus II, sone of Erc. Fordun had said: "A primo huius regni rege Fergusio filio Ferchard ad hunc regem filium Erch inclusive quadraginta quinque reges eiusdem gentis et generis in hac insula regnaverunt, sed et horum, singillatim distinguere tempora

62. Bk. III, p.xxxiv.

63. Bk. IV, p.lxxii.

principatum, ad presens omittimus, nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus? This gap remained unexplained. Boece's distinctive contribution was to provide an account of the monarchy between 330 B.C. and 360 A.D.

The leading part in demonstrating the falsity of this part of Boece's history fell to Thomas Innes. But uncertainty has remained about Boece's authorities here: Turgot, Elphinstone, John Campbell, Cornelius Hibernicus and Veremundus. Nothing is known of Hibernicus. The John Campbell whom Boece mentions as a source (e.g. fol. xl.18) may or may not be the same John Campbell, relative of the Earl of Argyll, whom he mentions in the preface as assisting in his researches:⁶⁴ "lectitandi libros quosdam, quos raros antehac quispiam viderat, opera maxime clarissimorum virorum Caleni Campibelli comitis Argadie, et Joannis germani eius viri clarissimi et a Thesauris tuis fidelissimi facultatem nactus." This is Sir John Campbell of Lundy, but nothing is known of any historical work by him. Turgot is rarely mentioned and not quoted as a source, but Boece had apparently seen his work: fol CCIXVIII.64 qui..vitam D. Margarite et Malcolmi regis conscripsit vernacula quidem lingua, sed non minori elegantia quam pietate, veritateque and 1.73 qui Turgoti librum de vita Malcolmi ac D. Margarite legere curaverit. The greatest puzzle is Veremundus, whom Boece says to have been sometime archdeacon of St. Andrews and author of a full history (abunde omnia complectens, fol CXVIII.69) of Scotland from the origin of the race to Malcolm Canmore. Boece states that Veremundus's history was brought to him in Aberdeen in 1525 by the same envoy who had brought from Iona some old documents of which scarcely a tenth was readable but which those who had seen them thought more Sallustian than Livian. These fragments do not seem to

64. The Campbells held Iona at this time and some (e.g. the third earl and the abbot of Cupar) had literary interests.

have been of much use; but it can be doubted whether Boece would have time to absorb the new material into his history (which he was planning by 1522) if this story is true. Since, however, Elphinstone in his history had imitated Veremundus, the latter must have been known at Aberdeen earlier. From his history and Bishops it is evident that Boece used a history written by Elphinstone, but there is no trace of this work (the Fairfax manuscript in the Bodleian Library having been shown to be a version of the Scotichronicon). On Veremundus himself, the only other reference to whose work is a claim by the sixteenth-century David Chambers to have seen it, opinions have ranged from Black's suggestion that he was a post-1488 'invention' to support the view that kings could be deposed to Skene's attempt, not entirely discounted by Prof. Barrow and Mrs. Anderson,^{64a} to identify him with a 13th-century St. Andrews classic, Richard Vairement or Weyrement, putative author ^oif a history of Scotland mentioned in the ^o1st Great Register of St. Andrews Priory.

Boece's Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen was printed in Paris at the Ascensian Press by Iodicus Badius and appeared in 1522. The dedication was to Gavin Dunbar, Chief Priest of Aberdeen, dated Aberdeen 31st August 1521 and nearly half of the work is devoted to Dunbar's predecessor Elphinstone. No doubt admiration of Elphinstone was one motive for writing the work, as the editor of the standard edition (Moir, New Spalding Club, 1894) states, but Boece also claims to have been involved in research on earlier figures: "Scrutatus etenim (tuo jussu) exactissima diligentia, qui Aberdonenses episcopi et quales fuere, ante Roberti primi regis tempora, vix quicquam praeter nomina comperi." Books illustrating early history

64a J. Eccl. Hist. iii pp 28-9; Kings and Kingship

were said to have been preserved on Iona by Fergus II, moved to Restennet in Angus by Alexander I, and destroyed with the priory by Edward I of England.

The Bishops has many features in common with the history, including Boece's prefatory modesty (*manusculum.. etsi exile... hunc librum quantulumcunque*). Despite some problems, his historical outline is basically correct (although the foundation of the Bishopric of Mortlach and the authenticity of five of its early charters have been matters of dispute, it is accepted that Mortlach was subsumed by the *see* of Aberdeen). The theme of declining standards is introduced (p.12 *Jantum ea tempestate desiderium (quod nobis videre minime est concessum) pastoris qui optimus esset, habendi mortalium animas inceserat* and p.23 *Hos mores, hos canonicos utinam nostra tenerent tempora. Sed (ut abominor) quod nunc fit exiguum est, pejora in dies visuri sumus*). The style is clear, perhaps less fluent than in the history, and there are points which offend an editor conversant with classical Latin (Moir, p.37^{6.4}~~14~~ "Dum with subjunctive in sense of while in an ordinary direct narrative is of very doubtful Latinity"; p.42 1.17 "Ejiceretur should be indicative mood"; p.47 1.5 "Superfuere should be superessent as being in oratio obliqua"; p.52 1.10 "Undequaque is neither in Lewis and Short's Dictionary, nor in Forcellini" etc.) There are some inaccuracies and exaggerations: 1390 was not anno *tertio* of Robert III (p.27 1.18); Murdoch's son was Walter, not Robert p.33 1.2; Robert (d.1419) cannot have heard of deaths at Verneuil (1⁴324), p.30 1.14; ten thousand men are said to have been sent from Scotland to Verneuil (p.29 1.15), whereas the correct number, seven thousand, appears in the History.

Bishop Gilbert Greenlaw's appointment as ambassador to Charles VII of France (p.29 l.17) is not mentioned in the History, and in the History an invasion by King Henry of England in the 1390s is treated as more of a pretence, while in the Bishops Greenlaw saves the day: (p.28 l.7) Puellarum Castrum.... undique cinctum miro ingenio levaverit, omnemque belli vim averterit a nostris. Indeed Boece throughout assigns a rather unconvincingly uniform praise to his subjects, with the outstanding exception of Elphinstone, eulogised at length; he devoted his whole life to virtue and had shown remarkable promise even before the Holy Virgin had addressed him as a boy in a dream. "Virtuti te totum accommoda, et ubi pontificatum quo te donabo fueris adeptus, Christi religioni consule, meis templis instauratis."

Boece remained influential for some time. His works may have been quoted at the deposition of Mary Queen of Scots. Lord Hailes remarked that "although we are reformed from Popery, we are not reformed from Boece."⁶⁵ Following a dispute over the duties of Director of Chancery, "in 1732 the matter was argued out, both parties citing ancient history from the veracious pages of Hector Boetius".⁶⁶ But Scott wrote that "Boethius is altogether fabulous... Lord Hailes was the first who introduced accuracy into Scottish history. All who precede him may be considered as absolutely legendary."⁶⁷

65. Quoted by Seton, p.24.

66. Thomson, Public Records of Scotland, p.73.

67. Letters, III 425.

Chapter Three

The first edition of Buchanan's Historia was printed at Edinburgh in 1582 by Alexander Arbuthnet, not his namesake the principal of King's College Aberdeen with whom he was sometimes confused. The book has been described as "one of the most inaccurate works which ever issued from any press"; it contained an incomplete list of "Errata sic corrigenda." Not all copies may have been identical. Andrew Melville's copy was one of this edition. A second edition was printed in 1583, bearing no place or printer's name. Despite the legend "Ad exemplar Alexandri Arbuthneti's editum Edimburgi", it is usually thought to have been printed abroad, perhaps Paris or Geneva (Ruddiman), Ob^{rwe}ersel (G.Q.S.) or Antwerp (Brit. Mus. Catal.). E.U.L.'s 1583 copy (Hg.2.8, the Mackay bequest) is however catalogued as of Edinburgh and has "Edimburgi" on the spine. The 1583 and subsequent editions of the Historia also contain an index and the De Iure. The total of four sixteenth-century editions is made up by the 1584 Francofurti edition (Wechelus, impensis S. Feyrabendii) and 1594 Francofurti ad Moenum (Feyrabend, impensis ha^{re}ndum S. Feyrabendii). These two occur in Brit. Mus., N.L.S. and Biblioth. Nat. catalogues. Ruddiman's dating 1598 is probably an error for 1594.

Hume Brown totalled nine seventeenth-century editions of the Historia. There were two more Frankfurt editions of the 1584 text in 1624 and 1638 (Impe^{ns}is G. Tampachii) and a reprint at Trajecti 1648. In 1643 there was issued at Amsterdam *apud* L. Elzevirium the first of the Elsevir editions, followed by 1665 at Amsterdam, 1668 *apud* P. Elzevirium Ultrajecti, and 1697 Trajecti ad Rhenum (Anton Sch^{cu}arten) with an improved index. Another edition was also issued in 1643, Ad exemplar Alexandri Arbuthneti, without place or printer's name;

G.Q.S. thought it by Lud. Elzevir and the same as his 1643 edition with a different imprint, Ruddiman attributed it to Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden) but the Bibl. Nat. and E.U.L. catalogues regard it as an Edinburgh edition. G.Q.S. identifies another 1697 edition (Amstel., Jo. Ribs). If Ruddiman's citation of a 1663 Utrecht Elzevir edition is correct, the total is ten editions. Ruddiman also lists "Lipsiae, 1669."

Gatthefer affirmed that the 1584 edition was "the best text produced so far" and that it was superseded by the seventeenth-century Elzevir edition. But major work on the text of the Historia belongs to the eighteenth century. The publication in 1708 of Crawford's "Notes and observations on Mr. George Buchanan's History of Scotland" was an indication that the Elzevir edition, to which, in the 1668 reprint, he gives references as the most accessible version, was not the last word. An Edinburgh edition had been published by Mosman in 1700, but the date of Crawford's writings is not certain: since he was rector of the Royal High School, regent in philosophy and (from 1640) Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, some time must have elapsed before publication. His small book contains some translations of phrases, explanations, usually fairly elementary and (as the preface claims) a greater amount of material on people mentioned in the work - the Competitors, Douglasses and other noble families. In a few pages at the end is a list of corrections of typographical errors, some in the Edinburgh edition and connected by Elzevir, others in Elzevir.

This was, with one exception the fundamental material available to Ruddiman before his great edition of 1715. Buchanan's works were

printed in two volumes, prose and verse, the Historia taking up most of the first and larger, but the Scottish Record Office possesses a copy of the two volumes bound as one with the insignia of Lord Frederick Campbell. The exception is the only manuscript known to exist of Buchanan's Historia^{ica}, housed in E.U.L. (Dc.4.60). Other than that it was presented by "John Nicolson, Janitor, 1671", nothing is known about it and apart from some comments by Ruddiman it has scarcely been discussed other than by Trevor-Roper.¹ He estimated that the manuscript was a fair copy written before the 1582 'editio princeps' since marginal corrections, often in another hand, ^{are} ~~and~~ incorporated in that edition, but not a final copy, since the 'editio princeps' sometimes differs significantly from it. The manuscript ends near the end of Book XV, but since it ends in mid-sentence at the foot of a page it may have been complete. Ruddiman conjectured that it was written by Buchanan's own amanuensis; but "whether another, corrected copy was submitted to the printer, or whether this was the printer's copy and the corrections were made by Buchanan separately, it is impossible to say." On the manuscript's authority for the text, therefore, there are two extremes: that in a case of doubt the manuscript should be followed as representing the closest to what Buchanan actually intended, or that, since another version may have intervened before printing, the manuscript has next to no value. A further point is the apparent combination of two works in the manuscript - the two books Rerum Scoticarum^{um}, and seventeen Historiae Scotorum, separately paginated, with another hand adding the alternative number (e.g. Libe^r Quintus sive Octavus). The printed Book III is omitted.

Thomas Ruddiman attended Aberdeen University, which could boast

1. At the end of E.H.R. Suppl. 3.

of some fine seventeenth-century scholars, and took his M.A. in 1694. For a time he was a school-teacher but after meeting in 1699 Dr. Pitcairne, physician, sometime professor at Leyden, and author of Latin verses, he accepted appointment at the Advocates' Library as assistant librarian from 1702. After additional work in transcribing, teaching and editing, he produced in 1707 an edition of Florence Wilson's 'Dialogus'. This was an early stage in his association with the bookseller Robert Freebairn, continued in a new edition of Douglas's Aeneid (1710), the preface to which states that the edition did not follow the example of "those bold critics, who do not stick to alter in authors what they do not understand." During the next few years Ruddiman declined the post of rector of Dundee Grammar school, staying at the library for a salary of £30-6s-8d, married again, continued work in editing (including a new edition of Drummond's Five Jameses) and published his own Rudiments of the Latin Tongue (1714). After the appearance of Buchanan's Opera Omnia in 1715, Ruddiman continued to follow a variety of interests. He undertook his own printing of works including Epistolae Regum Scotorum and Herodian. In 1718, as Chalmers² relates, Ruddiman and the masters of the High School founded an association "for improving each other in classical ~~to~~^{to}fe", later supported by Lord Kaimes. This was succeeded by a society for the improvement of medical knowledge, in turn expanded into the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Ruddiman assisted the Oxford antiquary Hearn in his edition of Fordun's Scotichronicon and produced Ovidii decepta (1723) and Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones (1725). He printed from 1724 and owned from 1729 the Caledonian Mercury. In

2. The Life of T.R.: to which are subjoined New Anecdotes of Buchanan by George Chalmers, London 1724.

1730, two years after the death of Mr. John Spottiswood, he was appointed principal keeper of the Advocates' Library and in 1735 Walter Goodal became his assistant. The latter's edition of the *Scotichronicon* is heavily criticised by Chalmers.³ 1739 saw Ruddiman's production of Anderson's *Diplomata*, and he was the editor of the works of Livy (1751).

The years before Ruddiman's death in 1757 at the age of 83 were nevertheless occupied to a considerable degree by work which stemmed from his 1715 edition of Buchanan.⁴ At the beginning of the century Moysman, an Edinburgh bookseller had produced an edition of Buchanan's *History* and according to Chalmers he intended to publish *Opera Omnia*. The plan was abandoned "owing to the insufficiency of his editor." On Moysman's death, the project was transferred to the printer Freebairn for whom Ruddiman acted as editor. Thus the preface printed in Freebairn's name was written by Ruddiman. Chalmers quotes a manuscript note in which Ruddiman refers to his preface.⁵ The preface reveals the two aims of the edition, "primum ut universa nobilissimi atque omnium suffragio incomparabilis Auctoris scripta (sive ea antea impressa, sive typis nondum vulgata fuissent) undique conquirentur: deinde ut ea in unum collecta quam fieri posset emendatissima, ac celeberrimo scriptore digna prodirent" and furnishes background on each of Buchanan's works. On the *Historia*, Ruddiman states that since the Geneva (i.e. 1583) edition depends on the Edinburgh and the rest from the Geneva ("quod non difficile esset ostendere"), only the

3. P. 313. 131

4. Cf. *Thomas Ruddiman* by D. Duncan, pp. 62ff.

5. p. 66 n (h).

Edinburgh is helpful for an accurate text. He admits that the first edition had many 'sphalmata typographica' which later editions have corrected; but some of these errors were obvious anyway, and there have been other defects in later editing. Inadequate knowledge of Scottish affairs was a handicap, and emendations have been unsatisfactory. "Interdum enim a vero de^{er}arunt; interdum parti sinceræ intempestivam medicⁱⁿam fecerunt; sæpius vero (quod ne^{cop}iam^{ian} solet contingere) dum vetera vulnera san^{ari} satagunt, ha^{ud} pauca de suo nova incutiunt." Clem^{ens} had consequently seen the need for a new edition.

The preface goes on to describe the manuscript which has at numerous points enabled Ruddiman to correct the printed editions. On it and the Edinburgh edition Ruddiman depends. Since their authority "summa et æquatis propemodum videtur", he has decided, where they differ, "Alud seligere quod fidei^u Historiæ Latini^{ve} sermonⁱ puritati maxime convenire^r arbitramur." In a number of places he has differed from them both and so from all the printed texts. The reason is to provide a consistent orthography, rejected by the M.S. and Edinburgh, both in Latin words and in proper names (such as Huntlaeus and Huntlejus). Secondly, he has corrected quotations from classical authors in Bks. I-III according to the best available editio^{ns}. Thirdly, he has corrected some errors which "apertam linguæ Latinae indoli vim facere, *cumque* manifestis ejus regulis pugna^r deprehendebantur:" only those errors which can be corrected easily, as if mistakes of typographers rather than of Buchanan. It is not an editor's duty, he claims, to correct the substance of a history, but in places where Buchanan clearly contradicts himself emendations

have been printed in italics and sometimes within brackets.

There follow some opinions about Buchanan's Historia, Ruddiman own praise of Buchanan's style and criticism of chronological and other errors due to advancing years and also of his bias towards Moray. Ruddiman explains that although his aim had been to clarify the text, he has thought it appropriate to point out defects in the Historia since truth is of prime importance in history. He acknowledges various works which have been of assistance to him, particularly the Nomenclaturae (1682) and the Notes (1708) of Thomas Crawford. Since the latter work does not include references to support the author's opinions, however, he has not relied on Crawford's authority alone. He has, in his notes, taken great care not to exceed the bonds of elucidating the text; rather more space was necessary to attend to chronology. He had intended to mark the year on each page, but since Buchanan is apt to neglect chronology he could only indicate some years in the margin as before and attempt some remedy in the notes. Finally he defends himself against the charge of being too sympathetic to Mary, aware that in these authors he is sailing between Scylla and Charybdis.

There was much sense in Ruddiman's approach to his task, although some points might be questioned. He took insufficient account of the possibility that the manuscript did not represent a final copy. His criterion, "purity of Latin style", for assessing differences between the manuscript and first edition and for making some emendations, has two difficulties: scholars would now be less inclined to thank of a rigid 'classical' Latin with strict rules. Although

the language may have reached a high point of development with Caesar and Cicero, latent forms of change evolved into the individual styles of Sallust, Livy and Tacitus. Secondly, even if one accepts the existence of 'classical' Latin, one wonders how realistic it is to assume that Buchanan invariably followed it. Ruddiman "accepted as axiomatic the traditional view that the purity of Buchanan's Latin was unrivalled since the time of Livy"⁶ but Latin had long been in use for legal, diplomatic and official as well as literary purposes and new idioms are likely to have emerged over the years. The whole subject of Scottish attitudes to the classics, as with such figures as Arthur Johnston and James Melville is extensive.⁷ Duncan dis^{cu}sses Ruddiman's thirst for "correctness" but gives insufficient consideration to the problems posed by the manuscript. Finally, while one might not quarrel with corrections to quotations of ancient texts, it could be argued that an editor should never correct spelling inconsistencies and factual errors.

Ruddiman was justified in expressing his opinions about the Historia and they did little to hinder his production of a well-founded and eminently serviceable edition. But from the start there were some who were not prepared to accept his views and a century later Irving, while praising Ruddiman's work, could write, 'it is to be lamented that his narrow politics should so frequently have diverted him from the more useful tracts of enquiry. When political prejudices intervene, he is too eager to contradict his author; and he often attempts, by very slender and incompetent proofs, to

6. Duncan, p.65.

7. Cf. refs. to Buchanan in Dane^{vi}'s Democratic Intellect.

to extenuate the authority of his narration."⁸ If Ruddiman expected his stylistic comments to pass unchallenged, he was probably aware that some of his remarks would cause controversy; but the fact that his edition was not universally regarded as definitive owes more to the inherent problems of the task than to defects in his own work.

Chalmers relates that on the publication of Ruddiman's edition of Opera Omnia a society was formed with the purpose of ^vindicating "that incomparably learned and pious author from the calumnies of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman"; it included James Anderson, professors Hamilton and Smith, Charles Mackay, professor of History, Sir Robert Stewart, professor of Natural Philosophy, Rev. George Logan and Sir Archibald Stewart (Denham), advocate. Adam Watt, "professor of the Roman language at Edinburgh" composed some notes on Ruddiman's work. Chalmers says of this volume, "The reader is worried, and confounded; but, he is neither convinced, nor informed." These critics communicated with Holland where a new edition was being prepared but Burman a classical scholar, (1725), ^{merely} reprinted Ruddiman's work and added a preface of his own. There, he discussed the value of history and the need for good literary style in historical writing, referred to some modern historians and said that if Buchanan had been born in Italy he would have been regarded as an unsurpassed poet and historian. ~~Burman~~ ^{Burman} felt that his own ignorance of Scottish affairs and unwillingness to enter into political controversy ill-fitted him as an editor, but he was induced to join in a reprint of Ruddiman's work. Notes were incorporated at the foot of pages, chapter numbers were inserted and while reading the work through, despite distractions, Burman was able to add a few notes of his own. He is studious to avoid committing

8. Memoirs of Buchanan (1807).

himself to either of the factions which divide Scotland (the preface ends, Vale et his fruere Lector, et aeque et a studiis partium vacuo animo, Lector, ipse per te judica) but expresses some support for Buchanan's view of Mary. Ruddiman's critics were, however, not surprisingly not satisfied by Burm^an's edition. According to Chalmers they still promised to produce another but none was forthcoming. In 1727 Ruddiman's text of the Historia was reprinted at Edinburgh by John Paton.

There followed a series of controversies in which Buchanan figured. In 1731 Ruddiman published the second part of his Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones and the following year Robert Trotter, schoolmaster of Dumfries, published his rival Grammaticae Latinae Compendium. The defects of Trotter's work were exposed in Animadversiones by John Love, who at this stage was a vindicator and friend of Ruddiman. He became a master of the High School in 1735 and two years later published in co-operation with Robert Hunter, master at Heriot's Hospital and later professor of Greek at Edinburgh, Buchanani Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis Poetica which was printed by Ruddiman and to which he contributed. Three years later Love published "Buchanan's and Johnston's Paraphrase of the Psalms compared" in opposition to William Lauder who had in this context favoured Johnston.⁹ As Chalmers suggested, "The conquests, which Love had made over Trotter, and Lauder, probably gave him a fondness for controversy."

Ruddiman himself was verging on ^{te} literary or academic controversy when he wrote in 1740 his unpublished "Critical Remarks upon Peter

9. Duncan, p.116.

Burman's Notes on Ovid's Works" but his attention was drawn back to Buchanan by the opinion of William Benson, expressed in his 1741 edition of Johnston's Psalms, that Johnston's versions were superior to Buchanan's. This judgement was rejected by Ruddiman in his Vindication (1745) although in a letter¹⁰ to Sir Harry Munro of Foulis, Bart, 1750, Ruddiman suggested that Buchanan knew little Hebrew.

Further evidence of the kind of controversy then ensuing is given by a letter from Logan to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, dated Edinburgh 26th August 1745 and preserved in the Scottish Record Office.¹¹ Logan wrote that Love had sent him a letter of Sir John's discussing a reply to Ruddiman's work on Buchanan. Logan referred to the society of "gentlemen who are heavily concerned for the defence of Buchanan" and the reply to Ruddiman was evidently a composite work. Thus Love stated that some phrases to which Clerk had objected were those of Professor Watt left unaltered. Other errors were caused by the scribe of "my long disuse of writing anything in the Latine tongue." There follows a list of points which Logan is prepared to defend, such as on "Ingratitudinis": "this you say is not good. I believe it is not to be found in any of the Classicks: but it is a Latine word as well as altitudo, longitudo, multitudo." There is also a marginal note, "Buchanan himself uses the word ingratitude." After other similar discussions the writer wisely comments, "from these observations I have made you will be convinced that often it falls out to be a most difficult thing to determine what is and what not, is good Latine." The notes discussed in the letter refer to Ruddiman's

10. Chalmers, p.184n (1)

11. G.D. 18.5104 .

preface and notes on Buchanan's life; Logan ends by stating that he has almost completed a reply to Ruddiman's notes on the history and by asking for a loan of any relevant material known to Clerk.

During 1745 and 1746 Ruddiman wrote some notes on Burman's 1740 commentary on Lucan's Pharsalia and revised his Vindication. His next task was to reply to two treatises of Rev. George Logan, moderator of the general assembly in 1740, in which it was argued that the Crown of Scotland was not strictly hereditary. Aged 73, Ruddiman produced his Answer in 1747; the exchanges continued with¹² Logan's "The Finishing Stroke" (1748), Ruddiman's Dissertation (1748), Logan's "The finishing Stroke", part two (1748), ~~and two~~ Letters to Ruddiman (1745). The three areas of Scottish history involved in this dispute were the succession of the early kings, the relative claims of Bruce and Balliol, and the marriages of Robert II and Buchanan's Historia had a prominent part. Nevertheless one may sympathise with Chalmers who wrote,¹³ "Had the disputants only explained their own meaning, a tedious controversy might have been extremely abridged." Ruddiman exclaimed somewhat ostentatiously "Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica ~~er~~
veritas!"

Ruddiman was becoming less sympathetic to Buchanan and more intemperate. Of Milton and Buchanan he wrote, "I am convinc'd in my conscience that they were both wicked men, and that some of their Works have done much Mischief to the World."¹⁴ When John Love published his Vindication of Buchanan in 1749, Ruddiman replied

12. ^{Chalmers} ~~Ibid.~~, p.221n (p).

13. P.195n (x).

14. Quoted by Duncan, p.64.

bitterly with Animadversions in the same year. Love sought to free Buchanan from Camden's suggestion of his repentance, and acquitted him of the charge of ingratitude to Mary. The dispute ranged to such topics as the Gowrie conspiracy. Logan died in 1755, Love in 1750, and the debates may seem strangely unilluminating when it is recalled that Hume and Robertson were soon to be writing. Ruddiman produced his *Livy* in 1751, and the following year, his sight failing, he resigned from the Advocates' Library. He was yet able to study, in manuscript correspondence with Mr. James Garden,¹⁵ philology and pronunciation of Latin.

One further sequence in Ruddiman's life, to which these controversies were a background, leads directly back to his 1715 edition of Opera Omnia and to the text of the Historia. In 1753 James Man, master of Aberdeen poor-house, published "A censure and examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological notes on the works of the great Buchanan, more particularly on the history of Scotland. In which also, most of the chronological and geographical, and many of the historical and political notes, are taken into consideration - In a letter to a friend - Necessary for restoring the true readings, the graces and beauties, and for understanding the true meaning of a vast number of passages of Buchanan's writings, which have been so foully corrupted, so miserably defaced, so grossly perverted and misunderstood. Containing many curious particulars of his life, and ^a vindication of his character from many gross calumnies." Although passages such as p.7 "To sum up Mr. Ruddiman's character in two words, he is a finished pedant and a most furious calumniator", and p.113, "to repress this editor's vanity and arrogance, and chiefly to rescue so

15. Chalmer, p.246n (t).

valuable an author out of the claws of such a harpy, who can hardly touch him in any part without defiling him" indicate that the Censure is a polemical, it is nevertheless a compendious and learned work, part of which Love had contributed. Three introductory chapters discuss the circumstances of the Historia's composition, Buchanan's character and the various editions. Thereafter Man examines words alphabetically by parts of speech, a majority of the entries being comments on Ruddiman's annotations.

Man charged Ruddiman with following in exaggeration the methods of Richard Bentley and using false principles of criticism such as amending the text whenever the editor fails to understand. D. Duncan, despite his reservations about Ruddiman, thought that he still produced "a much likelier text than Man's". Ruddiman made his own riposte to Man, however, with Anticrisis (1754). ~~Then~~ ^{Here} he defends the manuscript, points out that Man has not objected to numerous ~~connections~~ ^{connections} from it, and expresses surprise that he has been attacked on his knowledge of the Latin tongue. Anticrisis follows the pattern of Censure, with three chapters on background and subsequent ones on nouns, proper nouns, adjectives etc. He uses classical writers to support his readings, but does concede some points such as "owning myself to have been a little too rash in changing the word consilium" and confusion over the sons of Scaliger. Reviewers who supported Man prompted Ruddiman to issue another pamphlet in 1756, sixty-two pages of Adi alteram partem. Here he estimates numerically the points of conflict between himself and Man, finding a balance in his favour of 449. The second part of the pamphlet contains some notes on Burman's edition in three sections, where Burman has misunderstood Buchanan,

where Burman has wronged Ruddiman, and where Ruddiman bids fairer to be in the Right than Burman, and some remarks on Burman's preface.

Ruddiman died the following year, 1757, aged 83. Man died in 1761 but his own edition (described by G.Q.S. as "useful") of Buchanan's Historia appeared the next year. It was based on the editio princeps, and includes some of Crawford's emendations while others are relegated to footnotes. The notes, in English at the foot of the page, include most of the material in Crawford's Notes. Man adds some grammatical notes, with classical references, although discussion is much briefer than in Censure. He has more variant readings than Crawford but his commentary is briefer than Ruddiman's.

Although numerous, the points of controversy in the text of the Historia are rarely such as to render the meaning of a passage unintelligible. Difficulties tend to arise with proper names, taking the form of confusion or error between, for example, James and John, or variants in spelling of e.g. Guise. Historical accuracy may be in dispute too in matters of chronology. Man argued that the Romans were inexact in their use of numerals (e.g. on p.224c 12). If the exact meaning of some numerical expressions were known (e.g. biennium, triennium, fere), chronology might be a matter of less controversy.¹⁶ A third category of difficulties may be regarded as typographical. Confusion of et and ut, for example, can obscure the meaning, but more often such problems may be less serious, such as the alternatives of- and off-, or aversus and adversus, and they may simply be problems of spelling, as in fal(1)otas. Finally, two categories of difficulty may be recognised which rarely affect historical, but may be important for stylistic, considerations:

16. Briscoe, Livy xxxi-iii, p.52, noted that e.g. biennio can mean two full years interval, or an interval of one full year. This ambiguity is significant in the Historia.

grammatical (subjunctives and indicatives, genders, the omission of est and the clarity of constructions) and philological (the correct use of e.g. *saevities*, *populariter* (p.198e ult), *ordino* (p.226 d6), *semel* and *simul*, *fors* and *sors*).

In the absence of further information about the MS., it is impossible to make a general statement about the text. Ruddiman did not accept all MS readings,¹⁷ and Man accepts some corrections from the MS. Neither Ruddiman's nor Man's text can be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Each difficulty has to be considered individually in the light of such *imponderables* as what could be considered acceptable Latin usage in Buchanan's time and where the author or printer may reasonably be assumed to be in error, and the final judgement is likely to be a matter of opinion.

17. Not, e.g. at the beginning of Book I.

Chapter Four

An assessment of the Historia must take account of the circumstances of its composition. Although a fair amount of evidence is available, some points remain obscure. In considering first exactly when the work was written, it is convenient to begin with the preface¹ to the Historia, addressed to James VI and dated 28th August 1582, where Buchanan wrote that when he returned to Scotland he planned to revise his previous works. He had apparently begun this task ("His ego cum incommodis mederi conarer"²) when friends caused him to change his mind ("subitae amicorum ^{rec} ~~pre~~ces omnes meas rationes conturbarunt") by urging him to write history ("ad Historiam nostrae gentis conscribendam"). He was not abroad for quite as long as the twenty-four years which he stated; although he visited France again he was in Scotland by 1561² and perhaps it may be assumed that within two or three years the idea at least of writing the Historia had occurred to him.

Buchanan also indicated, however, that James VI was a factor in encouraging him to write the work ("Non mediocriter etiam me illud impellebat, quod meam sic operam tibi nec indebitam, nec ingratham fore existimarem"). The imperfect tense impellebat might allow the possibility that while he was writing the thought that the work could be acceptable, even dedicated, to James was in Buchanan's mind, even though the king was still in his infancy. Buchanan also stated, however, that he envisaged the Historia as a suitable substitute for the tuition which he was unable to give on account of ill health ("proximum existimavi id genus scriptionis esse...statui fidas ex

1. A translation is printed by Gathener, op.cit.

2. Above, p.30.

Historia monitores ad te mittere"). The text of the second half of the preface is in some doubt but it seems clear that Buchanan is not at this point discussing the question of dedication - the Historia could have been useful to James even if not dedicated to him - but an incentive to write the work in the first place. Buchanan was appointed tutor to King James in 1570 and since in 1578 the instruction under Buchanan and Young was to continue³ it may be assumed that Buchanan was not yet unable to fulfill his duties. Hence if his tutorship to James, and more so the prevention of doing that task by ill-health, induced him to write, he must have begun the work late in his life, later than the first half of the preface suggested.

Writing the preface within a month of his death, Buchanan may well have been confused about the order of events. By a strange error in the Vita, he stated that he was given charge of James in 1565. It seems impossible to accept that Buchanan's final ill-health preceded first work on the Historia. The prefatory reference to James might have been only a piece of literary flattery, but more probably Buchanan's responsibility towards James was an influence while the book was being written. Friends pressing him to write could also be a conventional motif; perhaps their intervention was in the 1570s. From the preface, almost obscuring as much as elucidating the time of composition, we can turn to other evidence.

In Book V Buchanan, describing the Antonine Wall which he thought to have been erected by Septimius Sever^xs, mentioned that the castle of the Douglasses at Abercorn was standing one hundred and twenty years

3. Above, p.33.

ago ("qua in regione, ante CXX annos, arx valida Duglassiorum fuit Abercornum"). This was a reference to the destruction of the castle by James II, an event which Buchanan dated to 1454 (p.214e; cf. p.13a). The figure might be an approximation or could fix Book V as composed in 1574. In Book XIV⁴ Buchanan, recounting the death of James V's first wife Magdalene, noted that mourning appar^{et} first came into use at that time and was still not common thirty-nine years later ("quae, ne nunc quidem, quadragesimo post anno...admodum est frequens"). Thus Book XIV could have been written around 1576. The reference in Book XIX to Bothwell's death requires a date not before 1578.

Even if the bulk of the Historia was written consecutively, the first three books require separate consideration. They do not contain historical narrative, but Books I and II comprise mainly geographical and ethnological material while Book III is a collection of quotations on Britain from ancient authors. Moreover, the manuscript treats Books I and II as a separate work, omits III and counts IV as I.⁵ In Book IV, referring to a monument on the bank of the river Carron, Buchanan wrote, "Id opus nonnulli falso prodiderunt templum Claudii Caesaris fuisse. Nos, quantum conjectura possumus assequi, aedem Termini fuisse credimus."⁶ Describing the same building in Book I, he mentioned doubt about its builder and function and continued, "Ego certe aliquando conjectura fui inductus, ut crederem templum Termini fuisse...Neque alia res me ab hac opinione deduxisset, nisi reseissem ex hominibus fide dignis in insula quadam compluria esse aedificia, caetera quidem aediculae, cujus meminimus, similia... Duo item in Rossia simili forma sunt sacella. Ea ~~nes~~^{es}

4. p.276e. Following refs. to the Historia and from Ruddiman's edition; diphthongs are expanded.

5. Above, p. 66

6. p.65e.

suspendere sententiam me coegit." This apparent change of mind has been cited as proof that Books I and II were written after the remaining books. There may have been simply revision of, or addition to, the prior work, however, and even in Book I Buchanan was far from certain about the monument. He may have reverted to his original opinion in the narrative of IV knowing that he had already set out adequate reservations on the subject. It is clear that Books I and II were not completely laid aside early from the attack on the views of Humphrey Lloyd whose treatise on Britain was published in 1572.

A piece of external evidence which may have some bearing on the date of the composition of the Historia is the record in the Register of the Privy Seal,⁷ of a gift to Mr. Johnne Geddy, servitor to Buchanan, on 8th May 1577 for service "in writing of the chronicles of this realme and utheris lovable werkis of the said Mr. George's edition." It could perhaps be inferred that by that time the Historia was well advanced or perhaps completed in a first copy. Further information about the progress of the Historia may be gleaned from contemporary correspondence. Possibly the earliest reference to Buchanan's historical work is in a letter dated 2nd May 1555 from Ferrerius to Robert Reid. The writer mentioned that Grouchy taught in Portugal "cum Buchanano, cuius per te ad ea quae nunc molior historiam Scoticam habere cuperem." Ferrerius was acquainted with Buchanan⁸ and the reference was probably to Ferrerius' editing of Boece's history. The reasonable deduction is, "hence it would seem

7. Vol. vii.

8. Aitken, op.cit.

that Buchanan had written something on the history of Scotland in early life, many years before the publication of his great work."⁹

Daniel Rogers, ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, wrote to Buchanan from London on August 30th 1576,¹⁰ "Ante triennium (abs quo tempore nihil a te literarum accepi) spem injeceris librum illum tuum Videndi, quem de origine gentium Britannicarum scripsisti: quod si absolveris, ne quaeso ejus desiderio nos ulterius fraudes." Buchanan's reply can only be conjectured from Rogers' next letter of February 28th 1577¹¹ in which he wrote, "Vehementi desiderio teneor videndi Historiam, in qua scribis te totum occupari. Faxit Deus Opt. Max. ut valetudo tibi contingat prospera, ut ad finem pertexas inchoata."

Rogers confirmed that he was looking forward to reading Buchanan on the origin of the British races, added that he was right to censure Lloyd and repeated at the end his wish that Buchanan would have health to complete his task. Man¹² thought that Buchanan would have mentioned to Rogers in 1573 his plans for a full history if he had had any, and that Books I-III were therefore written first.

In a letter¹³ to the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe dated 6th September 1576 at Stirling Buchanan stated that he had been ill for two years, "adeo ut cum multa alia leviora sim coactus intermittere, tum quinque libros de Sphaera jam dimidiatos omittere, ac spem scribendi carminis in posterum penitus abjicere." A letter¹⁴ to

9. Pollen, Papal Negotiations (S.H.S.37), p.416.

10. Ep. XIV.

11. Printed in Ruddiman's preface, p.xx, as having come to his notice later.

12. Censure, p.23.

13. Ep. XV.

14. H. Brown ed., Vernacular Writings.

Randolph, Stirling, August 25th 1577, recorded that "as for the present, I am occupied in writing of our history" despite trouble with gout. "As to the end of it, if ye get it not ere this winter be past, lippen not for it, nor none other writings from me." Man¹⁵ suggested that he did not then intend to proceed beyond Book XIV. Randolph, writing on March 15th 1579,¹⁶ expressed his anxiety to see the history, "This puttith me in Mynd of many thinges more great Prayse worthie donne by yow, especially the Historie of our whole Isle, wherein I may ^uirstly complayne of you, my good Maister, that I shall not have so much as a sight thereof, before myne Eyes be cleane shutt up", as did Rogers, August 5th,¹⁷ particularly in order to compare it with Leslie's work. Buchanan's health was still poor; writing to Rogers, Edinburgh, November 9th 1579,¹⁸ he commented that age had forced him to stop work on the Sphaera and told of the slow progress of the Historia: "Accessit eo historiae scribende labor, in aetate integra permolestus, nunc vero in hac meditatione mortis, inter mortalitatis metum et desinendi pudorem, non potest non lentus esse et ingratus; quando nec cessare licet nec progredi libet." Edward Balkeley, Chester, November 28th 1580,¹⁹ hoped that Buchanan's health would allow completion of the Historia: "Audio te in historia tua conscribenda diu desudasse, quam omnes pii et docti avidissime expectant." Hubert Languet, Delft, 20th February 1581,²⁰ was anxious to know when the work would be published. On March 16th 1581

15. Censure, p.42.

16. Ep. XXII.

17. Ep. XXV.

18. Ep. XXVII.

19. Ep. XXXV.

20. Ep. XXXVI.

Buchanan wrote to Elias Vinet of Bordeaux,²¹ "Ego vero literis jamdudum valedixi: nunc id unum satago, ut quam minimo cum strepitu, ex inaequalium meorum, hoc est mortuus e vivorum contubernio dimigrem." The last extant letter of Buchanan's was to Theodore Beza, Edinburgh, 15th July 1581:²² "quando/ueri superioris vitae rationem non possum, officiorum vicissitudine, omissis laboribus quibus jamdudum non sufficio, silentio indulgebo." Besides this correspondence, account should be taken of the anecdote in Mr. James Melvill's Diary, where the author recorded a visit to Buchanan in September 1582 shortly before his death. The printer had apparently reached Book XVII while Buchanan had been completing the preface. One final piece of evidence is a letter in the Salisbury papers²³ from Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley, 18th September 1578, noting that "Mr. Buchanan hath ended his story, written to the death of the Earl of Murray, and proposes to command it to print shortly; but one thing of late hath been withdrawn from him, which he trusted to recover, or else to supply of new with son travail." What this "one thing" was remains something of an enigma. It may have been a draft version of part of the Historia, perhaps Books I and II or the section on Mary's reign, and its disappearance may have delayed publication.

Conclusions from this evidence are difficult to draw. Illness may have made Buchanan excessively pessimistic at times: he cannot have entirely "bade farewell to literature" by March 1581 if he was writing the preface in autumn the following year. Rumours, not all

21. Ep. XXXVII.

22. Ep. XXXIX.

23. H.M.C. ii. 203.

accurate, about his literary activities no doubt circulated.²⁴ A meticulous examination of Buchanan's vocabulary might help to establish the truth²⁵ but differences in subject-matter might hinder deductions. It seems certain, however, that the Historia was composed in the author's last years against a background of ill-health, and that infirmity, ~~w~~ weariness or inclination prompted him to stop rather than refusal, for political reasons, to discuss Morton's regency. The fact that correspondents seem to have known of his ethnographical work suggests that Books I-III were written earlier, and that Ferrerius was referring to some such work. It is unlikely that Buchanan, in ill-health, could have turned back to the philological exactitudes of the first books, other than for revision; they seem more attuned to the interests of his earlier years. In this respect, Innes and Man took a view preferable to that of Ruddiman and Trevor-Roper.

Apart from the time of composition, one may also question what is known about Buchanan's motives and purposes in writing the Historia. Although there is more external evidence on the composition of the Historia than for Boece's history, Boece and Leslie had more expansive introductions. All three historians, and also Major, occasionally made illuminating asides in the text. It has ~~alrea~~ already been seen that Buchanan claimed in the preface that one motive was the education of James. He contrasted poetry with history, the former being more for delight than tradition, and he wanted James to benefit from the Historia: "statui fidos ex Historia monitores ad te mittere, quorum consilio in deliberationibus uti, et in re ~~gen~~enda imitari virtutum

24. There were widespread rumours that Sibelius was writing an eighth symphony, a musical parallel for false artistic speculation.

25. As, for instance, L. Campbell determined the order of Plato's works by stylometry.

queas." Exactly how to interpret this purpose is uncertain. Major, Boece and Leslie all expected their work to provide some kind of moral or political instruction. Major sought to tell not only what happened and how, but whether it happened rightly or wrongly. Boece believed that his work contained examples of virtue and vice and that it would be helpful to James V: "cognosces...ex hoc historia...quonam pacto potissimum ipse quoque regnum istud tuum quam optime administrare debeas." Leslie was convinced of the "utilite and proff~~e~~it" of histories and in his Latin "Paraenesis" discussed the moral lessons of history from a staunch Catholic viewpoint. Furthermore, Buchanan may have been aware of the long European debate about the nature and function of history. Thucydides believed that his work would be an aid to the interpretation of human affairs in general: "ἔσσι δὲ βουλευσούτων τε γενομένων το σάφες δικόπειν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτε αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιοῦτων κκι παραπλησίων ἔδεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει." ²⁶ Gomme noted, however, ²⁷ that "ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν" "does not mean that he thought of his work as a practical handbook for statesmen." The idea of history as a guide for statesmen did become prominent, on the other hand, in Polybius. The predecessors whom he mentioned as "φασικόντες ἀληθευσιτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις τὴν εἰς τῆς ἱστορίας μαθηδὴν" were "not identifiable," ²⁸ but Polybius's own discussions of causality were often directed towards statesmen, as in the sentence "τι δ' ἀνδρὸς πολιτικοῦ μὴ δυναμένου βυλλογιζέσθαι πως καὶ διὰ τι καὶ ποθεν εἰκάσται τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς

26. I. 22.4.

27. Commentary, ad loc.

28. I.1.2 and Walbark, Commentary, ad loc.

ἀφορμὴς ἐλήφεν;"²⁹ Subsequent ancient historians made various modifications to the benefits which they thought would accrue from history.³⁰ Buchanan's position was of particular interest since, whatever his views on the purpose of history, he also had direct responsibility for educating a monarch; if he thought of a classical parallel it might have been less the value of history than Plato's views on the "philosopher-king." Gatherer, indeed, thought that the aim of educating James "precluded any effort to interpret the past in the light of objective truth." Yet it is difficult to see that the aim of educating James can have influenced the Historia to any great degree. Even Buchanan's views on Queen Mary were formed by other considerations, some of them essentially political, which were independent of the position regarding her successor. The dedication to James was probably more of a literary flourish; doubtless Buchanan wanted to impart to James his own opinions, but these opinions would have been the same had James not been present.

Some clues to Buchanan's purpose in the Historia may be found in the text itself. In the opening sentence, for example, Buchanan mentioned his desire to preserve the past from oblivion, to eliminate fable and to provide a suitable geographical background to his work: "Cum res gestas maiorum nostrorum a fabularum vanitate liberare et ab oblivionis iniuria vindicare statuissem; non ab re mihi facturum videbar, si a primordio usque repeterem (quantum in tanto intervallo temporum, et literarum primum egestate, deinde calamitate, fieri posset)

29. III. 7.5.

30. See further, chapter seven.

qui regionum situs, quod soli coelique sit ingenium, quae vetusta nomina et mores, qui primi cultores fuerint insularum, quae veteribus Britanniae vocantur; quaeque inter Hispanias et Germaniam magno terrarum spatio Galliae praetenduntur." The disdain of fable was reiterated at the beginning of Book IV: "Cum nostrae gentis historiam scribere aggredieremur, quo reliqua magis aperta legentibus essent, parca visum est supra repetere: sed ea potissimum, quae a fabularum vanitate abessent, et a vetustis rerum scriptoribus non dissentirent." The "fables" to which Buchanan objected were presumably the extended myth about the origin of the Scots and other legendary material such as about Arthur and Macbeth. The aim of keeping the past alive recurred in Book II³¹ along with a generous willingness to be corrected: "Hic autem labor a nobis est susceptus ut nos majoribus, ac majores nobis, redderemus. Id si praestitimus, non est quod nos poeniteat quantulicunque in re non maxima laboris: sin minus, etiam qui sententiae nostrae non accedent, voluntatem tamen opinor non improburos. Ego vero tantum abest ut haec refelli moleste feram, ut, si quis certiora doceat, ac de errore me deducat, ei maximam gratiam sim habiturus." Later Buchanan sought to confirm that he placed truth higher than personal pride: he refuted Lloyd "non studio reprehendendi (quod a nobis procul abest)"³² but to show the lack of substance in Lloyd's own attacks on other writers. The phrase was reminiscent of Tacitus' "sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo"³³ and it might be questioned how far the claim of Buchanan, like that of Tacitus, was justified.

31. P.40B.

32. P.440.

33. Ann. I. 1.

The correspondence which shed^s some light on the progress of the Historia also contributed a little evidence on Buchanan's conception of the work. In letters to Randolph he stated, "I am besy with our story of Scotland to purge it of sum Inglis lyis and Scottis vanite" and later, "I am occupit in writyng of our historie, being assurit to content few, and to displease mony that throw." "English lies" which Buchanan sought to combat might possibly have included failure to recognise an ancient civilised constitutional monarchy, but more likely in his mind were the specific points where he contradicted English writers, such as Athelstan's alleged ^{ul}rise over the whole of Britain, the captivity of James I and the fate of James IV at Flodden. "Scottish vanity" probably referred to the fable on the origin of the race but also to exaggerated claims on behalf of Scottish achievements, such as the work of Dempster and Boece's assertion of the Scot^{ot}'s part in defeating the Romans and perhaps in addition to more detailed flights of fancy like Boece's etymology of Dundee as "Deidonum". Buchanan's estimation that his work would "content few and displease many" could have been a reflection of his dismissal of "Scottish vanity" or realisation that his treatment of the contemporary period would be controversial although his point of view may well not have been that of a minority. Too much emphasis should perhaps not be placed on these incidental references but they have the same kind of interest as the anecdote from Mr. James Melvill's Diary. He, his uncle and Thomas Buchanan visited the printer's workshop where the Historia had been produced as far as Book XVII - "at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steyng the hail wark, anent the burial of Davie." They stopped

the printer and returned to Buchanan. "Mr. Thomas, his cusing, schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his Storie, that the king wald be offendit with it, and it might stey all the wark. 'Tell me man,' sayes he, 'giff I have tauld the treuthe?' 'Yis,' sayes Mr. Thomas, 'Sir, I think sa.' 'I will byd his feud, and all his kin's then' quoth he: 'Pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all.'" Finally it should be remembered that Buchanan referred to many writers who pursued historical inquiry in various forms and must have played some part in determining his approach. They ranged from the major ancient historians and Suetonius, Pliny and Varro to English authors from Bede to Geoffrey of Monmouth, besides of course Major and Boece. Many authors were referred to only for details in Books I-III and Buchanan did not explicitly follow any one in particular. In the text, however, he occasionally discussed different interpretations and there were a few general comments including, on Caesar, "principatum tribuendum existimavi, vel ob diligentiam in indagando, vel cognitionis certitudinem, vel explicandi sinceritatem" and, on Tacitus, "auctor gravissimus" and "non minore fide quam diligentia scriptor."

From this evidence it can be deduced that Buchanan had a genuine interest in the past and in recording Scotland's history, that he wanted to eliminate some of the more fantastic episodes which had been handed down and that he intended to adopt a serious and uncompromising tone. Yet he did not state overtly the purpose of his work; therefore an assessment of his aims and success in achieving them must depend on interpretation of the text itself.

Buchanan began the Historia with a brief description of Albium³⁴

34. "Cum res...", quoted above, p. 89

and a discussion of proper names relating to the British Isles. Some time was spent in rejecting the views of Lloyd and Eliot respectively that Prudania and Prytaneia were the old forms of the name Britannia. Buchanan's tone was hostile, particularly to Lloyd. In literary matters he was prepared to allow for difference of taste: "Quod si quis ita Musis iratis est natus, ut Catonis et Ennii sermonem potius amet quam Ciceronis et Terentii, et, inventis frugibus, glandibus tamen vesci malit, jubeamus miserum esse, libenter quatenus id facit." This controversy was more serious: "sed haec nostra disputatio non est de puritate et elegantia sermonis Latini." Philology was, however, clearly an interest of Buchanan's and his opinion was that *Album* (as in *Albion* or *Albium*) denoted altitude, although on this etymological point he was prepared to be corrected: "Haec etsi nobis aut vera, aut veris proxima, videntur, tamen si quis assert meliora, facile in ejus sententiam transibimus." Having disposed of this controversy over nomenclature he turned to geographical description, confining his work to Scotland, since English writers had covered their territory adequately, whereas Boece needed some supplementation: "Hector autem Boethius in Scotiae descriptione quaedam parum vere prodidit, et alios in errorem induxit; dum ipse, quibus ea inquirendi dedit negotium, nimis credulus, eorum sententiam temere vulgavit. Nos, quae comperta erunt nobis, leviter et perfunctorie attingemus, quae aut obscure, aut minus vere, prodita videbuntur, quoad poterimus, corrigemus." His description proceeded in general from south to north, east to west, but the islands ("quae pars historiae Britannicae maximis erroribus est implicata") received towards twice as much discussion as the rest of the country, in the order the western isles

from south to north, the Orkneys and, at less length, the Shetlands. Ruddiman noted that some further lines on the Orkneys in the manuscript had not been printed. Buchanan's interest in derivations continued: Lothian from Lothus, king of Picts, Gallovid meaning a Gaul, Cunningham being Danish for "residence of a king" and hence once held by the Danes. Some points of historical interest included his denial that Camelodunum was in Scotland or the capital of the Picts (Abernethy was their ancient royal seat) and that Claudius came to Scotland, and his report without judgement that some identified Evonia with Dunstaffnage. Buchanan pointed out some errors of Boece (correcting him, for instance, over the name Hebrides which became familiar through Bellenden). For the islands he claimed to follow more recent writers, especially Donald Monro, High Dean of the Isles: "In primis antem Donaldum Monroum sequemur, hominem et prium et diligentem, qui eas omnes et ipse peragravit et oculis perlustravit." This part of the Historia was thus dated to after 1549. Among Buchanan's more surprising remarks was the suggestion that the absence of trees in Orkney was a consequence of the people's inactivity and the location of Loch Awe in Knapdale. Book I ended with a note on the prodigious longevity of a Shetlander by the name of Lawrence. Geographical description was an accepted part of ancient historical writing and Major followed this fashion before discussing the fables concerning racial origins. Starting from the uncommon phrase "Britannia Major"³⁵ he tended to generalise on the way of life rather than provide detailed topographical information although he was

35. Mackay's n. ad init.

obviously familiar with some places such as the Bass Rock. Of Boece it was said that "his geographical knowledge appears to have been inadequate; and, accordingly, his description of Scotland is inaccurate."³⁶ Boswell, for instance, noted that Boece had reckoned Loch Ness to be twelve miles wide. Leslie had access to material in Lily's map of 1546 but he added information on the north and north-west on "places obviously known to him though his travels in the Bishopric of Ross." Besides the map in his De Origine, Leslie prepared a larger map copied from Ortelius' map of 1573, making some additions himself.³⁷

At the beginning of Book II Buchanan reviewed the difficulties besetting him on his historical quest: "repetentⁱ mihi rerum Britannicarum memoriam supra duo millia annorum." These consisted of the paucity of early records, the unreliability of poetical writers and the possible absurdity or discord even of "scriptores rerum gestarum." Consequently, "modestius esse reor, quae nescias silendo, pudori servire, quam, falsa comminiscendo, tuam impudentiam prodere, et aliorum iudicia contemnere." He went on to criticise the English fable of Brutus and the origin of the Britons and was equally sceptical of the Scottish fable of Cathelus: "Qui Scotorum ~~res~~ literis prodiderunt, honestiorem, ut ipsis visum, originem ediderunt; sed nihilo Brittonum nobilitate minus fabulosam." He expressed his own opinion, namely the Gallic origin of the Scots and Britons, having made this defence to the reader: "Haec fere de origine suae gentis

36. Introd. to Bellenden's history, p.xxvii. A translation of Boece's Description was included in Mackenzie's Writers of the Scots Nation vol. 2 (Edin., 1711).

37. R.F.G.S., The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850.

traduntur: quae si cui pluribus, quam res poscat, prosecutus esse videar, is velim ex adverso consideret, quam pertinaciter quidam haec, tanquam Palladium coelo demissum, propugnent. Id si fecerit, non dubito, quin adversariorum pervicacia sit cum nobis minus iniquum redditura." He undertook to discuss the Picts, Saxons, Danes and Normans, whose history "nihil monstri continet", later. An extensive list of place-names was part of the proof of links between Gaul and Britain and another link was religion in the form of Druidism. The Scots were thought to have come from Gauls in Spain, the Picts from Germanic or Northern Gauls and the Britons from eastern Gauls. In his use of linguistic evidence Buchanan realised that language altered with time and that names changed (the British now known as Scots and English were previously called Albins and Saxons). A summary of the inhabitants of Britain as a whole and reference to his purpose ("Hic autem labor"³⁸) suggested that the author had in mind to end the section here, as indeed he stated: "Statueram huic disputationi, quae est de origine Britannicarum gentium, hic finem imponere, nisi Luddus me invitum retraxisset, dum Scotos Pictosque non ita pridem in Albium verisse contendit." His contempt for Lloyd had already appeared in his discussion of the names of the Britons, Picts and Scots. Although the tone of the remaining part of the book was polemical or at least rhetorical ("Tu vero, lector, nec Luddo, nec mihi, sed tuis oculis crede, et utriusque scriptoris locos diligenter expende"). Buchanan seemed to have the better of the argument, as when he refuted Lloyd's claim that the Caledonii were Brittones because they **were** called Britanni, and in his handling of philological

38. Quoted above, p. 90

evidence generally (for example, "possum et ego eum rogare, cum tot Graeci et Latini ~~res~~ Graecorum mandarint memoriae, cur nemo Graecus Graecos, aut Romanus Hellenas, nominat?"). Buchanan thought that although Boece made some errors (he wrongly located the Brigantes in Galloway, attributed the actions of others against the Romans to the Scots and made Gildo a Scot) he was learned and courteous and did not merit Lloyd's fierce attack. The point of Buchanan's criticism of Lloyd may have been that Lloyd was old-fashioned in seeking to prove the English fable superior to the Scottish one. Buchanan was not so much concerned to support the Scottish fable as to see that criticism of it was based on a sure foundation.³⁹ He ended the book with the admonition to Lloyd, "Loripedem rectus derideat, Aethiopem albus", having previously noted that "ira", "odium", and "invidia" could distort a historian's judgement and declaimed "studium reprehendendi".⁴⁰

Book III was wholly comprised of excerpts from ancient writers on Britain: Caesar, Tacitus (Agricola), Cicero (Familiar Epistles), Orosius, Solinus, Herodian, Marcellinus, Dion, Bede and the Epistle of Gildas.

39. See further, chapter eight.

40. Quoted above, p. 90

Chapter Five

Buchanan opened his narrative with a summary of Boece's Book I which ended with the death of the legendary Fergus I. On the origin of the Scots, Buchanan omitted the story of Gathelus and Mediterranean voyaging. The Scots left Spain for Ireland and neighbouring islands and after the arrival of a Pictish ship (German or Scythian) the Picts migrated to Albium and with the co-operation of the Scots populated what is now known as Scotland. The phrasing "constans fama est, quam plurima etiam indicia confirmant" suggests some caution on Buchanan's part in accepting a traditional story; Boece too used words like "memorant". When the Britons, under King Coilus, threatened to sow discord between the Scots and Picts, Fergus I, son of Ferchard, was summoned from Ireland to be king of the Scots as he was "omnium Scotorum et consilio et manu primus habitus"; the threat from the Britons was warded off. If the Scots and Picts have intermarried it is not clear how after a generation their differences are made manifest. Buchanan did not repeat the extended discussions on territorial allocations, Scottish-Pictish relations, and Fergus's appointment which appeared in Boece's history, nor Fergus's victory speech ("Quam manifesto (inquit) decorum favore, viri fortissimi, hostes viceritis"); but the scene where the Scots directed the Picts to the Scottish mainland was amplified. After Fergus's success, the Scots "ei posterisque ejus regnum jurejurando confirmarunt" and when he died the arrangement, which was to stand for many years, in the event of a regency was made: "Haec postea perpetuo lex valuit, per annos fere MCC, LXXIV usque ad Kennethum Tertium, de quo suo loco dicemus."

The next few kings were allotted less space than, but in much the same proportion as, in Boece's history. Length of reign was less important than events: for example Mainus's twenty-nine years of pious rule received about one sixth of the attention given to the rule of Ferithan's, when the constitution was under duress. The first tyrannical ruler was Nothatus; under his successor Reutha there was internal dissension following Nothatus' violent removal from office and the appointment of a new king by a faction rather than the people. Boece attributed to Ferchard, the leader against the faction, a long speech. Buchanan, like Boece, noted that Bede called Reutherus ~~Reutha~~; he explained the name Dalren^udini (DAAL enim Scotorum lingua partem significat) but passed by Bede's view that the first crossing of the Scots to Scotland was under Re^uda. Buchanan's references to the Scots' relations with other nations were curt: he omitted Boece's account of the arrival of ambassadors from Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, beginning a geographical project completed by Ptolemy of Alexandria in the time of Hadrian.

Often notable is Buchanan's apparently deliberate choice of words not used by Boece to convey the same or almost the same meaning. He used "Prorex" for Boece's "Interrex (nunc gubernatorem dicunt)": of Conanus he said "electus" (sc.est), Boece "communi suffragio c^ograre" and the same king was "homopprudens ac sever^us" in Buchanan's history, ^{in Boece's.} "virum inter eos praecipua semper autoritate" [^] Buchanan referred to "medicos" for Boece's "chirurgos" and under Finnanus' reign an important constitutional development was recorded by Buchanan, "decretum fecit, 'Ne quid Reges, quod majoris esset momenti, nisi de publici

consilii auctoritate, juberent'" and by Boece, "Sanxit...ut regia publicaque negocia haud sine patrum consultatione, ac ductu tractarentur." Two opportunities to discuss religion were ignored by Buchanan. Under king Josina Boece recorded the arrival of two shipwrecked philosophers who criticised the Egyptian anthropomorphic religion, with worship of Apis and Isis and belief in the divinity of celestial bodies, which was then practised in Scotland. Somewhat simplistically Buchanan commented on the twenty-four years of Josina's reign, "nihil in ullam partem gessisse memorabile fertur, nisi quod medicos in honore summo habuit." Finnanus, in Boece's account, strengthened religion and was an early advocate of toleration ("Cuique faciens potestatem deo quem elegerit litandi"). Finnanus was said, too, to have been instrumental in establishing the Druid community at Mona (Angelsey), which was then almost joined to Brigantia. The "Durcenglii", in the old Scottish tongue, were "ecclesiae duces."

Evenus I was attributed with being the first king to extract an oath of allegiance from his subjects and with instituting a system, subsequently to go into desuetude, of local justices. Boece, but not Buchanan, credited him with the building of Evonium or Douvvstaffage ("castrum Stephani"). Both writers assigned the foundation of Inverlochy (Ennerlothea) and Inverness (Ennernessa) to Evenus II: "ENNER enim prisca Scoti vocant locum, quo naves appellere possunt," Buchanan explained. Both mentioned an insurrection from the Orkneys but Buchanan omitted a long consolatory speech by this king to Caduallus who lost booty in a storm after defeating an insurgent branch of the royal family.

Buchanan's comments on Ederus, Euenus III and Metellanus stemmed almost wholly from Boece. Prominent topics included the island revolts quelled by Ederus (Buchanan named the rebel leader Bredius, Boece Murketus), the unworthy character and pernicious legislation of Euenus ("ut cuiuis liceret, pro opibus quot alere posset uxores ducere: ut Rex ante nuptias sponsarum nobilium, nobiles plebeiarum praelibarent pudicitiam: ut plebeiorum uxores cum nobilitate communes essent" - the second right was not revoked until the time of Malcolm Canmore) and tranquillity under Metellanus. But we have now reached the first century B.C. and under Ederus Boece spent some time on the invasions of Julius Caesar, the first of which is dated "Ante incarnatum Christum dominum, [annus] sexagesimus." The subject was introduced when ambassadors from Cassibilanus, king of the Britons, asked Ederus for help against the impending invasion. Forces were contributed by the Scots and Caesar was repulsed. But the next year the Britons, over-confident, rejected the Scots' offer of assistance and were overcome by Caesar. When the Scots and Picts refused to agree to Caesar's terms, he planned to invade the north but was required prematurely to return to Gaul. Boece explicitly rejected, following Veremundus, the theory that Caesar led forces "ad Caledoniam sylvam", plundered the Pictish capital Camelodunum and left "Iulis Hoff" by the river Carron. Diplomatic steps were in Boece's account often accompanied by full-scale speeches.

The first reference, however, by Buchanan to the Romans was his caution ("Nec temere tamen crediderim") in accepting the view of "nostri scriptores", Orosius, Eutropius and Bede, that under Caratacus

the Orkneys were conquered by Claudius Caesar, because Tacitus stated that the region was unknown to the Romans before the time of Agricola. Boece included this episode on the authority of Tranquillus, Eutropius and Bede, having already accepted the testimony of Strabo (using "Britannia" for "tota Albio") that Metellanus sent gifts to Augustus. He recorded the names of the distinguished writers of late republican Rome and narrated Claudius's dealings with the Britons under Guiderius who sent ambassadors to Caratacus. The latter played a large part in resistance to the Romans (his sister Voada was married to Arviragus of the Britons) before dying in 54 A.D. Buchanan's scanty notice of Caratacus, on the other hand, suggested that he looked on the eighteenth Scottish king as of separate identity from the British leader, to whom Boece largely devoted his Book III. Boece also reckoned Corbredus I to have fought the Romans, but Buchanan wrote of Corbredus II ("Galdus", i.e. foreigner - "Sunt qui hunc Galgacum a Tacito appellari existiment"), "Hic, opinor, primus Regum Scotorum signa cum Romanis contulit, imperio eorum pacillatim se ad fines ipsius propagante." He continued with a concise account of Agricola's campaigns, following Tacitus¹ even to the motive for Agricola's recall: "Neque quisquam dubitabat, quin Agricola totam Britanniam armis pacaturus esset, nisi a Domitiano, non ad honorem ostentatum, sed ad necem revocatus fuisset." Galdus occupied Boece's Book IV.

Under Mogaldus Buchanan expressed surprise that Bede had omitted mention of Hadrian's Wall ("Huius valli, cum adhuc pluribus in locis exstant vestigia, miror a Beda mentionem penitus omissam, praesertim cum e Latinis Aelius Spartianus in Hadriano, e Graecis Herodianus in

1. Agr. 43.2, "constans rumor veneno interceptum."

Severo, meminerit") and noted in passing that some had erred in naming Severus as the builder ("Nec enim mihi persuadere possum, in eo fuisse Bedam error^e, qui plerosque adhuc tenet, hoc vallum, non ab Hadriano, sed a Severo fuisse factum." Boece, also referring to Aelius Spartianus, called it Hadrian's Wall, following the Romans and Veremundus; "nostri annales" recorded that it was begun by Hadrian but completed by Septimius Severus, whence "Scoticarum rerum vulgationes scriptores" called it Severus' wall. It is likely, however, that when Buchanan under the next king, Conarus, mentioned Lollius Urbicus's repairs to the wall he was confused with the building of Antonine's Wall. Boece reported improvements to Hadrian's Wall by Calpurnius under Ethodius' reign. The conflict of Mogaldus with the Romans was, as usual, treated much more expansively by Boece. Both he and Buchanan criticised the continuance down to their own time of one piece of Mogaldus' legislation: in Buchanan's words, "Mogaldus legem iniquissimam condidit; 'Ut damnatorum bona fisco addicerentur, nullam in partem liberis et uxoribus admissis'. Eam legem, etsi omnibus iniquam et inhumanam, et tum intelligerent, et nunc intelligant, tamen a fisci procuratoribus, qui Regum cupiditatibus lenocinantur, haec etiam aetate defenditur." The people refused his successor, Conarus's request for a census to supplement royal funds; he was imprisoned and Argadus ("Argatheliae princeps", Boece) was appointed "gubernator" (Boece), "Prorex" (Buchanan). Argadus started well, deteriorated and repented before Ethodius I succeeded. Buchanan mentioned nothing of the Romans during Ethodius' thirty-year reign, but Boece implied that his resistance to the legate Aulus Victorinus was a factor in the emperor Marcus Antonius Aurelius

Caesar's replacing him by Calphurnius Agricola, said to be a grandson of "praestantissimus omnium ducum Romanorum qui venere in Albionem." Before rounding off his account of Ethodius with his hunting legislation ("multas venaticas leges fecit, quarum magna pars adhuc servatur" according to Buchanan) Boece recorded events under the Roman legate Tribellius who was replaced by Pertinax; when the latter succeeded Commodus Antoninus as emperor Trebellius became legate again.

The reign of Donald had some significance since he was stated to be the first Christian king of Scots (although neither he nor the next kings were able to extinguish utterly the old rites). Buchanan mentioned this development more curtly than Boece and Leslie, who took the opportunity to emphasise Scotland's fidelity. Secondly Donald's reign saw the invasion by Severus. This event also was given more background explanation in Boece: the Briton Fulgentius, irritated at Roman treatment, asked the Scots and Picts for help. Sources mentioned at this point were Herodian, Spartianus and "nostri annales" in Boece, Dion in Buchanan. Buchanan also stated that Severus built a "vallum" between the Forth and Clyde. Where it neared the river Carron a fortification was built which some had falsely thought to be Camelodurum but was probably the city which Bede called 'Guidi'. Buchanan quoted words of Aelius Spartianus to show that "mur^us" seemed a better description than Bede's "vallum". Buchanan associated the nearby monuments of "Duni Pacis" and what he thought was a shrine of Terminus rather than a temple of Claudius Caesar with the peace at the end of Donald's reign. Boece was

confined to saying that Severus' son, Antonius, strengthened Hadrian's Wall, and Buchanan may have been able to use recent archaeological evidence: "Paucis antequam haec scriberemus annis, vestigia fossarum et murorum, item vicorum, apparebant, nec adhuc muri diruti omnino ita confusa sunt indicia, ut non interim se multis in locis prodant."

Boece referred to archaeological finds in another connection. He said that Donald, to mark his acceptance of Christianity, was the first of the Scots to issue coinage. As evidence that formerly Scots had used Roman or British coinage, he recorded finds of Roman coins near Leven, Fife, in 1519 and in Moray in 1460. Buchanan did not mention coinage here.

The narrative under the next few kings mainly concerned dynastic and western island quarrels and some strife with the Picts; under Crathilinthus the Romans became prominent again as the exile Carausius quarrelled with Roman authority. Constantius Chlorus married Helen, daughter of King Coel, and their son was the emperor Constantine; as Buchanan put it, "nec Asclepiodotus...nec Constantius Chlo^{ri} quicquam in Britannia memoratu dignum gessit, nisi quod...Constantinum...genuit." Both Boece and Buchanan mentioned the flourishing of religion in Scotland about this time in association with the "Culdei" ("cultores dei" as they etymologised²) but the former dated it before Crathilinthus' reign, the latter after. Boece added that the culdee monks elected a "pontifex" who, according to "nostri annales" was for many years called "Scotorum episcopus". Buchanan noted that the culdees survived until driven out by a new type of monks: "mansitque nomen et institutum, donec monachorum genus recentius in

2. Buchanan at p.97.

plures divisum sectas, eos expulit: tanto doctrina et pietate illis inferius, quanto divitiis et caerimoniis, caeteroque cultu externo, quibus oculos capiunt et animos infatuant, sunt superiores."

Buchanan ignored an excursus by Boece on St. Andrews, prompted by the alleged transference of St. Andrew's remains by Regulus Albatus to the former port of Otholonia in 369 A.D. The Pictish king ~~Hein~~gustus and later Malcolm (the Maiden) and Robert Bruce were said to have built in St. Andrews; Prior John Hepburn undertook restoration ("opera ac industria viri multa nobilitate et generis et virtutis praeclari"). One of Hepburn's praiseworthy acts according to Boece was to nominate as his successor his "nepos ex fratre" Patrick to complete his work - "uti iam omnibus spes est."

The climax to Buchanan's Book IV came when the Roman legate Maximus sought to conquer the whole country. The Scots were defeated by the combined Roman, British and Pictish forces and their king Eugenius, allocated a pre-battle speech by Boece, was killed. The Picts eventually persuaded the Romans to expel the Scots who made a vain attempt to regain their territory and then accepted peaceful exile. After the deaths of Maximus (now emperor), Constantine and Gratianus, the Roman legate Victorinus irritated the Picts by proposing more stringent obedience to Rome. The Picts repented of their harshness towards the Scots and sent a secret embassy to the exiled survivors. At the beginning of Book V Buchanan related the travels abroad of "Fergusius filius Erthi", heir to the kingship, who had spent some time in Scandinavia. He accepted the offer of restoration, facilitated by the withdrawal of Roman troops following continental rebellions; the exiled Scots "in Argatheliam appulerunt"

(Boece said that Fergus arrived in Moray from Scandinavia) and Fergus was declared king.

In Book V Buchanan embarked on historical material: that is, it is accepted that in the post-Roman period Scots from Ireland came to inhabit Scotland, under King Fergus son of Erc, and that the race later displaced in some way the Picts. As before, Buchanan proceeded by notices often of a paragraph or so³ on each king. Much of his narrative was concerned with the relations of peoples in Britain following the Romans' departure and with the Scottish royal dynasty. His main sources were Fordun and Boece both of whom he mentioned. He also referred⁴ to "Liber Pasletensis", a version of the Scotichronⁿon.⁵ The date of commencement of the Scottish kingship is dubious and Buchanan quoted the alternatives 401, 403 and 404. Boece and Leslie suggested 422. Ruddiman pointed out that whereas Buchanan postulated twenty-seven years' exile, others postulated forty-three or forty-four; that Fordun and Major thus dated the Scots' expulsion in 360, Boece and Leslie in 378 and Buchanan in 376; and that a date of 360 conflicted with the agreement that the expulsion took place under Maximus. In one of a number of references to Bede, Buchanan made a historical error: "Qui ex Beda contendunt, hunc pri^mum fuisse Scotorum in Britanniam adventum, eos ejus historia manifesti mendacii coarguit." The contention was correct, even though Buchanan was right that Bede did not support it. At p.75 he interpreted Bede's "uncinatis telis" as "dorydrepanis, aut falcibus

3. Ruddiman's text, but not the first editions, were printed in paragraphs.

4. e.g. p.73.

5. Presumably "The Black Book of Paisley" (D.N.B., s.v. Bower).

muralibus." At p.78 he quoted letters from the Britons to the consul Aëtius, cited in Bede, partly to show "in ratione temporum exponenda, quantus sit apud plerosque scriptores error." The point seemed to be that Buchanan had just related that Constantine's son had, largely through the efforts of Vortigernus, been made king of Britons. Bede's reference made the date 446. On the other hand Boece was narrating this incident⁶ under the reign of Congallus, about 480.

Buchanan's series of kings in essence followed those of Fordun and Boece. There were some more serious differences with the king-lists: for example Eugenius II, Constantine I and Eugonius III did not appear in List F.⁷ It is evident from Buchanan's work that he was aware of some differences in the traditional accounts: on Eugenius II he noted, "De Eugenio..duplex est fama: alii in praelio trans Humbrum interisse, alii morbo extinctum scribunt." Fordun mentioned the alternatives; Boece⁸ implied that he died peacefully. Buchanan expressed his preference for Fordun's version ("ego Joanni Fordono magis accedo, qui in Scotichronico tradit") that Constantine reigned twenty years and died through illness, rather than the "vulgatior fama" that he was assassinated after fifteen (according to Boece, seventeen) years. In reference to Kinnatellus, Buchanan commented, "Sunt qui, hoc omisso, Aidanum statim Convallo subjiçant. Verum plures auctores inter eos Kinnatellum inserunt." At p.88, the wording "vel magistratum negligentia, vel (ut quidam crediderunt) culpa" may have been intended to reflect either a difference in

6. P. CXL, l.70. More references are given to Boece, since passages are more difficult to locate than in Op.Om.

7. As printed in Anderson, Kings and Kingship.

8. p. CXXXV, l.51.

Buchanan's authorities or alternative strands of contemporary opinion; a little later "alii scribunt" did indicate variations in the story. Buchanan and Fordun said that Fergus III (who succeeded Eugenius VIII in the former, VII in the latter) was poisoned by his wife, Boece that he was strangled. The story which Fordun appended to the poisoning, Boece appended to the strangling; Buchanan included it with strangling under the phrase "alii scribunt". The parallel from Augustine's City of God about Lucretia was fully illustrated by Fordun, referred to in Boece's index, but not mentioned by Buchanan. Other occasions where Buchanan was exercising some critical judgement were indicated by "Eos ut sequar magis inclinat animus" (that Graemus was British) and "Venior, opinor, haec est Aurelii Ambrosii origo".

Among points of more historical interest in Buchanan's narrative was the repetition of Fordun's report⁹ that under Eugenius II the Romans built a "murus" where Severus had built a "vallum" from coast to coast - i.e. Antonine's Wall, which was in fact built in the second century A.D. About the time of Eugenius' reign Palladius was said to have arrived from Rome; he was believed to have been appointed the first bishop in Scotland and to have encouraged such as Ninian and Kentigern. A hint of the author's ecclesiastical interest came when he explained that until that time the church had been administered without bishops by monks, "minore quidem cum fastu et exte^mza pompa, sed majore simplicitate et sanctimonia." Of similar interest was Buchanan's critical assessment, later in this book, of St. Augustine whom he accused of bringing the church into the subjection of Rome and of

9. III 6.

introducing an unnecessary dispute about Easter: "disciplinam, jam in superstitionem prolabantem, ita caerimoniis novis, fictisque miraculis, oppressit, ut sinceræ pietatis vix relinqueret vestigium". The sentence under Eugenius VII, "Eius institutum fuit, ut in coenobiis res gestae Regum memoriae mandarentur", was a contraction of Boece's report that this king arranged for records to be kept in Iona and for writers of Scottish and other affairs to be maintained at public expense.¹⁰ Fordun did not mention this point under his equivalent king, Eugenius VI. Buchanan wrongly identified Alcuin, Charlemagne's scholar, with a Scot Albinus, somewhat after the manner of Thomas Dempster. Achaius was stated to have begun the French-Scottish alliance with Charlemagne, an agreement which was still referred to in sixteenth-century state papers.

Another section which merits attention was that on Goranus. He was said to have set up a system of "exploratores" or local justices who recorded crimes. Boece stated,¹¹ "Mansit exinde genti ea tabulis inscribendi ratio (indictum vocant indigenae) ad hanc usque aetatem", but Buchanan commented more acidly, "remedium illis temporibus forte necessarium, sed nunc certe anceps, et non mediocriter periculosum". Most of the remaining narrative under Goranus concerned British affairs. Uterius, king of the Britons, was well regarded until, under the influence of the wicked Merlin, he married Igernes after killing her husband Gorlois. From this union came Arthur who succeeded to the kingship of the Britons despite claims from Lothus, king of Picts, who had married Uterius' sister Anna. Arthur proved himself a successful leader against the Saxons. At one point Buchanan digressed

10. P.CLXXXVI, 1.70.

11. P.CLVII, 1.47.

to etymologise Yule from Julius and criticise Christmas ceremonies as more appropriate for Bacchus worship, a theme taken up from Boece who stated that the practice of treating Christmas as a feast began with Arthur and continued in a typically florid tone: "Sed undecunque et quocunque authore, foedissima illa ingluvies sortita est originem: adeo Anglorum nostratiumque infecit ingenia, ut natalitiis Christi diebus, non virtutem sed voracitatem; non Christum dominum, sed ventrem perinde, atque in unum gulam coniurassent omnes, colere apertissime indicares: tamque religiosa festa, tanta pietate priscis patribus olim celebrata in Albione, hoc nostro infoelici aere mutata in bacchanalia, floralia et priapalia diceres".¹² After the position against the Saxons was secure, Arthur went to Gaul and left Mordred, Lothus' son, in charge. A movement grew that Constantine son of Caldor should succeed rather than Mordred. The latter, Arthur's companion for years, was irritated at this and in a battle between them Mordred was killed and Arthur mortally wounded.

The interest of the Arthur episode, which has attracted much debate over the years, in respect of Buchanan is the unusual care Buchanan took here to explain his methods and intentions. When he favoured the view that Anna, Lothus' wife, was sister rather than daughter of Oterius, he gave one instance of conflicting versions: Geoffrey's explanations of these relationships had caused Fordun some difficulty ("Haec sagaciori lectori ad retractandum remitto, quia ea ad concordiam reducere de facili non video"¹³). Later Buchanan referred to "quidam scriptores rerum Anglicarum" who said that Arthur

12. P. CLXV, l. 65.

13. III. 25.

fought with the Saxons twelve times; since they only gave the names of battles, "id satis habui lectores admonere." His continuation, "De rebus ejus gestis ut summam dicam", suggested that conciseness had some part in his aims and a few lines later he showed his desire for reliable sources: "quas autem res in Gallia gesserit, nihil quod pro certo scribam habeo. Quae vero Galfridus ab eo gesta refert, nullam habent unquam, ne dicam similitudinem, veritatis. Ea igitur, ut impudenter ficta et temere credita, omitto".

Towards the end of his portion on Arthur, Buchanan admitted knowledge of various fables about him, but argued that they obscured the truth. He then answered the possible objection that he had spent too much time on Arthur, bearing in mind that "non universas Britannorum res gestas complecti, sed partim ab oblivionis injuria, partim a fabulosis male feriatorem hominum commentis, res gestas nostrae gentis liberare fuit propositum." He had discussed Arthur's affairs at some length "quod plerique eas, partim per invidiam nimis parce, partim per vanitatem nimis verbose, persequantur." The implied criticism here might have been of Fordun on the one hand, Geoffrey on the other. It is not likely that there was criticism of Boece, whose point of view is broadly similar to Buchanan's here. Although he dealt with some aspects at greater length (for example Uterius' campaigns against the Saxons), he had already rejected Geoffrey of Monmouth's testimony against that of Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, Bede and Veremundus;¹⁴ as the index stated, "Galfridi Monemutensis historiae non magnopere fidendum". Boece mentioned¹⁵ that some had credited

14. P.CXXXII, 1.65.

15. P.CLXIX, 1.35.

Arthur with vast conquering travels: "Sed horum fides sit apud eos authores qui talia memoriae prodiderunt". Although he gave some reasons against accepting these conquests, his politeness perhaps prevented him from being curt enough for Buchanan's taste: "Verum utut res se habuit (non enim hic detrahendae alicuius gloriae partes agimus)" Arthur was second to none of his predecessors. Boece accompanied mention of the round table with a scornful comment about "aniles fabulae incertis authoribus...confictae"¹⁶ and he again¹⁷ rejected Geoffrey of Monmouth, preferring to follow "Veremundum, Turgotum, probatosque alios nostrarum rerum scriptores qui vero similia in scribendis heroum gestis sine circulatorum fabulis memoriae prodiderunt." Buchanan's disdain of fable may have owed something to Boece.

In Book VI, from MacAlpin to Malcolm II, and Book VII, to the death of Alexander III in 1286, Buchanan continued his narrative in much the same fashion. The sweep was not quite so wide, each reign being allotted from a paragraph to two or three pages. Concentration was mostly on major political affairs such as the ~~estimation~~^{limitation} of the Picts and the Danes' influence on national relationships within Britain and some internal matters like the succession and administration of justice. The skeleton of events remainedⁱⁿ that of the Scotichronicon as expanded by Boece. The defeat of the Picts, facilitated by the appearance before the Scots of men dressed in portentous garb, as arranged by the king, led Buchanan to rank Kenneth, "Alpini filius", with the first and second Ferguses as "regni Scotorum conditores." He had scope

16. P.CLXIX, 1.50.

17. P.CLXXI, 1.37.

for his interest in etymology when he described the distribution of Pictish territories (e.g. "Culrossia oppidum, quod est velut dorsum aut posterior pars Rossiae"¹⁸ and "Significat autem vox CUNINGHAM Regiam habitationem vel domicilium, Danorum sermone"). The transference of the episcopal seat from Abernethy to St. Andrews provoked a comment about the higher standards of the clergy in those times: the old bishops were not restricted by boundaries, "cum nondum functio muneris Ecclesiastici esset quaestuaria." There may have been a hint of criticism when Kenneth, in moving the "saxum marmoreum" to Scone, was said to be "in rebus usque ad superstitionem levibus auctoritatem Regum confirmare laborans." Buchanan also, following Fordun, noted the "leges Macalpiniae", establishing moral standards for many years. In the brief notice of Ethus, Buchanan included a shortened version of Boece's account of portents. He also followed Boece in that Ethus was forced to abdicate, but noted in passing the Scotichronicon version: "Sunt qui non coactum cedere regno, sed ab aemulo regni Gregorio in quadam pugna vulneratum, duos post menses interisse scribant." Boece's further alternative, that Ethus died not "moerore" but strangled lest he took revenge on those who had ousted him, was not mentioned. Gregory the Great, apart from his distinguished resistance to the Danes, introduced laws for the immunity of the clergy (from tribute and royal exactions, military service and secular trials, as Boece specified): "leges de immunitate ministrorum Ecclesiae (qui sub Pictis prope servorum loco fuerant) vel veteres revocavit, vel novas condidit" in Buchanan's words. On this point Buchanan followed Fordun, but the

18. "Gael. 'back or neck of the peninsula'", Groome's Gazetteer.

death of Gregory's successor Donald revealed a further difference between Boece and the Scotichronicon: Buchanan without judging stated that Fordun asserted that he died at Forres on an expedition to put down insurrection in Moray, while Boece asserted that he died in Northumbria.

Constantine III was said to have presented his heir Malcolm with Cumbria as a sign that he should succeed; Buchanan criticised this practice as overruling the old system of popular election no less than the designation of consuls by Caesar. There followed a reflection on human nature such as is more commonly found in Boece's history: "ut secundae res animos interim prudentiorum occaecant, ita adversae periculorum cogitatione infirmiores ^{ru} ~~em~~diunt." Some points of difficulty surrounded Athelstan. According to Buchanan "nostri scriptores", with the support of Grafton, held Athelstan to be the illegitimate son of Edward. He was said to have killed his father (as was indicated by the appellation in some quarters, Edward the Martyr) and two elder brothers Edredus and Edwinus. Fordun did not ¹⁹ imply that Edward was murdered, but said that Athelstan succeeded irregularly preferred to Eadwinus who afterwards died at sea. Boece ²⁰ called Eadwinus, who suffered this fate, "germanus" (brother) of Edward, and stated that when Edwin died the Danes were optimistic that the succession would fall to Beatrice, daughter of Edward, who had married the Danish leader Cithricus and had two sons Avalassus and Godofridus. Edward killed Cithricus and his sons killed their mother Beatrice.

Fordun ²¹ stated that Athelstan's brother Eadmundus succeeded him,

19. IV. 21.

20. CCXXIII, 1.53.

21. IV. 25.

as did Buchanan; Buchanan's statement that another brother Edred succeeded Edmund contradicted apparently his earlier story about Edred's death. Boece, on the other hand, claimed Edmund as Athelstan's son. He thought that, as Veremundus said, Edward only had two children, Athelstan and Beatrice; he was in no doubt that Edmund succeeded Athelstan, but other matters were uncertain: "quisquis Edmundus fuerit, et quocunque patre genitus (Nam id haud satis liquide propter authorum discordiam dignosci potest)." Boece stated that Edred succeeded Edmund.²² Buchanan took Englishmen to task for claiming that other British kings submitted to Athelstan: "Hic Angli, profusi in suas laudes, tradunt, Athelstanum totius Britanniae unicum fuisse Regem; caeteros, qui intra Albium Regium nomen usurpant, precario regnasse, ac beneficiarios ejus fuisse, eique sacramentum, ce~~l~~ supremo domino, solitos dicere." To support "multos scriptores Anglos ignobiles" they cited Marianus Scotus, but Buchanan found no evidence there, at least in the manuscript edited in Germany, and he accused them of misinterpreting Bede, William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth, for whom Britain was the part of the country south of the Hadrian or Severus wall: "Quid, quod ne suos quidem scriptores (quæppe homines magna ex parte inez^uditⁱ) satis alicubi intelligent... Sed de his alio loco latius disserimus. Nunc ad res Scotorum redeamus." Buchanan seemed to prefer Boece's account of the death of Indulfus that he was killed in a skirmish while pursuing the Danes, to Fordun's (introduced by "sunt qui") that he was killed by an arrow from a ship while he was pressing unarmed against the fleeing enemy. An indication of Buchanan's scepticism was given when he concluded a tale that witches' ceremonies at Forres were affecting king Duff's

22. CCXXVII, 1.54.

health with the words, "Haec ego, ut a majoribus accepi, tradenda censui. Quid de hoc genere veneficii sit sentiendum, legentium iudicio relinquo. Admonendum tamen existimari lectorem, apud vetustiores non inveniri." This last sentence indicated that the story was told by Boece and not by Fordun. Buchanan's version of the concealment of Duff's body was close to Fordun's ("cespite herboso superinducto" in the former, "vindi terra sub^{til}iter coopertum in the latter") and he in effect rejected ("hoc mihi verisimilius videtur, quam quod alii tradunt") Boece's story of the alteration of a river's course.

The comment that the death of one of the most wicked kings, Culemus, was a relief, but the crime of his murder displeasing ("Mors ejus audita, uti omnibus fuit grata, quod minore quam speraverant labore tali monstro liberati essent, ita Rohardi (sive Radardi) Thani facinus vehementer omnibus displicuit") revealed that in the Historia ends did not always justify means. The contrary, admirable character of the successor Kenneth III prompted a digression, Ciceronian in flavour against "nonnulli, qui sapientiae studio sese dederunt" who thought that "homines ad voluptates fruendas a natura factos esse, ad virtutem violenter contra suum ingenium trahi." Buchanan rejected this view, but thought that it might have arisen from the premature growth in humans of the body as opposed to the mind. This passage, which may have originated in a philosophical exercise from Buchanan's academic studies, was a rare interlude in a work largely concentrated on events; awareness that it might not be entirely relevant was perhaps suggested by the resumption, "Sed ad Kennethum redeamus." Kenneth III (on whom there was one of the longest entries) was assigned

an oratio obliqua speech on the maintenance of ^dorder in the kingdom and the Danes' doubt whether to land in Scotland or England was expressed by two shorter passages of indirect speech. Kenneth was proving an excellent king in peace and war until he committed a crime "quod eo foedi^us omnibus est visum, quanto incredibilius ac minus expectatum ab ejus ingenio fuerat": he ordered the poisoning of his heir according to the old kinship laws. He then saw that laws were passed in favour of children's succession and the designation of his son as ruler of Cumbria and Prince of Scotland. Other provisions were made such as that if a son predeceased a father the grandson should succeed and that in the case of a minor a regent should rule in the king's name until his fourteenth year. The end of Kenneth's reign (he died in 994) drew some interesting comments from Buchanan. There was a hint of rationalism when he described the vision which reprimanded the guilty king: "sive vere (quod quid^{am} tradunt) vox caelo edita est, sive turbatus arumus eam sibi ipse speciem finxerat, quod sceleratis plerum^que evenire solet." He criticised the clergy, who recommended for the king a course of religious devotions: "Illi vero non verum ei e Christi doctrina remedium (jam enim a veterum pietate et ^mex^mditione deflexerant) praescripserunt." Thirdly, he considered **improbable** the story of Major and Boece that Kenneth was killed by a statue designed to shoot out arrows at its admirer. Major claimed, "aeque fabulose, ut arbitor", that Edmund son of Eldred was killed by this means whereas Boece, Buchanan believed, had exaggerated the jewels in the possession of Fenella, who killed Kenneth because her family had been excluded by the new succession laws. Buchanan preferred the view that Kenneth was killed in an ambush by Fenella's command:

"Ideo lubentius accedo ad aliorum sententiam (in quibus est Vintonus.")"

Fordun used the version containing the lethal statue.

In calling Grimus "Duffi Regis filius, sive ut alii tradunt, ex Mogallo fratre ejus natus" Buchanan appeared to have departed from tradition since the king-lists²³ and Fordun referred to him as son of Kenneth son of Duff and Boece described him as "Duffi olim regis nepos, ex Kennetho fratre Thano Atholiae (alii Kennethum Duffi filium volunt)." On the death of Grimus, however, Malcolm, son of Kenneth III, came to the throne, having seen the law of primogeniture in the royal family confirmed "omnium suffragiis." A temporary settlement of the succession issue by Bishop Fothad had not prevented conflict between Grimus and Malcolm. Malcolm was occupied in defending the country against the Danes and Buchanan noted the existence of some memorials of his success: "Hujus victoriae monumenta exstant, obeliscus, et vicus proximus adhuc memoriam nominis Cami retinens." As a reward to those who had fought for him, the king distributed all the royal territories; in return the nobility conceded that on the death of one of their number children would be in the king's tutelage until age twenty-one, the king would receive all revenues apart from expenses on children's education, he would have the power of arranging marriages and dowries would fall to him. "Hunc morem," Buchanan added, "ab Anglis et Danis potius acceptum credo, quod in tota Anglia et parte Normaniae adhuc perseveret." This rash assignment of lands was part of the reason for Malcolm's one fault, the avarice of his later years, a fault which Buchanan, following Boece, associated with old age.

23. F and I in Kings and Kingship.

Malcolm was criticised for introducing new names for magistracies: before, apart from "Thanos, hoc est praefectos regionum, sive Nomarchas, et Quaestorem rerum capitalium," equestrian rank (kighthood) was the highest honour, as with the Danes, the author believed. The new names were "magis ad vanam ambitionem, quam ad ullum usum: Nunc vero, nec ullus in novis honorum nominibus est modus, neque, praeter inanem titulum, ullus nominum usus." Boece had not adopted this note of criticism, but he specified the new magistracies: "Cancellarium, Comestabularium, Mariscallum, Camerarium, I^ustitiarium" and "qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo ac chartophylacio essent." Boece mentioned, like Fordun but not Buchanan, Malcolm's foundation of the bishopric of Mortlach and after explaining its subsequent transference to Aberdeen took the opportunity to praise Elphinstone and Dunbar, modestly mentioning his own Bishops. He then turned to Malcolm's avarice and death. The "vulgatior fama" to which Buchanan referred was apparently Boece's account that Malcolm was killed in revenge for severe justice. Buchanan mentioned that others said that he was killed in a dynastic quarrel or in revenge for an ill-treated noble girl; the passing over of Malcolm's death in the Scotichronicon may have indicated the existence of different versions. Buchanan ended Book VI, as Boece ended Book XI, with prodigious weather and badly affected corn-supply in the year of Malcolm's death, 1034 (1040 in Boece's account). Elsewhere, Malcolm was said to have succeeded directly Kenneth III.²⁴

Book VII opened with a passage criticising the new procedure for

24. Dunbar, Scottish Kings.

royal succession: "mihi causas malorum publicorum perquirenti, et vetusta cum recentioribus conferenti, haec omnia, quae lege nova fugiebamus, vitia, non vetustae legis antiquatione videntur extincta, sed cum nova potius magnum accepisse incrementum." His objection to the abolition of a democratic element in the appointment of kings was that people were now expected to obey a king who might turn out to be of any quality whereas it was difficult enough for them to obey outstanding ones. Buchanan regarded the dynastic disputes under the old system as minor compared to the calamities which followed the death of Alexander III and he pointed out the irony that Malcolm, who had struggled to confirm the law of children's succession, had no sons. He also added a more philosophical argument against the attempt to perpetuate a royal dynasty: even Roman families had not achieved eternal remembrance. "Ac merito quidem id illis evenire arbitror, qui adversus naturam rerum sibi desumunt, et rem maxime fluxam et fragilem, omniumque casuum momentis abnoxiam, aeternitate, quam ipsi nec habent, nec habere possunt, donare contendunt: et ea ratione contendunt, quae maxime instituto eorum contraria videtur. Quid enim est ad diuturnitatem minus fidum quam tyrannis? At ad eam haec nova lex gradum struit." The kingship, transference from one reign to the next, security against lawlessness and resistance to external foes continue to be dominating themes: Macbeth, for instance, excelled himself both against rebels and against the Danes. Buchanan assigned the witches who prompted the murder of Duncan to a dream, whereas Boece stated that they appeared while Macbeth was travelling to Forres. The legislative efforts to which Macbeth turned after restoring peace were commended both by Boece, who listed some of his

laws, and by Buchanan: "ad leges scribendas (rem a superioribus Regibus prope neglectam) animum adjecit: tulitque longe plurimas, atque utilissimas, quae nunc, magno publico malo, aut penitus ignotae sunt, aut neglectae jacent. Prorsusque per decennium ita regnum administravit, ut, si vis in eo parando abfuisset, nemini superiorum Regum fuisset habitus inferior." Later, however, Macbeth "veterem hominem rursum induit" according to Boece²⁵ and, in Buchanan's words, "imperium, perfidia partum, in crudelissimam tyrannidem vertit." Boece's greater expansiveness was illustrated where he appended to the story of the murder of Banquo a Stewart genealogy to date (1526). The reasons Buchanan gave why the exile Malcolm ("quasi dicas Μεγαλοκέφαλον"²⁶) should be welcome at the English court, though unconvincing, represented some attempt to explain diplomacy: "vet quod pater avusque, cum praeessent Cumbriae, quatenus per tempora licuit, semper majoribus suis studuissent; vel quod eventorum similitudo, et memoria periculorum eos conciliaret, quippe Regem utrumque, et injusto exilio a tyrannis multatos: vel quod Regum afflictas res facile hominum etiam alienissimorum animos commovent" (Aikman's translation "strangers" was perhaps too weak). The account of Macbeth ended with the note, "Multa hic fabulose quidam nostrorum affingunt: sed, quia theatris aut Milesiis fabulis sunt ~~ae~~^{ae}tiora, quam historiae, ea omitto." Apparently this sentence referred to Buchanan's interpretation that Malcolm's soldiers fixed boughs to their shields, not in the fulfilment of a prophecy that Macbeth would be safe until Birnam wood reached Dunsinane, but as a token of confidence.^{26a}

25. CCLIX, 1.60.

26. P.113.

26a. On Macbeth, cf. Stewart, "Neues Zum Macbeth-Stoff", Anglia (Zeitschrift Fur Englische Philologie), 1974.

On Malcolm's reign, Buchanan continued to rework material provided in Boece's history. Thus he recorded the honours awarded to Macduff and seemed to accept that other new titles were created at the same time (Boece mentioned the earldoms of Menteith, Athol, Lennox, Moray, Caithness, Ross and Angus) but he rejected the suggestion made, although Buchanan did not mention him, by Boece that new personal names then came into being from territories - such as Calder, Locart, Gordon, Setoun and Schaw - because even at the time of writing that system of nomenclature was not used "apud priscos Scotos" (that is presumably Gaelic speakers); "totaque tum Scotia prisco sermone et institutis uteretur." French practice was compared "ex Frossardi, scriptoris minime contemnendi, historia." The story of the creation of Patrick Dunbar as earl of March (the Scots Peerage dated the creation in the thirteenth century) was borrowed from Boece, but Buchanan thereafter added an incident taken from Matthew Paris where the king bravely outwitted some plotters. When he came to relate Edgar's arrival in Scotland, Buchanan approached an explanation ("De hoc viro, ut quae sequuntur facilius intelligi possunt, pauca supra repetem") of the English throne, a problem with which Boece began Malcolm's reign. More concisely Buchanan surveyed the careers of Edmond's sons, Edward and Edmund (Edward and Edwin in Boece's history²⁷) and of ^{nu}Can~~ut~~, ^{nu}Hardic~~ant~~ and Edward and the conquest of 1066. Boece included mention of Harold Harefoot about whom he found a discrepancy between "authoribus Anglicis ac nostratibus historiae scriptoribus veteribus" and "recentiores." After William's invasion Edgar came to Scotland, son, according to Buchanan, of Edward and Agatha, daughter

of King Solomon of Hungary. Boece gave the names of several families who now settled in Scotland.²⁸ Buchanan paid tribute to the devout life of Malcolm and his wife Margeret, Edgar's sister, and to Malcolm's efforts to restore moral standards: He added two bishoprics, Moray and Caithness, to the previous four "qui Episcoporum inertia veterem disciplinam ant solverant aut abjecerant" ... "Maximus ei labor fuit, dum ad veteris parsimoniae modum \bar{n} evocare studet proceres... leges sumtuarias severissimas, gravi adjecta poena adversus violatores, tulit ... Uxoris etiam precibus dedisse fertur, ut primam novae nuptae noctem, quae proceribus per gradus quosdam lege Regis Eveni debebatur, sponsus dimidiata argenti marca redimere posset: quam pensionem adhuc Marchetas mulierum vocant." Buchanan mentioned Turgot in connection with the king and queen's support for the church but not as a source (the Scotichronicon included substantial passages taken professedly from Turgot). Other items of interest were the brief explanation of the office of Steward, then introduced, together with reference to Walter as founder of the Stuart family and the awarding to Alexander Carron of the name Scrimiger and the hereditary office of standard-bearer. Boece, like Fordun, placed this award under Alexander²⁹ not Malcolm; some said it was for bravery in combat with the English, "sed ut superior nominis ratio est \bar{n} ior multorum autoritate scriptorum, ita et honestior" namely that the award was for helping the king against rebels in Moray. Boece added that the chief of the family was at that time "Comestabularius Deidonensis." Buchanan revealed a personalised view of diplomacy when he wrote of Malcolm and Rufus, "Inter duos Reges tam discordi ingenio pax

28. CCLXVI. 60.

29. CCLXXII.

diuturna esse non poterat"; Malcolm was killed in battle.

Buchanan, like Boece, viewed Donald Bane ("hoc est, albus") as a usurper. There was no trace of sympathy for a return to the old Celtic dynasty. Indeed the next kings, Donald, Duncan, Edgar and Alexander were passed over relatively briefly as though the author were anxious to come to David I. Duncan was unpopular "cum imperiosius, quam civilis ratio exigebat, omnia tractaret"; little was said of Edgar other than that he founded the abbey of Coldingham and that his sister Matilda married Henry of England. Boece's false assertion that Edgar was the first king to be ceremonially anointed (Alexander III and his predecessors were not anointed) was not repeated by Buchanan who reckoned David II to be the first. Alexander's work in building (for example, his completion of the building begun by his father at Dunfermline where Malcolm was said by Buchanan, and Edgar and Alexander were said by Boece, to have been buried) was noted and Buchanan gave alternative explanations for the sobriquet Acer: his suppression of rebels in Moray with the aid of Alexander Carron, son of his namesake, and subsequent aid to an old woman whose husband had been wrongfully killed, or his defence against nocturnal assassins. Boece, more generally explained "Pers, id est fortis et singularem in latronibus compescendis virtutem cognominatus."

Fordun, Major and Boece established a tradition in which David I was very highly regarded and Buchanan did not differ: "cum tota vitalis fuisset, quatenus nullum in litterarum monumentis fuisse legimus." Indeed in the preface Buchanan wrote, "Et, ut caeteros omittam, neminem in ullis rerum reperias monumentis, quem cum Davide nostro conferas." David equalled his predecessors in war and surpassed them

in peace; "secum sibi certamen proposuit: in eoque tantum profecit, ut summo ingenio homines doctissimi, qui boni Regis imaginem exprimere contenderunt, talem non potuerint animo cogitare, qualem se David toto vitae cursu praestitit." Buchanan's overwhelming praise of David was slightly surprising in the light of his criticism on one important point, David's generosity to the church. He invoked support from John Major who "cum reliqua hujus Regis acta magnis laudibus prosequatur, hanc profusam ejus in monasteria largitionem gravi (atque utinam minus vera) oratione incessit." Buchanan was all the more surprised at David's prodigality because at the same time D. Bernardus was reprimanding clergy for extravagance, albeit moderate by the standards of the time of writing. It was probably David's reputed philosophical equanimity after his son's death, reflected in speeches attributed to him by Boece and, in particularly neat form, by Buchanan, which aroused the historians' admiration. David asserted that death had to be accepted; it was not right to be envious because his son would meet first those loved ones who had gone before. The premature death of David's wife Matilda was also considered a great loss.³⁰

The prominence of Scottish relations with England during the reign of Malcolm IV and three references to the work of "Gulielmus Neobrigensis" reflected Buchanan's attention to English sources. He was critical of Malcolm for not taking a stronger line against King Henry. Boece pointed to opposition to his policy ("maxima suorum offensione"³¹); Buchanan added that the Scottish nobility

30. P.120.

31. CCLXXVIII. 18.

thought that it was wrong for the king to make agreements about boundaries "nisi Ordinibus consentientibus."³² He described Malcolm as "homo pusilli animi, et pacis nimis cupidus," guilty of "simplicitas" and responsible for a decline in royal prestige: "Ex eo Rex a suis contemni coepit, ut neque fortitudine nec prudentia ad moderandum imperium idoneus... Hic universorum erga Regem affectus fecit, ut singuli reverentiam imperii facilius abjicerent." Other topics included internal revolts, the king's building and his celibacy (Boece specified his foundation of a shrine to St. Andrew in "Kilreul" and the abbey of Coupar and allotted Bishop Arnald of St. Andrews a speech advocating marriage and heirs for the king). Following Boece's report that Sumerled was captured and taken to the king for punishment, Buchanan added that some said that he was killed in battle.

Buchanan was clearly faced with contradictory accounts of Anglo-Scottish relations during William's reign. English writers stated that on William's release the kingdom of Scotland was resigned into Henry's hands. "Thomas Volsingamus" said that this agreement took place not at York but "in pago Constantiensi". Some (among them Boece) said that Malcolm was released in exchange for money but the subsequent (1190) treaty with Richard caused Buchanan "Hanc ut opinionem veriore existimen" (that is presumably the theory of surrender of the kingdom). The incipient dispute over ecclesiastical jurisdiction was mentioned briefly. Buchanan quoted the 1190 terms on the authority of Matthew Paris. In one of two explicit references to Boece, Buchanan rejected the idea that Dundee,

32. P.123.

previously Alectum, was renamed Deidonum because of the safe arrival there from his travels of David, brother of the king; he thought an etymology from Taus and dunum more likely. Secondly, he ended his account of the extinction of Harold earl of Orkney and his line with the words, "Haec a Boethio sic narrantur, et vulgari rumore confirmantur... ac mihi veriora videntur, quam quae ab aliis traduntur." The notice of Alexander II was largely taken up with relations with England and the deeds of Alan of Galloway; the king was approved, his first expedition against England being undertaken "nulla privata cupiditate, sed ut Joannis tyrannidem compesceret, ab ordine Ecclesiastico (ut tum loquebatur) arcessitus." Major reported that in the time of Alexander II John of England had died through poisoning by a monk. King John died of a fever, but by the end of the century it was believed he had been poisoned.³³ When Alexander III was crowned aged seven, the faction of the Cumings held power, aided, some believed, by the threat of war from Ache king of Norway. There was apparently some doubt whether Alexander was present at the battle of Largs which Buchanan discussed much more briefly than Boece who included a full pre-battle speech. Buchanan had little to say of Alexander III's personality although he approved of his attention to justice: his death was regarded as an unparalleled loss not because of his virtues but because men already foresaw the troubles to come.

In Book VIII, which contained a broadly accurate account of events from 1286 to 1329, the scale of Buchanan's work became much more concentrated. The fact that Buchanan's interpretation of the

33. D.N.B., s.v. John.

period was largely based on three personalities, Balliol, Wallace and Bruce who was allotted the longest account for some time, did not invalidate his work and the reader can follow without undue difficulty events concerning the Scottish succession and the threat of English domination. There were, however, errors. Ruddiman had to amend "gradu propior" of Dornagilla to "natu maior": the following sentence contained the words "quod in pari propinquitatis gradu mares foeminis praeferantur" although possibly "gradu" could have been intended to have different senses in different places. Ruddiman also had to supplement the text to provide a correct genealogy on both Bruce's and Balliol's side: four italicised emendations appeared on p.134. Buchanan confused the meetings between Edward I and the Scottish nobles in 1291 and 1292: the first meeting, in May 1291, was at Norham and the matter was continued the next year at Berwick. Sir William Cliphant, Governor of Stirling Castle was misnamed. Buchanan coalesced the renunciation of English claims to Scottish sovereignty made at York on 1st March 1328 with the peace treaty confirmed at Northampton in May of the following year. In considering Buchanan's accuracy, it is necessary to bear in mind the nature of the sources on which he depended. In Book VIII he gave evidence of acquaintance with various accounts, sometimes specified, sometimes not: "Thomas Volsingamius", "Sunt qui Vallam non ab arcis Cuprensis, sed Taodunanae appugnatione revocatum, eodemque post praelium rediisse tradant, in quibus est Joannes Major, et aliquot Coenobiorum libri", "quidam nostrorum", "Caxtonus scriptor Anglicus", "fama est", "nostri tradunt", "Angli...affirmant", "Anglorum quidam scriptores", "Frossardus Gallus, aequalis illorum temporum scriptor" and "Gulielmus

Neobrigensis". On the whole Buchanan did not seek to evaluate sources, but striking was his condemnation of the English historian Richard Grafton. Buchanan's disdain of digression ("Cum nihil minus ab initio mihi fuisset propositum, quam ut a continente ~~verum~~ ^{verum} explicatione diverticula quaererem") may have been implicit criticism of Boece (and of Major) but in this particular digression, pointing out how little trust should be placed in Grafton, he defended Boece. Grafton claimed that in the second chapter of Book XIV Boece had written about "rivers of blood". Buchanan retorted that Boece had not written thus and that his history had not had chapter divisions. "Sed homine indocto et impudenter mendace omisso, ad Eduardum redeamus." Ruddiman considered that Buchanan's sense of outrage was excessive, since Grafton was making a reference to Bellenden's version of Boece's history.

Details in Book VIII perhaps offend the modern historian less than some broad aspects of interpretation. For instance, Buchanan was one of the historians who, as Nicholson pointed out,³⁴ were hostile to Balliol and sympathetic to Bruce perhaps for no other reason than that the latter was ultimately successful: "cum Brussius^u ingenuè respondisset, se non ita cupidum regnandi, ut ea de causa libertatem a majoribus relictam imminueret, statim eo dimisso Balliolum acciri jubet. Is regni quam famae honestae avidior, conditionem oblatam libenter arripuit." Aikman noted that it was inaccurate to portray Bruce as at all times resistant to Edward (although Buchanan did include Fordun's exchange between Wallace and

34. P.44.

Bruce at Falkirk): all the Competitors were at first equally compliant. Aikman may have caused some confusion when in reference to Bruce's reported request after Bannockburn that land-owners should produce their property titles and the subsequent revolt he commented,³⁵ "Of this conspiracy no other statement now exists, than that given by Buchanan, most probably derived from Boece." The incident did occur in Boece³⁶ and in Buchanan it most likely reflected the Soulis conspiracy, with which it was clearly identified by Boece and which has been accepted by modern historians.³⁷ The defect which the modern reader might notice most in this portion of the Historia is the absence of discussion of economic affairs, the state of society or support for particular sectors of opinion. Although expeditions to Ireland were recorded, there was no other reference to Bruce's Celtic connections. Analysis of motive was largely confined to brief and superficial generalisations, such as, "The unsettled state of England, and subsequent death of the king, and the infirmities of Bruce ... preserved peace for some years."³⁸

Buchanan can scarcely be blamed for the omission of material which only came to be considered important many years after he wrote. The content of Book VIII was largely traditional although there were opportunities for the author to show his particular literary skill, such as when he recorded the three points of Bruce's death-bed advice and wrote a concise tribute ("Ut multa paucis comprehendam") to this "vir undique clarissimus." There were, however, a few distinctive

35. P.432n.

36. P.CCCXVII.

37. Nicholson, p.102.

38. Aikman, p.436.

comments in Buchanan's account: for example his distrust of lawyers ("ut est id genus hominum nunquam inter se satis concors") and his assertion of the power of the "Ordines" ("quibus i.e. convocatis Ordinibus] inconsultis, aut adversantibus, nihil, quod ad totius regni statum attineret, Regi agere liceat" and "decreto Ordinum (penes quos est omnium rerum summa potestas)"). Admiration for Wallace was traditional by the time Buchanan wrote (he probably made use of the works of both Blind Harry and Barbour) but he provided a new slant with the theme that in default of those whom one would expect to provide political leadership ("cum Nobilitati nec ⁱvixum, nec animi satis videretur, ad majora capessenda") a man of lesser rank (although Wallace was "homo nobili et ^antiqua familia") rose to eminence. Wallace was of course "vir sui temporis longe praestantissimus", a distinguished patriot; Buchanan's hostility to Edward also stemmed from, but was slightly more restrained than in, the Scotichronicon ("de subtilitate et malitia regis Edwardi" and "Certe Edwardus assimilari potest Diabolo" in the latter, for example, whereas in the former "erat enim Eduardus vir magni animi, magnaue potentiae, majoris etiam cupidus"; he was guilty of duplicity, his secret aim being to bring the Scots into subjection). Possible evidence for Buchanan's sympathy towards the Lennox family lay in his noting the Earl of Lennox ("Milcolumbus Levinus Leviniae Comes") as a staunch companion of ~~Bruce~~ and in his recounting, on the slightly exaggerated pretext "incidit in haec tempora res, ob fortunae in exiguo curriculo varietatem, non indigna relatu", the story of John Menteith, who was Wallace's betrayer and desired the Earldom in return for surrendering Dunbarton Rock. Buchanan stated that about 1320

some dated ("nostri conferunt") the origin of the Hamiltons. A nobleman was supposed to have defended the name of Bruce against one Spenser at the English court, fled to Scotland and been given land near the Clyde. The Scots Peerage noted that Boece, followed by Buchanan and others, said that the Hamiltons were descended from the Earls of Leicester, but that these accounts were unreliable. The Spenser story was not mentioned but about this time the Hamiltons emerged from obscurity as landowners in the Renfrew area.

The brief account of the fate of Margaret, Maid of Norway, proceeded in the previous vein, with curt, vivid characterisations. As, however, the material for each reign increased, so did the problem of constructing narrative which had to be extended into much larger sections. Buchanan largely retained an annalistic approach, events being linked by vague temporal references. Exact chronology was not always clear to the reader but the thread of events usually was, sometimes by means of resort to substantial digressions. At the succession issue after Margaret's death, for instance, the author wrote, "Sed antequam controversias eorum attingam, quo magis omnia sint perspicua, pauca supra repetem".³⁹ After explaining in a paragraph the marriages of David Earl of Huntingdon's three daughters, he announced his advance to the particular cases of Bruce and Balliol ("de Ballioli et Brussii genere, majoribus et causa orationem prosequamur") and he resumed the narrative with the words "Igitur haec praefati abunde, ad rem praesentem et competentes veniamus". Such digressions may have been inelegant but they contributed to rather than detracted from the clarity of the narrative.

39. P.133.

One of the more surprising aspects of Books IX and X, in view of Buchanan's doctrinal distrust of kings, was his sympathy with the fourteenth-century monarchs. Buchanan would not have lacked support from some later writers if he had criticised the political achievements of David II⁴⁰ but his judgement was restrained, "vir sane in omni virtutum genere, ac in primis justitia et clementia memorabilis", a man "cui in bonis malisque exercito, semper magis fortuna, quam industria defuisse videatur." Major rejected the eulogies of Wyntoun and Bower on Robert II but Buchanan, while casting some doubt on his military prowess, stated generously: "Id vero omnes uno ore consentiunt, virum fuisse optimum, pacisque artibus cuilibet bonorum Regum facile comparandum." By conscientious pursuit of justice he pacified the turbulent kingdom which he had inherited. The admirable aspect of Robert III depicted was his impeccable private life, "ut vere de illo dici posset, meliorem virum quam Regem cum fuisse", a point previously made by Major. Boece, although he had omitted a summary of David II,⁴¹ had, like Buchanan, noted Robert II's qualities of "fides" and "constantia" and also his attention to justice⁴² and of Robert III he considered that had it not been for his disability, "non alias florentius regnum quam illo rege fuisset."⁴³ There was thus no evidence that Buchanan made substantial shifts of judgement on these kings to accommodate his political views. James I was likewise praised as "longe optimus": "Virtutes certe civiles quantae et quam in eo maturaer fuerint, testantur ordo rerum ab eo gestarum, et leges latae, quibus non suo tantum seculo, sed posteritati etiam vehementer profuit."

40. Linklater, Royal House of Scotland, referred to him as "contemptible". Cf. Nicholson, "David II, the historians and chroniclers", S.H.R. xlv.

41. CCCXXXIX. 69.

42. CCCXLVII. 11.

43. CCCLIII. 1.

The most conspicuous and debated error in this part of the Historia concerned the marriages of Robert II. According to Buchanan, Eufemia daughter of Hugh earl of Ross and wife of Robert II died in 1374 leaving issue Walter earl of Atholl, David earl of Farn and Eufemia wife of James Douglas. Robert then married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Adam More, her first husband having died; by her he had already had three sons, John earl of Carrick, Robert earl of Tay (Fife and Menteith in Boece's history) and Alexander earl of Badenoch. These, together with two daughters, were in consequence of Robert II's second marriage made legitimate. The errors in Buchanan's account were that Elizabeth More was Robert II's lawful first wife, whose children, four sons and at least six daughters, were legitimate heirs; that she died before 1365, before Robert's accession and marriage to Duphemia; and that Eufemia died not in 1374 but in 1387, as noted in some chronicle sources cited by Ruddiman. The essence of Buchanan's story was found in Boece and Russell, a continuator of Fordun, but Ruddiman believed Buchanan to be alone in mentioning Gisardus as Elizabeth More's first husband (otherwise John Randolph, Earl of Moray). Since Boece and Buchanan both referred to the arrangement for the succession made at Scone ("comitiis ad Sconam indictis", 4th April 1373) they might have deduced the validity of the king's first marriage, but the children of the first marriage were only legitimated by a papal dispensation which became known in modern times.⁴⁴

Doubt also apparently existed about the foundation of the earldom of Crawford. Buchanan recorded under 1398 that Robert III "in conventu Ordinum" at Perth created new Dukedoms for his son David and brother

44. Webster, Scotland From the Eleventh Century to 1603, pp.25ff.

Robert and he criticised this action: "Hic vani honoris titulus tum primum inter Scotos, magno ambitionis nullo virtutis incremento est celebratus: nec ^uquam postea feliciter cessit." Some people also said that the title of governor was confirmed that year and that the earldom of Crawford was bestowed on the Lindsays: "Sed nec illud constat inter eos, Thomasne an David vocaretur, qui primus ex ea gente Comes fuit appellatus." Major, Winton and other sources confirmed that the creation was made about 1398; Ruddiman referred to a document probably of Robert II's reign when James Lindsay was styled "Dominus de Glenesk". A little earlier in his narrative, however, Buchanan referred to the earldom of Crawford, here reflecting the tradition that the earldom was conferred at Robert II's coronation on James Lindsay of Glenesk. This view was taken by Boece who, after relating the contest between David Lindsay (Lord Crawford) and Lord Welles in 1390 and the subsequent institution of thanksgiving at Dundee, noted that some said that David was the first earl, but manuscript evidence led him to regard David's father James as the first earl. According to The Scots Peerage, however, David's father was Alexander and the Sir James Lindsay present at Otterburn was a cousin.

Buchanan was alone in introducing a Thomas into the family, conceivably an error caused by earlier mention of Thomas Dunbar earl of Moray in connection with Lindsay. Buchanan's account of traditional events such as the Kay-^chattan fight at Perth, David Crawford's duel with Lord Wells and James Douglas's last words at Otterburn (1388) contained some minor differences from others. In Book IX occurred the only quotation from ancient poetry in the narrative of the Historia, Ennius's "non ^ucapontes bellum, sed belligerantes"; Ruddiman thereupon

approved of his author's omission in general of poetic quotations on the grounds that they "a persona ac gravitate Historici abhorrere." Evidence of discrepancies in Buchanan's authorities continued, as with the two versions of the death of the Duke of Clarence and remarks like "Fama quidem constans est, etsi a nemine scriptum repeniam." A typical signalling of change in subject-matter was "sed ad ~~res~~ Anglicas, quatenus nostris ^mmixtae sunt, revertamur." Buchanan evidently commented on matters which particularly interested him: thus the deaths of Walter Trail and Queen Annabella were regretted, the former because under him "Ecclesiastica auctoritas et veteris disciplinae qualis ^{cum} ~~en~~aque imago stetit", the latter because the court, especially her son David, became more corrupt thereafter - "Libido frenis Libera ad veros mores rediit", words indicating Buchanan's belief in some underlying immutable character. He also took the time at the end of Book X to comment on James I's Latin verses.

Two passages in Book X shed further light on the author's method. After brief treatment of the affairs of Scots in France he explained that although they were not wholly irrelevant to Scottish history he was only led to include them by the "quorundam scriptorum Anglicorum obtrectatio." These writers were unable to deny completely the events, but cast the aspersion that the Scots were too poor to provide such forces abroad. Buchanan rejected the charge of poverty, replying that it had not prevented the Scots from defeating the English not infrequently; if the English historians did not accept this point from their own histories, "ne postulent, ut nos eas pro veris accipiamus." This excursus ended, "Sed ad ^{re} ~~res~~ Scotorum redeamus." Later, discussing diplomacy near the end of James I's reign, Buchanan paused to reject

the complaints of "scriptores Angli", especially "Eduardus Hallus et ejus suppilator Graftonus." They had accused James of ingratitude in preferring a French to an English alliance. Buchanan argued, rather in the manner of a philosophical debate, that James, held by the English against his will, was not under any obligation to return hospitality and that the preservation of James's life was in the English interest. He developed at some length the theme that a royal marriage might be considered as beneficial to England as to Scotland. The English had criticised the king's daughter; "At Monstreletus, illorum temporum scriptor aequalis, et probam fuisse et formosam memoriae prodidit" and the author of the Book of Pluscarden, to whom the king's daughter was known, praised her. This unusually virulent passage ended, "Sed omissis hominibus alienae famae calumniatoribus, et suae tam regligentibus, ut nihil pensi habeant, quid vel ipsi de aliis dicent, vel alii de ipsis sentiant, ad rem veniamus."

Two comments on James I's death revealed Buchanan's shrewd judgement on events which he described. After praising James's achievements, he added "Mors vero ejus declaravit, nihil justitia esse popularius: nam qui vivo detrectare soliti erant, mortuum flagrantissimo desiderio sunt prosecuti." Secondly, he pointed out the damaging effects of the savage and inhuman ("ultra humanitatis modum") vengeance on James's murderers, especially Walter, earl of Atholl, who was said to be the leader.

In general Buchanan handled the material available to him for the first half of the Historia with discrimination. While it was not false that inhabitants of Scotland resisted the Romans, the greatest error was antedating the arrival of the Scots and including the unhistorical

kings. This error stemmed from his sources and Buchanan much reduced this portion of Boece's history. Aikman was right to deny that Buchanan slavishly copied Boece, a charge on which he had been "repeatedly accused." The occasional antedating of the origin of contemporary customs may reflect traditions difficult at that time to disprove. The paucity of sources for early Scottish history should be recalled - the only two pre-fourteenth century chronicle sources were Holyrood and Melrose, and although even modern historians rely of necessity heavily on the Scotichronicon, Bower has been accused of "intentional falsification of history to suit a purpose" and the authority of the manuscripts is uncertain.⁴⁵

45. An investigation of these manuscripts is now being undertaken at St. Andrews.

Chapter Six

Although Buchanan never suggested that the years from 1437 to 1542, covered in Books XI to XIV, should be regarded as a distinct period, they were a span over which the nature of his sources changed and for which he could have had first-hand information: that is, his own major involvement in Scottish affairs came after 1560 but as a child he could have known people born in the 1430s. The early part of his account of the reign of James II stressed the disorder caused by factions led respectively by Alexander Livingston who became Regent (Prorex) and William Crichton who became Chancellor. The relations between them were strongly influenced by the Queen and her concern for the safety of the young king, apparent in his escape, planned by her, from Edinburgh Castle, and also by the ambitious Archibald Douglas. Douglas died "altero ab Jacobi primi morte anno" which Ruddiman took to mean 1439 and was succeeded by his equally recalcitrant son William, the sixth earl. The course of events was broadly the same as in Boece's history but there are frequent small, yet sometimes significant, variations. These included modifications in phrase (for example "repressa animi indignatione" in Boece,¹ "suppressa ad tempus ira" in Buchanan²), in the order of events (Boece mentioned the claim of William, sixth earl of Douglas, to the Dukedom of ~~Turennes~~ ^{ouraine} after the incident of Stuart of Lorn, Buchanan mentioned it before; the Scots Peerage, however, noted that the claim should probably refer to the eighth earl) and in matters of detail (both Boece and Buchanan recounted the Hebridean attack on Colquhoun but

1. (2nd edition) p.360, l.5.

2. P.201A5.

Buchanan omitted the names of the leaders, Maclean and Gibson, whereas he did give the date of Colquhoun's death, 23rd September³). On the whole Boece had a more emotional outlook, illustrated by the long and florid speech to Parliament which he attributed to Livingston, his vivid phrases such as "Aræ divorum sanguine passim humano conspergi", and in his account of William Douglas's death:⁴ "Inique enim, nescio quo infelici sidere, comparatum est, ut quo mortales periculo propiores sint, eo minus recta suadentem admittant." The king wept at Douglas's fate and some thought of Torrence's remark: "Ipsa salus si voluerit non potest hanc familiam servare."

Following the "Black Dinner" James Douglas succeeded to the earldom of Douglas and two years later was in turn succeeded by William, the eighth earl. As his position strengthened, he attacked first Crichton, a conflict culminating in the battle at Arbroath, and then Livingston; rare examples of direct speech marked a previous agreement made in Edinburgh between Crichton and Livingston. After the death of Bishop Cameron James Kennedy, regarded by Buchanan as much ^{more} ~~near~~ worthy, rose to eminence; in external affairs the narrative was taken up with Anglo-Scottish raids culminating in the battle at Sark. Both Boece and Buchanan commented on the transference of the earldom of Moray to the Douglasses, but the latter omitted Boece's history of the earldom from the time of Robert I included, as he stated,⁵ "ut non uno exemplo discant mortales quam caducae sint res humanae, quamque dum minime speratur pronae in ruinam." Following the death of the eighth earl of Douglas, killed by the King in 1452, the power of the family

3. XXIII Sept. here, but usually he employed the Roman calendar system.

4. P.363, l.28.

5. P.367, l.40.

declined; Crawford, and Hamilton transferred allegiance to the King, the former (the fourth earl whose father was killed at Arbroath) being attributed by Boece with a long speech of repentance to the king reviewing the history of his predecessors.⁶ In the closing years of the reign agreement was made with Donald of the Isles and plans were laid for invading England. Boece included some miscellaneous information such as the foundation of Glasgow University, contemporary men of the Renaissance and portents, to which he appended a story about "Deidonum".⁷ Buchanan commended the Queen for rallying the people after James II's accidental death. Among details of interest in this section, Buchanan stated that James II was crowned at Holyroodhouse on 25th March 1437; this statement was in accord with A.P.S. and Bower and corrected Boece who recorded Scone. On the other hand, Buchanan failed to note the appointment, recorded in A.P.S., of Archibald Douglas as lieutenant-general in 1437; in Buchanan's account⁸ "Alexander Levistonius rerum administrationi praeficitur." Buchanan incorrectly named Margaret, sister of the sixth earl of Douglas, Beatrice. Boece had asserted⁹ that when the eighth earl of Douglas's power grew after 1443 he actually became lieutenant-general whereas Buchanan said only that he was one of the council. Errors in dating included the remarkable insertion of Crawford's killing of Lyon, an incident which occurred in 1381, the implication that the attack on the Livingstons took place at least before 1448, whereas it happened in 1450¹⁰ and the assignation by Boece and Buchanan to 1454, the year of Crichton's death, of the death

6. The speech is also in Pitscottie, as Scots Peerage noted.

7. P.382, l.19.

8. P.197E2.

9. As the Scots Peerage noted, and Nicholson, p.339n90.

10. Nicholson, p.350, where he also refuted Buchanan's statement that James Livingston was executed.

of Sir John Sandilands of Calder in 1451 at the hands of Sir Patrick Thornton.

In Book XII, Buchanan first discussed the succession: James III was crowned not at Scone, as Boece and Pitscottie believed, but at Kelso as Buchanan and the Auchinleck chronicle noted. After reference to English affairs he embarked on the debate about custody of the young king.¹¹ Some attention was again paid to affairs in the west, relating to John of Lorne and Donald of the Isles. Buchanan then discoursed on the rise of the Boyds, whose power was at least curbed at a "publicum conventum" in November 1469. He was the earliest writer to describe the capture, revealed in Parliamentary records, of the king by the Boyds in 1466.¹² Another modification in the tradition was the increased emphasis on Patrick Graham, whom Nicholson regarded as no more important than his successor William Scheves, but Buchanan agreed with Ferrerⁿ in praising the queen. Some part of the narrative was ^ataken up with foreign relations, but the two most controversial topics of the later years of the reign were the fate of John, earl of Mar and the circumstances leading to the king's death. Buchanan gave a sombre version of John's death: he was murdered by the king's staff "cum temere de statu regni liberius locutus fuisset" but it was put about that he had plotted against the king with "foeminae veneficae", twelve of whom were burnt to add authenticity to the allegation. "Mors Joannis conjurationem, jamjam (ut videbatur) erupturam, magis repressit quam discussit." Buchanan largely followed the conventional story of revolt against

11. See chapter eight.

12. Nicholson, p.411.

James; Angus was assigned a long oratio recta speech to the discontented nobles at Lauder. Buchanan, however, suggested that a direct attack was made on James's favourites whereas Ferreñus¹³ suggested a prior explanation of their complaints to the king, and Buchanan did not provide an equivalent list of conspirators to Leslie's or the unreliable one of Pitscottie.¹⁴ The final colloquy between the king and Angus when Angus was a royal guest a few years later¹⁵ did not appear in Ferreñus' account. There were similar doubts about the manner of James III's death: Pitscottie stated that he left the battle and was killed by a priest, Ferreñus that he fell in battle but that some said that he fled and was killed by pursuers, Buchanan, briefly, that he was killed by three pursuers in a mill nearby - "incertum, a quo eorum percussus."

In Book XIII, James IV received early praise ("moderationem adornabat magnopere benignitas"¹⁶) and topics discussed included the personnel of the new reign (notably Andrew Wood) and relations with England, particularly in the context of Perkin Warbeck's claim to the English throne, an incident narrated at some length with the typical introduction, "Sed, antequam causam ejus adventus explicem, pauca mihi supra sunt repetenda."¹⁷ The bishop of Durham, who arranged James's marriage to Margaret, was praised, but Buchanan then became increasingly critical of the frivolity and extravagance of court life. New financial measures were required, Elphinstone perhaps being responsible: "inter alias, auctore, ut creditur, Gulielmo Elfinstonio,

13. P.395.

14. Nicholson, p.497.

15. P.238.

16. P.242-3.

17. P.243B.

Episcopo Aberdoniensi, rem est aggressus universae Nobilitati valde molestam." Some extension of crown or superior rights over land was evidently involved, although other evidence for the episode seems lacking: "si possessor, sine assensu superioris domini, supra dimidium agri vendat, totus ager ad supremum dominum redeat." The process, a revival of one fallen into desuetude, was known as "recognition": "eam quaestionem Recognitionem vocarunt." As well as being distasteful to the nobility it affected the rest of the citizenry, who nevertheless stopped short of revolt: "tantus tamen amor civium, ad quos id pertinebat incommodum, ob alias virtutes, tantaque erga Principem reverentia erat, ut ea hominum indignatio extra motum constiterit." Buchanan recorded that James IV had neglected military preparations and that many therefore advised him to abandon his determination to fight against England, prominent among them being Angus. He referred to investigations of the number of casualties at Flodden - "qui numerum caesorum, nominibus singulorum per dioceses exceptis, inierunt" - and perhaps originated the hypothesis that the priests, who sought more political power for themselves, and mendicants, "fratres Mendicantes (id Monachorum tum genus erat maxime superstitiosum)", who returned deposited money, gained most benefit from Flodden. His general assessment of Flodden revealed that, despite his doctrinal belief in "democracy", he also saw the need for leadership: "Haec est illa nobilis ad Floddenem pugna, inter paucas Scotorum clades memorabilis, non tam caesorum numero...quam Rege et procerum principibus amissis, et paucis superstitibus, qui multitudinem, natura ferocem, et spe impunitatis infrenem, regere possent." As Buchanan adopted the "early tradition (which Pitscottie first put into history)"¹⁸ that James wasted time at Ford on his journey south, he

18. D.N.B., James IV.

reported the rumours, without giving them unequivocal support, that James survived Flodden; but he rejected the rumour that he would reappear having fulfilled his vow to make a crusade to Jerusalem. "Sed is rēmor neque vanus est deprehensus, atque ille, qui olim sparsus erat a Brittonibus de Arcturo, et ante paucos annos, a Burgundionibus de Carolo." Buchanan rejected, in a passage more virulent in tone, the English charges that James had undertaken a sacriligious campaign against the Pope and committed perjury in making war against Henry VIII: "Quorum neutrum ei exprobrari debuerat; nec ab hoc Rege, qui, dum vixit, nullam unquam stabilem de doctrina Christiana persuasionem habuisset; nec ab hoc populo, qui toties adversus Episcopos Romanos bella gesserant." He gave a selection of English kings who had been guilty of perjury, "ut eos admoneam, qui tanta indulgentia suorum perjuria patiuntur, ne in exteros ita sint acerbi: praesertim, cum criminis, quod objicitur, penes ipsos culpa fuerit, qui priores violarunt inducias." On resuming his account ("sed ut ad rem redeam") Buchanan, as the last piece of information before his summary of James IV, noted the insulting emblem which the earl of Surrey adopted for himself and his family and that, as if by *divine* revenge, "nemo ferq̄ posterorum ejus alterutrius, Sexus, sine insigni ignominia vel clade, decessit."

From his discussion of James V's reign starting shortly before the end of Book XIII Buchanan, it can be argued, showed a closer interest in the circumstances behind events. He noted, for example, the paucity of able men who survived Flodden and considered that among them the powerful men were greedy and ambitious, like Alexander Hume.

It was the shortage of men which made the unprecedented rule of a woman, James IV's widow Margaret until her second marriage, acceptable. A decline in the quality of ecclesiastical leaders was also evident, and the dispute over the archbishopric of St. Andrews was seen as marking the beginning of many troubles: Buchanan correctly recorded that the Queen recommended Gavin Douglas, that the chapter elected the prior John Hepburn and that the appointment finally went to Andrew Forman who had strong links with France. When the Queen's marriage brought the Regency into debate, the Douglasses wanted her to continue but Hume drew attention to the old laws on the constitution and it was decided to send for Albany after some gloomy words by Elphinstone: "se, quando aliter concordia sisti nequent, in e^orum sententiam concedere, qui Ioannem Ducem Albinum e Gallis evocandum censerent: etsi damna publica hoc remedio magis differri, quam sanari, existimaret." Buchanan seemed to respect Albany, whose return to Scotland in 1515 marked the beginning of Book XIV, and thought rather less of the leaders of the factions whose disputes were prominent in the following years. Buchanan did his best to explain the state of opinion: in the dispute between the earl of Angus and Andrew Kerr, for example,¹⁹ "Reliqua Carorum familia Comiti, Andreae vero Hamiltonii favebant, magis ob Duglassii odium, quam quod certum ius esse Caro arbitrarentur." Indirect speech was regularly used to reflect different opinions, as in the question whether, in about 1523, alliance should be made with France or England. Buchanan stated the issues fairly on both sides, the obvious sense of alliance with England ("ut magis una, quam diversae nationes videantur"), yet persistent distrust ("Neque unquam inter finitima regna tam sanctum

19. P. 261D.

fuisse amicitiae vinculum, quod non, vel oblatis occasionibus, vel quaesitis caussis, saepissime violaretur"). After the king had formally taken charge of the administration, Buchanan noted the emergence of a "velut triumviratus" of Douglas, Lennox and Argyll, but the alliance did not last long as Argyll withdrew and Lennox became less sympathetic to the extremely powerful Douglasses. Lennox, who became a confidant of the king, was praised by Buchanan: "Unus e proceribus Joannes Leviniae comeserat, cui aperire intimas cogitationes non timerat: erat enim, praeter alias animi et corporis virtutes, ore probo, et naturali quadam suavitate morum and homines conciliandos egregie compositus." Later, Buchanan commended the Earl of Cassillis' reluctance to give himself "in clientelam Hamiltoniorum." Another example of a relationship between "cliens" and "patronus" was the attempt by John Stuart's stableman to avenge his master's death, an incident which Buchanan described as "res in primis memorabilis, quam ob facinorae novitatem non censui praetererundam." Later in the book, despite recognition of prominent personalities such as the Hamiltons, the powerful Douglasses, Colin Campbell and Gavin Dunbar, traces of an annalistic approach were obvious. Thus the only event recorded under the year 1531 was the story of John Scot's fasting: "res accidit, novitate quidem admirabilis, et unius admirationi nihil aut auctoris obscuritas aut temporis, omnia diligenter explorantis, curiositas detraxit." In the following year the College of Justice was established. Even though "the supposed innovation was something of a pretence"²⁰ Buchanan distrusted this development, despite some initial benefits:

20. Scottish Historical Documents, p.105.

"Nam, cum in Scotia nullae pene sint leges, praeter conventuum decreta, ^aque pleraque non in perpetuum, sed in tempus facta, judicesque, quod in se est, lationem legum impediunt, omnium civium bona quindecim hominum arbitrio sunt commissa, quibus et perpetua est potestas, et imperium plane tyrannicum, quippe quorum arbitria sola sunt pro legibus." The remainder of the book, interspersed with incidents such as the death for treason of John Forbes, was largely concerned with negotiations for the king's marriages and his fatal expedition against England. Buchanan's comment on the Martina (about 1528), "navigium ea aetate nobile" suggested the lapse of some time before the date of writing, although it might seem unlikely that conspicuous advances in nautical engineering could have been made.

Buchanan's narrative of the Jameses mainly comprised detailed incidents but comments interspersed enabled the reader to keep sight of a broader canvas. Thus James II's reign was a period of discord at home and abroad: "Semper, a pueritia, ~~beta~~ domestica et externa cum exercuerunt." The difficulties were principally the struggles between Crichton, Livingston and the Douglasses and ("~~Nec~~ in his malis domesticis res foris quietiores erant") Anglo-Scottish disputes. After the settlement over the minor James III, a true peace prevailed, partly due to James Kennedy: "tanta cum aequitate et tranquillitate res Scotorum administratae sunt, ut nunquam altiore securitatem, sincer^oremque pacem seniores affirmarent se meminisse." The king thus had a promising childhood ("in summa^r tranquillitate ita Rex educab^atur") until about 1466 when the emergence of the Boyds and the death of Kennedy brought a deterioration which lasted for some years:

"eo enim, velut perpetuo censore morum, de medio sublato, disciplina publica paullatim labefactata, deinde penitus corrupta, secum omnia pene in exitium traxit." Court and church caused Buchanan equal concern ("inter hos a^ulae mores, ordo Ecclesiasticus ~~in~~hilo sanctius agebat"), the fate of Patrick Graham being typical of the wretchedness of the time ("miseriam illius temporis"). Domestic difficulties and hostilities with England were again prominent but general corruption not confined to Scotland was perhaps an excuse for James III: "Tempora enim corrupta, et vicinorum Regum exempla, non parum ~~ad~~ eum ^{er}evanendum juverunt."

The new reign brought a great improvement because about 1490 a "golden age" had emerged: "tam jucunda pax, tanta tranquillitas, et, velut ancillante fortuna Regis virtutibus, ~~ta~~ctus omnium frugum et fructuum proventus est secutus, ut, e seculo plusquam ferreo, vere aureum renatum fuisse videretur." Although trouble with England threatened again and extravagance at court grew, James IV was after his death more highly regarded than any king, a fact not so surprising when the evils before and after were compared: "comparatione malorum, quae vel ejus regnum praecesserunt, vel statim secutura videbantur." Yet Buchanan also implied that the times were not prosperous for literary education: James was "vitio temporis ab literis inculto." Even at the death of James IV shortage of money was a latent problem and soon dissension grew: "Discordiarum enim semina, ante finem illius anni sunt jacta. Earum initium ab ordine Ecclesiastico est ortum." The dispute over appointment to the vacant archbishopric of St. Andrews was a symptom of decline in the church. The next few years saw struggles for power between the

leading families and affairs were particularly violent in the five years before Albany's return to Scotland in 1521: "Hoc totum fere quinquennium, a Proregis discessu usque ad ejus reditum, tumultuose actum: nec caedibus et rapinis usquam temperatum." After the king took up the administration quarrels between the factions continued and trouble with England threatened again: "ita discordiarum semina iterum jacta." Periods of peace were spacious: "hoc anno [1531],^e atque item superiore, magis quietae quam compositae res erant." Nevertheless James V was partly a victim of evil times: "vitio temporis" and "Ingentes autem virtutes vitia prope adaequabant, sed quae temporis magis quam naturae videriⁱ poterant."

Although one may disagree with Buchanan's assessment of these vicissitudes of time, it is necessary to admit that his attempt to provide an analysis of this kind revealed an interest in interpreting the past and marked him out as a historian rather than a chronicler. Other remarks in this portion of the Historia indicated that he had given mature consideration to his task. He frequently showed awareness of the need for sound evidence, even though the evidence may on occasion mislead, as when he wrote about a prodigy at the beginning of James IV's reign: "Hac de re scribimus eo confidentius quod adhuc supersunt homines honesti complures, qui haec viderint." He felt an obligation to present facts which he has come across: "reticendum non existimavi, quod ipse e Laurentio Taliferreo, viro et probo et docto, non semel audivi" (on the fate of James IV after Flodden) and "Quae antem ex viris bonis, et illorum temporum non ignaris, accepi, non existimavi dissimulanda" (on the decree of pardon to the Boyds). Where the evidence was defective, Buchanan

was reluctant to impose his own conjectures: "tantum quod fama accepti referam"²¹ and "ego quoque, quanquam conjectura difficilis non sit, malo cogitationibus legentium rem totam relinquere, quam incerta pro certo affirmare."²² It was sometimes necessary, on the other hand, for the historian to be selective: "caedes nobilium virorum (nam omnium infinitum esse) per ea tempora attingam"²³ and "Sed de his motibus, quos longius prosequi animus non est, satis ad meum institutum arbitror dicere."²⁴ A final distinction between the historian and the chronicler is the former's readiness to break from strict chronology in order to bring coherence to a series of events: "Haec, ne rerum series saepius interrumperetur, quanquam diversis temporibus gesta, in unum locum contulimus"²⁵ and "Haec diversis temporibus gesta, ne cursus historiae nobis esset adrumpendus, in unum locum sunt congesta."²⁶

Buchanan did not make any full statement about his use of sources and curiosity is unlikely to be satisfied on this point. He evidently used the works of Major, Boece and Bower as far as they continued. It also seems certain that he used Boece's eighteenth book on James II and Ferrenⁿus' continuation on James III, published in 1574. A copy of this 1574 edition of Boece was thought to be in James VI's library²⁷ and the events of James II's reign - his minority, the "Black Dinner", the battle at Arbroath, the career of

21. P. 206E2.

22. P. 228B1s.

23. P. 206B5.

24. P. 245D3.

25. P. 231.

26. P. 236B6.

27. S.H.S. Misc. I.

the eighth earl of Douglas, the siege of Roxburgh and the king's death - all received broadly similar treatment in both Boece and Buchanan. Yet Buchanan did not exactly follow Boece: according to Boece, James II was crowned at Scone, according to Buchanan at Holyrood and some material in Boece, such as the names of the leaders of an attack on Colquhoun and the history of the earldoms of Crawford and Moray, was omitted by Buchanan. Although there were linguistic parallels, they sometimes seemed deliberately inexact: "ut glisceret ...malum" was in Boece, while Buchanan used "glisce^{is} malum" at a different point, "fraeno prehensio" was used by Boece, "freno arrepto" by Buchanan, and where Boece wrote "mortem interdum minitans his qui id fecissent. Id se suosque privilegium a Rege habere asservans", Buchanan wrote, "se enim id privilegium (jus Regale vulgo appellant) a Regibus habere superioribus. Id qui imminuere tentasset, capite poenas daturum." Likewise Buchanan seemed to make use of Ferrerius' continuation, which he followed less closely as it descended into more the form of a chronicle. Although Rogers did inform Buchanan by correspondence of the appearance of Leslie's history (1578) Buchanan probably did not make use of it; the vernacular version may well not have been available. Buchanan did however use one or more manuscripts of Pitscottie's history: for instance the incident where Douglas put to death one McLelland about 1451 and ignored the king's request, through a kinsman Sir Patrick Gray, for clemency was in the accounts of Pitscottie and Buchanan but not that of Boece. Yet it is evident from Buchanan's account of the Boyds' influence during James III's minority that he was not following Pitscottie

only. As his narrative reached nearer his own time, Buchanan must have made substantial use of personal sources. Thus James IV was warned against war by what Mackay aptly called "one of the best attested apparitions in history"²⁸ which appeared before a group of people: "In iis fuit David Lindesius Montanus, homo spectatae fidei et probitatis, nec a literarum studiis alienus, et cujus totus vitae tenor longissime a mentiendo aberat: a quo nisi ego haec, uti tradidi, pro certis accepissem, ut vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam, omisurus eram."²⁹ Buchanan clearly drew information from various sources but made his own version distinctive in content and style.^{29a}

Noteworthy in the narrative was Buchanan's ability to portray characters in abbrief phrase. Sometimes the phrase was merely complimentary and unilluminating (e.g. Robertus Carus "ob egregias virtutes"³⁰), while at other times it contained a shrewd judgement (e.g. Alexander Hume, "Jacobus quidem Regi vehementer carus, sed ferociore, quam publicae utilitati tum expediebat, ingenio"³¹). Despite some penetrating phrases, it may be a justifiable criticism that Buchanan's assessments of character are, like Boece's, unsubtle, personalities being too easily stereotyped into the bad and the good. The majority were praiseworthy, while the remainder came into some reasonably obvious categories, rebels in the west ("Alanus Lornensis,

28. D.N.B., James IV.

29. P. 251B.

29a. He probably originated the theory that Patrick Graham was a precursor of the reformers (cf. D.N.B., S.V. Graham).

30. P. 249B1.

31. P. 250B9.

homo seditiosus"³²), unworthy churchmen (John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, "multa crudelitatis et avaritiae exempla ipse ediderat" and "Ejus viri dignum vita nefarie acta fuisse tradunt exitium"³³) and some political figures such as the Hamiltons. Apart from specific virtues mentioned and general descriptions like "vir bonus" (applied to Gavin Dunbar and Robert Reid³⁴) or a reference to "ingenium" (Patrick Hamilton "juvenis ingenio summo" and Alexander Campbell "magno ingenio juvenis"³⁵), the most interesting feature was the frequency of "prudentia." The fact that Buchanan used this word regularly as a compliment suggested that he valued the virtue of tact or political discernment, a quality not normally associated with Buchanan; "prudentia" was also admired in De Iure.

At the end of his account of each of the Jameses Buchanan provided a short estimate of the ruler. James I, "Rex longe optimus", who had been highly regarded by previous writers, was greatly praised. Boece left no substantial assessment of James II and Buchanan's obituary notice was much shorter than for James I. It was favourable, noting the qualities of "moderatio", "fortitudo" and "clementia", taking account of the background of war during his reign and recognising his youth and the succession of a minor as factors in his posthumous reputation. The estimate of James III was equally short but less complimentary. Ferrenius took a more generous view, accepting that James's interest in the arts and

32. P. 224D7.

33. P. 207B4 and B8.

34. PP. 270C2 and 275C2 respectively.

35. P. 269D5 and Dp respectively.

leniency towards lawlessness were excessive but noticing "many indications of true piety" whereas Buchanan saw James III as unquestionably corrupt, albeit largely through the fault of his associates: "vir non tam ingenio pravo natus, quam prava consuetudine corruptus." The conclusion, "illa inusta est ignominia, ut..jure caesus judicaretur", was echoed in De Iure: "Contra, Jacobi Tertii, hominis flagitiosi et crudelis, mortem quis doluit, ne dicam ultus est?"³⁶ James IV was regarded more highly than his predecessor but his many qualities were marred by a few serious faults, particularly mishandling of financial affairs. Similarly the great virtues of James V were almost equalled by his faults, though these may have been the consequence not of his nature but of the times. His ability in dispensing justice was admired. Buchanan thus gave a balanced assessment of these five kings, the balance being especially noteworthy in the case of James V of whom Buchanan's most vivid memory must have been the circumstances of his own departure from Scotland in 1539. Nevertheless the writer does not distinguish sufficiently clearly the personal and public aspects of kings' characters. The reader is not apprised of the writer's criteria for assessing rulers and is therefore led to suspect that his judgements, though perspicacious, are traditional or in a sense intuitive. Discrepancy is sometimes apparent, as in Tacitus, between the narrative and final assessment, the former for James IV and V, for example, seeming more critical. Some character appreciations of women were included in the Historia,³⁷ but they were of limited range, praising

36. P.24 (Rudd's ed.).

37. Chapter One above, p.3.

either distinctively feminine virtues such as beauty or what were regarded as normally masculine virtues such as courage.

Buchanan commenced Book XV with a discussion of the difficulties facing the kingdom in 1542. He recognised the main factors to be considered, the state of affairs in England and the position of France, the questions surrounding the Scottish throne and the custody of Mary, and the characters of the leading political figures. Arran was seen as lacking ambition whereas Cardinal Beaton was only too eager to press himself forward. Two men commended were the Earl of Cassillis - "inventus est unus Gilbertus Kennedus Cassitissae Comes, qui nec pecunia abduci, nec minis depelli, de constantia fidei servandae posset"³⁸ - and the Earl of Lennox, whose proximity to the throne was pointed out - "Huic juveni, praeter, in ipso inventae flore, formam egregiam, et corporis dignitatem, conciliabat omnium animos patris, hominis maxime popularis, memoria, et solitudo, et pericula familiae clarissimae jam ad paucos redactae, multae domi clientelae, magnae familiae propinquitatibus conjunctae." After a section on ecclesiastical developments, which included the deaths of George Wishart ("Sophocardius") and Cardinal Beaton and a brief mention of Knox, Buchanan turned his attention ("Praeter hoc domesticum malum, accessit et bellum externum") to the conflict with England culminating in Pinkie, "praelium, inter pauca, Scotis calamitosum." At the end of the Book Buchanan criticised the Regent and his brother: the final sentence was "Nec Proregis nomine pecunia turpius quaerebatur, quam flagitiosius libidine fratris profundebatur." Before that, Buchanan had given an indication of his opinion of the following years of French influence by describing the "unavenged slaughter of William

Crichton" as "Primum velut futurae tyrannidis fuit praesagium." At the beginning of Book XVI Mary of Guise took over the Regency (1554) "Cum satis provisum videretur, quo pacto Scoti, amissa vetere libertate, ad servitutem Gallorum adducerentur." Nevertheless Buchanan's criticism of Mary of Guise only became unfettered after the death of Mary Tudor (1558): "Regens quoque...novum quodammodo induisse videbatur ingenium: nam pristina[m] illam, annibus gratam, comitatem in imperiosam paullatim convertebat arrogantiam: et pro lenibus responsis, quibus utrique factioni se excusabat, non voluntate sua fieri, sed ratione temporum, quo minus tam prolixè, quam cupiebat, nondum accepto illo decreto, promittere auderet, nunc omnium rerum, ut rebatur, compos, aliis morbus, alia oratione utebatur." Some discussion of Books XVI-XIX was in Chapter One above. Ruddiman's notes on Book XVI were sparing, with some unnecessarily resentful comments such as "Hoc odio Hamiltoniorum dictum" and "Buchananus nusquam non diversurum partium viros exagitandi causam invenit" (on criticism of Arran).³⁹

Those who claim that the purpose of the Historia was to justify the deposition of Mary, Queen of Scots, must provide an explanation for the continuation of the narrative; in an assessment much will depend on whether Buchanan gave a fair version of events after Langside (May 1568). Book XIX thereafter included the activities of the French ambassador and the movements of the Regent Moray, who rounded up captives (Hamiltons among them), held a convention to discuss the position of the rebels, led an expedition to Galloway and

39. On p.296E3 and p.298A5 respectively. On the Hamiltons, cf. S.R.O.G.D.18.51146, (Clerk papers), where Buchanan is said to have attributed their coming into Scotland to murder, deduced their pretensions to the crown of Scotland from adultery and accused them of the murder of the Regent as well as Darnley.

then went on embassy to York and London. Buchanan named Moray's colleagues for this occasion - James Douglas, Patrick Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, the Abbot of Dunfermline, the lawyers James McGill and Henry Balnaves, Maitland of Lethington (who alone was unwilling but not trusted by the Regent to be left at home) and Buchanan himself. In Scotland long speeches were reported in which the right of Hamilton to the regency was discussed. When Moray returned to Scotland in February 1569 he faced concern over the position of Argyll and especially of Huntly and over whether all his associates should be tried at once. Internal problems, encompassing Moray's honourable treatment of Maitland and the conspiracy of Hamilton, Gordon and Argyll against the Regent, and relations with England, including the Scots' ambassadors' rejection of the idea of joint rulers and the reported detection of the ~~Mary-Howard~~ conspiracy, filled the book until it ended with Moray's assassination by James Hamilton in January 1570, and a favourable assessment of the Regent who, it was noted, was especially dear to the English. Buchanan seemed to bring to light the important topics of these years; final opinion of his achievement in this book may depend on whether his admiration for Moray is believed to be misplaced. Here it should perhaps be remembered that although it has been written of the Regent that "it is hard to disentangle his services to church and state from self-interest and ambition. Nor had he shown much political acumen, for his manoeuvres had often involved miscalculation and failure, and his rare successes owed at least as much to favourable circumstances as to his own unaided designs"⁴⁰ an earlier scholar

40. Donaldson, James V-VII, p.163.

stated that "when Moray assumed the Regency, he was in simple truth the only person capable of saving his country."⁴¹ Recent research has shown more support for the Queen's party than was previously supposed;⁴² Buchanan did not underestimate this support.

At a "conventus" (Buchanan did not explain his terminology or the constitutional distinction between convention and parliament) to elect the next regent ("pronex"), described near the beginning of Book XX, Randolph gave Elizabeth's viewpoint but business was postponed until 1st May. The Douglasses sought revenge for Moray's death and in February and March there were meetings of the rebel leaders, Hamilton, Boyd and Argyll being among them. Rumours of the arrival of English forces were reported and by May the king's faction was in Edinburgh, the Queen's at Linlithgow. Lennox was elected "interrex" until July and then "prorex". He declared parliament for 10th October and it was declared again for January and postponed until May 1571. The winter passed peacefully but in the spring Lennox attacked Fleming, the governor of Dunbarton in the name of the Queen. At about this point in the narrative several chapters were given up to Morton's important report at Stirling of the negotiations in England.⁴³ The parliamentary records for this period are missing, a fact which makes it impossible to say how accurate Buchanan's version of Morton's report was. After some manoeuvring for position between the two factions in late summer, Lennox died of a wound. The last four lines of Buchanan's epitaph for him were:⁴⁴

41. H. Brown, History, p.112.

42. Donaldson, Mary Queen of Scots.

43. Cf. Chapter Eight below.

44. Misc. Lib., xxvi.

Gratus in ingratos, patriamque justeque pieque
 Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi
 Care nepos, spes una domus, meliore senectam
 Attingas fato, caetera dignus avo.

Buchanan reckoned Argyll, Morton and Mar as candidates to succeed to the regency and the latter was chosen. Buchanan evidently had regard for him:

Illud ei proprium est, longo quod in ordine vitae
 Nil odium aut livor quod reprehendat habet. 45

The Historia, however, came to an end before Mar ceased to be regent. The winter and spring of 1571-2 passed in light skirmishes and the last incident referred to was the capture of Archibald Douglas. The exact date can be ascertained from the Diurnal of Occurrents,⁴⁶ 15th April 1572. Douglas had a complex career:⁴⁷ grandson of John, second earl of Morton, he became a lord of session, replacing Leslie, Bishop of Ross, as an ordinary lord in 1568. His appointment by Moray to the parsonage of Glasgow had been disputed. When Buchanan wrote, he was in disfavour, degraded from the bench in April 1581, but he lived for many more years, his date of death being unknown. That Buchanan ended his work at this point may have been fortuitous; but he may have deliberately avoided a rhetorical conclusion by giving a piece of information about a man who was not of outstanding significance and yet not uninvolved in the continuing series of events part of which it had been the Historia's function to record. Man is right to reject the contention that Buchanan did not continue the Historia further because of hatred of Morton, and likewise that the work was

45. Misc. Lib., XXV.

46. P.292.

47. D.N.B. and Brunton and Haig, Senators of the Coll. of Justice, p.125.

written with a view to Moray's obtaining the crown. Hume Brown's verdict was justified, even though the belief has not be^{en} fulfilled: "Buchanan's History of his own time is the honest attempt to produce a narrative such as he believed would be finally accepted as just and true."⁴⁸

48. P. 320.

Chapter Seven

Commentators, including Hume Brown and Gatherer, referred in general terms to the influence of ancient historians on Buchanan. Earlier there had been debate whether Buchanan's style followed more closely that of Sallust, Caesar or Livy.¹ Other Scottish writers have from time to time been compared to ancient historians. Major's idea of history, in one opinion, "reaches back beyond Sallust or Livy to the greatest Greek historian, Thucydides."² Scott has been likened to Livy³ and Cockburn has been described as "the Tacitus - though hardly the Horace - of Scotland."⁴ A considerable amount of research into the work of ancient historians has been conducted in recent years and it is reasonable to ask whether such judgements reflect superficial similarity only or, if any direct influence may be assumed over fifteen hundred years, whether the background of ancient historiography can shed light on the composition of the Historia.

Buchanan was evidently familiar with the classical background which formed part of the education of his time. Earlier, the chroniclers had also been familiar with classical texts and the Renaissance was characterised less by discoveries of new texts than new interpretation of familiar ones.⁵ It can also be demonstrated that ancient writers did influence literature being composed in

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1. Irving, Memoirs of Buchanan.
 2. MacQueen, The Scottish Nation (ed. Menzies), p.71.
 3. Ogilvie, Commentary on Livy I-V and an article in The Listener.
 4. Memorials (ed. Miller); cf. review in The Scotsman, 3rd May 1975.
 5. Chapter Two, above.

Buchanan's time and beyond. For example, "we are forced to confess that Sidney was a Renaissance Platonic poet."⁶ In Scotland, composition of Latin verse of high quality continued at least throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Men like Arthur Johnston, John Leech, David Hume (c.1560-1630) and David Wedderburn contributed particularly to Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum (comparable collections were made in France, Italy, Belgium and Germany) and Musa Latina Aberdonensis. Although other influences also affected their work, especially the religious and political background of contemporary Scotland, the literary tradition of Scotland and other countries and other classical writers especially Virgil, Ovid was a particularly strong force.⁷ The influence was in linguistic borrowings, intentional or not, sometimes through anthologies, references to mythological stories, style or in a quality which can only be assessed subjectively. Thus "Johnston, a considerable classical scholar and no mean poet, has succeeded in describing contemporary subjects in the language, the metre and above all, the spirit of Ovid."⁸ Some attempt has been made to estimate the influence of ancient historians in mediaeval and early modern Europe. References to Tacitus, for example, could^{be} traced until about 520 A.D. After a gap of three centuries knowledge of Tacitus could be traced in monasteries and in writers such as Einhard (770-840) but after the Carolingian revival readers of Tacitus were few. No early knowledge of Tacitus' work, not even the Agricola, was attested in Britain;

6. Pickett, "Sidney's use of Phaedrus in the Lady of May", Studies in Eng.Lit., Vol. XVI, No.1 (Winter 1976). Cf. Chalifour, "Sir Philip Sidney's Old Arcadia as Terentian Comedy", ibid.

7. Cormack, The Influence of Ovid...

8. Ibid., p.135.

Sandys⁹ thought that William of Malmesbury (d.c.1143) quoted Sallust not Tacitus and John of Salisbury probably took a reference to Tacitus from Orosius. On the continent, Petrarch knew nothing of Tacitus but Boccaccio transcribed the Annals himself. In the fifteenth century copies of Tacitus' work were more often made and subsequently came into print. This analysis by Haverfield¹⁰ was thought by Laistner¹¹ to be incomplete: the latter thought that the ignorance of Tacitus in the late Middle Ages had been exaggerated.

It was, however, clear that during the sixteenth century interest in Tacitus expanded. At the end of the fifteenth century it was still possible for Pontano to write, "Curtium ac Tacitum quasi mutilatas videmus statim; licetque suspican potius ac conicere quam de iis iudicium aliquod absolutum ac certum tradere"¹² but by 1532 Beatus Rhenanus claimed that Tacitus was to be more highly regarded than Livy: "Unde factum sit ut praestantium in literis virorum iudicio Livio non sit postponendus Tacitus, quin potius anteferendus"). Thorough study of Tacitus, however, only began after the publication of the text (1574) and commentary (1581) of Lipsius. He did not mean to write a political commentary; this (on Annals I-IV) was supplied by Carolus Paschalius (Pasqual) in 1581, the first published political commentary on Tacitus. "In the period 1515-1580 interest in Tacitus, though originating in Italy, tended to spread more especially outside Italy; and, though inspired by politicians, tended to attract lawyers." The two most eminent Taciteans towards

9. Hist. Class. Schol., ^{vol. 1,} p.662, n.6.

10. J.R.S., 1916.

11. Greater Roman Historians, p.179n.34.

12. Quoted by Momigliano, J.R.S. 1947.

1570-80, Muretus and Lipsius, were not Italian by birth or intellectual training. Momigliano suggested that Pasqual, who was born in Piedmont (1547), was educated in Geneva and settled in France, might be the link between the predominantly Transalpine interest in Tacitus of 1570-80 and the Italian 'Tacitismo' movement of the nineties which spread over Europe. The great upsurge of interest in Tacitus belonged more to the seventeenth century, when figures based on the number of editions showed that he was the most popular ancient historian: in order of popularity came, in 1500-49 Sallust; Valerius; Caesar; 1550-99 Caesar; Sallust; Livy; 1600-49 Tacitus; Sallust; Florus.¹³ Pasqual, whose patron was Guy de Pibrac, chancellor of Marguerite de Valois, knew Scaliger; Scaliger and Lipsius were correspondents before 1580-1; Lipsius and Montaigne were friends; Montaigne was a pupil of Buchanan. Although interest in Tacitus was to grow much further after Buchanan's death, he may have been aware of increasing study of that author. Another shift in late Renaissance thought was a change of attitude to Cicero. He had been greatly admired by early Renaissance figures but Montaigne, though giving some praise to his eloquence, disliked his vanity and differed from his opinion on the nature of public life. "Montaigne broke with a long tradition of adulation for Cicero."¹⁴ Like Cicero and to some extent like Buchanan, "Montaigne never completely relinquished the desire to be the intimate adviser of a ruler." In the field of historiography Montaigne gave some signs of a change in fashion. Although in part he subscribed to the historiographical tradition of

13. Burke, "Popularity of Ancient Historians", in History and Theory V.

14. Green, "Montaigne's Critique of Cicero", J. Hist. Ideas 1975, p.612.

the early Italian humanists - "Unlike the more advanced sixteenth-century historical thinkers, Montaigne believes that individual character and motive, not circumstances - virtu ^{not} and Fortuna - is the most important determinant of historical events"¹⁵ - he distrusted rhetorical history. This was one aspect of humanism. Another was antiquarian research and pragmatic political history. The combination of rhetoric and antiquarianism had been seen as early as Flavio Biondo (1388-1463). Montaigne followed the tradition of humanism but in his work there were signs of the movement's disintegration. Somewhat similar changes occurred in the reputation of Seneca, who was quoted by Buchanan at the end of De Iure. His popularity was high in the twelfth and later fourteenth centuries, and then declined. Erasmus at first favoured Seneca, and again by the end of the sixteenth century "there existed what can reasonably be described as a cult of Seneca."^{15a} This cult, which was linked with an anti-Ciceronian movement, was promoted largely by Munroe^{ret} (1526-85). Lipsius was also an enthusiast for Seneca and Montaigne was described by Etienne Pasquier (1529-1615) as "un autre Sénèque en notre langue."

If the possibility is admitted that changes in the sixteenth-century order of preference for ancient historians may have some relevance to the Historia and since these writers are agreed to have exercised a general influence on the work, it is necessary to consider briefly the course of Roman historiography. Of three main strands in its background that represented by the Greek writers Thucydides

15. Logan, "The Relation of Montaigne to Renaissance Humanism", ibid., p.627.

15a. Ross, Seneca's Philosophical Influence, in Seneca (ed. Costa).

and Polybius most resembled a modern approach. They sought to collect information and present a true picture of events in an objective, analytic spirit. This tradition, however, was eclipsed by later Hellenistic historians such as Theopompus who, although not much of their writing survives, had a more discursive and rhetorical outlook, emphasising tragic and moral elements. The moral aspect was particularly attractive to the early Roman historians, who drew thirdly on distinctively Roman records such as lists of magistrates, family inscriptions and "Annales Maximi", comprising state events and by their nature promoting an annalistic approach. Although extant material is rare, the names are known of some who wrote general accounts of Roman history from the beginnings to their own time, fuller (because of evidence and interest) on the more recent past. Claudius Quadrigarius began his account in 387 B.C. These works were concise, annalistic and, in earlier cases such as Fabius Pictor, in Greek, perhaps through imitation or affectation, or more probably because a preponderance of Greek readers was envisaged. Cato's Origines contained historical material in Books IV to VII. By the first century B.C. accounts of briefer periods, such as Antipater on the Second Punic War, Asellio on his own times and a generation later Sisenna on the Italian civil wars between 91 and 82, were known; also the memoirs of at least four men, Aemilius Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Catulus and Sulla were published. Cicero, probably the personage of antiquity most influential in the post-classical period, was able to speak of "leges historiae": strict adherence to truth, impartiality, proper presentation of facts and understanding both of the main causes and contributing factors behind important events and

situations in the past and of the life and manners of the principal actors on the stage of history.¹⁶ Cicero also laid stress on style and composition and he considered that the annalists had not fulfilled these precepts. In a letter to L. Lucceius, however, he contrasted these requirements with the lesser stringency which he would like to see applied in a monograph on his own consulship:

"Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae neglegas gratiamque...eam, si ne tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedere veritas, largiaris."¹⁷

The threat to historical detachment from vanity over a political role may have some parallel with Buchanan.

Since Caesar's Commentaries, while showing some features of historical writing, may more aptly be regarded as memoirs, and only two monographs, apart from fragments, of Sallust survive, other works such as that of Asinius Pollio being lost, Livy and Tacitus are the most important Roman writers of history. Fundamental information being readily available,¹⁸ only some relevant aspects will be touched on here. One of the main differences between ancient and modern historian lies in the scope of their research. To a large extent the reason was less developed means of disseminating and recording information, but ancient writers were less scrupulous investigators. Sources were frequently not specified, but indicated by vague phrases such as "it is related", or "they say". Livy gave more information

16. de Or.

17. Ad fam., V. xii. 3 and Giw ad loc.

18. O.L.D. (2).

about his sources than Sallust; he mentioned at least half-a-dozen times authors like Valerius Antias and Coelius Antipater. They were, however, less reliable than Polybius, a major authority to whom Livy inadequately acknowledged his debt, referring to him once as "handquaquam spernendus auctor."¹⁹ Livy also used official records for lists of legions and magistrates. His reliability depends on the source being used at the time. Opinion has differed over Livy's criticism of his material: Laistner, pointing out occasions where Livy showed awareness of defective evidence (at vi.1.12 "The subject-matter is enveloped in obscurity" and viii.40.4 on the possibility of bias in family archers^{ive}), criticised the thesis that Livy mainly relied on a single source for each section of his narrative but Walsh rejected this criticism, partly because of the impossibility of carrying out thorough research for such a massive work, and because "his detached and philosophic attitude towards his subject is not characterized by that passion to unearth the precise details of "what really ^{ha} happened" which marks the writing of a Polybius or a Tacitus."²⁰ Tacitus was more industrious, making use of the Acta Senatus and Acta Urbis and contemporary memoirs such as of Agrippina, mother of Nero. Much of his information was nevertheless probably drawn from previous historians such as (quoted in Ann XIV) Cluvius Rufus and Fabius Rusticus. At times he seems to have drawn on first-hand campaign memoirs such as of Cn. Domitius Corbulo in Ann. XV, 16 and in general Tacitus' facts have been supported by other evidence including archaeology.

19. XXX. xlv, 5.

20. Surveys, p.13.

Style was of great importance to ancient historians, and was a major point of distinction between Tacitus and Livy. Syme expressed the opinion²¹ that the extent of Livian influence on Tacitus' style had commonly been underestimated. Tacitus admired Livy ("eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis", Ann. IV. 34.3) and borrowed words, phrases and scenes from him.²² Livy influenced the speeches in the Agricola and Tacitus may have shared with Livy a taste for poetical, particularly Virgilian phrases. Nevertheless Tacitus' style (in his historical writing, since the style of the Dialogus has more in common with that of Cicero) comes closer to, and goes beyond, that of Sallust. Tacitus had a taste for avoidance of parallel expressions, for brevity and epigrammatic "sententiae." This inclination was reflected in his extension of some grammatical devices: for instance the accusative phrase 'in apposition to the sentence', the dative of purpose, ablative of time 'throughout which' (common in Buchanan) and future participle representing likelihood or intention were features found in Sallust and Livy but most frequent in Tacitus. Apart from development of language, two other factors contributed to Tacitus' peculiar style. One was the change in political circumstances since the first century B.C. The eloquent ornate, flowing style may have been appropriate for earlier periods but, as Syme wrote, "modern or recent history required the maturity, the penetration, and the ferocity of Sallust." Goodyear estimated that there was a broadly increasing individuality in Tacitus' style.²³ Temperament is also a factor; if, as Ogilvie stated, "Tacitus differs

21. Tacitus, p.200.

22. Ibid., App. 54.

23. Surveys.

chiefly from Livy in his urge to say the unexpected in an unexpected way", this difference may be because "Tacitus' dark nature was more in tune with Sallust than with Livy."²⁴ A common practice among ancient historians was the inclusion of speeches purporting to represent what was spoken at the time but composed in the writer's own style. Thus although Adams noted a few usages common to Tacitus' speeches, he largely retained his usual style when writing them.²⁵

Roman historians used speeches in various ways, ranging from summary reported speech to invented speeches designed to illustrate character or mark a critical and dramatic point in the narrative. Tacitean speeches tend to be shorter than those of Livy and Sallust and the proportion of speech to narrative is much less. Yet Tacitus could be regarded as making variations on a pattern which in essence had been established by Livy, were it not for his distinctive use of oratio obliqua: "not only does he use a greater proportion of it... but he has developed to a fine art its functions of presenting dramatically a man's thoughts or motives, and also its use to indicate group feeling or judgement."²⁶ The diminished use of speeches and greater emphasis on indirect speech is a feature noticeable in Buchanan as compared with Boece.

It is important to remember that ancient historians were much occupied with the moral aspect of their work. Stoic philosophy became to some extent inherent in the tradition of historiography.

24. Ogilvie, ed., Agricola, p.24.

25. Adams, 'The vocabulary of the speeches in Tacitus' historical works', Lond. Ins. Class. Studs. 1973.

26. Miller, 'Dramatic Speech in the Roman Historians', Greece and Rome (April 1975).

Livy revealed a certain amount of rationalism in philosophy and "it is rare for Livy's own personal judgements to be intended";²⁷ nevertheless his moral concern is evident in his emphasis on human emotions and his extended practice of obituary notes. Tacitus too, however, stated, "It seems to me a historian's foremost duty to ensure that merit is recorded, and to confront evil deeds and words with the fear of posterity's denunciation."²⁸ As historians treated differently the common moral theme, so they provided variations on the theme of patriotism. Livy was anxious to evoke the greatness of Rome and his patriotism led him to favour conservatism, the senatorial cause and more oligarchic times. Tacitus, although he discussed events around the Mediterranean, was (in his two major works) primarily concerned with Rome and the way in which events affected Rome. These elements must be borne in mind in any discussion of ancient historiography, but in a comparison between Livy and Tacitus the greatest difference may be in general outlook, and in particular Tacitus' greater political acuteness. The loss, apart from abridgement, of books 46 to 142 of Livy's history, is a factor to be remembered; Tacitus dealt in the main with the recent past and differences in technique may be partly attributable to differences in subject-matter. Nevertheless Tacitus' political interest has been an important element in his reputation. His conviction that evil outweighed good in what he described and his awareness of danger in too much power being given to one man were connected with politics. Politics affected his judgements of character: thus although he was tempted by the view that Tiberius was corrupted by power, he preferred the

27. Grant, Ancient Historians, p.226.

28. Ann. III, 63 (trans. Grant).

thesis that power only fully revealed an already corrupt personality.²⁹ Buchanan too seemed aware that both innate characteristics and environment could contribute to the formation of character. Tacitus' picture of Tiberius was influenced by Domitian, under whom Tacitus had been promoted although highly opposed to the regime. The question of how to react to an oppressive regime had occupied Tacitus' mind. He was sentimentally in favour of the republic but realised that the imperial system could not be disestablished. Passivity was therefore the best course, martyrdom being theatrical.

In some respects Buchanan's Historia may be considered closer to the tradition of classical, rather than modern, historical writing. He did not or could not conduct any detailed research. His references to sources were not detailed or systematic, and time relationship between narrative blocks, though usually indicated, was often vague. The construction of the Historia, episodic within an annalistic framework and also retaining some continuing themes, notably the succession and the effect of government on citizens, was not dissimilar from that of the Annals. Style and moral purpose were important elements. If there is any worth in making the comparison more specific, there may be a case for seeing similarities between Buchanan and Tacitus in particular, ranging from general impression to specific points: Tacitus "stands a little too close to his canvas" and "the rivalries of competing courtiers form a theme upon which Tacitus willingly dwells."³⁰ Firstly, both were literary men who had

29. Hands, 'Postremo Suo Tantum Ingenio Utebatur', C.Q. (Nov. 1974). Tacitus' psychological analysis was influenced less by philosophic theory than by forensic experience.

30. Wellesley ed., Hist. III, Introduction.

had some political experience, which to some extent promoted pessimism: the type-character of tyranny was important to Tacitus, and Buchanan too dwelt on the danger of tyranny. Secondly, although both Tacitus and Buchanan have at times been denied to be serious historians, they were aware of the need for sound evidence: Tacitus wrote, "quae plurimis maximaeque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli." They were sceptical, if credulous and unscientific. Disagreement has been found not so much with their facts as with the interpretation which they have put upon them. Thus in some cases "Tacitus has so shaped and coloured the description by his own view of later events as to lose all claim to historical objectivity."³¹ The portrait of Domitian, like that of Mary Queen of Scots, may have been a distortion, but nevertheless honest from the author's point of view. There is a danger of over-emphasising single elements as the expense of seeing the works as a whole. Thirdly, both writers were complex personalities, and commentators have struck some similar notes: "Tacitus is a poet and a dramatist, not different in that from other historians (such as deserve the name), but better" and Buchanan was called a "poet-historian."³² "His writings (it can be argued) are morally subversive, not safely to be recommended for the instruction of the young."³³ Much the same was said of Buchanan: "I would not advise to put him in the hands of our Scotch youth... reserve him... for riper years."³⁴ Parallels between Tacitus and Buchanan should not

31. Walker, Annals of Tacitus, p.91. Walker compares Tacitus not only to Lucretius but also to Sibelius, a parallel as remarkable as Ferguson's (Dudley ed., Neonians and Flavians, p.18) between Seneca and Cosmo Lang.

32. Syme, Tacitus, p.546 and Rae, quoted below, c.8.

33. Syme, op.cit., p.521.

34. Pringle, quoted by Lenman, S.H.R. 1973.

be taken too far, but some recommendation for them may be found in the change in historical taste during the sixteenth century.

The theory that Buchanan was influenced by Tacitus is at least not disproved by questions of style, but a number of uncertainties lie in this field. The feature which first strikes the reader of the Historia as different from a classical text is the obvious one of proper nouns, even though they are usually put in Latin form (e.g. "Bodius" for Boyd). Buchanan used many phrases from classical Latin, but difficulties occur with words like "clientela", "principes", and "triumviratus". The possibilities are that these words are chosen as the nearest Latin equivalent to the required meaning, in which case they may slightly mislead, or that Buchanan felt it appropriate to describe some matters of Scottish history in the terms of Roman history, in which case it may be asked whether there were similarities in the structure of society. Furthermore although Renaissance writers were very familiar with classical writers, they were influenced by the fact that Latin had developed during the mediaeval period and was used at the time as a "live" language in, for example, correspondence. Consequently, sixteenth-century writers were not using strict "classical" Latin, in poetry and prose. Thus Buchanan's versification had some variations on classical practice and "it is not difficult to pick a few ^{le} blemishes in the Latinity of the Sphera."³⁵ Mark Pattison commented that "the style of Erasmus^s, considered as Latin, incorrect, sometimes even barbarous, and far removed from any

35. Naiden, op.cit., p.33.

classical model."³⁶ This remark was quoted by ^{ci}Marr when he pointed out in a learned article that such writers as Boece, Buchanan and Erasmus sometimes neglected the practice of classical prose, as distinct from verse writers or the vulgate, one instance being the use of *ne* and perfect subjunctive for a negative prohibition.³⁷

^{ci}Marr's edition of the Bishops commented on some matters of syntax. Thorough analysis of Buchanan's style would therefore demand considerable study of the use of syntax and vocabulary in his other works and in the writings of contemporaries. Within the Historia style varies according to content, sentences tending to be briefer in narrative passages. To give some general idea of style, however, the following may serve as examples:

Livy, XXX. xxviii "Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat; nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat, utrum gaudio dignum esset Mannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem vacuum possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, **ari** magis metuendum, quod incolumi exercitu in Africam transisset; locum nimirum, non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis vatem, qui nuper decessisset, Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum graviorem in sua terra futurum hostem Mannibalem, quam in aliena fuisset. nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace, inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa ducere exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale, **fix**gacissimo duce, rem futuram aut cum tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semerum turba subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris, fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter

36. Enc. Brit. (e.g. 11th ed., s.v. Erasmus, p.731).

37. "Boece Melvin, Geddes: do they ever nod?" (reprinted from Aberdeen Journal), 1895 (NLS). Cf. Woodcock, New Latin Syntax, p.97, 128 note (ii).

arma, puero quondam milite, vixdum iuvene imperatore, qui senex vincendo factus Hispanias Gallias Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complexisset."

Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 15.: Ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, instituit ludos Iuvenalium vocabulo, in quos passim nomina data. non nobilitas cuiquam, non aetas aut acti honores impedimento, quo minus Graeci Latine histrionis artem exercerent usque ad gestus modosque haud virilis. quin et feminae inlustres deformia meditari; extractaque apud nemus, quod navali stagno circumposuit Augustus, conventicula et cauponae et posita veno inritamenta luxui. dabanturque stipes quam boni necessitate, intemperantes gloria consumerent, inde gliscere flagitia et infamia, nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum circumdedit quam illa conluvies. vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia aut modestia aut quicquam probi moris reservaretur. postremus ipse scaenam incedit, multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans adsistentibus phonascis. accesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribunique et maerens Burrus ac landans. tuncque primum conscripti sunt equites Romani cognomento Augustianorum, aetate ac robore conspicui et parsimoniae procaces, alii in spem potentiae."

Even in these passages the greater emphasis on nouns than verbs in Tacitus and his deliberate modifications to series of parallel expressions may be noted. There follows a passage from Book 17 of the Historia, p.328: "Fama de Reginae adventu passim divulgata, quidquid erat Nobilitatis ex omnibus regni partibus passim accurrit; partim velut ad spectaculum publicum, partim ut reditum gratularentur. Convenerant et nonnulli, ut officia sua erga absentem commemorarent,

gratiamque ejus statim occuparent, ^{aut} ~~que~~ inimicorum calumnias praevenirent; non pauci, ut ex initio novi regni auspiciam de rebus futuris captarent. In his tam variis animorum motibus, omnes ex aequo suam Reginam videre cupiebant, post tam varios fortunae utriusque eventus, velut ex insperato sibi oblatam: ut quae, inter saevissimas bellorum tempestates, patre intra octavum quam nata erat diem orba: matris quidem lectissimae foeminae summa diligentia educata: sed inter domesticas seditiones, et externa bella eorum, qui plus possent, praedae relicta, et antequam sensum habere malorum posset, omnibus fortunae saevientis exposita periculis: et patria relicta, velut in exilium relegata, inter hostium arma et fluctuum violentiam aegre servata. Ibi quidem, fortuna paullulum blandiente, matrimonio quidem illustri aucta; sed velut ostentato magis, quam exhibito gaudio, extinctis matre viroque, in luctum et orbitatem rejecta, novo quod acceperat regno amisso, vetere prope incerto. Commendabatur etiam, praeter discriminum varietatem, excellentis formae bonitate, et maturescentis aevi vigore, et ingenii elegantia: quam vel auxerat, vel certe falsis virtutum coloribus gratiorem fecerat aulica educatio, mimae quidem illa sincera, sed ad honesti quamdam similitudinem adumbrata: et quae naturae bonitatem, studio et placendi cura, deteriorem facerat, et ^{vitium} ~~viventum~~ semina delinimentis voluptatum retunderet, quo minus ad matures fructus perveniret. Haec ut in vulgus grata erat, ita perspicaciores minime fallebant: sed mollis adhuc et flexibilis aetas, rerum usu, putabatur facile corrigi posse."

Here probably only a few words such as "perspicaciores"³⁸ and the

38. Given only late authority by L. and S.

loose construction of participial phrases suggest that the passage is not classical. Although a more rhetorical approach is, perhaps deliberately, employed to describe the queen's varying fortune, elsewhere brevity, varied phrases (e.g. "velut ad...gratularentur" and "ut...fallebant") and a more cynical tone are reminiscent of Tacitus. Simpson pointed out the similarity between Boece's style and Livy.³⁹

That care must be taken in interpreting Buchanan's Latin is illustrated by three examples. At p.205 in the sentence "quoniam Monachis de cⁱvium caussis statuere religio est", "religio" is evidently used in a prohibitive sense. At p.294a, in the reported words of Wishart (Sophocardius), "ut perfecta fierent membra Christi, qui assidue pro nobis interpellat Patrem, ut nostrum sacrificium apud eum proficiat in vitam aeternam", Andrew Melville doubted whether "sacrificium" would have been used thus without "Eucharisticum" and Ruddiman supported classification on grounds of the controversial subject-matter. Grammatical difficulties are neatly illustrated by a phrase at the beginning of De Iure, "vereor, ne in scopulum impigerim." Here classical style might demand the insertion of "me", but Soutar's Lexicon shows that later writers tend to use impingo intransitively. In general, however, Young's opinion may be noted:⁴⁰ "taking verse and prose together, Buchanan may be thought the finest Latin stylist of all time, for his verse is much better than Cicero's attempts at poetry, and his prose far surpasses that of

39. In A.Q.S.

40. St. Andrews, p.178.

Seneca." The approximate parallel between Livy and Boece, Tacitus and Buchanan, might be pondered over. "The word 'Patavinitas' sums up, elegantly and finally, the whole moral and romantic view of history. Pollio knew what history was. It was not like Livy."⁴¹ History was not like Boece.

41. Syme, Roman Revolution, p.486.

Chapter Eight

In surveying Buchanan's attitude to kingship, it is instructive to look back to his predecessors. Major dedicated his history to James V: "Spectabilissima indole et summis utriusque Maioris Britanniae Regni natalibus inclyto Iacobo Scotorum Regi Quinto... faustissimo nomini tuo, Iacobe Quinte Scotorum Rex felicissime nate, et de quo optima et maxima quaeque speramus omnes... felix in Nestoreos annos vive." The dedication and its phraseology may be regarded as conventional but Major explicitly defended his inclusion of a dedication, whereas one was not recorded in the works of Sallust or Livy and he refuted the charge of flattery. At two points in his history Major provided particular discussion of kingship. After raising the question of the resignation of the kingdom to the Pope by King John of England Major asked, "An regnum a liquidis potest ius regni sui vel certos reditus cuique dare?" In the course of his typically formal argumentation,¹ during which he pondered over church revenues and opined that an agreed levy, but not an extortionate one imposed by the king, was just, he stated: "Ius regni a populo libero Rex habet, nec contra, populi voluntatem illud ius alicui concedere potest." His second "propositio" and "probatio" were as follows: "Male agit Rex qui sine maturo procerum sui regni consilio proventus dandos a populo alicui instituit. Talis sine consensu vero aut interpretativo populi populum onerat: tale autem vectigal populus solvere non tenetur." When he recounted what he supposed to be the murder of King John² Major showed that he envisaged some

1. Bk. IV, c. III, fol. LVI-LL.

2. See above, ~~Chapter Six~~. p. 128

restraints on royal power: the murder was condemned as a great crime but the explanation given was, "licet enim malis regibus vitam in mortem commutare reipublicae expediat, nullo tamen pacto viro auctoritate privata et signanter monacho eos occidere licet."

Secondly Major affirmed the right of Robert Bruce and his family to the throne.³ He explained the royal lineage from Malcolm Canmore to James V; his debate seemed to refer, somewhat confusingly, to the position after Balliol's reign rather than the controversy of 1292. Among his arguments were: (2) "Populus liber primo regi dat robur, cuius potestas a toto populo dependet: qua aliud ius Fergusius primus rex Scotiae non habuit: et ita est ubilibet et ab orbe condito erat communiter." Thus for example Henry VIII reigned on the same terms as Henry VII. (3) "Regem et posteros pro demeritis populus potest exauthorare sicut et primo instituere." (4) "illud circa Reges faciendum est quod maxime ad reipublicae utilitatem conducit" (6) "Licitum est populo libero in casu regem indubitatum cum posteris eicere a regno... et novum regem nullum ius in regno habentem instituere...ergo licitum est regem ambiguum in simili casu exauthorare et ambiguum inthronizare" and (7) "Cuius est regem condere eius est casum ambiguum circa regem incidentem interpretari: sed a populo et potissimum primoribus et nobilibus qui plebis vices gerunt, reges instituuntur." In the next chapter Major brought forward possible objections to his thesis and refuted them. Amongst his assertions was, "Reges enim non possunt regni sui iura secundum sua arbitria alteri conferre." His reply to the suggestion that it

3. Bk. IV, c. XVII, fol. LXXVI.

would be to the detriment of the state if kings could be deposed at the people's whim was that measures would only be taken in extreme cases: "difficillime enim a regno reges eiiciendi sunt... Propter tamen aliqua spur^ga vitia et incorrigibilitatem, a regnis veteres non iniuste reges eicerunt. Pro quibus cumque tamen criminibus dum sunt corrigibiles Reges non sunt exauthorandi: sed tunc solum quando reipublicae magis eorum depositio quam stabilitas conducit... sine magna trium statuum consultatⁱone et maturo libramine passit^{ri}bus etiam sem^{er}is reges non sunt exauctorandi." The king, however, must have regard to the interests of the realm.

Earlier thinkers, including John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus and Marsilius of Padua, had proposed that kings be punished for misdemeanours. Gerson and d'Ailly who, both of the University of Paris, had contemplated questions of authority especially in the church, influenced Major, a link being provided by Thomas Livingstone, the most notable Scottish advocate of the power of General Councils over the Pope.⁴ Three points should be borne in mind about Major's views. He evidently had a respect for monarchy in practice; he believed in retribution against extreme royal faults; he did not give a detailed account of his ideal constitution, showing precisely what powers the "primores", "nobiles" and "tres status" should have. In somewhat different guise these three points were to be found in Boece's history. Major's view that kings could or should be punished was largely a matter of philosophical debate, whereas Boece maintained that retribution

4. Baxter, S.H.R. XXV (1928), p.90.

against wicked kings had been a practice in early Scotland. Thus "Regni primores, tantorum tamque perniciosorum in rempublicam flagitiorum in principe totius gentis moderatore pertaesi... in ipsum extemplo coniurant." A new king was declared and Euenus III was imprisoned.⁵ The usurper Donald III was killed, another king was killed by his courtiers because of his ineptitude⁶ and Athirco, "iniquus rei summae administrator", committed suicide. Boece's juxtaposition of good and bad rulers was sometimes unconvincing and there was no authentic evidence for this principle of justified deposition. Nor was there evidence for a 'popular' element in the constitution as Boece claimed, although like Major he gave no clear indication of the processes through which this element operated. Despite a system of family succession to the kingship, acceptance by the people was an important factor: "omnium suffragiis rex declaratur", "caetis populi acclamationibus rex salutatur", "venerabunda multitudo...regem saluere iubent", and "rex ab omnibus est salutatus".⁷ When necessary the people, through their leaders, elected a regent: while Thereus was in exile, "Scotorum maiores, ne respublica summi magistratus defectu aliquod pateretur incommodum interregem (nunc gubernatorem dicunt) communi suffragio creauere."⁸

Boece was, like Major, evidently full of respect for James V, and if his history imposed restrictions on kingship, it was also outstanding in its exultation of and emphasis on the antiquity of kingship,⁹ a theme of the preface. The supposed early development of the kingship was described at some length and the centrepiece was

5. P. 35, l.27.

6. P. 83, l.44.

7. P. 34, l.72, p. 83, l.34, P. 93, l.33, p. 99, l.16 respectively.

8. P. w1, l.23.

9. As Black pointed out, A.Q.S.

the ceremonial stone brought from Spain by way of Ireland and inscribed to the effect that the Scots would rule wherever the stone was located. Sitting on the stone Scottish kings up to Robert I were inducted. Fergus I, on the gods' advice, had brought it with him and was able to use it when the Scots decided first that they wanted a king ("omnes regem volebant"¹⁰) and then that the king should be he ("Tandem igitur Fergusio regnum decernunt"). After a victory speech by Fergus later in his reign, the position of the monarchy was strengthened: "Icta foedera invidiata permansura, regis nomen et administrationem vehementer placere." The king organised a distribution of land and then the Scots pledged their faith in the royal dynasty: "Rege inde id haud petente, ad unum omnes in eius fidem nomenque denuo iurarunt: addentes se nunquam aliam publici regiminis formam quam regiam admissuros, passurosue in Albione supra Scotos, nisi Fergusiani sanguinis quenquam regnare. Si fallerent, tum omnia mala illa quae sui maiores, et in Aegypto et in Hispania ab avita lege piaque deorum religione praevaricantibus consueverant imprecari, sibi suaeque posteritati inciderent."¹¹ The next important stage came when the succession was discussed following Fergus' death. Some were in favour of his children's reigning; others believed that an older person was required. The plan of Franchthaus, the Brigantine leader, was adopted: "sancitumque publica autoritate ut decedente rege, filio relicto impubere, regiae

10. P. 6, 1.70.

11. P. 10, 1.38.

familiae ad publica munera obeunda maxime idoneus summa rerum potiretur: eo vita functo regiae proli, iam tum per aetatem maturae ad imperium sine quaestione deferretur regnum. Eademque lege vetitum, ne in discrimen publica aliquando libertas duceretur, pueras regnare."¹²

Feritharis, the second king, duly received the royal insignia which were described as follows: Erant ea ensis nudus acie ancipiti: Virga recta (sceptrum haec aetas appellat) aurea cum corona militaris valli forma, patriae, libertatisque tutandae, sontium feriendorum, aequitatis iustitiaeque administrationis simul atque summae potestatis summa omnium debita cum veneratione iudicia." These insignia, Boece recalled, remained the same until Achaius reigned in the time of Charlemagne: "Addidit is coronae circo quatuor lilia aurea, quatuor cum salutiferae crucis aureis signis, paribus intervallis discretis, liliis paulo eminentioribus." This addition was a symbol of the Christian faith of the Scottish race. Early kings in Boece's account were buried at Evonium in Argyll. Thus "Ederus elatus regia pompa (uti ea fiebat aetate) celebri monumento in campo Euonii est sepultus: obeliscis multis ut iam tum ab initio gentis erat institutum, eo in loco erectis."¹³ Fergus II was the first king to be buried in Iona. This change came about when his son and successor Eugenius "ut a pietate administrationem inchoaret, patris reliquias effossas loco, ubi Romanis urgentibus armis erant reconditae, funebri pompa in Ionam insulam delatas, uti iusserat vivens Fergusius, Christiano ritu, destinato ad id loco sepelivit."¹⁴ From the time of Malcolm

13. P.34, l.65.

14. P.122, l.28.

and Margaret royal burials took place at Dunfermline. An heir was sometimes designated before the ruler's death, as was Fynnanus. Despite troubles from an early date (Fergus I's son Ferlegus, for instance, claimed the kingship while Feritharⁱ's was still alive, but the people decided to stand by the arrangements made during Fergus' lifetime and about the time of Reutha there was further dissension) the succession system survived for many years. These troubles were referred to when the change was made, a change typically heralded by Boece by a set oration of Kenneth III. Hereditary succession was established by Kenneth but there was opposition at the time and there were some deviations (Macbeth, for example followed "vetus consuetudo") before the new system was universally accepted.

The three aspects of Major's and Boece's attitude to kingship were also to be found in Buchanan's attitude: namely respect for monarchy (including in Buchanan's case the personal involvement of tutorship to James VI), conviction of traditional restrictions on errant kings and insufficient consideration of how this superficial constitutional theory would operate. There was little new in Buchanan's views on kingship. In greatly compressing Boece's material on the early kings, however, he reduced significantly the amount of support for both the antiquity of the monarchy and the operation of retribution against kings. The valid criticism remains that Buchanan's Book IV was historically false while it supported Buchanan's theory. The more serious criticism of Thomas Innes¹⁵ is not acceptable. Innes did not think that Buchanan had simply been

15. Critical Essay.

misled by Boece; he argued that Books I-III of the Historia revealed enough historical skill for the author to realise that the forty kings were false, and that Buchanan had included these kings with the sole purpose of supporting his political theory. If Buchanan had come to the conclusion that these kings had not existed, he must have made this view known to some contemporaries and he would win little respect if he subsequently included them in his book merely to strengthen an argument. His argument, if Innes's view was correct, would have been supported further if he had not abridged this part of Boece's history to about one tenth. It seems much more likely that Buchanan was sceptical about the forty kings but lacked sufficient evidence to refute completely what was an established part of tradition at the time he wrote.

Further evidence on Buchanan's view of kingship might be drawn from two of the most important speeches in the Historia. In Book XII Buchanan described the controversy over whether the seven-year-old James III should be entrusted to the queen or to some suitable person to be elected, "*alteris maternum nomen et propinquitatem... alteris vetustam legem perpetua consuetudine confirmatam jactantibus.*" After a month's postponement the queen publicly stated her case (in one chapter) and Bishop James Kennedy replied (in seven chapters). His view was that "*in re, quae ad omnium utilitatem pertinet, ex omnibus electionem fieri debere.*" His duty was to speak out according to law and tradition. It would be rash to depart from Kennedy's law that the people should choose a prudent man to be regent on behalf of a minor. Queens had never been known in Scotland, only *wives* of kings, and women had never had equal rights even in lesser

things. Between that point and his conclusion, Kennedy amplified his view by saying that those who attacked the traditional position of women attacked the law of nature itself; some laws required alteration in time but nature was irrevocable and those who urged the queen to take on unnatural tasks were insulting her dignity. In an argument reminiscent of Aristophanes' Women in Parliament, Kennedy asked why the men did not stay at home and send their wives to camp. He recalled the virtues appropriate to a queen and asked her not to put at risk the modesty which she clearly possessed; women have their talents but administration, as numerous examples from the past showed, was not among them. Although these words were attributed to Kennedy and were not part of the author's own narrative there is no need to doubt that Buchanan sympathised with them. Their substance was, however, less constitutional in import than anti-feminist. Moreover it was part of the tradition in which Buchanan was writing to include speeches made up to illustrate some critical point and the contemporary Auchinleck chronicler provided testimony that this question was a genuine matter of debate: "what particularly annoyed him was that the magnates 'gaf the keping of the kinrik [kingdom] till a woman".¹⁶ Similar caution should be exercised in assessing the twelve chapters (in Man's arrangement) in Book XX devoted to Morton's report to the nobles at Stirling on his embassy to England. The last five recounted the negotiations with Elizabeth but the first seven were largely given up to the Scottish ambassadors' speech on the justification of Mary's deposition. The charges against her had

16. Nicholson, p.398.

already been explained and the penalty was not new: "Nam tot Reges a nostris maioribus morte, vinculis, exilio punitos enumerare nihil est opus." Using examples from other countries too, the ambassadors asserted that what had been done accorded with law and tradition. Suppression of a tyrant was not a blemish on a state. Buchanan's sympathy with Morton's point of view should not obscure the likelihood that, even if Buchanan himself knew that the arguments were not wholly valid and even if his version of Morton's speech was largely a literary composition, these arguments were used in political debate at the time. ^{ear} Near the end of Book XVII¹⁷ Ruthven was quoted as saying to the queen, "Regum Scotorum legitimum esse imperium: nec unquam ad unius libidinem, sed ad legem praescriptum, et Nobilitatis consensu, regi/soliturum. Si qui Regum contra attentassent, graves suae temeritatis poenas luisse." Earlier in the same book a passage on a similar theme occurred:¹⁸ "Contra, disserebatur a peritis rerum Scoticarum, Saepius Regum, quam civium culpa, seditiones illic ortas, dum regnum, quod ab extremis usque temporibus semper fuerat legitimum, ad infinitam et liberam legum reducere conarentur; eamque, quam gens bellicosa magis quam opulenta tolerare non posset. Reges autem omnes, qui ius populi imminuere non tentassent, non solum ab inimicis et populi tumultibus fuisse tutos, sed in summa civium caritate ab hostibus fuisse invictos, et apud exteros illustres regnasse." When Buchanan reported these remarks, he was not guilty of expounding the opinion of the author alone and he deserved credit for bringing the topic into focus. The complaint that he failed to present

17. P. 346C1.

18. P. 327C3.

adequately the opposite point of view may be justified, according to how far the historian is believed to be entitled to show his own colours as to some degree he cannot avoid doing.

The most influential factor in discussion of Buchanan's attitude to kingship and of kingship in the Historia is an external one, namely the De Iure. This work defended the action taken against Mary and sought to justify tyrannicide. Part of the argument was historical: "Possem enumerare duodecim, aut etiam amplius reges, qui ob scelera et flagitia aut in perpetuas carceres sunt damnati, aut exilio, vel morte voluntaria iŕstas scelerum poenas fugerunt."¹⁹ There was, however, little which was original in the De Iure and its thesis, that a monarch should be obeyed within legitimate bounds ("obstricti quidem sumus" of subjects) but a tyrant was a public enemy ("Tyrannus autem non modo non instum habet imperium in populum, sed etiam populi hostis est"²⁰) was not in principle as controversial as has sometimes been supposed. Pinkerton condemned the De Iure as aristocratic, pointing out no new organ of the popular voice; more significantly Burns was correct to say that (as also with Major and Boece) it was difficult to see how government worked at all according to Buchanan's principles.²¹ Moreover "the elective origin of monarchy is assumed as axiomatic rather than proved."²² Consequently it is perhaps more appropriate to regard the De Iure as a literary and philosophical exercise rather than a political treatise. Burns justly pointed out that McKechnie had underestimated the influence of

19. P.81 (Dutch reprint edition.

20. PP. 96, 97.

21. S.H.R. 1951.

22. McKechnie, G.Q.S., p.247.

Plato and Aristotle on the argument of the De Iure. The one-sided and possibly imaginary nature of the dialogue, some of the philosophical reflection on man and his relations with his fellows, some political attitudes and even phrases such as "Minime autem arbitror aberrabimus si eisdem vestigiis quibus in rege quaerendo institimus" and "ad tyrannum reperiendum ire pergamus"²³ are features reminiscent of Platonic and Ciceronian dialogues. Daniel Rogers gave his opinion as follows:²⁴ "Dialogismum de Regno, ab hoc temporis statu non alienum, avidissime perlegi, ex quo et illud cognovi, quam studiose in Platone versatus esses." The work had literary qualities and it is difficult to agree with McKechnie's view that "nothing less dramatic and less like the ease and humour and spontaneity of Plato can well be imagined than the heavy, laboured style of the De Iure." We are fortunate to have Buchanan's own view of the De Iure on its publication in 1579: "Interim ad te mitto Commentariolum nostrum de Regno, scriptum quidem temporibus turbulentis; sed nunc demum emissum, spacio modico interjecto, mitescente tumultu, et auribus hominum ejuscemodi sermonibus assuefactis. Potest fortasse noster labor supervacaneus videri, tot praesertim hominum doctissimorum jampridem ea de re lucubrationibus evulgatis. Sed cum illi sparsa quaedam, sed praeclara in hoc genere praecepta collegissent, mihi sum visus operam omnino non lusurus, si in methodum ea redigerem, et non temere, sed via et ratione de re tota disquirerem. In hoc genere si quid operae pretium viri probi et docti me fecisse existiment, multitudinis approbationem nihil moror."²⁵ Ironically the De Iure

23. P. 50.

24. Ep. XIV.

25. Ep. XXIV.

perhaps of all Buchanan's works did receive "multitudinis approbationem" in the sense of being most influential and most discussed. Nevertheless Buchanan's judgement here, slightly apologetic and conceding that the content was derivatory, does not conflict with the theory that he prized literary quality in putting material together. The last sentence quoted may be ascribed partly to literary convention; with the words "probi" and "docti" Buchanan may have had in mind those who supported his own views on the constitution or politics and those who were able to appreciate the artistry of the work.

Buchanan did not shrink from expressing his opinion about kingship, but his view was largely traditional and moderate. That is, he never conceived that there should not be a monarchy; his education of and dedications to James VI were sufficient testimony. He was not thereby prevented from criticising individual monarchs or some aspects of monarchy such as courtiers: "nec populus, qua ibat, turba Aulicorum (quae fere et rapax et imperiosa est) gravaretur" (on Alexander III).²⁶ Furthermore, although theorising about the early constitution was fanciful, there can be little dispute that in any state where political institutions were not highly developed, including Scotland, kings who grossly offended their subjects were likely to come to a violent end. Buchanan's attitude to kingship, in short, is one theme of the Historia, but it should not be regarded as exclusive or even dominant.

Nevertheless some commentators have taken this theme of kingship and the particular criticism of Mary Queen of Scots as a basis for

27. P. 132.

the serious charge that the Historia was a work of propaganda, composed solely for political ends. This view can be seen at least to have influenced the opinions of Innes, Gatherer and Trevor-Roper, and to have gained some support from Barrow:²⁷ Buchanan "used history in an arid way to bolster political ideas which had come to him through quite other channels... The plain fact, surely, is that Buchanan was not an historian, was incapable of taking the historian's view of human development, and was indifferent to the rules of historical evidence." It should be clear that Buchanan had genuine interest in historical enquiry. This is attested firstly by his care and diligence in putting together the material for the first three books. Thereafter, although restricted by the sources available to him, he can not infrequently be seen to be assessing contradictory evidence. He also, besides occasionally discussing points of philosophy, had firm ideas about his purpose as a historian and his method of arranging material. Finally, instead of ending with the deposition of Mary he went on to discuss the problems subsequent to that event and closed on a quiet and unrhetoical note. The Historia should therefore be taken seriously. Some of the fluctuations in Buchanan's reputation as a historian, however, are well-known. James VI although, despite a lasting personal dislike, not unappreciative of Buchanan's tuition and authority on the pronunciation of Latin,²⁸ instructed his son to suppress "such infamous invectives as Buchanan's or Knox's Chronicles."²⁹ The act of parliament of 1584 "for the

27. Annali della...(1967), p.654. Part quoted by Donaldson, Mary, pp. 181-2. Also Imrie, review of Gatherer, E.H.R. 1960: "The result is the exposure of Buchanan as an unscrupulous propagandist."

28. Wilson, King James VI and I, p.21.

29. Basilicon Doron (S.T.S.), I p.149.

punishment of the authors of the slanderous and untrue calumnies spoken against the King's majesty, his Council and proceedings, or to the dishonour and prejudice of his Highness, his parents, progenitors, crown and estate" specified "the books of the Chronicle and De jure regni apud Scotos made by umquhile Mr George Buchanan."³⁰ In the seventeenth century, apart from Buchanan's "well-known influence on covenanting thought,"³¹ his history was widely read in universities and used for phrase lists, but in 1683 his works were burned in public at Oxford.³² By the middle of the eighteenth century despite staunch defenders like Man and the more buoyant reputation of his verse, historians had largely ceased to regard Buchanan as a major source, with the possible exception of his account of Mary's reign. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, in a letter to professor Smith of Edinburgh, wrote of "a fancy I have taken that you are collecting some things for the defence of Buchanan" and continued, "I wish your endeavours may succeed but I who have read him several times very carefully cannot but be of opinion that in many things his Reason is overwhelm'd with splene and party two faults very incident to men in years, besides, it appears from a multitude of instances, that he had either no access to records or had not a mind to trouble his head about them takeing it for sufficient that he wrote better Latin than his contemporaries. However I look upon his detection to be an excellent performance and his oration on the evidence of Darnley's murder to be the best speciment of eloquence for the Barr which is extant in any modern author." Aikman, whose translation of the

30. A.P.S. III, p.296.

31. U. of E.J., Vol. ~~xxvi~~, p.252.

32. Lenman, S.H.R. 52 (1973), p.166.

history was published in 1827 and Hume Brown, whose biography of Buchanan appeared in 1890, were notable defenders of the history, but recent opinion seems to have been strongly unfavourable. Nicholson, for example, referring to Tytler, commented slightly that "Buchanan's work, the least trustworthy of the lot, has even been styled 'little else than a classical romance.'"³³

Nevertheless these assessments are not only contradictory but also unsatisfactory, earlier judgements tending to be affected by political considerations, later judgements tending to be superficial. If Buchanan is to be taken seriously, effort must be made to analyse his purpose and achievement. To condemn him for factual errors, without taking account of the circumstances in which his work was written, is not sufficient. One opinion points to the right approach: "Rerum Scotticarum Historia, despite its early legends and its later denigration of Mary, was a remarkable work for its time, going through many editions and remaining the best history of Scotland until the works of Thomas Innes, William Robertson, Lord Hailes and John Pinkerton appeared in the eighteenth century."³⁴ Although elucidation why it was remarkable is not given, a correct reminder was given that the Historia should be examined in the context of the tradition in which Buchanan wrote. First it should be recalled that Buchanan made considerable adaptations to Boece's account. These changes, reduction of "mythical material", compression of speeches, elimination of digressions and a more taut style, represented advance to a more "modern" type of historiography. This development mirrored movements

33. P. 472.

34. Dickinson, History of Scotland, p.378.

in European thought, both in attitudes towards ancient historians and in sixteenth-century historiography. In France, for example, although humanism had been slow to affect historiography, the position of chronicler gave way to that of historiographer. Among the leaders was Du Haillan: "History, he felt, should concern itself with the affairs of State and, in so doing, it should consider not only the historical event, but also its causes and results. This indeed spelled the end of the medieval chronicle."³⁵ Thirdly, the title of Buchanan's history marked a shift in interests. Major's title, "Historia Maioris Britanniae" had a geographical flavour. Boece and Leslie revealed their preoccupation with the history of the Scottish race - "Historiae Scotorum" and "De Origine, Motu et." Huchanan was concerned with events relating to Scotland, possibly even "politics."^{35a} In addition, it has been noted that he paid attention to the structure of his work. Nor was it wholly unphilosophical.³⁶

These points contradict the view that Buchanan's approach to history was hopelessly old-fashioned: "Judged by the critical or 'true' history which was just beginning in their day, both Buchanan and Lhuyd were dinosaurs, feeding on vegetation almost extinct."³⁷ Trevor-Roper also saw Buchanan as old-fashioned, and shown up by Lloyd

35. Farley, French Historiography, p.221.

35a. One edition of Boece in E.U.L. (* R.16.25) has *Historia* on the binding, *Historiae* inside. For a political flavour to "res" in Buchanan, cf. beginning of *De Iure*, "quaenam...de rebus nostris esset opinio...ipsa rerum novitas."

36. Some points of Baxter, S.H.R. 1928, where it is stated that "the same factors which made Scottish religion so untheological kept Scottish historiography unphilosophical", now need modification.

37. Barrow, op.cit.

to be so. But Barrow was right to point out that "Lhuyd merely wished to demolish a Scottish fable by means of an Anglo-Welsh fable, and Trevor-Roper, in relishing Lhuyd's triumph, is telling only half the story." Although on the surface Buchanan's defence of Boece against Lloyd might seem to put Buchanan among the "fabulous" writers. Lloyd was, in his defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth and of the legend of Brutus, as "fabulous" as, if not more so than, Boece. Buchanan was not critical enough, as is now known, in the earlier part of his history, but even Barrow made a major concession to Buchanan: "yet there was an element of truth in Buchanan's view that Scottish kingship had a conditional relationship with the community of the realm, and especially with the nobles and barons. The Lords of the Congregation were only doing what their predecessors had done before... Behind Buchanan's "forty mythical kings of Scotland" stood the 113 kings of the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), and mythical as many of these doubtless were, they were no more than dignified decoration for a genuine constitution which was both Scottish and ancient." In cutting out the accretions largely supplied by Boece to this element of truth, Buchanan was making a step in a more critical direction. It was not the least weakness in Trevor-Roper's argument that he refused to accept that Buchanan's contemporaries saw him not as a "dinosaur" but party to a modern school of historiography.³⁸ In England at that time various types of historical literature circulated—chronicles, scriptural and classical history, biography — but legendary tales were mostly believed and "the theory of history normally

38. Philips, "G.B. and the Sidney Circle", Hunt. Lib. Quart. (1948).

accepted was that it must represent the utmost in examples to be followed or eschewed... in short, a volume of history was expected to be an inspirational treatise." Against this background, Buchanan was too critical for some tastes: "the debate as to the origins of the British got into popular histories, and Richard Harvey, brother of Gabriel, was the author of Philadelphus, or a Defence of Brutes and the Brutans' History (1593), which Dr. McKerrow describes as 'partly an attack upon Buchanan for his scepticism as regards the legend of Brutus.'" (Wright, J. Mod. Hist. 1931).

Some writers have regarded Major as a pinnacle of historiography. Thus Nicholson wrote, "Had his History become more widely known, European historiography might have jumped forward two hundred years... [Boece] wiped out the historiographical advance made by Major."³⁹ Major's eminence as a historian can, however, be exaggerated. Not only was his style a drawback, as Leslie pointed out,⁴⁰ but his analytical approach was less the result of an elevated conception of history than of his philosophical career; he almost used history as a vehicle for philosophy. At the same time there seems to have been excessive denigration of Boece's history. Boece must be given credit for great industry. At times he showed a critical attitude and his

39. P.586. Cf. MacQueen, quoted in chapter seven above.

40. Leslie's opinion was valuable. He called Boece "that cunning and eloquente historiographe" and in his Latin work he stated that he was encouraged "non solum ut hanc partem latinitate donarem, verum etiam ut anteaetate aetatis historiam, quam Johannes Major vera, sed non satis ornata; et Hector Boethius ornata, sed non satis pressa oratione (ut nonnulli queruntur) explicarat, arctius comprimerem. Id namque constanter affirmabant, et Majoris impolito, et Boethii prolixo scribendi genere legentium animos plurimum retardari."

work had a pleasing zest and style. As Major's preoccupation was philosophical, so Boece's was literary, as was exemplified by his rhetorical style, moral observations and lengthy dramatic speeches. The result in both cases is that the reader feels a sense of detachment from the narrative: it is hard to imagine that events took place quite as Major and Boece recorded them. Buchanan's more realistic approach was thus an advance and it is possible to claim that "the defects of Major and Boece were more than compensated for by the condition and skill of George Buchanan's Rerum Scotticarum Historia."⁴¹ Major and Boece were learned men in their time, perhaps conceding little to Buchanan other than the discoveries and changes in fashion of half a century. Buchanan's skill is not ^{entirely} to be measured on the assumption that "most historians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not write because they were primarily interested in the past as such", that he was largely concerned to explain and justify his own conduct and that he was, like Drummond, a "poet-historian" seeking to make dramatic contrasts.⁴² He was genuinely interested in the past and his skill lay in presenting events in a convincing manner. An intrinsic drawback, especially in discussing recent events, was the consequent potentially undignified controversy. Greater impartiality would follow in time. It is right to emphasise the effect of temperament, exhaustion and old age on the Historia. Within the limits of his own character and the tradition in which he wrote, Buchanan's Historia was a sincere and valuable contribution

41. Hay, S.H.R., vol.30 (1951), p.15.

42. Rae, S.H.R. (1975), p.51.

to historical writing.⁴³ Perhaps it is right to end with Hume Brown whose understanding of Buchanan in the European setting (Brown himself was a competent biographer of Goethe) has not been surpassed by recent scholarship and who stated that "his errors are those of an independent thinker, who believed in the sacredness and infinite importance of truth" and with Buchanan himself, "Denique vir quem mirari facilius quam digne praedicare possis."⁴⁴

43. This view, ^{partly} contradicts McFarlane in ^(Linton) ~~Levi~~ ed., although he sees that there is a case against Innes and Gatherer.

44. Brown, G.B., p.298 and p.182nl (quoting D. Buchanan).

Appendix ITable to show proportions of Buchanan's Historia

Book	Pages ¹	Final Date	Years	Kings
I	21	-	-	-
II	23 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	-	-
III	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	-
IV	20	c.403	c.700	40
V	19 $\frac{1}{4}$	c.854	c.450	29
VI	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	c.1034	c.200	14
VII	22	1286	c.250	13
VIII	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	1329	43	2
IX	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	1390	61	2
X	20 $\frac{1}{4}$	1437	47	2
XI	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	1460	23	1
XII	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	1488	28	1
XIII	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	1515	27	2
XIV	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	1542	27	-
XV	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	1550	8	1
XVI	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	1560	10	-
XVII	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	1566	6	-
XVIII	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	1567	1	1
XIX	19	1570	3	-
XX	23	1572	2	-

1 In Ruddiman's edition. After Book X, the last page of books is not always filled.

Appendix IIBuchanan's Kings of Scotland¹

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Fergusius | 33. Donaldus III Insulanus |
| 2. Feritharis | 34. Crathlinthus |
| 3. Ma ⁿ us | 35. Fincormachus |
| 4. Do ⁿ adilla | 36. Romachus |
| 5. Nothatus | 37. Angusianus |
| 6. Reutherus | 38. Fethelmachus |
| 7. Re ^x tha | 39. Eugenius I |
| 8. Thereus | 40. Fergusius II |
| 9. Josina | 41. Engenius II |
| 10. Finnanus | 42. Dongardus |
| 11. Durstus | 43. Constantinus I |
| 12. Evenus I | 44. Congallus |
| 13. Gillus Nothus | 45. Goranus |
| 14. Evenus II | 46. Eugenius |
| 15. Ederus | 47. Convallus |
| 16. Evenus III | 48. Kinnatellus |
| 17. Metellanus | 49. Aidanus |
| 18. Caratacus | 50. Kennethus I |
| 19. Corbredus I | 51. Eugenius IV |
| 20. Dardannus | 52. Ferchardus I |
| 21. Corbredus II cog. Galdus | 53. Donaldus IV |
| 22. Iugtacus | 54. Ferchardus II |
| 23. Mogaldus | 55. Malduinus |
| 24. Conarus | 56. Eugenius V |
| 25. Ethodius I | 57. Eugenius VI |
| 26. Satrael | 58. Amberkelethus |
| 27. Donaldus I | 59. Eugenius VII |
| 28. Ethodius II | 60. Murdacus |
| 29. Athirco | 61. Etsinus |
| 30. Nathalocus | 62. Eugenius VIII |
| 31. Findocus | 63. Fergusius III |
| 32. Donaldus II | 64. Solvathius |

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 65. Achains | 92. Milcolumbus IV |
| 66. Congallus II | 93. Gulielmus I cog. Leo |
| 67. Dongallus | 94. Alexander II |
| 68. Alpinus | 95. Alexander III |
| 69. Kennethus II | 96. Joannes <u>Balliolus</u> |
| 70. Donaldus V | 97. Robertus I <u>Brussius</u> |
| 71. Constantinus II | 98. David II |
| 72. Ethus cog. Alipes | 99. Eduardus <u>Balliolus</u> |
| 73. Gregorius | 100. Robertus II <u>Stuartus</u> |
| 74. Donaldus VI | 101. Robertus III |
| 75. Constantinus III | 102. Jacobus I |
| 76. Milcolumbus I | 103. " II |
| 77. Indulfus | 104. " III |
| 78. Duffus | 105. " IV |
| 79. Culenus | 106. " V |
| 80. Kennethus III | 107. Maria I |
| 81. Constantinus IV | 108. Jacobus VI |
| 82. Grimus | |
| 83. Milcolumbus II | |
| 84. Duncanus I | |
| 85. Macbethus | |
| 86. Milcolumbus III cog. Capito | |
| 87. Donaldus VII | |
| 88. Duncanus II | |
| 89. Edgarus | |
| 90. Alexander I | |
| 91. David I | |

1. As in Ruddiman's table, but Ruddiman composed it from other sources as well as Buchanan. In similar lists there are minor differences, for example in spelling and the treatment of usurpers. In the Frankfurt edition, 107 is given as Henricus Stuartus cum Maria Stuarta.

The Holyrood portraits may be recalled.

Appendix III

The notes on the text of Buchanan's History, Bks. IV - XX, are intended to provide background on the scope of debate on the text. They draw on material from all the major sources. The text cited is Ruddiman's unless otherwise stated. Readings of the MS and earlier editions are based mainly on citations by Man and Ruddiman, but the MS has been examined in E.U.L.

- IV per annos fere MCCLXXIV: (from Feritharis (2) to Kenneth III).
Om.lib. 1025. Man, Cens. 1025 'a slip of the pen or the press'
for 1250.
- p.57A6 magistratu se abdicavit, duodecimo ferme anno quam Thereus^s
regnum inierat. fere, MS. Man has, after anno. Rudd.noted:
interim observandum est hasce particulas ferme, fere, prope
non semper directionem indicare, sed loquentis modestiam:
Vide Dacierium ad illud Horatii Satyr. III.96. Quis paria
esse fere placuit peccata, and 98. Utilitas justii prope mater
et aequi. Buchananus autem nonnunquam expletiva conjunctio
est, ad nullum alium usum comparata, quam ut rotundior
pleniorque sententia exeat. Hoc vero in loco significare
videtur Buchananus tempus non satis certum et exploratum q.d.
duodecimo plus minus anno quam Thereus regnum inierat. Cp.p.
95A3 secundo quam regnare coeperat anno, and ad p.167C4 Regni
prope tricesimo nono; Boece, Catalogus postquam duodecim annos
tenuisset principatum, and p.21 1.21 Regnavit is annos duodecim.
- p.57C4 Rudd noted Clarius, Is paternos but Man, Cens. deems is unnec-
essary.
- p.58D4 quibus occulta dederat mandata, ut stato die puerum interficerent
Man. statuto MS Rudd's n: Utrumque recte atque ex usu
optimorum auctorum. Sueton. Claud. cap.1 Circa..stato die
Plautus Curcul. 1.1.5. status..dies. Plin. Bk.9.Ep.39 stato die.
Livy 31.29 statuta die Cic.de Harusp. c.15 statuto loco. Cf.
Buch.p.70A7 statuto die. The words are regularly interchanged
in MSS and Burman added De confusione harum vocum status et
statutus egimus ad Valer Flac. 11.488.

- p.59A10 Gillus - in Ilam insulam navigat Man. Rudd's n: Elzev. 1668 et Mosman 1700 in illam insulam, male et contra antiquiorum codicum fidem. Boece p.27 l.40 Gillus in Ilam transmisit.
- p.61D10 (attack on Roman camp, year before Mons Granpius) Haec fere septimo^m expeditionum anno gesta. Rudd. notes that Tacitus says sexto. Man, Cens. about the seventh = sixth.
- p.62D2 Vallo et fossa, inter Tinae et Escae fluminum aestuaria, per octoginta millia passuum ductis; vallo, et fossa.. ducto Man. Rudd's n. Omnes fere libri ducto: quod rarissimum, atque unica Lucani auctoritate quod sciam defendendum, Lib.1.Hinc leges et plebiscita coactae. Burman countered: Non ignorasse puto Buchananum exempla, quibus fueretur hanc loquendi formam, quae solos Grammaticos male habere potest, non viros doctos, Justin. xxi.5 Urbes castellaque Africae non muris cinctae, non in montibus positae; sed plura exempla dabunt notae ad Ovid. IV Metam. 177 & II Inst. 315 nec desunt alia magno numero, sed h^{is}us non illa loci.
- p.63C1 Ea oratio cum ad omnium aures ingrata accideret, responsum est Man. Rudd's n.cf.p.4A4 accidebat not accedebat, Cic. in Vatin 2; Livy 8; Lucr. 2.1023; Cic. Sest. 107.
- C3 cum singulo^m sententias exquisissent exquaesissent Man (defended in Cens.) and n. Alii codd. Arb. exquisissent; ita Genev. Cic. de Orat. 1.163; 3.115; Sall. Cat. 13.3; 50;1; Cic. Brut. 104.
- D9 Itaque Rex non leviter animos commotos inflectere et sedare annexus est Man. Rudd.'s n: Leniter potius scribendum videtur.

leviter Cens.: Man says that Burman was against R.'s change for the wrong reason. Burman took leviter with commotos; in Andi, R. took it with inflectere.

E7 Intestinas enim seditiones fovendo, et externis viribus auctoritatem suam confirmando, junctoque cum primoribus Pictorum hospicio, et uxore inde sumta, filiabusque ibi elocatis, facile apparebat, eum viam ad regnum praestere. MS and Craef. ~~et~~ ^u uxore ed. om. and Man. ut might modify the abl.abs., explaining the previous abl.abs. phrase; so Man, Cens. defends ut as = to ^{wi} ~~et~~, namely, an adverb of similitude.

p.64A2 Haec cum ei in conventu objicerentur, graviterque increparetur, quod tam cito degenerasset; atque ille, quae objicebantur, cum vera esse cognosceret, totus pudore confusus, in lacrymas prorupisset: ubi primum loqui potuit, cum objecta crimina purgare non posset, ad misericordiam conversus, poenam deprecatur. Man (ed) has lachrimas and ac before ubi. Lib. om. ac, but Craef. delet. Ac could join the temporal clauses, indicating another stage before his actual speech.

p.65D11 Est ~~ent~~ ^{im} paullo infra id, quod diximus, praesidium, in adversa Carrontis ripa, aedificium rotundum, e saxis quadratis, nulla calce [aut caemento] coagmentatis: aut cemento Man. Rudd's n.: Has voces non Buchanani esse sed a sciolo aliquo suppletas existimat Crafordius. Vocabulum certe [caementum] nusquam pro eo quod intritum dicimus, apud probum aliquem scriptorem reperimus. Vide Vossium de vit.serm.1.28. Longe aliud Latinis est caementum, nempe lapides ^{ru} ~~ca~~ndes et temere caesi, siye lapidum majorum frustra farcturis in structura inservientia,

a caedendo, quasi caedimenta, quod pluribus ostendit Nonius, praesertim vero illo Livy 21.11. Ne^c erat difficile murum subruere, quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto, structurae antiquo genere. Fieri autem potest, ut hanc vocem hoc significatu Buchananus hic adhibue^{nt}, Nulla, inquit^t, calce, aut caemento, i.e. minoru^m lapidum stricturis quae calce illitae majores lapides sibi arctius coagmentarent.

Perhaps Buchanan was influenced by vernacular usage.

- p.66A9 Rex..familiarium tumultu occisus est MS (cf.D11 familiarium, Rudd. and Man): -arum libri alii and Man who in Cens. thinks it variatio to have -um and then -ium (former from famili^lae, servants belonging to one common master; for plural Sen.de tranq. animi 1)
- B11 Dorus..a^ufugit Doorus MS, Boethius and Leslaeus
- D6 Donaldus, certior..quam exig^{nae}, Regi essent copiae..praevenit Man. Rudd's n. Melius certior factus per exploratores, quae usitatissima est Romanis loquendi formula Cf.p.159E2. Burman cp. Ovid.Met.14.290 certior, non addito factus; Rudd. replies in Anticrisis and Audi disdaining poetic parallels.
- D12 Rex decessit, vix circum^acto primo anno regnⁱ sui Man primo not in MS.
- E4 qui, ne propinqui sui captivi occidantur..nihil movere ausi sunt, Man.occiderentur MS. This may be the equivalent of a fearing ^{cl} ^u ^{se}.
- Eult tot inimicis Man tot enim inimicis MS
- p.68D9 Constanti^{is} Chlorus Man.Rudd's in.Libri omnes male Constantinum Chlorum appellat

- E2 secunda praelia fecit Man multa secunda MS
 p.69C7 antequam vires tyrannus colligere posset MS tyrannis alii omnes
 and Man. Cf.p.67E4 Tyrannus. Man, Cens., argues that here
 "tyrannis has a peculiar force stamped upon it, expressing more
 emphatically than tyrannus could do a detestation and abhorrence
 of the cruelty and tyranny of Romachus." He cp. the use of
 se^vrum, barbaries, flagitia etc. (e.g. Sall.Cat.14); tribunatus
 for -buni in Livy; and considers Rudd.'s change to -us un-
 necessary. R. defends -us in Anticrisis.
 Eult. Picti...nunquam totis viribus ausi se fortunae committere Man
 nusquam MS
 p.70A10 Nec tamen ita rem celare potuerunt, quin~~que~~ ministri...auctores
 sint persecuti, et, cum ulterius fugere non possent..eos
 retraxerint Rudd's n Ita Crafordio monente emend^{av}imus (Craf.
 is connecting the Edinb. edit). sunt perse^{cu}ti..retraxerunt
 Man. Indicatives could be kept with; after potuerunt and quin
 not subordinating (=but).
 p.71D1 ut..ipsi nec aspectum quidem illorum sustinere possent Man.
 Rudd's n. Melius forte ne aspectum quidem. Man, Cens. defends
 nec quidem=~~neq~~., cp.Cic.Off 3.10; Plin.8.3.6.
 V
 p.73C6 ipsi..sese conficiebant Craf. ipse Man plus n. ipse put
 partitively, al. ipsi.
 p.73A7 cum, praeter vectorum sermones, habitus formaque viri facile
 dictis fidem faceret Man. Craf. does not discuss. Rudd.'s n.
 ita MS ^z Edinb. alii fere omnes victorum sermones. inepte

legunt. victorum, although grammatically ambiguous, could refer to those defeated by the Romans. Perhaps praetervect. could be one word.

- D12 Eugenii [avi] Vox omnino delenda, Rudd. Man defends in Cens., as = ancestor, cp. Virg. Aen.7.220, 12.164; Tac. Ann.14; Mor. Sat.1.6.3; Buch. epigr. to Psalms missa per innumeros sceptrataueris avos. In Antier., R. replies that Man's exx. are mostly from poets not historians and refer to the direct ascendant line. Eugenius II was magnus pat^{ru}us to Fergus II.
- p.74B4 Romani superiores, quia brevi in Gallias erant redituri, contenti hostes repressisse MS qui Man (ed. and Cens.) om. alii. The logic is perhaps not so strong as to demand quia.
- p.75B1 nec ei res cum Romanorum invictis copiis, sed cum Brittonibus [fuit] ut non multo belli apparatu superioribus, ita laborum patientia longe inferioribus. Rudd's n. Abest haec vox [fuit] ab omnibus libris. Man omits fuit and defends the omission in Cens. MS adds fuerat after inferioribus on margin.
- B7 Constantinum Man. Rudd's n. Ita MS et ipse postea p.79B ahi lib. -tium.
- E8 totis viribus, ac multo quam antea acrius, murum aggressi MS. Rudd's n. ~~ali~~ ~~antem~~ ante acrius, sequentis vocis prima huius ultimam absorbente: ante Man, arguing in Cens. that phrases such as multo ante are quite common.
- p.76D4 Nec soli exterorum perpetui hostes Man. Rudd's n.: i.e. soli exteri, seu inter exteros, hoc est, ut ipse D12 in interpretatur, Scoti et Picti. Forte tamen pro [exterorum] Buchananus [eorum] scripserit. Man., Cens., criticises this conjecture. "Of

- foreigners, it was not only their perpetual enemies who.."
- E1 Scoti et Picti.. in occasionem rei majoris animum intenderunt
-ant Lib.ed. and Man, perhaps rightly (the intention anticipated
the action, and cf.E2 accesserat)
- p.78B12 qui fuit annus a Christo nato quadringentesimus quadragesimus
sextus Rudd., following Bede l.13 and Buch.Dl. 450 al. and
Man, who notes Al./446.
- p.79A4 huius fratre Eugenio regnante Rudd and n.Lib.om. [patre] manifesto
errore. patre Man and n. "His predecessor and older brother,
between whom there was as perfect a likeness of character as
ever was between father and son". cf.p.78 E3. Boece calls
Dongardus 'germanus' of Eugenius. Man in Cens. defends pater
as a term of respect of = predecessor.
- p.79A11 Dongardo Rudd and n. Nec minor hic est librorum omnium lapsus,
quibus pro [Dongardo] Eugenio est scriptum. Eugenio Man and n.
leg. Dongardo
- C6 cujus ad populum maxima erat auctoritas Man. Rudd's n:
importuna hic est diligentia editionis Mosmannianae pro ad
populum, reclamante, omnium librorum fide, apud populum
reponentis, quasi vero non solitum Latinis sit ita loqui:
Cic. ad Fan. v.10 ad Caesarem meam causam agas, In Bruto, pro
Roscio. Cf.R.ad p.118A4
- p.80A Primum se moribus publicis emendandis dedit: nec tamen prius
quam creatis novis magistratibus, et per eos litibus, furtis
et latrocinis cohibitis disciplinam veterem revocare est
aggressus. Man reads tantum for tamen in Cens. either a) as
adv. Congal did not so much as attempt to restore the ancient
discipline, till he had first created new magistrates, as
their means repressed feuds, thefts and robberies; or b) as dn

adj. noun, negotium understood in apposition with disc.veter.

revocare- "he did not undertake such as important work as the restoring of the ancient discipline, till he had first etc."

Nevertheless the difficulty lies in taking prius quam with the ~~abb~~ abs.

E2 quo minus in tenues et imbecillos..grassarentur Man. Rudd's n.

Ita MS Edinb. Genev. quod Francof. quaeque eam secutae sunt Editt. sine causa in [imbecilles] mutarunt, cum utrumque ex aequo Latinis dicatur

p.81A6 Foederam sanctitatem..apud eos pro insidiantium laqueis..

existimari Rudd. and n. Lib. om. sanctitas, quod, cum durum admodum hoc in loco videretur, nos in -em ausi fuimus mutare. -tas Man

and and n "Sometimes the nominative is put before the infinitive, coepit or coeperunt being understood: and in such instances the infinitive is commonly thought to be put for the imperfect of the indic. as here existimari for -batur. And we find the best authors varying the construction, as Livy in particular in the very beginning of his first book." B. was probably confused between O.O. and O.R.

B4 videri debet gravissimum, foedus..quo..revocentur, ..consentire

et pro impiis tyrannis, omnis humanitatis et pietatis hostibus, arma nefaria adversus Deum et eius legem induere Craf. and Man.Rudd's n. ita MS. alii om. prope impiis.

p.82A1 Moverant etiam preces amicorum MS and Rudd, cp.lin.5 Mout^{vi}/etiam.

Moverant Lib. ed. and Man. Cf ierant, supra. Moverant could represent time prior to mont^{vi}.

C1 Nostri Julia id festum vocant Man. Rudd's n. ita om. lib., non

Juliam, quod quidam forte velint, non attendentes festorum nomina Latinis numero multitudinis plerumque efferri." Man Cens., comments on R's criticism of B's derivation of Yule from Julius.

- C5 Fracti voluptatibus Brittones Man. deliciis MS.
- p.84A5 Goranus Rex magno iam natu decesserat Rudd's n. Crafordius legendum vult magnus: nulla quidem ratione; Livy 21.34 and C. Nepos. Timoth. 3 magno natu (not located in Craf.)
- C4 suffectus est.. Convallus Rudd's n. Lib. ed. Congallus nominatur, at MS et cum eo consentientes Fordonus, Boethius; Leslaeus, et ipsi etiam lib.ed. infra D12 Convallum appellant. Man Cens., says V and g are interchangeable, as B. says Bk. 26-7, but R. in Anticrisis asks why should not an Historian give the same Names to Persons that others have done before him? At least why should he not be uniform with himself?
- p.85B8 Ceulinus, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex. Rudd's n. Ita legendum, non [Orientalium] quod om. lib. habent. Vide Tyrellum Hist. Angl. vol. 1 p. 159 qui huic Buchanan' errorem perstringit. oriental. Man and n. Ceaulin monarch and general of the Anglo-Saxons, of Essex as well as Wessex, to whom the other Saxon princes, particularly the kings of Kent, Essex and Sussex, were forced to submit as his subjects and vassals. In Cens., he takes Rex as a general.
- C10 Ita legendum Craf.
- p.86 majore studio majori Man, Cens.
- p.87D5 Eugenius Quintus, Dongardi [fratris] Regis [Malduini] filius Rudd's n. Ita sententiam hanc e Fordono, Boethio, Leslaeo etc.

interpolavimus, cum in om.lib.legeretur E.Q.D.R.f. Nullus autem Dongardus Scotorum Rex memoratur praeter Fergusii II filium, qui regnum iniit...452, ac proinde huius Eugenii V qui regnare coepit anno 688, pater esse nequibat. Man has old text with n. A prince of the blood, brother to Maldwin the late king and in Cens. cp. Caes. B.C. iv. 3.109.

p.88A2 Alfridus regnum angustioribus quam antea finibus quodam tenus composuit Man.Rudd.'s n. ita MS princeps editio Edinb. et Genev. quae verba Francof. primum in [quadantenus] mutavit, quam et sequentes editt. imitantur: male omnes et praeter Buchanani mentem, qui procul dubio quodam tenus scripsit, ad exemplum Hor.Ep.1.1.32, Est quodam prodire tenus, si non detur ultra.

At two points above Burman notes discrepancies between the text and chronological table.

p.90C6 Dongallus...mittit Rudd's n. Ita hic et versu sequenti repositimus: lib.ante om. sibi dissidentes Dugallus habent. Dugallus Man Dougallus Craef.

VI

p.93A5 saxum...ex Argathelia Sconam ad Taum annem translatum Kennethus, et in cathedram ligneam inclusum, [ibi] posuit. ibi Man. ^{ibi} deleri Craef. iubet, but it should probably be kept. Man, Cens., defends ibi as an idiom frequent in B. and the best authors, referring to Livy Bk.ii; xxii. 6; xxiv. 19; xviii. 9.

p.93B1 Quinto ineunte regni sui anno. Man and n. alii 7mo aut 12mo

p.94A8 sexto Man and n. Alii 4.

- B2 Is, cum..cuperet, a senioribus inhibitus, quod..fuerat Man.
Rudd's n. malim a senioribus est inhibitus. Cf.p.75B1 and eg.
Tactus' frequent omission of est. Man defends the omission
in Cens.
- p.95A6 Sunt qui non coactum cedere regno, sed ab aemulo...vulneratum
Man. non exanguratum, sed...MS
- D10 Ut...hostem..propulsarent. Ub^zicunque exscenderent...uterque
populus accumeret Man. exscenderet MS.
- p.96C2 Donaldus...Sextus Quintus Man Rudd's n. Ita scribendum
Crafordi^zs monuit: in om.tamen lib., praeter postremum Edinb.
Mosmanni, Quintus legitur. Sextus in Boece, Catal.(King no.74).
Man, Cens., suggests that Donald of the Isles (33) need not
be counted as Donald III but R. in Anticrisis says Macbeth and
other usurpers are counted as kings.
- p.97B5 Suspicionem auget fama, quod eum quidam Eduardum Martyrem
appellant Rudd and n. Ita in MS secunda quidem manu emendatum
reperimus, lib. tamen om.al. [appellat] male, praecesserat
enim [auget fama] fama autem non unius, sed multorum est.
appellat Man who defending the singular in Cens. says fama can
be an opinion; or, if rumour, it can be started by one man.
- D5 Quid, quod ne suos quidem s^criptores..intelligunt, nec
animadvertunt Rudd and n. Lib. om. intelligant, nec animadvertunt.
Verum aut hic intelligunt, aut illic animadvertant dici debebat.
-gant -unt Man. Variation is possible, with a more remote sense
from the subjunctive.
- P.98D8 genus id hominum: R. considers the order poetical.
- p.99A2 rumor est pervulgatus Man pervagatus MS

- B8 abjecto Regis..metu Craef. obj.- Man, and n. abl. abj.- In Cens., he claims that lachrimis abortis ~~is~~ frequent for l. abortis.
- A12 quod...quaedam temere effudisset Rudd's n. Ita monente Crafordio emendavimus; lib.tamen om. effudisset: quod quamvis non prorsus ineptum sit, alterum tamen multo magis appositum vocabulum videtur. Pomp.Fest.and Ter. Phorm. Act 5 sci.19. effudisset Man, denying that the change is necessary in Cens.
- C11 cespite herbose superinducto. Rudd's n. Lib.om. - sa -ta, in Grammaticorum placita et veterum normam manifeste peccantes. -sa -ta Man. In Cens., he points out that in his grammar R. has one compound of pes, viz. compes, fem., and another, viz. quadrupes, taking its gender from the substantive understood. Man resolves here terra herbosa pede caesa superinducta: so Festus explains caespes, terra in modum lateris caesa, cum herba. Serius on Virg. Ecl.1.69 terra cum propria herba evulsa. Man thinks there may be an instance of use as a fem.substantive in 1590. In Anticrisis, R. says Vossius laughs at the derivation of Festus P. and Servius; all edd. have caespite longo in Buch. Bk.I.
- p.100B2 Haec ⁿadiente populo..~~vix~~^{vix}..persuaderi poterat. The construction is defended by Ruddiman and Man. Such "inexact" uses of abl. abs. are occasionally found in classical authors. Cf.p.121A4.
- C2 *ob. pudicitiae servandae studium Man servatae MS. Cf. Crif. on p. 119. 34 for partic.-gerund. error*
- 070 Juventus illecebris voluptatum delinita Rudd's n. Lib. fere om. delenita at quamvis haec vox a lenis originem trahat, usu tamen receptum est ut secunda syllaba per i non vero e scribatur. delenita Man. Burman added Immo nos Buchananum iudicio elegisse meliorem scribendi formam credimus. vide ad

Quinctil. V. de instit.orat.8; Phaedr.prolog.lib.III; Ovid XI. Metam.163. In Audi, R. changes his etymology to from linio, i.e. ungo, asperso

p.102E7 primoribus primioribus Man and n. Al.codd.Arbuth.-mor-; ita Genev.

p.103D11 Crathilinthus Man Cruthilinthus MS Cruthlintus Boece Crathlinthus Leslie.

p.105C8 Milzolumbi -be Man and n. forte pro -bae Genev. -bi.

E5 ut ex occulto loco Man loco deest MS, to which Burman added et recte: nec enim tam inepte scribebat Buchananus, sed ad exemplum veterum Terent. Eun iv.7.ut tu illos procul hinc ex occulto caederes; vid ad Quinctil.declam.xii.19.

p.106A7 Decessit 994. Rudd's n. In Ed. om. haec verba praemittuntur, Regnavit annos viginti quinque; quorum sed stylo inductorum vestigia in MS adhuc apparent: nos quoque ut supervacua delenda censuimus, idem enim modo dixerat. Man brackets with "alii detent".

B4 puello, forte nascendi oblato...regendos Man. Rudd's n. Et etiam p.203611 nascendi fors; p.autem 224B6 sorte nascendi, et ita ubique scribi debere censerem, quod et hoc in loco ab Elzevirio est factum; quamvis non ignorem has voces fors et sors toties, confundi, ut alteram ab altera certis limitibus distinguere nesciam. Man Cens., says fors and sors are defined at Cic.Tusc. 4.29 and the passages should be left as they are. R. discusses further in Anticrisis.

C6 et pristina instituta..restituenda Rudd and n. Lib.om.et ad prist. i., nullo fore sensu. ad Man ad del.Craf. Man defends ad in Cens. as = by or according to. The n.pl.restituenda could be an impersonal passive.

- C8 ~~Quin~~ occasionem amplectamur, quam..frustra posterius
quaeramus? Rudd's n. Ita MS suadente etiam Crafordio, cet.
om. -imur. -imur -remus Man and n. Cr. and MS -amur; MS -emus
Arb. -amus. -imur and -amus as a suppressed condition would
be possible. Burman added Jubent tamen Grammatici, τ̄ō quin
subjungi indicativum vel imperativum, ubi adhortationi
inservit, subjunctivum vero, ubi aliud verbum praecessit.
Vid. Wass. ad sallust Catilin. c57. Voss. de Construct. Cap.62
et quaeremus recte legi etium credimus.
- p.107A4 Constantinus Rudd and n. Hanc vocem e margine MS repositimus
ut sententia clarior legentibus fieret. Man (ed) omits and
n. MS C.regnum invaserat but there is no need of this
interpolation; the sentence is clear enough without it, Cons.
being mentioned just before, and it being here told how long
he reigned after his usurpation.
- E7 in omni actione cum decore comitas Man cum decoro MS.
- VII
p.111B5 Successit Duncanus Donaldus lib.om. and Marc who notes lege
Donachus.
- B11 ad Regem Anglorum Rudd. and n. Hanc vocem Anglorum
Crafordii admonitu supplevimus, ut aperta magis oratio esset.
Man's n: To the king of England, of whom the prince of
Scotland held Cumberland in fete, and did swear homage to him
for it. - The sentence is clear enough without interpolating
the word Anglorum, the English party and England being
mentioned immediately after Regem; so that nobody needs doubt
that the king of England is meant.

- p.112E1 post hanc victoriam sine sanguine paratam Man, MS, princ ed.ed. and Genev. partam reliqu. fere om.; R's n. ab nihil mea sententia erat mutandum Petron 15.. Ovid Epist. VIII.82 Livy V.6 and Burman on Petron loc.cit.
- p.115A4 Macduffus tyrannum fugientem assecutus, caput occisi apud suos retulit. ⁷ Rudd. and n. Hanc sententiam in lib. ed. desideratam, cum scriptores alii confirmant, et MS retinere non dubitavimus; praesertim cum alioqui nulla de Macbethi morte a B. facta sit mentio.
- p.116A5 Edwardus Edmondi Regis frater ⁷ Rudd. and n. insertion to avoid confusion between E. vulgo Confessor dictus and E. Exlegis cognomine distinctus. He is following Craef. who noted Desiderat hic locus verba aliquot, librorum incuria fortassis omisa.
- C8 Quem, cum.. populatus fuisset, ac, caesis nonnullis qui.. nitebantur, redemptam.. adorti spoliis exuerunt Man. Cr. delet ac but ac may link the subord. clause and phrase.
- p.117A8 in quo tendebat Rudd's n. Quidam hic castra ⁷ addendum volunt; quasi vero optimis auctoribus verbum tendo absolute non accipiatur, pro tentoria figere vel habere: Aen 2; Ovid Epist. 1; Caes. B.C. 3.c82; Curt. 5.7; Aen. 8.605. scil.castra, Man.
- D3 His autem remediis cum rem sisteret magis quam curaret Man. malum MS. Man, p.170n(2) discusses unus cum eo etc.
- D5 lege Regis Eveni Rudd. and n. vid. supr. p.59E. In om.lib. perperam Eugenii hic scribitur. Eugenii Man, who in Cens. notes that at Vc.6 and IV.c50 B. says Eugenius seu potius Evenus.
- p.119B2 conarentur, Rex a suis retentus, quod aestu maris.. Verum

- (ut dixi) a suis retentus Rudd and Man. conarentur, etsi
 man^r's aestu..Verum a suis..MS ut dixi delende hae voces **Craf.**
- p.120C1 orbatus...numquam tamen vis doloris ei impedimento fuit, quo
 minus Rudd's n. ita MS et rectius, alii omnes fuerit imp.
 fuerit imp. Man. orbatus..vis..ei is rather ungrammatical.
 orbatus may be regarded as a main verb, and fuerit influenced
 by ut, like superfuerit; or possibly fuerit is fut.perf.
- p.121A4 Fuis Anglis, multi in fuga perierunt Cf.p.100B2
- A30 fecerat Man and n. Arb. facerat, forte praeteritum a
 praesenti formatur, more antiquo. There is further discussion
 in Cens.
- C3 Missi a Davide Fani Andreae et Glascuac, ab Stephano Cantuariae
 et Eboraci Archiepiscopi. Rudd. says episcopi might be
 inserted as the Scottish sees, though having precedence,
 were not yet erected into Archbishoprics
- p.122A2 decederet Man moreretur MS
- C4 nono Cal.Junii Man and n. Alii Julii.
- p.123D3 cum ille respondisset, seque abunde purgasset Man perpurgasset
 MS
- E2 praetendente: Man, Cens., says present participles have
 ablative in -i as well as -e.
- p.125A1 Ang^tus Gulielmum Londinum venire jussit, ut ob Cumbriam et
Lundintoniam se beneficiarium de more profiteretur **Craf.**
 C. et Northumbriam om lib. R. argues that Henry had taken N.
 away from Malcolm and not returned it to William, but Man
 reads N. and defends N. in Cens.
- C5 quamvis^u in^usto Man notes i.e. justissimo; quamvis, ut alibi,
 pro quantumvis, ita quamlibet pro quantumlibet.
- p.128E2 Rossiam Gilespius indidem ci^xis [sq] vicinas regiones foede

- populabatur Craef.lib.tamen om.d^eest [e2]. Man omits [e2],
 "foisted in" as he says in Cens. It is not necessary.
- p.129B5 biennio proximo Rudd's n. triennio potius erat decendum. Man.
Cens., defends biennio as = two clear years, and potius to a
 typographical error in Boece and Leslie, that Alex. II.m.
 1259 (1239).
- p.130A9 Man discusses relative pronouns (praesidio Anglico, qui and
 plur.) following Burman's n.: Miror virum doctissimum, qui
 similia saepe notavit, hunc locum praetermississe. Ego certe
 exemplum ignoro, ubi post neutrum et femininum genus pronomen
 masculini ponatur. Praesidium quidem promilitibus, qui
 praesidio essent, posse capi intelligo. Sed tamen mallern
 legere, praesidio Anglorum, nisi lapsum esse Buchananum fateri
 praestat.
- B5 Cuminiorum Man and n. Crawford would have us to read
 Cuminianorum.
- D3 Causa belli praetendebatur, quod majoribus suis a Donald
Bano aliquot insulae promissae, nondum essent traditae Craef.
 a Macbetho lib.om.Rudd's n.: secus enim ipse sibi Buchananus
 dissidebit, cf.p.118B. Scriptores autem Nor^vegi, praecipue
 Torfae^vs has insulas non a D.B. sed a Milcolumbo III eius
 fratre Nor^vego concessas volunt. Macbetho Man, and n. Al.
 D.B.; in Cens. he says Macbeth and Donald Bane may have
 made the same promises.
- p.132A8 nec populus..gravaretur -um om.Lib. Rudd. denies that graver
 is ever deponent: at Silius lib 2.vers.594 Luca^mque
 gravantur ob or propter is understood, as is not possible here.
 -um Man, company A. Gellius and defending -um in Cens.

- B10 caeteros..redimere Rudd's n. on understanding stat^uit or iis
 permisit following ^{ve}stituit; Ter. And. III.5; Dacier and loc;
 Phaed IV.17. Burm. added Et qui adducuntur in notis ad
 Phaedr. d.1.
- VIII
 p.132C de novo Rege creando: Rudd says i.e. husband for the little
 queen, Man rejoⁱnds that husband of a queen is a king.
 meridiem spectantibus praessent: Rudd's n. supple partibus.
 Burman added sed potest in neutro a spectantia deductum capi
- p.134A2 Dornagillam collocavit J.B., patri J.B., qui..Rex fuit Craef.
 and Man. Rudd.'s n. Has voces necessario inserendas
 ostendunt quae mox sequuntur, neque enim Dornagillae mari^bus
 sed filius jus ullum in Scotiae regnum habebat
- A4 ex ea genuit Robertum filium Craef. and Man. Rudd. restored
 from MS.
- B3 nepos Craef. pronepos om.lib. and Man. Rudd's n. Ita emendandum
 tum res ipsa, tum quae post sequuntur C1 and 135A9 postulabant
- B4 Pro Dornagilla faciebat mos patrius, quo, qui natu maior
 est jure potior habetur Rudd and n. ~~Ha~~ restituimus, lib.
 tamen om. [qui gradu propior] repugnante sensu; mox enim
 subdit, in pari propinquitatis gradu mares feminis praeferri
 g.p. Man (ed., p.196 n.(7)). gradu sc collaterali Craef. B.
 may have overlooked an ambiguity.
- C7 sc. tenebat Rudd: aut illud iterandum, aut [possidebat] aut
 simile quid, hic exprimendum existimaverim. E
- Mult id genus hominum cf.p.98D8.

- p.137A4 Nostri...tradunt, cum...Brussius...peteret, Anglum..
respondisse Rudd. and n. Lib.om.tradunt quod cum: nos vero
vocem [~~*quod~~] quippe nullius hic usus, expungendam censuimus
quod Man. Craef. delet. quod comes to be used not infrequently
as = "that" in late latin.
- p.138B6 Comitem Varennae Craef., Man and Rudd. foll.Volsingamusⁱ
Varennae lib.om.
- C5 vel ab hoste interenti, vel aquis obsorpti perierint Rudd.'s
n. Ita MS et princeps ed. Ed. alii om.absorpti: obsorptus
autem apud Pla^untum reperitur obs- Man abs-Craef.
- D2 in Angliam duxit: ratus corpora ratis^{tu} est lib.ed.and Man./r.
etc. MS r. scilicet c. Craef.
- D9 Haec expeditio...invidiam...adversus eum intendit Man
An incendit? Craef.
- p.139A9 qui vicus..inaedificatus...distat est inaedificatus lib.om.
and Man. est delet Craef.
- P.143A12 Gulielmum Lambertum Man Rudd. Potius Lambertonium (n.)
- p.144B6 successu...animadverso -adversa Man and n. Al. -so, ita Gen.
- p.145A5 in tumulum velut spectator subjectus Craef. and Man. Rudd's n.
Ita MS pro quo in editis fere omnibus [tumultum] perperam
legitur
- p.146C11 Vicesim~~um~~ annum. Rudd's n. apparet vicesimum, tertium fuisse
scribendum.
- E4 Scripserunt iidem Hiberni etiam Rudd's n. Ita restituimus;
pro quo lib.om. [idem] habent, male, uti nos opinamur, cum
protinus addatur, fere in eandem sententiam. Idem Man. idem
can be nom.pl., normal for iidem according to Man, Cens.

- p.147B6 Ceciderunt...plus minus quingentis ex Anglis Man. Rudd's n.
Cr. legendum vult [-ti] quod quidem usitatus, sed alterum
forte exemplo non caret.
- C3 Randulphus Randalfus Man
- p.148B11 periculosum ratus, omnium fortunarum simul discrimen subire
semel lib.om. and Man who defends it in Cens. as = at once
- C1 Pecora..agi iussit, reliqua..aut..conferri, aut corruppi MS
conferre lib.om. and Man. The [✓]variation would be unusual
but cf. the Gk. construction with *κελευω*
- D8 Herkelains Craf. (Sir A. Herclay, E. of Carlisle) Berk. om.
lib. and Man, who corrects to Herk. in footnote.
- p.149B9 comprehensus est: Rudd. noted est hic ineptum videtur, cum
mox sequatur interentus est.
- p.151B9 signa consistere Rex jubet, equorum virorumque corpora curari,
et ad ultimum certamen arma animosque parare. Rudd's n:
Aut curare, aut parari legendum videtur. Cf. p.148C1.
- p.152B7 'Edwardi' Rudd. 'Henrici' om. lib. 'Edw.' Craf.
- IX
- p.154A4 Victonem (quod Gallo[✓]idiae est oppidum) Man Victoniam Craf.
leg.ut passim in seqq.
- p.154D10 biennium: Rudd's n. Ex modo dictis apparet triennium
scriptum oportuisse. Man, Cens., admits that B. may have
made a slip, but thinks that it is not necess. to read t.
- E1 Donaldus Marriae Comes Duncanus om.lib. and Man, who notes
in Cens. that Bellenden has David
- Eult a iudice..itidem admonitus Rudd's n: Identidem forte

- C2 In locum Donaldi Proregis Duncani lib.om. and Man, who notes Al. Donaldi
- E6 Richard Kircbius Kirchius lib.om. Kirkbius Man.
- p.15702 ac ipse cum exercitu statim est secutus: ipse eum cum ex. Edinb. Gene^z. Francof. eam cum Elzev. nos vocem [cum] ab exscriptore bis repetitam, psteaque in [eum] priore loco conversam existimavimus, Rudd. Craef. dele eum [aut muta in eam, prout in edit. Elz.] eum Man and n. i.e. legatum, al. eam, n^empe legationem.
- C10 cur iterum jam paucis/annis...peterentur Man. Rudd's n. reject^o tam.
- p.158D8 Jacobus et Simon Fraserii fratres Joannes et S. om.ed.
- E3 Richardo Talboto Rudd's n.: Quod hic..omn.lib. [Henricus] irrepsit, librariorum culpa factum videtur
- p.159B7 Bellomontio -tii lib.om. -tium Craef. Rudd's n. forte B.-ti. -tii Man, perhaps -ti.
- C2 Rothesaiam Craef. Rotesa^zium Man
- D9 Julium Rudd's n. Junium omnino scribendum
- E2 certiores (sc.facti) Man ep. Ovid Met. 14.290 and ⁶²22. Att. 15.ep.28.
- p.160D3 Rossio, praefecto juridico Aereni -se Man and n. Alii Dumfrisiensi etc
- p.161C4 ab Anglica factionis hominibus insidiis exceptus Rudd's n. Lib.om.abest vox [h.] quam tamen necessariam existimavimus: neque enim (quod sciam) excipere ab insidiis, sed e.i., absque praepositione, Latinis dici/solet. Man sc. hom. or insidiis = insidiatoribus.

- Eult Canemora Craf. (correcting five other proper names, pp.292-302)
Camerona lib.om. and Man who notes Al. Canemora.
- p.162D5 Is nocte intempesta, deceptis qui..observabant, navem ad arcem
appli^{cu}it. Elzev.1668 Is n. int.ad arcem d. MS Edinb.
Genev.Francof.aliique and Man who (ed) translates. The
deletion is not necessary (cf. the repetition of janitor at
p.163D).
- p.163C6 W. Currius Man and n. Al. Tur^rius
- C12 aliquot dolia vini Rudd. veni Man, who defends in Cens. as a
noun = venale, cf. Tac. Ann. 13.55.5 and 14.15.2.
- D8 claves..suspensas -os Man and n. Al.-as, ita Gen. In Cens.,
Man says it is possible that B. might have found clavis masc.
in some old author: callis is m. in Virg, f. in Livy and
Amm.Marc.; Enn. has lepides f. But in any case the advice
(cf. Probus Valenⁱ in Aul^us Gellius) to ask one's ear bears
out -os. D. Duncan is rightly sceptical, like Rudd in
Anticrisis, of the different euphony (p.106n 28).
- E1 ipsi occludi possent Man, who defends in Cens. Ita ed.om.
(cf. Plaut. Menech. 4.2.108) sed rectius MS exc-, Rudd.
- p.164B11 IV Non.Julii Man. Rudd's n. al.om.Junii, quibus eo facilius
assentior, quod B. ejusve scriptores non semel Julium pro
Junio mense accepere.
- p.165C5 domos discederent MS princ.ed.Ed.Man domo al.om.
- p.167D8 quo, ad tertum Idus Augusti Rudd's n: Craf. non temere
legendum censet quo [Rosb^ugum]
- p.168A9 falotas fallotas Man There is discussion of the etymology
and meaning in Cens. and Anticr.

- C2 Valterum posterius Atholiae et Davidem Ierniae Comites Rudd.
inverts the order; Man retains the old order
- E8 Gulielmus 1st E of Douglas Jacobus om.lib. Man, Cens.,
accepts this as a mistake
- p.169A11 flumen ingressi Rudd's n. forte legendum f. Solvaeum ing.
- p.173C3 transmissa Tina Man -o Craef. Rudd. quotes Lucan VII.409 and
Ovid. Art.Aman. 1.414, and in his support Burmer quotes ^{ib.} Tib. 1.1
Claudia^o Epith.^{en} Pallad. 109, de laud. ^u Sen. ^{ren} 73 and Ovid IX
Metam. 165.
- p.174A3 cognomento ^p Flexippus: cf.p.179A4
- A9 non expectato Dunelmensi Episcopo -mense and Archiep.lib.
om. and Man
- C9 restituerent Rudd's n. forte melius -erint
- D4 Jacobus Lindsay Man notes ^{n.} K.J.E of Cr.: cf.p.175A1 etc.
- p.175A8 congressibus, qui: quae lib.om. (in Syntaxin manifeste
peccantes, Rudd.) and Man, who defends it a n.
- X
- p.178A4 reperiretur repereretur Man and n. Alii codd. Arb. reperiretur.
- p.179A4 Henricus Percius junior, quem Flexippum diximus cognominatum
Man. Ubi quaeso hoc dictum est? Craef. and (accord.to Rudd)
reads dicunt. Rudd. inserts cogn.Flex. at 174A3. Man notes
i.e. cognominatum Flexippum, quem diximus, Henry Percy,
sirnamed Hot-spur, of whom we have spoken before lib. 9.
cap.58.ingenio ferox ^{answers} to plexippus.
- B9 fratre..velut imbelli contem^{to} Elzev. ~~Ue~~ al^ltere om-and Man,
defending in Cens. Cf.p.174A9

- C11 Thomae Haliburtonii -tonis Man
- D9 oculorum altero amisso omisso Man and n. al. am.-
- Dult ad Nonas Maii Man and n. al. 14 Sept. 1402
- p.181C2 Valterum Vardilaum Fani Andreae Archiepiscopum Man Verum ei nomen Henric^c fuit and Lege episcopum, Rudd.
- p.181D11 Hanc victoriam firman~~m~~ debere existimari -beri MS, Edinb. and Man (cps.Sall.Jug.; Bk.16.c22; and Dial de regn.c.27.
- p.185A5 Biennio fere post biennium om.lib.and Man.
- p.186C2 vilitate. For so it should be read, as in Edinb. copy, Craf.
- D12 Mordaco cum filis filio lib.om. and Man, who discusses the Stewart genealogy in Cens.
- p.188C2 ut juberentur Man, MS ~~ant~~^{and} princ. ed. Ed. juberetur quibusdam libris
- C6 ut et sibi opinionem clementiae pareret -tia Man
- p.189C2 Haec nova eorum scelera, quos impetrata semel venia non represserat, Regem aciorem.. fecit. [fecerunt] tamen scubi oportere Syntaxeos lex omnino ostendit, Rudd's n. His addenda contains fecerunt and Burman prints fecerunt without a note. Man defends fecit; venia would have to be the subject
- D12 quae res inter significationes honoris, et necessitudinum caussas haberi solet et hon. et nec. lib.om. and Man
- p.190A11 illiterar^{um}que studia ad monachos..essent releganda.
re^{re}legabant om.lib. and Man who notes homines nobiles nominative to it. Rudd would like to reconstruct the sentence.
- B9 [Curiones] Rudd repeats
- p.192D5 cf. p.168C2

- D5 Dictum est a nobis Roberto secundo Regi tres ex concubina filios natos: ille quanquam ex Eufemia uxore Valterum et Davidem haberet, tames..concup^uam uxorem duxit: quos ille lib.om. and Man who notes supple, e.g. adamans, comparing Virgil and Terence
- E2 Ea P. Gramo...uxor data M. Gramum ex eo genuit: ex ea om. cod. Nos quam ~~te~~vissimas semper matationes nobismet penⁿⁱtentes, pro [ea] [eo] reposuimus, Rudd., though he might prefer qui after data. He cps. Aen.1 and Catull. lxiv.154 for gigno of women and (for ex eo rather than ei) Tac. Ann.13^{c.}45. Man retains ea and has a new sentence.
- p.193A2 decessisset discessisset om.lib. and Man, with n.cf. excessus. Rudd. thinks discess. alone is in sufficient (cf. Cic.disc.e vita) but in Ces. Man comments that the change is unnecessary.
- p.194A4 adhortabantur adhortarentur om.lib. and Man. The subj. could possibly be defended as a type of jussive subj. in view of the following O.O.
- p.196A2 Is propinquum suum... ad se vocat Craf. eum Atholius ad se v. lib.om. and Man who notes supple/inquam per ellipsin, cf.lib.2. c.39.
- XI
p.203A3 Prorex...persuadet universo conventui, Duglassium eum esse virum, quem placari, quam suspicionibus irritari, magis e re esset. placare lib.om.and Man ⁿⁱirritari Craf. A change is not required. Boece p.362 u 50-60 has no exactly equivalent phrase.

- B4 aversis a memoria periculorum animis MS, Genev., Francof:
adversis Princ.ed.Ed., Lud.Elz.1643 and Man (Cens.p.503)
versis Mosman 1700.
- B11 nascendi fors Man. Rudd's n.: melius tamen mea sententia
[sors] legeretur
- C10 nonnullam suspicionis fraudem injecerant Man (ed.) notes
suspitionis fraudem as = suspitionem fraudis, as Caes.
B.C.1.3 sex dies spatii for spatium sex dierum; Playñt.
Poenul.trecentos nummos praesidiⁱ for praesidium trecentorum
nummorum. The phrasing still seems unusual here.
- p.204C2 ita partiti imperium, ut peculiarem quisque aditum in suam
partem habentes Rudd. noted: Rectius, me iudice, [in suam
partem haberet]. Man scil. essent. Perhaps B. was influenced
by a Greek participial construction.
- D1 Regem sibi adversum conciliare aversum MS Princ.ed.Ed.Gen.
and Francof. and Man who at Cens. p.501 quotes in support
Ter.And. 1.1.37, Pün.32.4, and Quint.7.1. adversum recentiores
- p.205C2 cf.p.132C8 (Archiepiscopus)
- p.206A4 concursum est enim ad nonas Calendas Februarias Man. Rudd.
noted: Ego vero cum Tho.Crafordio [nonum] reponendum
existimo; nusquam enim Latinos numero plurali hac in re usos
reperio. Forte Buchananus [non] aut 9 scripserit, quod
librarii in [nonas] mutarunt.
- p.210C2 Multa iudicia parum prospere experto cum Rex iudicatum modo
solvere iussisset, procurator. respondit. Rudd. questioned
whether experto was dat. or abl. "Et sane utrocunque ponas,
obstare videtur Latini sermonis consuetudo" - he would prefer

- expertus vel potius expertum. Man quotes Liv. 42.28, Cic. Att. 9.23, Id. Fam. 16.9 (cf. Caes. B.C. 3.98) for iubeo+dative but it is perhaps better to regard experto as impersonal ablative. * *Burman added [Adeantur quae diximus ad Ovid. VIII. Metam. 752]*
- p.212E4 Is, in Regis aulicorumque perfidiam invectus, hortatur, ut... Regem MS and princ. ed. Ed. Alteration is probably not required.
- p.213A2 assula ad caudam equi alligata, diploma.. ad eum affigunt, ac... per vicos trahunt eum om.cod. which Man retains, as referring loosely to both.
- D1 multi etiam in supremum ordinem allecti illecti al. om. cod. Rudd. cps. Suet. Nero. 1; Festus on Allectio^{seu} Adlecticii; vid. etiam Budaem in Pandectas fol. 40. ~~Burman added [Adeantur quae diximus ad Ovid. VIII. Metam. 752]~~ Man defends illecti (Cens. p. 513), referring to Vell. Pat. 2.89.
- p.214B1 Haec, pluraque huius generis, non sine lacrymis locutus MS princ. ed. Ed. and Man pleraque al fere om.
- Eult Georgius: Rudd n. Hugo legendum uti supra C11 et p. 207D11 monuimus
- p.215A2 in Nonas Junii Rudd. n. Lege in nonum: Hic error librariorum culpa admissus videtur [non.] in [Nonas] vertentium. Man's n. (ed.) forte nonum
- D2 Is, quamquam Equestri loco natus esset, tamen, ob summam prudentiam et fortitudinem, fidemque singularem erga Regem, ad ultimum usque vitae diem constanter cultam, maximum omnibus bonis desiderium sui reliquit. cultum om. lib. and Man who at Cens., p. 506, defends cultum (with Regem) and

refers to Cic. Fam.11.29, Liv. 2.22, Buch.epigr.1.3 and 2.24 whence he digresses on Sir John Rainsford.

- p.216C12 Pontificem enim... in id u^urum intendere animum: se quidem praemissos Pontifex ed. om. [Pont.] MS, quod librariorum orationis seriem non attendentes pro [Pontifex] fefellit bombardis ferreis, quarum: quorum om.lib. and Man (scil. tormentorum).
- C9 James II d. aetatis anno/XXX. XXIX al.cod. and Man, who explains i.e. complete years (Cens., p.410).
- C10 postquam regnare coeperat, XXIV 23 Man, as above.

XII

- p.218B9 administratio rerum penes Eboracensem esset Cra^f. Eduardum al.lib and Man (i.e. earl of March, the duke of York's eldest son, Cens.p.365 and 156).
- C2 Richardo Varvicensi -e Man, Cens. p.156 and 309, arguing that Cicero sometimes has Latetrense, sometimes -i, etc.)
- C9 Comes Varvici Cra^f. (or Dux Norfolciae) Dux lib.om. and Man who interprets (Cens.p.155) as "general" with an ellipsis of "Regulus".
- D12 Beⁿicum oppidum (quod ab Eduardi Primi usque tempore Angli tenerant) Rudd: Rescⁱbendum Ab Ed. III.
- Eult Renato, puelli avo materno Cra^f. MS and Man. Puellae ed. om.
- p.220A7 veterem institutorum observationem veterum conj. Man.
- B9 nemo invenia^{tu}r dignior, quam foemina, qui ^rem Scoticam administraret? qui ei/genti imperet, quae majorem vitae partem in armis transfigat? MS qui majorem ed om. quae... impert^e, quae Man

- p.222C1 *Hujus enim (ut dixi) legis lator* MS *legislator* (one word)
ed.om.Rudd. quotes Cicero and Livy: cf.B1 *Legislator*
C6 *ut omnes leges..simul evertant?* *semel lib.om.* and Man who
quotes at *Cens.* p.542 (= "all together, all at once, at one
time") Cic. *Att.* 5.8; Virg. *Aen.* 11.424; *Senec.controvers.* lib.
4 praef; *Senec. epist.* 66,71,72, *de tranqu.anim.* 1, *Nat.quaest.*
2.28, Cic. *Off.* 3.15, Ovid, Lucan and Quintilian.
- p.223d1 *ea maritis et propinquis curae sunt* MS *sint* ed.om. and Man:
as a jussive subjunctive it is more forceful.
e7 *Laodicen* MS (so Rudd, but it looks as though n has later been
changed to m, perhaps by a later hand) -em ed. om. and Man.
Cf. p.81C4 and 11 *Igernem*
- e penult. *Zenobia..imperii Romani propugnatrix* Ruddiman pointed out
that since Zenobia favoured the Romans before opposing them
Craf.'s change to *oppugnatrix* is unnecessary.
- p.225B7 *ut Atholiae Comitem cum suis liberos dimitterent* MS *princ.*
ed. Ed. Genev. *liberis al.om.* There is no mention in the
story of Atholl's children. Boece XIX has *Atholiae comite*
cum uxore liberato. Cum does not usually alter number (e.g.
225A8 *Comite cum uxore magnoque captivorum numero illinc*
abducto; cf. Boece 383.56 *restitutum cum coniuge Atholiae*
comitem) but note 225A1 *ut Comitem...cum uxore, nihil tale*
suspiciatos, ceperit. For *dimittere* and adj., cf. Caes.
B.C. 1.18.4 *aliquem incolumem.*
- D2 *qui reliquis puentiae Regiae rectoribus non invitis...est*
admotus MS *invitus* ed. om.
- p.227D8 *oppositas -os* lib.om. Craf. read -as on the grounds that the

northern isles (insulas) were pledged by the King of Denmark, not men's private lands (agros); Man, reading -os, stated that it was easy to understand that the lands possessed by private men and the isles themselves were but one and the same thing.

p.230C6 in bona ejus procuratorem fisci immittunt MS procuratorem al.om. and Man, who in Cens. p.249 accuses Ruddiman of "not attending that the author here, as in several other places, has added a new beauty to his work, or a figure very common in the best writers;... by which the thing or state is put for the person, or.. the abstract for the concrete" and refers to Buch.Psalms (impietas, vanitas for homines impii, vani), Detect.p.6.1.25; Livy 6.3; Suet. Nero 47; Senec. de benef. 1-12; Livy 25.9; Frontin. III; Sidonius IV; Juv.14.86 (and gloss).

gravi edicto MS indicto ed.om. and Man (sc.e.g.supplicio)
 p.232B2 consilium clam.. evadendi cepit MS coepit al.om. caepit Man
 C4 arceque adversus vim satis communita Ferrerius, p.392.1.30
 arcem ipsam rebus omnibus necessariis instruendam curavit
 supports the contention that the Elzevir (1668) and Mossman addition of non (non satis c.) is inappropriate.

C10 nec de pace modo conventum, sed, ad eam confirmandam MS pace
 deest al.

p.233A1 Proceres..in templum oppidi de tertia vigilia coierunt MS
 oppido al.om. Rudd. rejects the possibility of an adverb,
 and thinks vicinum may have been inadvertently omitted.
 Possibly a locative case was in Buchanan's mind.

- A9 Rex vero, si sui compos esset MS sui deest ed. om. and Man, who argues that it may be elliptically understood. Alternatively, perhaps likewise mentis.
- B4 Partim jam vestrum morte, partim exilio sustulerunt: partem recentiores quidam codices Rudd. cites Vossius lib.7 cap.64, Sanctius 1.4.13, Gronovius Obser.lib.3.cap.2. and Agell. lib.10 cap.13.
- p.234E7 Richardum Glocestriae Ducem MS Glocestrum al.lib. and Man who comments at Cens., p.310: "There is a figure, by the rhetoricians called hypallage, by the grammarians metonymy, as Cicero informs us, by which the name of a people is put for the country or city which they inhabit, and vice versa. Of this figure Ruddiman has been absolutely ignorant."
- p.235C9 vicesimo uno anno postquam MS princ.ed.Ed. Genev. Francof. L.Elzev.1643 primo P. Elzev.1668 and Mosman 1700.
- p.236B8 Eduardus Anglus, proximo post Dunbarum receptum mense Aprilis, decessit anno is added by Elzev.1668 and Mosman.
- E3 Anglus eam tenere, Scotus oppugnare posse, salvis induciis, interpretabatur: posse deest, se int. MS. Man, Cens., p.466, says interpretor is used passively by Amm. Marc. 23.12 and 24. 21 and quotes among others Lincoln^{9c7e}. Perhaps Buchanan had in mind the Greek nominative and infinitive construction
- p.237C11 impetravit Craef. impetravit al.
- D3 manifestae ^{rv}sententiarum imago -ta MS
- D11 Archibaldum Angusiae Comitem Georgium al.
- p.238D10 ad auctoritatem ad vulgus comparandam: apud v. Elzev. and Mosm.

XIII

- p.240A2 Jacobo Tertio, ad undecimum Junii...caeso Rudd., foll.
Leslie, Ferrerius and Drummond; lacuna, lib.om. and Man.
- p.240E1 quibus fiduciam augebat, quod omnia littora duabus classibus
...essent infesta ~~augebant~~ om.lib. and Man, who takes quibus =
rebus vel verbis and the subj. of augebant inimici vel
terrestres inimicorum copiae.
- p.241A7 Nec deerant ex eo genere hominum, qui Regum qualescunque
res gestas admirentur, ac magnas etiam in majus extollant
admirantur om.lib.(practerquam MS) and Man. extollant may
represent a more remote attitude.
- D3 oblatisque navibus selectis, et navali apparatu quantum
vellent permissis MS permissis deest ad.; Man notes i.e.
oblato nav.app. Permissis could have been deleted on revision.
- E8 tam obstinate pugnarunt MS obstinati al- and Man who at Cens.
p.425 quotes numerous examples of adjs. for adverbs in
ancient authors, sometimes in combination with advbs.
- p.242E8 duo corpora secum discordia dissentiebant MS and Man
discutiebant lib.ed. in.
- C9 in Sextum Octobris diem Novembris om.lib.
- p.243A11 ut e seculo plusquam ferre~~o~~^o, vere ~~annu~~^{caere} renatum fuisse
videretur MS ver ed. om. and Man who argues (Cens.p.286)
that "the poets feigned that the golden age was an eternal
spring" and that the happiness was interrupted by the Warbeck
affair.
- B7 Margarita Eduardi Quarti Regis Anglorum soror Henrici Quarti
lib.om. Leg. Eduardi, Craf. and Man.

- C3 offirmaverat MS prin^c.ed.Ed.and Man; obf/al.
- E3 quibus aut suae res non satis placebant, aut novarum erat cupiditas. MS n. rerum om.al.and Man who notes, "the author in revising his work has added an elegance to this passage; he was not for multiplying ellipses in both sentences: he loved variety, in the former expressing himself without, in this sentence with an ellipse" (on the following praesentes, sc. vires).
- p.244C11 sevocatum MS princ.ed.Ed. ^rsevocatum al.
- D7 de caussa Petri disserendo Craf. -da Man
- p.245C2 consilio concilio Man
- D11 non modo ad militem, sed ne ad cultores agro^{rum} alendos MS non modo militem om.ed. and Man non modo = non modo non as p.31c6 and p.245b9 where Man notes "as elsewhere, in imitation of Cicero and Livy."
- p.247B7 concordiam Reges inter facile coituram MS princ.ed.Ed. Man and Rudd. who quotes Cic.de Amic. 22; Livy 8; ^{ci}Tar^t.18. inter Reges ^rnec.
- D10 unum genus est, quo MS est deest al. and Man who comments at Cens. p.494, "designed as an ellipsis to be supplied from the beginning of the very next sentence".
- p.248A6 cum.. nec deessent (perpetuum aulae malum) adulator^{es}: deess^{et} MS ed.Ed. and Man.
- B10 tot copiis undique irrumpentibus MS er^{amp}- reliq. om.and Man, quoting at Cens. p.512 Cic. de prov cons., Flor.2.15 and 4.10, and ^{Hirt.}that B.Alex. c26 and saying of the MS "the author had not put his last hand to it".

- C6 Expeditionem in Galliam adornat MS Gallum al. and Man
- C11 Ecclesiasticus quoque ordo...suum studium Ludovico volebat ostentare: sed cum id aperte non auderet, circumspiciebat MS ^{au}auderet. ^uspiciebant ed om. and Man.
- C12 ex eorum ^ufactione qui Gallo studebant, in Angliam studebant sententia MS studebat ed.om. and Man who explains, eccl. ordo as the antecedent to eorum, and the same or Andreas Formanus is the antecedent to qui.
- p.249B10 [Joannes], Heron, Joannis frater Vacuna MS Ioannes Man, foll. ed.Ed.
- p.250B3 Hoc responsum contemtim purgantis manifestae caedis crimen MS contemtum ed.om. An contemptim? Crafn. contemptim Man.
- p.251.B9 Interea Rex, cum, amore nobilis captivae...irretitus, rem militarem negligeret.. Regem amore..irretitum, cum rem milit neglig. Man (n.Accusativus absolutus: vel sic nesolvas; major pars ^reliquit signa et Regem).
- C3 aggredereetur aggredereentur Man (n. i.e. Rex et proceres, vel ipse sui que), cp.12.54.
- D1 tam paucos, et tot arces oppugnantes fatigatos Man oppugnando *Craf.*
- p.253A9 Milfordiam Milfeldiam conj. ^rininus.
- p.255D11 Discordiam enim semina item Crafn.
- p.256C8 (locus) quem veteres ei leges etiam adimebant -bat Man
- p.257B7 et naturae simplicitas non minus favoris assequabatur, quam Heburni occulta calliditas, et malitiosa dissimulatio, atque offensarum implacabilis memoria, et ulciscendi cupiditas. Rudd. conj. added ^rodii conⁱliabant. Man

explained, "Forman's openness gained him no less favour than H's.. gained him (i.e. Forman)", cp. Livy 22.26.

XIV

- p.258C1 anquire~~ret~~ MS inquireret plerique ed. ^{Co}ed. and Man. Cf.
p.230E7 anquireret.
- p.259A4 ejus ab Humio aversa voluntas adversa Man, giving MS as
Aversus Humio vultus
- p.260D3 anctor fuisse existimatus existimatur, leg. Craf. existimabatur
Rudd. praetulerit. Man accepts the text, Cans.p.494.
- p.262D6 gravi poena in abnuentes proposita Man abeuntes MS
E6 Sin porro ire pergerent MS, Craf. and Man. ne p. om.ed.cod.
- p.263C6 Marciam et Te~~xi~~otam pervagatus utriusque provinciae arces,
cum ^{maximo}...damno evertit. Craf. Man suggests that caepit be
understood from the next (or next but one) sentence.
- p.265D8 Lan^uderam profectus..hominibus et jumentis vehementer afflictis
afflictus Man
- Eult regni administrationem Rex suscep~~it~~ MS princ. ed.Ed. Rex
suscepit suscaepit Man. Rex deest. rec.
- p.266D8 Episcopatum Caledoniae Caledoniorum leg. Craf.
- p.267A8 Levinius MS Levinianus ed. om. and Man.
- p.269E6 ac at Man, citing ac Gen.
- E7 Duglassiorum alii in aliam partem intenti, de Regis ab se
secessione securi erant Craf. aliis..intentis al. and Man.
Rudd. notes "Vide tamen annon possit defendi vetus lectio",
as p.100B2
- p.272B2 cum...inermis ad Regem veniret, incidit in exploratores,

- qui eum, velut a se captum, ad Regem perduxerunt MS ad eum
perd. ed.om. (non~~ne~~ *κακοφωνία*, Rudd) and Man, who at
Cens. p.437 implies that ad Regem-eum-ad Regem is as harsh
as eum-ad eum.
- B3 vulgo serebant MS, princ. ed. Ed., Genev. and Man ferebant
rec. Rudd. is doubtful, Religio tamen fuit adversus meliorum
codicum fidem quicquam mutare.
- B7 sex...retenti..luerunt retentis MS and Man. Cf. p.269E7
p.274A6 ad Senatum Parisiensium Mad -iensem Craff., "quod et mihi
potius videtur: ~~non~~ⁱⁿⁱ tamen omnibus libris reniti" (Rudd)
- All institueret MS instrueret ed.om. and Man.
- B7 [de matrimonio] Rudd. insets to explain the following de eo.
But de re conjugali is mentioned a few lines above.
- C4 deditionem MS ditionem ed.om. and Man: Cens.p.150, "what
did he know but Buchanan was of their opinion, who think
that ditio is put for deditio, which etymology is favoured
by the quantity of the first syllable of ditio?" The words
are used interchangeably by Livy and Tacitus, he claims
- C5 diemque et noctem Man dieique noctem MS Rudd cps.Tac.Ann.
16.5 and p.280A7.
- D7 spes liberum MS princ. ed. Ed. Genev. and Man libero^rum rec.
p.275A3 Madrito Madrico al. and Man
- D11 excluderent excluderet Man
- p.276E6 Mariam Gusiā Rudd.noted "Ita MS. et pag. 277C12 plerique
omnes codices, quod et nos ubique servavimus; aliis tamen
locis Gusia, Guisia, et Guisiana appellatur". Gussianam Man.
- p.279B12 Igitur plenus irā^{non} MS Igitur deest om.ed. and Man, who
says it may be elliptically understood.

- D3 Olivario Sinclaro MS Oliverio al. and Man.
- D9 Regias praeferri literas iussit MS profiteri cet. and Man.
Cf. p.277D8 profiteri
- p.280A1 moritu^r, XIV die Decembris MS, Leslie etc. 13 ed.cod. and Man.
- A2 ante octavam diem nata ante quintum, lib.om. and Man, who
at Cens. p.411 thinks that "the author, without any real
inconsistence, might have said that Mary was born either five
or eight days before her father's death and that she lost
him within six days after she was born, as either both
extremes are excluded, or one or both included."
- XV
- p.281A10 Nam neque Rex MS. Neque Rex Man.
- B1 Nec, si domi fuissent MS and Craef. Nec fuissent si domi
Ed. om.
- B8 Cardinalis...ut et ordini suo, et Gallicae factioni se
ostentaret. MS. Suo deest om.ed. but Man includes (i.e.
ecclesiastico), unnecessarily.
- C2 ~~in~~mus ex Assessoribus Ass. M.S. and conj. Craef. (cf.B11)
possessoribus om.lib. and Man (cf.Cens.); proceribus Melv.
- C3 Occasio item supremae potestatis invadendae celeritatis
egere visa est, ut.. reditum praeveniret MS. et celer.
Libr. ed. and Man (possible if emphatic).
- C12 Hi diu noctuque... implebant MS. die noctuque ed. & Man.
- D1 ne fortunam...e manibus elabi sineret MS. labi ed & Man.
- D6 reputabant...quot vel casibus fortuitis esset objecta, vel
tutorum fraude periculis obnoxia MS and Man; quod ed.om.

- D10 quae si fefellisset, non difficilem apud no^Yam Principem, gratiam hominum in regni initio colligentem, et si quid secus evenisset, fore veniam. Ruddiman; fore abest om.lib.. si etiam fefellisset...novum...fore MS. The sentence puzzled Ruddiman, but Man's explanation in ed. is lucid
- E2 die sacro Thomae Apostolo qui est Decembris XXI. Om.lib. male legitur XX. XX Man.
- E6 per familias laxiore custodia distribuuntur. Erant autem ii ex ordine supremo septem. MS omits ⁱⁱII, ceteri have ei (so Man) which R. says cannot be singular (could it refer to custodia?) here and is never used in the plural (quae nonnullorum Grammaticorum est hallucinatio).
- p.282A6 Rediemat MS redierant alⁱⁱii+Man
- B4 in quibus e Man
- D10 ob multa et magna beneficia MS multa magna alii & Man
- p.283C8 ac recta Londinum profectus est. ac absent lib.om. & Man; Man attributes it to Gen.
- E5 mascula stirpe liberum: cf. p.274D7
- p.284B1 nuptias...oblatus Craef. abl. ~~fm~~lib & Man.
- D4 Prorex..ipse per occulta colloquia cum Cardinale tractare coepit: et Cardinalis.. cum Cardinale e MS restituimus; cum C. Man.
- p.285A7 Jacobus Heburnus Tho.Craef. legendum jubet Patricius. Leg. Patr. Man.
- A10 et eminebant in utroque naturae et fortunae dotes, magis similes quam aequales MS. natura lib.ed. and Man
- p.286C8 Limnuchum profugerunt: profugiunt MS perfuge^{nt}nt ed.lib. & Man.

- C11 Evastarunt Man vastarunt MS.
- p.287A3 perfidiae occultandae latibula:instrumenta MS
- p.287A5 cujus omnes majores se...contulerint et multis beneficiis...
honorati fuerint. fuerunt libr. omn. and Man, scarcely
defensible even if, as in Man, multi (scri. majores) is read
for (Gen.) multis, presumably as if a kind of parenthesis.
- B1 obfirmarat offirmaret Man offirmarat Gen.
- B2 hominem claro loco natum, et spectatae fidei Rudd. Man+Ms.
hominem et om.lib. *h.* nobilem et *leg.*Craf.
- C4 frustra converberasset con. frustra Man
- C6 unum et alterum MS unum et alium editi codices, Man.
- C12 quo die Glascuam...convenirent, atque inde..impetum facerent
MS conveniret aliis and Man.
- D1 Hamiltonii *Hamiltoniani* Craff. leg.
- E5 etiam valvas..abstulerunt MS et v.Ceteri and Man
- E6 clathrosque ferreos clathras alii. clatras. Man (Plaut.Mil.
Glor. 2/4/26).
- p.288A11 Comite Angusia MS -ii ceteri and Man
- B8 se suasque res a fisco se suasque a fisco Man, forte leg.
suaque, "compositions for their escheats and forfeitures"
- C11 quantum equi contendere cursu poterant. Rudd's n. Quidam
[poterat] melint but cf. Aen. VI.199
- D5 domum properarent MS prorumperent ed.om. and Man
- p.289A1 coegerunt MS -ant alii and Man
- A3 provexerat MS *perv-* alii and Man
- D6 pervenerant MS -venissent alii and Man
- p.290B11 pene tota MS fere tota ceteri and Man

- C5 in alterius castris alteris conj. Craef.
- C11 pepererunt MS -erat^u ed. libr. and Man -erint Craef.
- D3 [postulata et] ejic. Rudd.
- B5 paullatim elucente veritate recentiores libri illucente princ.
Ed. and Man; illucescente MS.
- p.291A1 quae: quas Man, scil. copias sen^u cohortes; Livy 29.12 for
auxilia qui.
- C11 ^unum instauratae Religioni addictissimum alterum leg.Craef.
alterum ipsi inimic^um, Rudd. suggests adding, but Burman
defends original: de uno enim ex duobus pronuntiato,
facile intelligitur alter fuisse diversae sectae, citing
Suet. Tib. 52 and Lips.l. Elect.18 ibid.; notis ad Vell.
Pat.II.54 and Ovid II. Art.Am.282; F.Fr.Gronov. ad Liv.
III. 37 & XIX. 33 & Jac. Gron. ad Gell. VI. 11. Man comments,
"This elegant use of ^unus is as common with our author as it
is with the best writers", cf. bk.6, cc.33,42.
- D6 praeturam Praefectura et Praefectus hic et postea Craef.leg.
- D9 possent posset Man (Graius seu uterque)
- D11 existimaret -abat leg. videtur, Rudd
- p.292A5 [immunatas] inser. Rudd, foll. A. Melville; sc.i., cadentes
or pereuntes, all from the context, Man.
- A7 post hibernam solstitium. brumam Craef. leg. here and 299c7
Saevius, Columella, Solinus etc. use hiemale, brumale or h.s.,
Man.
- A12 Ibi eum per otium cum paucis nactus Ibi igitur otium Arb.
Gen., and Man
- D6 doctrinam non ignoraret:doctrinae.pur^utatem ipse non ignoret
Rudd. conj. foll. MS.

- D12 cogita, quae..sint futurae MS sunt alii om. and Man.
- Epecult Saulem -um alii -em Man.
- p.294B7 e linteo panno lineo MS
- E2 non inimicos modo..sed cuicumque esset leviter offensus, eum..
suae libidini mactaret. Craef. inimicis om.lib.+Man. quicumque
om.lib.+ Man. cui-MS and Craef. Man's explication is complex:
"The construction appears to be as follows: qui -non inimicis
modo -quibus graviter esset offensus, eos, sed quicumque
esset leviter offensus, eum mactaret - Quicumque is here the
dative, as we find quoi or qui in that case in the best
authors, as well as in the abl. in all genders both s. and pl."
- E7 debacchetur Melvinus debaccharetur om.lib. and Man.
- Epecult Cardinalis, ^{etsi} ~~ubi~~...diffideret, tamen, cum non ignoraret..
existimavit Man, MS. aliis deest cum.
- p.296B7 Nec..a flagitiis tamen contineri poterant Craef. non pot.
om.lib. and Man, "duo negativa apud Graecos"
- p.297B2 sciret suis longe praecellere Melv.; suos pler. lib. changed
more for ^{clari} ~~quity~~ than because praec. never takes accus., Rudd.
suos Man, "Anyone who attends to the whole of this sentence
and the foregoing, may easily see...that there is no
ambiguity here."
- B4 complures..turmae MS quamplures alii lib. and Man
- C8 quae qui forte leg. Rudd.
- D5 in eisdem legibus institutis moribus et lingua educatum MS
institutum alii om and Man.
- Eult cum... assumserat..ostenderat ostendit MS.
- p.298B8 nec abeundo fallere possent MS obeundo ed.om. and Man.

- E7 *asis ausi sunt forte leg.* Rudd
- Epenult *premebant MS and Craef. premerant Princ.Ed. and Man ("more antiquo"):*
ceter.ed. premerent
- p.299A4 *rem ullam memoria dignam MS ulla ed.om. and Man.*
- p.300B3 *in Coenobium Monacharum MS Man -orum *libr.* ed.*
- C8 *qui Reginam in Galliam amittendam censebant Man. am=amandare,*
Ter.Heaut. III.1.70.etc., Rudd. mitt- Elzev.Burman adds Vid.
ad Phaedr. lib.1.fab.13.
- C140 *complures menses quamplures libri ed. and Man. cf.p.297B4.*
- p.301A4 *fundaret ac fugaret MS aut editi and Man, cp.Sen.ep.100 (et*
for aut) singulis et genium et Junonem dederunt majores nostri.
- A8 *Ad Memiam Angusiam potius dic. Rudd.*
- A9 *Ab Escae fluminis ostio Craef. Deae om. lib. and Man, i.e.*
Escae septentrionalis; for Montrose standeth upon the mouth
of Esk.
- B2 *and B5 + p.316A9 Ruddiman objects to retro + accus but Man*
cps Apuleius and later writers and Pliny ~~20.6~~ N.H. 28.6
- B8 *aggerem aggeres Man*
- B10 *ostendisset MS -ent alii and Man*
- C7 *Dussius..delusus Craef -io -so om.lib. and Man (cf.6.23n)*
- C9 *instituisse...penetrare rec.lib. and Man instituisse MS, princ.*
ed.Edim. Burman, on the perpetual interchange of these words,
refers to ad Quinct. Lib.1.de Orat Inst.Cap.5. Gronov. and Cell,
XII. 2 ad Liv. XXVIII. 48 and Graev. ad Suet.Vitel.2.
- D6 *Anglici exercitus MS Angli alii and Man.*
- D8 *cuique MS cui ed. lib. and Man.*
- D12 *In teremerunt MS Galli milites inter. ed. om.and Man*

- E3 Eo tota fere nocte profectus MS ea ed. om and Man
- E5 alii hor^{ne} MS alii deest ed. lib. and Man, who argues that ellipse of alii as of pars and partim is common with the best writers.
- Epenult obversa MS adversa alii and Man
- p.302B3 misit MS Gallus misit editi and Man
- C8 ut...agens MS and Man; agens deest om.ed.
- D11 Gulielmi Crichtoni^z Man. G.C.Sanchari^z MS, with which word it ceases
- p.303A5 In religionem Genev. Francof. & Lud. Elzev. -ne *Pine.* ed.Ed., Mosm., Pet Elzev. and Man, who says that in governs the accus or abl. promiscuously, without regard to grammatical motion or rest, and cps. A. Gell.1.7 who says *Cic.* once used acc. for better sound, and notes Bk.18.cap.31
- B4 haberet...tegeret -ent -ent alii and Man
- B5 sub ^{uj}cius nominis praetextu Francof. Lud. Elzev.1643 and Mosm. 1700; praetextu antiquioribus, Pet. Elzev.1668 and Man.
- XVI
- p.305D7 MDLIV MDLV Lib.om. 1555 Man but leg. 1554.
- p.306A1 Gordonius Gulielmum G. apud se in Vinculis G. ed.om. and Man, ("He had kept him at first confined to his own house, and afterward threw him into a common jail").
- B12 decideretur dic- Man.
- p.308D2 Scoti vero [indignabantur] Craef. ind.deest om.lib.+ Man (subintellige ind., offendebantur)
- p.309A1 mutuam officiorum vicissitudinem mutuam Man (pro mutuorum, so Tac. summum pro summorum).

- B2 Comernaldiae utraque Edit. Edim. and Man; Comerlandiae cet.
- B6 [quod]... praefectus esset Craef. [quod] deest Man.
- p.310B8 putarent -et Man
- p.311D7 illi nobis..permitterent, ut...uterem~~ur~~ Craef. Man. ~~uterentur~~
om.lib.
- p.312E1 Paulo (Paulo in n.) Paulo Man paulo editt.
- p.313A4 tam praefactae..audacriae Craef. perfractae lib.om. and Man.
- B3 quod ei non difficile;~~d~~. esset Craef. legi ju~~b~~et. Sc. esset,Man.
- p.316E6 [Edimburgi] morati Craef. admon.
- p.317C11 cujus consitii forte ejus, Rudd., forte hujus Bumer.
- p.318A4 Scoti Scoti Craef. del. jub.
- B4 a quibus, Labrossio et Eppis⁹po quibus a L. et E. And. Melvinus
- D6 genereum et filiam meam Craef. gener et filia ~~mea~~ om.ed. and
Man (supple est per elips.; cf.12-31)
- p.320A11 terroris..implerunt Man; Rudd cps. Virg.Aen 1, Liv. 1 and 5;
terrores Francof., uterque Elzev.+ Mosm.
- B11 impetraret Man
- p.321A8 tuaeⁱfliae regno gravissime affecto Craef. - tae alii and Man.
- XVII
- p.326E9 Pictor~~n~~ium Craef. -orum om.lib. and Man.
- p.327A5 damnaret princ. ed.Ed. and Man damnarat alii om.
- D11 sperare poterat: spectare Princ.~~ed~~.Ed. and Man (which Rudd.
might accept for exspectare)
- p.328E6 intra octavam cf.XIV.49 sextum om.lib. and Man. Gatherer
criticises Rudd's emendation, p.53n. (whereas he accepts
Rudd's suggestion at p.48n).

- p.329B9 idololattras (sic, Burman) idolattras Man idolotras Gen.
- p.330A10 se astrinxerat Princ. ed.Ed. and Man. abstrinxerat Gen.
obstrinxerat posterior^{es}
- p.331D6 qui.. ob poma sibi per somnum oblata, exultant utraque Elev.
et Mosm; ob deest princ. Ed.Ed. Genev. Francof. and Man.
- p.332A10 cum se illi quiquam mandatum habere negaret om.lib. and Man.
cum se ille Craf. (rect.vid., Rudd.).
- D8 omⁿem Papanae pompae fastum adjecit princ. Ed.Ed. and Man.
pompae deest aliis (✓ prater Mosm.)
- p.334D11 impell^{eb}ant -at Man
- p.338D12 faciem stantem Craf. etiam stantem lib.om.
- p.339A3 et, ut in homine corpulento, angusto spiritum me^utu:et
angusto om.lib. and Man
- D9 XX anno Craf. XXII om.lib. 22 Man.
- p.344B79 quod non faciem cultus honestabat, sed facies cultum
dest^{ru}ebat. Craf. cultus deest om.lib. and Man (potius voces
ea res subintelligendae: i.e. cultus adeo splendidus,
magnificus, sumptuosus. Facies significat totius corporis
formam).
- p.345A6 leniterque leviter om.lib. and Man.
- XVIII
- p.348B8 quo navis appulit Craf. qua om.lib. and Man, who cp.
Claudian de rap. Pros. v. 238.
- p.349C8 caeterosque id genus opifices opificis Man, who cp. Cic.
de leg. 2 and 3 and Tusc. lib.3 genus id orationis
- p.353B7 admonitus a suis admon. est a om.lib. and Man.

p.354A4 adeo severe exēbatur quae adeo Rudd. leg. vid. (as in
 Detet.); scil. altera quaestio Man.

p.638(Burman) Praecideret praecideret Burman put. leg.

p.356B9 diplomata in diplomatibus forte leg.Rudd.; scil.quod
 attinet ad or ^e circa, Man.

* p.357C1 in animos penetrant animo om. lib. and Man

E6 [exularet] [expelleretus] Craff.; no suppl. in Man.

* p.357Bult angebat ferox Reginae ingenium angebat Man, cps. Val.Plac.
 Argon.6.279.

p.358B4 lenitatis levitatis Man

Cult mei contentus me Man

E3 assentiebatur, sed et bona vitamque Craff; ass.ac bona lib.om.
 and Man, cps.Cic.Att. 3.15, ac for~~ator~~/or sed.

p.359C10 justam justum Man (justam "must be read, or we must suppose
 justum to be put adverbially)

p.360A6 de quo ante dictum est Craff. de quo ut a me dictum est om.
 lib. and Man.

C3 Similes rec.lib. similem princ. Ed.Ed. and Man, who comments
 "Here we may either allow an ellipse of amicitiam, as amicos
 nostros goes immediately before it, or understand it as put
 partitively, in which case the singular as well as the plural
 number is used, as Plaut. Amph. 1.1.76.77; Peñdol. 3.2.93.4."

penult. fateri [non ausi], cum fateri: cum Man ("ie. cum pudor non
 sineret")

p.362A10 adversam Man aversam leg. Rudd.

B9 satis firmi...viderentur Craff. et satis firmi...videbantur
 om.lib. and Man. Craff. reads versa~~entur~~entur (frustra, Rudd.) for
 versabantur above

- D2 attentata attenta lib.om. and Man, who notes Malim tentata
 p.363C11 deposcebat deposceret leg. Rudd.
- p.364D3 onerabat Man Quidam ornabat velint, Rudd., but wrongly, cf.
 Livy. lib.4.
- D5 inexpectato subito one or other seems superfluous, Rudd.
 p.366B7 eum doctrinam et ritus Pet Elzev. 1668 Mosman 1700 eam
 reliqui fere omnes and Man.
- XIX
- p.367C12 vulgo passim Burman's n.: "Crederem hoc et aliis locis
 Buchananum incertum, qua voce uteretur, duas saepe posuisse,
 ut eligeret alteram, sed neglexisse unam delere, ita ut
 utraque fuerit typis expressa. quare ego vulgo delerem."
 p.368B2 impulerat.. aliisque impulerat princ.Ed. Ed. and Man impulerant
 rec.; aliique Man
- B5 causas..cupiditatem dissimularent causis..cupiditate Man.
- E2 quoad autem posset Man quod om.lib. praeter primum Ed. and
 Mosm.
- p.370A1 decreverunt praeter Graf. d. autem p/om.lib. and Man.
 Melvinus punctuates after d.
- E1 Regina, quae..spectatrix pugnae [substiterat]...intendit
 [subs.] deest om. and Man, who says subintellig. substiterat
 or fuerat
- p.371B12 quippe quae...alienatura, et..conjunctura...esset al.esset
 om.lib. and Man
- D1 quod ea mora et *la*lificatio...additura...detractura *videretur*
 -turum -turum om.lib. and Man (who cps. A.Gell.Noct Abd.1.7,
 which Rude*l*. discusses, *and* Plaut. Trucul. 2.4.46)

- E2 neque Reginam.. [aequo animo laturam]..neque Gusionos..passuros
 p.372D12 et qui et Craef. del
- p.375A3 homines jam diu..praemeditatos h.et jam om.lib. and Man
 B8 conf^fessi sunt princ. Ed.Ed. Genev. and Man; ⁱ sint reliquis
 C8 cum ip^si..possent Craef. Man. cui om. lib.
- D6 mortuo Roberto III Man, some ex. of Ed.Ed. 1582, and Mosm.;
 Jacobo lib. fere om.
- D9 rexerat rexit princ. Ed.Ed. Mosm. and Man rexit atⁱ codd.
 penult Regi defuncto genere proximus Rege om.lib. and Man.
- p.376 B6 [Gulielmus] Duglassius lacuna (i.e.G.deest) in princ. Ed.
 Ed. Mosm. and Man
- C10 assensione, eam retinuit ea Manⁿ (i.e.possession sine jure).
 p.377A9 in solo Britanno Man Britannio atⁱ di^ent, contend.
- B3 petier^{nt}...extruserit..conjecer^{nt}...produxer^{nt}..vendider^{nt} petiit..
 extrusit.. conj^{er}erunt om.fere lib. and Man
- p.378A7 in patrem adoptatus in^p.est a. lib.om. and Man
- p.380A4 ab hostibus populatoribus Craef. hostium om.lib. and Man, who
 notes, ita apud Propert. Medorum hostes, i.e. hostes Medes
 etc. and vernac. a forger of a monk, a pedant of a grammarian.
- C10 [est] delatus [est] deest om.lib. and Man
- D11 hic nos paullum divertere cogⁱt his Princ.Ed.Ed. and Man
 (scr^l.rebus Scotius)
- p.382A2 comperirentur compererentur Man
- p.383D10 ornatus, tum ornatus qui tum Man
- E5 Pro^fuge sublato Craef. praeside om.lib. and Man.
- p.385B5 eam redditu^ms esset Man eum om. lib. praeter Mosm.
- D3 quippe quae princ. Ed.Ed. and Man. quae deest al.om.

XX

p.386B7 ut..liberaret -ent om.lib. and Man.

p.389B7 ut claves portarum cives eis traderent ejus Princ. Ed.Ed. and Man.

D6 T.c [et] V.S. et deest om.lib. and Man
 p.392A4 Rogant ut interim ne Man, forte que
 p.392A11 consessus -os Man

B5 credebatur Craf. -eretur om.lib. and Man

p.393E6 Argathelia -io leg.vid. Rudd.

p.394E8 cogitarit Craf. -arat al.lib. and Man

p.395A9 et, quia qui Princ. Ed.Ed. and Man

D6 vaneſcunt prius: Ed. Genev. + Franc. evan- rec.

p.396E3 interponeſtur, supplicibus Craf. i. aut s. om.lib. and Man, who notes Craf.'s deletion and adds alix voem evaderet
 interſerendam ceſſent

E7 At haec Et Edim. and Man

p.397A7 in proximum extra muros hoſtium erga Ed. and Man ("for contra, e regione").

A12 infectum -to Man

B3 quia vis mali..poſſet intra quia deest Edim. and Man. itaque intra Craf; ſubint. quia or itaque before intra, Man. $\frac{1}{2}$ after poſſet would ſuffice.

p.398D10 proceres, a Craf. proceres qui a Man, and note i.e. ii clariss. procerſ qui legem illam aeternam ſecuti ſint.

p.399A10 permiſſa..vellet..apponeret promiſſa..vellent..apponerent lib.fere om. and Man

*C2 coactis...impulſis -us..-us Man and n. i.e. cum, inquam, aut vi coactus, aut formidine impulſus eſt $\frac{1}{2}$ neus

- *B6
(above) recte et ordine cuncta fuisse acta recta om.lib.praeter unum Francof. and Man; Rudd. cps. Livy Bks 30 and 45 and Cic. Phil. V.
- p.400B9 cum probent comprobent Man, and n. com archaismus pro cum.
- p.402A7 abh^reat abhorreant Craf. abhorrerent om.lib. and Man, who explains i.e. sui, vel mater Regis s^uique.
- C4 vel per vim educeretur Craf. Man per unum om.lib.
- p.723n1 (E^ruman) Extra quam for praeterquam
- p.405B1 Ruddiman, following Crawford, alters the word order of lib.omn., which Man defends
- p.724n2 Burman comments on Suffragato^res
- p.724n3 Illo "Pro illuc ex antiquitatis more; ut et isto sumi vidi-
m^{us} ad Ovid Epist. Heroid. XVIII.205".
- p.407C4 id impediendum ratus Craf. ad imped. ratus Princ. ed.Ed. and Man. ad..paratus rec., paratis Mosm.
- p.408B8 asperior, [e] nivis asp. nivis Man
- p.408D8 [Gulielmi] Duglasii lacuna, om.lib. and Man, who notes 'Wm. D. of Glenber^vie'.

Appendix IV

Some sources mentioned by Buchanan.

During his narrative Buchanan referred to various historical sources, Scottish (Fordun, Winton, Major, Boece), English (Matthew Paris, William of Newbury, Thomas Walsingham, Polydore Virgil, Caxton, Hall and Grafton) and French (Froissart and Monstrellet). In the first two books he also mentioned, sometimes in passing, some familiar classical writers including Caesar, Lucretius, Aristotle, Propertius, Pliny, Martial, Tacitus, Varro, Seneca and Plutarch. In addition he mentioned some other modern figures such as the English antiquary John Leland, the diplomatist and classical scholar Sir Thomas Eliot (both of the sixteenth century) and the fourteenth-century Italian humanist Pnysonius Laetus. A wide range of other writers from classical and late antiquity was known to Buchanan, amongst them being Stephanus of Byzantium (Greek grammarian in Constantinople c.300 A.D.), Decimus Magnus Aponius, fourth-century composer of over one hundred epigrams, Suidas and the Etymologicon Magnum, Hyginus (fl.temp.Augustus), a native of Spain whose works included topographical and biographical treatises, Pomponius Mela (first century A.D.), the earliest Roman geographer, Festus Pompeius (second century A.D.), epitomizer of Verrius Flaccus' 'De significatu verborum', Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century), the last great Roman historian. Martianus Capella (fifth century), author of an allegorical and cosmographical treatise, Gaius Julius Solinus (third century), author of 'Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium', Paulus Orosius (fifth century), a pupil of Augustine and author of a Christian Chronicle, and Theodoret and Sozomen, ecclesiastical historians of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

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