

Arthur Johnston
and the
Fostering of Scottish Letters

Alexander J K Farquhar
St Cross College, Oxford

*A thesis submitted to the University of Oxford
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

Trinity Term 2013

*Department of History, University of Oxford
George Street, Oxford, OX1 2RL*

Abstract

Alexander J K Farquhar
[St Cross College, Oxford]

Arthur Johnston and the Fostering of Scottish Letters

Traditionally, Arthur Johnston has been judged *proxime accessit* to George Buchanan in the world of Scottish neo-Latin poetry, and particularly in the versification of the Book of Psalms. The thesis offers a counterpoint to that theme. More of his poetry came under scrutiny at the close of the nineteenth century, when an edition of his *Parerga* and *Epigrammata* of 1632, turned scholarly attention to his secular poems. This study examines the poems written between 1599 and 1622 during Johnston's *peregrinatio academica* in Europe – poems which depict him at the moment of his emergence onto the public stage, and which offer insights into his life, and the worlds he occupied, during those years. Part one of the thesis will examine his early years and his move into the academic world in Aberdeen and at Heidelberg University. Part two will consider the years he passed as a teacher of philosophy at the Huguenot Academy in Sedan, the independent principality on the northern border of France. It will look, too, at the evidence of his year spent in Padua, where he studied to become a physician. Part three will focus on the years 1619-22 when his longest secular poems were composed. He wrote and published with an eye to achieving a post in the medical circle around James VI and I. The thesis concludes by considering the retreat he made from Europe and London to his home in Aberdeen, and looks briefly at one of the small poems he wrote in 1623-24. Throughout, themes emerge of Johnston's irenic preferences, and his response to the disturbance to intellectual life brought about by Calvinist division, and by the crisis heralded by the Bohemian Revolt.

Long Abstract

Alexander J K Farquhar
[St Cross College, Oxford]

Arthur Johnston and the Fostering of Scottish Letters

Arthur Johnston has not received the attention owed to a major neo-Latin poet of seventeenth-century Scotland. The consideration which he has received, mainly as a result of the mid eighteenth-century *bellum grammaticale*, and afterwards through the Spalding Club's sponsoring of the *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* at the end of the nineteenth century – principally an edition of Johnston's *Parerga* and *Epigrammata* of 1632 – has tended to award him the place of *proxime accessit* in a contest with George Buchanan. The mid-eighteenth century emphasis established a focus upon his sacred writing, and in particular his Latin paraphrase of the Book of Psalms. This thesis offers a counterpoint to that theme. It examines the poems written between 1599 and 1622, during Johnston's *peregrinatio academica* in Europe – poems which depict him at the moment of his emergence onto the public stage, and which offer insights into his life, and the worlds he occupied during those years.

The themes which emerge from the thesis depict Johnston in his irenic guise, building his life in the world of philosophy and medicine, through approaches which encompassed both traditional scholastic disputation and Socratic induction. His Calvinist roots reappeared at the moment of danger facing the Protestant cause as a result of the firming of confessional barriers at the Synod of Dort, and disturbance in the wake of the Bohemian Revolt. Johnston, in a complex series of moves, first sought out a place in the medical circle around James VI and I in London, and thereafter retreated to his home in the north east of Scotland. His dislike of aggression and a preference for the pleasure of poetry, emerge throughout his career as he follows the call of his Muse, and particularly the model of Ovid.

The thesis is laid out chronologically, permitting the emergence of a pivotal moment in the chapter devoted to Johnston's stay in Padua, where he was awarded the degree of doctor of medicine. The Appendix considers some errors in the chronology of that stage in his life. The Introduction places this thesis into the traditional picture of Johnston within the canon of Scottish neo-Latin literature, and a chapter then sets

him on his initial theological path, possibly a path of training for the ministry of the Reformed church in Scotland. From school in Kintore he then progressed to King's College, Aberdeen, and subsequently to the University of Heidelberg. The study notes the influences he may have experienced at that latter university, where he diverted his studies from the theological world into that of philosophy.

The second section opens with a discussion of Johnston's first decade in Sedan, as Professor of Philosophy in the Huguenot academy of that fortress city, building a life of family, friends and career. He also opened his poetic reputation with writing dedicated to his circles around the Academy, and to members of the Ducal Court. A chapter then examines the academic year 1615-16, which Johnston spent in the Medical University of Padua in pursuit of a degree which would establish him as a physician. Those months introduced him to an approach to learning which contrasted with the disputatious style on which his previous work and reputation had been built.

On his return to Sedan, his first published poem emerged from the presses, dedicated to one of the Princes of the Palatinate, and reflecting on the approaching Protestant moment caused by the election of the Elector Palatine as king of Bohemia. Further events in his own life, and in that of his friend and colleague Daniel Tilenus, along with the threat which accompanied the politico-religious developments around the opening of the Thirty Years' War, encouraged him to depart from Sedan and the Huguenot academic world, to the Stuart Court in London. Contemporaneous with that move are two substantial poems, mounting an attack on another Latin poet-physician, George Eglishem, and a chapter of the thesis analyses this emergence by Johnston into the European world of letters. Johnston then published a lengthy poetic comment upon the political crisis of the Bohemian Revolt. Two poems contrived a rhetorical approach to that problem – poems which were directed towards men of influence in London – and then a further poem, more partisan in nature, took the side of the Protestant cause. A year later, after seeing these poems into print, Johnston became established in Aberdeen, and in 1622 was nominated a burgess of the city.

In an epilogue to this return to Scotland, in 1623-24 Johnston departed once again for Sedan. There, he resigned his post at the Academy and also embarked upon a protracted legal battle, ending in the Supreme Court of the Spanish Netherlands in Mechelen, in pursuit of an inheritance which he argued was owed to him and his wife. During that time he may also have taken steps to move his family to his home region of Aberdeenshire. These legal events in Mechelen lie outside the strict temporal

bounds of the thesis, but a brief consideration of his poetical comment upon them helps to confirm earlier judgments.

The thesis takes Johnston's poetry as its principal primary sources, but always aims to ground them in surrounding events. The poems reflect Johnston's approach to this later humanist world of scholars; they also tell us of broader developments in that world as it reached a moment of crisis. He regarded that crisis as a time to support the Reformed stance of his homeland; he also saw it as a threat to the *Respublica litterarum*. He composed to support the latter, and particularly to foster Scotland's contribution, personified by the poetry of George Buchanan. He occasionally wrote to advance the Protestant cause. That choice presented him with more difficulty, and Aberdeen eventually called him back to a more amenable life.

Arthur Johnston
and the
Fostering of Scottish Letters

Alexander J K Farquhar
St Cross College, Oxford

*A thesis submitted to the University of Oxford
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

Trinity Term 2013

*Department of History, University of Oxford
George Street, Oxford, OX1 2RL*

Acknowledgments

I owe a debt of gratitude to three supervisors who have guided this thesis – Professor John Robertson, Dr Susan Brigden and Professor David Norbrook. Each has offered invaluable contributions to steer me around pitfalls and ensure that the study found its most profitable direction. The possibility of examining the intellectual life of Scotland in the seventeenth century was first suggested to me by Professor Colin Kidd, and was then encouraged by the Warburg Institute. Subsequently, Pusey House and St Cross College in Oxford provided me with sustenance and challenge, as I carved out a thesis. To these people and bodies I owe enormous thanks.

Other supporters have encouraged me through testing times. Friends in Oxford and London have shared with me the challenges faced by doctoral students, and thus lightened my burden. Colleagues at seminars and the staff of archives and libraries in England, Scotland, Belgium and Italy have approached my ideas and needs with patience. Most of all, Julie encouraged me to take on this most exciting challenge, and supported me with the means to fulfil it.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	2
<i>Contents</i>	3
<i>Abbreviations and Conventions</i>	4
PART I	
1. Introduction: secularity and sources	5
2. Aberdeen and Heidelberg	18
PART II	
3. Johnston in Sedan: 1603-1615	28
4. Johnston in Padua: philosopher to physician	47
5. Johnston in Sedan: 1616-1623	96
PART III	
6. The Eglisheim Satire	118
7. The Bohemian Crisis: analysis and advice	151
8. Epilogue: The Supreme Court at Mechelen	199
9. Conclusion	208
10. <i>Appendix</i>	210
11. <i>Bibliography</i>	216

Abbreviations and Conventions

AHRC	<i>Arts and Humanities Research Council</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy</i> , ed. Allen B. Hinds (London, 1907)
DBI	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> (Rome, 1978)
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
ICCU	<i>Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
STC	Alfred W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640</i> , 2nd ed. rev. & enl. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katherine F. Pantzer (3 vols., London, 1976-91)

Latin spelling has been maintained from the original, except for æ, i/j and u/v.

Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

All dates are New Style, and the year begins on 1 January.

PART I

Chapter 1

Introduction: secularity and sources

The aim of this study is to consider the life of Arthur Johnston (c.1579-1641) during his European *peregrinatio academica*, between the years 1599 and 1622, and the intellectual *milieu* in which he moved in the universities of Heidelberg, Sedan and Padua. The principal primary sources under consideration are the poems he wrote during those years, insofar as they can provide evidence for his life. The thesis aims to uncover the epistemology behind Johnston's writing, and to confirm or correct factual details of his life. The parameters of the study will provide a *terminus ad quem* of his return to Scotland in 1622 or 1623. These constraints will not exclude the use of some of his later writing, however, in order to inform an understanding of the narrower period under consideration. A detailed examination of his career as a member of the royal medical circle of James VI and I and as a *Medicus Regius* to Charles I, and eventually as physician and academic in Aberdeenshire, is beyond the boundaries of the thesis. Some broader questions – the pamphlet campaign for British involvement in the Palatinate in 1620, for example, or a comprehensive and detailed bibliographic analysis of his first editions – will also lie outside the focus of the study.

The thesis will therefore consider less than half of Johnston's published secular writing, but it will examine the important and neglected poems of his years abroad. The secular bias will not prevent some consideration, however, of his later sacred work, particularly his Latin Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms, and the light which that might shed upon the inspiration behind the earlier poems. Those earlier poems may also contain some theological undercurrents or assumptions. Nevertheless, the picture of Johnston's thought world which can be teased from this early writing will provide an important secular counterpoint to the traditional historical view which has looked upon Johnston above all as a Latin versifier of the Psalms, a view which was first given substance in the mid eighteenth-century by the Scottish Latinists who indulged in a *bellum grammaticale*. Providing a balance in the

life and writings of the poet, it will re-affirm the historical importance of Johnston's secular poetry in the canon of Scottish Latin literature, and reveal the usefulness of those poems as sources for the historian of the late European Renaissance. In addition, it will raise questions about early modern medical knowledge, about study at Renaissance universities, about early Stuart policy, and it will propose some answers. It will insert greater biographical accuracy into the life of a major neo-Latin poet of early modern Europe, and transcend that with comment on the world of the humanist scholars in which he lived.

This thesis was already well advanced when an AHRC project was established at Glasgow University in 2012 to examine the *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum* of 1637. That early-modern display of Scotland's proud Latinate culture offered a Scottish contribution to the European publishing phenomenon which was capturing the neo-Latin poetry of a number of nations for the Republic of Letters, and for posterity. The website of the Glasgow project draws attention to a paradox revealed by the Scottish *Delitiae*. Most accounts of Scotland's post-Reformation culture emphasise a commitment to a narrow form of Protestantism and a severe moral and social discipline. In contrast, the outpourings of the Scottish neo-Latin writers, especially around the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, encompass a broad range of neo-classical genres: 'pious homilies to Christ and vitriolic attacks on the Catholic church; astronomical and medical treatises; ribald satires on contemporary life and politics; and appeals to pagan deities for health and wellbeing, among many others'.¹ The project argues that these prolific outpourings indicate that a 'neo-Latin humanist culture, with its reverence for the pagan and antique past, became immensely popular in Scotland at the exact same time as Scotland became one of the most doctrinaire Reformed countries in Europe'. The content of this study should offer further tools for an analysis of these paradoxical outpourings. Johnston existed within this neo-Latin culture; he contributed to it during his European sojourn; and he continued to foster it when he returned.

Johnston and the *Respublica litterarum*

In 1637 Johnston wrote to John Scot of Scotstarvet on the impending appearance of the *Delitiae*, the culmination of their shared efforts. That letter was

¹ 'Bridging the Continental Divide', <<http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/project/>>. The project's initial focus upon the extensive writings of Andrew Melville reflects that paradox.

printed at the opening of the *Delitiae*, and William Geddes, Johnston's nineteenth-century editor, indicated that it was the sole piece of Johnston's prose which has come down to us.² Johnston's correspondence has not been carefully husbanded; or it may be that he wrote and received very few letters. If so, then he presents a contrast to the more prolific humanists and scholars of the international Republic of Letters. Friar Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), for example, drew into his epistolary world most of the leading scientists of his day, irrespective of religion or nationality. That network connected Descartes in Holland, Gassendi and Peiresc in Provence, Schickard in Tübingen, Hortensius in Leyden, Galileo in Florence and Van Helmont in Brussels.³ Nor did Johnston's approach to his fellow scholars in the Republic of Letters bear much resemblance to the activities of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637).⁴ Although the lifetimes of Peiresc and Johnston were almost congruent, the lives they lived were far apart; Johnston was certainly no antiquary.

Yet Johnston regarded himself as part of that élite group of humanist scholars which encompassed a variety of concerns – philological, political, educational, confessional, and irenic – not always expressed through correspondence. Peiresc's particular world was primarily that of an epistolary community of information and study, built upon the virtues of conversation, constancy and friendship.⁵ For many years Johnston's Republic, in contrast, was a narrower academic one, centring upon his post as Professor of Philosophy in the Huguenot Académie at Sedan on the northern frontier of the kingdom of France, and then briefly in the University of Padua where he studied to become a physician. His Republic consisted of a 'civil' community of scholar colleagues with like-minded classical interests. Later, he reached out to writers who took an interest in, and contributed to, ideas of the Protestant eschatological world, and to others concerned about 'civil' behaviour, both in international relations and also in the life of the humanist.

² *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, eds. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet and Arthur Johnston (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1637), i, 3-5. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, eds. William D. Geddes and W. Keith Leask (3 vols., Aberdeen, 1892-5), i, 4-7. Hugh Trevor Roper pointed to a further letter, preserved in the correspondence of Mayerne, the royal physician, in the Sloane manuscripts in the British Library. I have not been able to locate that letter. Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: the Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven, CT, 2006), p. 7.

³ H. F. Kearney, 'Puritanism and Science: Problems of Definition', *Past & Present*, 31 (1965), 104-10, at p. 108.

⁴ Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT, 2000).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

As well as by exchange of views upon events in the informed world in which they lived, these members of the European Republic of Letters distinguish themselves and each other, implicitly or explicitly, by their origin – their *natio*. Most would already have expressed this at the moment of their university matriculation. The *Respublica* had as its template the international academic community; all lived together or met through the writing they exchanged; all were fluent in Latin, sometimes as their first language; all could distinguish themselves by a *natio* designation. Johnston and his colleague in Sedan, Daniel Tilenus, hailing originally from Silesia, built a friendship upon contrasting origins, through a shared citizenship in the Francophone world of the Principality of Sedan, and the Latinate world of its Academy. Through their writings they also forged their individual membership of the international Republic of Letters.

Johnston eventually looked outward from the Huguenot world of Sedan. He saw a need to foster the Republic, threatened by the uncivil behaviour of another poetical doctor, George Eglishem, and to promote the peace of Europe in which the Republic was rooted. His published writings gradually came to the notice of other members of the Latinate world. They enjoyed Johnston's criticisms of Eglishem, and they also recognised the need to foster peace in a Europe threatened by increasingly marked religious division, and by political quarrel. They too had a *natio*, and they brought that to the Republic. Their layers of affiliation were reflected in the outpouring of anthologies of neo-Latin poetry in the first half of the seventeenth century – the *Delitiae* – trumpeting a designation of *natio* and a membership of the humanist Republic, even if the entrepreneurial expertise and the editorial force of one scholar – Jan de Groot {Janus Gruterus} – saw most of them through the presses.⁶ They were produced cheaply with minimal editorial intrusion – a commercial interest was at work – responding to an international interest and a desire to make national comparisons.

Even before Johnston's involvement in that production, however, his poems fostered a Scottish contribution to the Republic. That contribution could fit into the place previously carved by the writings of such sixteenth-century scholars as Major

⁶ *Delitiae CC. Italarum poetarum: huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, ed. Janus Gruterus (2 vols., Frankfurt, 1608). *Delitiae c. poetarum Gallorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium, collectore Ranutio Ghero*, ed. Janus Gruterus (3 vols., Frankfurt, 1609). *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, ed. Janus Gruterus (6 vols., Frankfurt, 1612). *Delitiae c. poetarum belgicorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, ed. Janus Gruterus (4 vols., Frankfurt, 1614). *Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum, exhibitae a J.P. Pareo*, ed. Johannes P. Pareus (Frankfurt, 1619).

and Boece, with their views on Scottish origins and classical links. Johnston found stimulation in the writings of George Buchanan, ranging from secular poetic delights, through sacred verse, to Scottish historical and political comment. Buchanan had been appropriated by the *Respublica litterarum* in the sixteenth century as one of Europe's greatest poets and thinkers, and this is reflected in a fluidity in the sense of *natio* which surrounded him; at times he wrote in a French, rather than in a Scottish mould, and his Latin was that of the Sorbonne. Yet Du Bellay said that Buchanan proved 'that a Scotchman was not necessarily a savage'; De Thou also was aware of their literary Republic as a gathering of 'nations' and accepted Buchanan as an honorary Frenchman'.⁷ Johnston too displays an interest in the international and the national – the latter further complicated by the regnal union of 1603. He was international in his university environment of Sedan. He may have listened with interest to the news brought by Andrew Melville in 1611 from the distant Stuart court, now moved to London – a world far in his past. The Sedan Academy attracted scholars from across the Reformed world, including Scottish scholars on their own European *peregrinatio academica*. His family in Sedan was Francophone; his academic work was Latinate. Eventually, he embarked upon a voyage into the wider international Republic, and he took with him the Aberdeen *natio* designation by which he had been classified since his student days.

The Poems as Evidence

All historical sources present the challenge of uncovering the world from which they come, and poetic evidence notoriously presents its own difficulties. Do Johnston's poems present us with greater difficulties of interpretation than, perhaps, a collection of letters? The success of a poem may lie within itself, as the product of thinking which carries no intention of conveying details of the times from which it emerged. As a clever devotee of Phoebus, Johnston will present more than one level to his readers. He reconfigured some of his writing for its eventual public appearance, and that reconfiguration was for reasons of taste, style, metre, but also for reason of meaning. Letters, however, can equally be reconfigured – to tell a story, to provide a model for another writer, or to adopt a model. They, too, can present difficulty, and the Republic of Letters was sensitive to the complexity of correspondence. Regular

⁷ Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven, CT, 2008), p. 34.

Jesuit letters, from missionary outposts to their province, were angled specifically for publication; they contained an editor's slant, as well as a writer's intent.⁸ On other occasions, the display of a correspondence could be less fortuitous, as Daniel Heinsius discovered through his editing of J. J. Scaliger's correspondence for publication in 1627.⁹ The claim might still be made, however, that poetry is more susceptible to a process of confection, and through this is more challenging to the historian. Even if Johnston's surface meaning is now mostly clear, the spirit behind the poem can remain difficult to interpret. Analysis of a poem may try to make it bear more meaning than intended.

The primary sources which survive from Johnston's life are few, and his poems thus assume greater value. The aim here will be always to ground the poems in supporting evidence where it exists – events expressed in government documents, a court case, well-attested developments in a medical school, the writing of other scholars – in order to uncover their meaning. Further evidence of Johnston's life and writing may yet be discovered to assist with that process. This thesis will at times also suggest possibilities of meaning in Johnston's writing. There is much to guide us in this difficult process: Johnston's likely readership, his use of inter-textual allusion, the apparent purposes of his poem, attendant suggestions of epistemological context.

The language of Johnston's poetry emerged from a number of sources – from texts he would have read in school, university and afterwards, to the daily vernacular Latin of his Academy. Such phrases he may have stored in a commonplace book, created by himself or bought in the flourishing marketplace. Borrowing from these books anchored the views of the writer upon the authority of the ancients: 'here we see the technician reusing the words of others to say something that was new on one level, but validated on the other by its roots in the literature of antiquity'.¹⁰ Johnston may have created his own, dynamic commonplace book, with phrases and *loci* expressing ideas rooted in the ancient cultures. He and his fellow writers would themselves contribute to this culture of borrowing and recycling introducing their own ambiguities: 'the result is a sort of hybrid, part classical, part Renaissance, bound both

⁸ Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago, IL, 2009).

⁹ Daniel Heinsius, (ed.), *Illustriss.viri Iosephi Scaligeri, Iulii Caes. a Burden f. Epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt* (Leiden, 1627).

¹⁰ Craig Kallendorf, 'Commentaries, Commonplaces, and Neo-Latin Studies', in Alejandro Coroleu and Domenico Defilippis (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 535-46. Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996).

to the ancient culture which produced the original poetry and the Neo-Latin culture which reorganized it'.¹¹ Questions abound in the use of phrases by Renaissance writers: what did the writer intend in his classical borrowing from a particular text? What would the readers have understood? Do special printing arrangements surround it?¹² An imitation by Johnston may be a loose allusion, or a commonplace, or perhaps a measured quotation. He may simply be expressing an idea in language which seemed most appropriate, or he may intend authorial collaboration with the past through close imitation. Johnston's closest collaborator was Ovid.

It is also important to establish a frame of reference for Johnston's themes, to avoid too narrow a focus upon textual analysis – analysis of his words as instruments only of rhetorical and poetical rules. That should prevent what Hans Helander has described as 'a situation similar to that of visitors to Gizeh in Egypt who come in from the wrong direction and see a heap of blocks without discerning the face of the Sphinx'.¹³ A consideration of the themes woven into and around Johnston's poetry will help to unravel the epistemological picture of the world in which he moved, and the development of that world picture over two decades. This thesis has tried to look around the blocks and find the face of the sphinx.

Previous Analysis

Analysis of that part of Arthur Johnston's career spent in the Principality of Sedan, and the poems he composed there, have suffered from a degree of scholarly neglect. Attention has focused either on Johnston's religious writing, a result principally of the eighteenth-century editions, or on his later Aberdeen writings, accessible in his *Parerga* and *Epigrammata* of 1632, and in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*.¹⁴ Those publications also incorporated his early secular poetry, and for them Johnston altered some references in the direction of anonymity. In his satire on George Eglishem, for example, his intended audience in 1619 had been men of influence in London and in the Netherlands. The identity of George Eglishem would have been known to them, and this thesis will focus upon those first editions. By 1632 his audience, while still the educated Latin élite, was divorced from the memory of

¹¹ Kallendorf, 'Commentaries', p. 540.

¹² Minna Skafte Jensen, 'Interpretations of Neo-Latin Poetry: Some Questions', idem, pp. 1005-13.

¹³ Hans Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 76/1 (2001), 5-102, at p. 10.

¹⁴ Arthur Johnston, *Parerga Arturi Ionstoni Scoti, medici Regii* (Aberdeen, 1632). Arthur Johnston, *Epigrammata* (Aberdeen, 1632).

English. Johnston's alterations in the *Parerga* and *Epigrammata* reinforced the presentation of his writing as an exhibition of adroit classical skill, at the expense of its earlier life as topical comment.

Mid eighteenth-century opinion appropriated Johnston as one protagonist in a *bellum grammaticale* in the approach to, and probably stimulated by, the centenary of his death. The initial stirrings of this public disputation lay in a proposition to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by William Lauder, that the *Psalm Paraphrases* of Johnston should be read in Scottish schools as an introduction to those of George Buchanan. Lauder had issued an edition of Johnston's Psalms in 1739 as part of his *Poetarum Scotorum Musae Sacrae*.¹⁵ In 1737, Robert Hunter and John Love had also issued an edition of Buchanan's Psalms.¹⁶ A printed war of words ensued between Lauder and Love on the relative merits of Johnston's and Buchanan's versification.¹⁷ A further round was fought in London between 1741 and 1745 with the publication of another edition of Johnston's Psalms by William Benson. In his *Prefatory Discourse* he again took up Johnston's cause.¹⁸ Benson was answered by Thomas Ruddiman in 1745 on behalf of Buchanan.¹⁹ This feverish excitement had two important results. It established Johnston in the collective historical imagination primarily as a writer of religious verse, and it promoted the idea of a rivalry between Johnston and Buchanan. The interpretation fits rather too easily within a vague conceit of Johnston as a leading Scottish Latin poet, engaged on a journey of formation through the Europe of the humanists. Influenced by their skills, and qualifying in philosophy, medicine and Latin poetry, he would eventually reach the shores of Scotland and tackle his *magnum opus* of the Book of Psalms.²⁰ Although a

¹⁵ William M. A. Lauder, *Poetarum Scotorum Musae Sacrae: sive Arcturi Jonstoni ... Psalmorum Davidicorum, Cantici Solomonis, & Canticorum Evangelicorum paraphrasis poetica. Joannis Kerri Cantici Solomonis paraphrasis gemina. Roberti Bodii ... ad Christum Servatorem Hecatombae. Summo quaque studio ... recensuit ... Gulielmus Lauderus* (Edinburgh, 1739).

¹⁶ George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani ... Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica. Cum Alexandri Julii ... ecphrasi: et notis integris ... Thomae Ruddimanni, & Petri Burmanni: selectisque Nathanis Chytraei scholiis: quibus suas quoque adnotationes adjecerunt editores* (Edinburgh, 1737).

¹⁷ David Irving, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan* (Edinburgh, 1807), p. 120.

¹⁸ William Benson, *A Prefatory Discourse to a New Edition of the Psalms of David. Translated into Latin verse by Dr. Arthur Johnston, etc* (London, 1741).

¹⁹ Thomas Ruddiman, *A Vindication of Mr. G. Buchanan's Paraphrase of the book of Psalms from the objections rais'd by W. Benson ... in the supplement and conclusion he has annex'd to his prefatory discourse to his new edition of Dr. A. Johnston's Version of that sacred book. In which also, upon a comparison of the performances of those two poets, the superiority is demonstrated to belong to Buchanan, etc. Copious MS. notes* (Edinburgh, 1745). Irving provides an account of this squabble, with details of the relevant texts. David Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 26-39.

²⁰ *Arcturi Jonstoni Psalmi Davidici interpretatione, argumentis, notisque illustrati: in usum Serenissimi Principis*, ed. William Benson (London, 1741), p. vi. Benson suggests that Johnston learned his craft

detailed consideration of Johnston's Latin versification of the Psalms lies beyond the temporal limits of this thesis, the squeezing of Johnston into this mould will be of interest.

Historical judgment of Johnston thereafter has favoured a backwards reading of his work – from the *bellum* of 1739 or even from the *Delitiae* in 1637. He has been projected as a principal influence behind the *Delitiae*, and, less positively, as a client of Archbishop Laud in his versification of the Psalms. Each of these judgments has now been challenged. His role in the publication of the *Delitiae* has been shown to be that of a late entrant, in a supportive capacity. John Leech, a wandering Scottish poet and epigrammatist, was perhaps the source of the proposition that the work of the Scottish poets should be harvested along the lines of other collections. In an epigram addressed to Johnston in 1620, he suggested that the latter might take up the task of collecting the fruits of the Scottish Muse.²¹ Johnston, fully engaged at the time upon his satirical venture against George Eglishem, and his lengthy poetic comment upon the Bohemian Crisis, declined. Instead, John Scot of Scotstarvet, member of the Scottish Chancery, a laird in Fife, and, like most members of Scottish civic society, a poet, accepted the challenge. Scotstarvet's correspondence details the progress of the volumes into print.²² He was assisted by Peter Goldman, a poetical doctor from Dundee, and by the mid-1620s an anthology had been assembled. The publication stalled, probably for commercial reasons, and it was Johnston, by that time resident in Aberdeen, who later stepped in to assist with the preparation, and to increase the weightiness of the volumes through the inclusion of his own writing.²³ He offered encouragement to Scotstarvet in a public letter in his *Parerga* published in 1632.²⁴ Along with its sister volume, the *Epigrammata*, Johnston's poems would be useful in adding weight to Scotland's display. Johnston may already have had sight of the anthology – his letter suggests that some editing of the already assembled material was required.

of versification from a 'scholar Erythraeus', presumably Nicolaus Erythraeus who produced editions of Virgil's works, two of them printed at Venice.

²¹ John Leech, *J. Leochaei Scoti, Musae priores, sive Poematum pars prior. (I. Exoticon lib. 6. II. Idyllia seu Eclogae. III. Epigrammatum lib. 4.)* (London, 1620), sig. B5. Also noted in: Christopher A. Upton, 'National Internationalism: Scottish Literature and the European Audience in the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26/1 (1991), 218-25, at p. 223.

²² National Library of Scotland, *Scotstarvet papers*, Adv. MS. 17.1.9.

²³ Upton, 'National Internationalism'.

²⁴ Johnston, *Parerga*, pp. 33-34.

Another of Johnston's purposes in the *Parerga* and in the *Delitiae* was to establish a line of patronage. In the Dedication of the *Parerga* he encouraged Scotstarvet, as a poet approved by Phoebus, towards the role of patron – a Scottish Maecenas.²⁵ He finishes his dedication with the common trope of asking for no monetary reward, nor the applause of the people, but only that the poems may please Scotstarvet, who would, of course, probably grant the money which Johnston was declining.²⁶ The *Delitiae* is a later indication that Johnston's efforts bore fruit, and his prose dedication to Scotstarvet in the *Delitiae* is fulsome in its praise of the latter's own work: in thus arranging for the publication of Scotland's poetic stars, Scotstarvet prevents their extinction. Johnston lists the patrons whose work had encouraged classical poets, and in particular the patronage relationship between Scipio and Ennius which had ensured the continued existence of the latter's writing, and that between Archelaus and Euripides.²⁷

The assessment of Johnston as a competitor to Buchanan in the popular field of Latin versification of the Psalms has been examined, and successfully undermined by Roger Green. The *Ad lectorem* of Johnston's Psalms should not be taken as conclusive proof that Johnston regarded his own writing as competition to Buchanan. Green picks apart the difference in the approaches of Johnston and Buchanan, a distinction which Johnston himself made:

Cinxit Iessiaden Buchananus veste, pyropis
 Quae simul et cocco nobiliore nitet,
 haec, ego quam dono, nec gemmis picta nec ostro est,
 Tota sed, ut cernis, stamina texta rudi.²⁸

[Buchanan decked out the son of Jesse in clothing which gleams with precious stone and noble scarlet.

The clothing that I give him is not picked out with gems or purple, but, as you see, entirely woven on a crude loom.]

Johnston declares his intention to set to metre the words of David the Prophet, rather than David the King as Buchanan had approached them. This distinction does not add up to competitiveness, beyond the expected self-fashioning of a poet aiming to

²⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 13, l. 9. Geddes notes a link to Virgil in Johnston's offer of the book with a pledge of considerable affection ['magni leve pignus amoris'].

²⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 13, ll. 13-14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 6-7.

²⁸ Arthur Johnston, *Paraphrasis poetica psalmorum Davidis* (London, 1637), ll. 29-32. (Translation, Roger Green.) Roger P. H. Green, 'On not being Buchanan: Arthur Johnston's *magnum opus*', in Alejandro Coroleu and Domenico Defilippis (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 443-454, at pp. 444-45.

capture the attention of an audience with his clever writing. Buchanan's lyric lines are more suited to borrowings from Horace's Odes; Johnston's elegiac couplets are more suited to Horace's Satires and Epistles, and to Ovid as the model for writers in that metre. In his acknowledgment of Buchanan's approach, Johnston can make a respectful point. Green has also pointed out that the role of *proxime accessit* traditionally given to Johnston does not sit well with the more prominent position awarded him by his fellow compiler of the *Delitiae*, and writer of its Preface, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, and by other writers of dedications like Caspar Barlaeus. An early biographic note on Johnston by the Dane, Olaus Borrichius, allots Johnston a position of equality, as 'redivivum ... Buchananum'.²⁹ The contest between Buchanan and Johnston was the created product of their eighteenth-century champions.

The second element in this contest of Johnston and Buchanan – that which imports Archbishop Laud as Johnston's patron – has also been examined by Green. Such a view could still be detected in 2006 in the text which accompanied the exhibition mounted at St Andrews University to mark the quincentenary of Buchanan's birth.³⁰ This element probably originates in Benson's account, which he may have taken from Lauder's *Vita* of Johnston, and suggests that Laud commissioned the Latin versification from Johnston as a more politically-acceptable Scottish poet than the hated Buchanan of monarchomach fame. William Geddes, classicist Principal of Aberdeen University, and the scholar mostly responsible for the interest which emerged in Johnston at the close of the nineteenth century, reinforced this aspect of the construct in the *Life of Arthur Johnston* in the first volume of the *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, his own translation of Benson's *Life*, and then prolonged it in his own *Memoir* in the second volume. He thus ensured its presence in the entry in the ODNB.³¹ Although a detailed examination of any intrusion by Laud into Johnston's life is beyond the limits of this thesis, Johnston's response to the memory of Buchanan will receive consideration, and the outcome of that will support Green's reassessment of this supposedly Laudian-inspired contest between Johnston and Buchanan.

²⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xxxviii.

³⁰ Roger P. H. Green, 'George Buchanan, Arthur Johnston, and William Laud', *Scottish Literary Review*, 2/1 (2010), 5-21.

³¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, xxiii. Nicola Royan, 'Johnston, Arthur (c. 1579-1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14934>> accessed 20 September 2013.

Geddes's editing of the first two volumes of the three-volume *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, issued under the *aegis* of the Spalding Club towards the end of the nineteenth century, is a work of immense energy, commitment and scholarship. Geddes defined the *Musa* as the secular outpourings of the Aberdeen-originating authors of the reign of James I and Charles I, and it represents a significant shift towards the secular in the study of Johnston life and work. The three volumes of the *Musa* would exhibit, 'when completed, the most cultured productions of a singularly cultured group of scholars, such as no other city in Scotland, or even in the British Isles, could match at the period when they appeared'. Geddes's editorial comment, however, while rectifying some factual errors, did not go far beyond an enjoyment of Johnston's Latin writing.

This thesis is not alone in its attempt to advance our understanding of the place of Johnston's work in the world of Scottish neo-Latinity. Robert Crawford has published a translation of a selection of the poems of Buchanan and Johnston, under the title of *Apollos of the North*, and his enlivening approach to the poems has sustained me through the challenges of Johnston's Latin.³² Christopher Upton has approached Johnston through the challenge of interpreting the *Delitiae* and the wider genre of 'National Anthology'.³³ He recognises the difficulty of classifying the output of the *Delitiae* poets, and, more generally, of writers in the wider Republic of Letters who were at the same time mouthpieces for the heritage of national writing. He offers an interpretation which discusses the decline of Latin as a seventeenth-century international literary medium at a time of growing vernacular – he sees the 'national anthology' as nostalgia expressed by writers living among that growing vernacular. Johnston, linguistically and physically crossing boundaries in the international world where Latin was a necessity, might have taken issue with that pessimism.

Of older vintage, the compilation of neo-Latin writing published by Leicester Bradner in 1940 still has insights to offer a modern interpreter. His volume drew my attention back to Johnston's relatively small poem, *Nicrina*, with its novelty and power. For Bradner, however, Laud remained 'patron' of Johnston.³⁴ Another small but interesting article by T. D. Robb speculated rather inaccurately on the factual

³² Robert Crawford, *Apollos of the North: Selected Poems of George Buchanan and Arthur Johnston* (Edinburgh, 2006).

³³ Upton, 'National Internationalism'.

³⁴ Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: a History of Anglo-Latin poetry, 1500-1925* (New York, 1940).

details of Johnston's movements in Europe, but was useful in the translation it offered of some of the later Aberdeen poems.³⁵

Besides a reconsideration of the traditional Psalm-centred view of Johnston's world and writing, the thesis will offer a reconsideration of some historical details of his path through Europe, in order to provide a more grounded understanding of this period in the life of Arthur Johnston.

³⁵ T. D. Robb, 'Arthur Johnston in His Poems', *Scottish Historical Review*, 10/39 (1913), 287-98.

Chapter 2

Aberdeen and Heidelberg

Johnston's background

The north east of Scotland, far removed from royal influence in Stirling, Falkland, Linlithgow, or Edinburgh, was the final region of the Scottish lowlands to resist the new Protestant Kirk. The influence of the Gordons of Huntly and the Hays of Errol was prevalent throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, and surfaced as a significant Romish threat after the failure of the Armada in 1588. James VI had adopted a vacillating approach towards this Catholic group, partly because of simultaneous difficulties with the aggressive Presbyterian faction under Andrew Melville, intervening only when their activities threatened the peace of the realm. In the world of Aberdeenshire, the Johnston family had some claim to status, as the foremost family of the Scottish baronage outside the nobility. They adopted a Protestant allegiance, but the death of Lord George Johnston of that ilk and Caskieben in 1593 – when his son Arthur was still a boy – meant that he did not witness what amounted to the defeat of Huntly and Errol and their subsequent banishment.

The location of Arthur's birth is not recorded, but we can presume that it was in the family tower house of Caskieben, currently Keithhall near Inverurie, the place also of the birth and death of his father. Based upon some evidence from university years, Geddes sets out compelling evidence that Arthur was born not in the widely quoted year of 1587, but around 1579.¹ He was the fifth of thirteen children of Lord George Johnston (d. 1593) and Christian Forbes (d. 1621), daughter of William, the seventh Lord Forbes. In line with their social position, Arthur's eldest brother John eventually followed his father as Sheriff of Aberdeen in 1630. Geddes, in his *Memoir of Arthur Johnston* discusses the genealogy of the family, finding a historical source

¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xxvii-xxix. The erroneous birth date may in some way have contributed to the challenging comment by Thomas Urquhart about Johnston's poetic prowess: 'Before he was fully three and twenty years of age he was laureated poet at Paris and that most deservedly'. Thomas Urquhart, *Ekskybalaaron: or, The discovery of a most exquisite Jewel, more precious then diamonds inched in gold, the like whereof was never seen in any age; found in the kennel of Worcester-streets, the day after the fight, ..., to frontal a vindication of the honour of Scotland ...* (London, 1652), p. 164.

for the name Arthur in his mother's family.² These roots would lead Arthur Johnston back to Aberdeenshire in the 1620s, and he eventually settled on the lands of Monkegy in the parish of New Leslie just outside Aberdeen, sold to him by his nephew John Johnston's eldest son Sir George Johnston, baronet of Nova Scotia. Some members of the next generation of Johnstons followed Arthur's example, and set off for foreign parts; two sons of his first marriage to Marie de Cagniol, George and James, became Quakers in Virginia. Elizabeth, another niece, and her husband George Keith emigrated as Quaker missionaries to Pennsylvania in 1680.³

Arthur's early education was at the school of Kintore, the neighbouring Royal Burgh, and not in the closer Inverurie. Nothing is recorded of these early years, save the information which can be gleaned from his autobiographical poem, dedicated to David Wedderburn, his childhood friend.⁴ The poem expresses regret at failed ambitions after a career abroad, but warm praise for the heights to which Wedderburn had climbed as Master of the Grammar School in Aberdeen. Johnston describes shared memory of the joys of boyhood on the wooded, Parnassian slopes of the hill of Benachie. Even in his youth, he claims, he appreciated the melancholy beauty of a starry night, the myriad colours of the meadows, and the song of the birds.⁵ The poem provides some details of his foreign sojourn; he relates that he crossed the Alps twice, twice drank of the waters of the Tiber and the Po, spent twenty years in France, saw Germany, England, the countries of the Danube, Denmark and Belgium, married twice, and had thirteen children. Not all of this can be substantiated from his other poems, but some can.

Aberdeen University

Shortly after his father's death, Johnston progressed from school to university in Aberdeen, probably in 1595, around fifteen or sixteen years of age, and this important stage in his life may have been affected by the witch persecution in Aberdeen which reached its height in 1596-97, with the execution of five women and

² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xv-xvi.

³ Arthur Johnston's own family life is poorly documented. His first wife, Marie de Cagniol, married him in Sedan and accompanied him to Aberdeen, to be buried there in 1624. By her, he may have had as many as nine children, some of whom died young. He then married Barbara Gordon in March 1625. The first baptism from this marriage is recorded in the Register of St Nicholas Church in Aberdeen in 1631.

⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 188-94, ll. 83-96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 192, 67-72. Translation from Paul Mellon, *L'Académie de Sedan, centre d'influence Française, à propos d'un manuscrit du XVIIe siècle. Silhouettes et croquis* (Paris, 1913), p. 118.

one man on Castlehill. It is unclear to which university Johnston went, the ancient King's or the newer Marischal, but his later election to the post of Rector of King's for the academic year 1637-38 has generally swung historical opinion that way.⁶ The four student 'nations' of King's were Angus for southern students, Moray for the northerners, and Marr and Buchan for those hailing from the diocese of Aberdeen, i.e. 'Aberdonensis'. He later employed this designation on the Matriculation registers of Heidelberg and Padua when other Scottish students at the latter university were countering the rival designation of 'Anglus' with the new 'Scoto-Britannus'.

Historical judgment upon King's College at the close of the sixteenth century has not been favourable: 'an inward-looking, rather complacent institution, providing adequate teaching but perhaps not supplying as much as it might have done in the way of intellectual stimulation'.⁷ Perhaps only about 54% of students who enrolled later graduated. Andrew Melville on his return to Scotland from Lausanne, where he had met Petrus Ramus, had encouraged Scottish university reform in the 1580s along Ramist lines. Those reforms, designed in part to respond to the preaching needs of the Reformed world, had been successful in setting up the *Nova erectio* in Glasgow; they were less successful in St Andrews, and possibly also in Aberdeen.

The reforms in Aberdeen were aimed at improvement in teaching methods, course content, and staffing.⁸ The New Foundation of the early 1580s made some advance, although in the face of opposition. It achieved retrenchment in staffing with the departure of the Canonist, Civilist, Mediciner, the four graduate students in law, and two of the six regents. The remnant of the teaching body consisted of the Principal, four regents (one as Sub-Principal), and the Grammarian or Humanist who was also Master of the Grammar School.⁹ The traditional system of regenting lacked the specialisation advocated by Melville; regents taught their students throughout the different subjects of the four years of the arts degree. The final class, however, was

⁶ Records of matriculation and graduation begin in 1596, with the first records of graduation in M.A. in 1600. Johnston probably matriculated in the previous year. *Roll of Alumni in Arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1596-1860*, ed. Peter John Anderson (Aberdeen, 1900), p. 1.

⁷ David Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641: from Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1990), pp. 59, 55.

⁸ Ibid., p. 42. A translation, by G. Patrick Edwards, of the deed of foundation appears as Appendix II in Stevenson's *King's College*, pp. 149-66.

⁹ George D. Henderson, *The Founding of Marischal College, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1947), p. 21. Henderson suggests that this development alone justifies our recognition of the success of the New Foundation.

regented by the Sub-Principal, so some exchange of groups had always taken place. This approach was probably still in place in 1601.¹⁰

It is still a matter of debate how far Melville's Ramist preferences successfully intruded into the curriculum. An all-out attack on the long-established Aristotelian learning seems to have been avoided; the reformers claimed that they were re-assessing Aristotle, and in 1583 twenty points of Aristotle's works were condemned, but not the works themselves. Some further reform may have arrived along with Principal Rait in 1592 and the retreat of Melvillian power at court. Principal Rait's library contained some volumes of Ramus – his *Commentaries on the Christian Religion* and the *Rhetoric* – and in 1584 both Robert Howie and John Johnston sought out teachers of Ramus for their second degrees. Stevenson suggests that they may have been pursuing a preference established at King's; they could have been reacting against it.¹¹ On balance, 'while the evidence is not conclusive, it is suggestive that Ramus' thought and writings were to some extent part of the curriculum at King's, even as they had been at Glasgow and St Mary's, ... a result of the influence of Melville and [Principal] Arbuthnot'.¹²

King's provided the *studia humanitatis* for those who came to study. Students began their studies with Latin and Greek authors and composition. Year two focused upon the study of rhetoric – the rules of invention, disposition and elocution. Year three was taken up with arithmetic, and with Aristotle's writings on logic in the *Organon*, his *Ethics*, and his *Politics*. Cicero's *De officiis* was studied 'for the better shaping of morals and to enrich [the knowledge of] the Latin tongue'. Year four involved further study of philosophy, and Aristotelian physiology, along with some geography, astronomy, cosmography, and Hebrew.¹³ Melville had encouraged the study of languages; the Ramist approach to theology was more textually and trilingually based than the metaphysical, Thomist approach, in order to strengthen scriptural exegesis in Presbyterian preaching.¹⁴ The students then graduated and some moved on to the study of theology.

Further reform was eventually to be spearheaded at King's in the 1630s by Bishop Patrick Forbes, the University's Chancellor, and briefly a student at the

¹⁰ Stevenson, *King's College*, p. 47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹² Ernest R. Holloway, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545-1622* (Leiden, 2011), p. 173.

¹³ Stevenson, *King's College*, p. 156.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Huguenot Academy at Sedan. Forbes was influenced in his desire for better teaching, and thus the necessary reform of King's, by the persistence of the Catholic threat in the north east of Scotland and farther afield. Protestants must be intellectually equipped, and in unity, if this threat were to be overcome. The tradition of this irenic encouragement towards unity had had previous outings in the Reformed world, prompted by the general fear of the success of the Counter-Reformation in reclaiming some of Europe from Protestantism. Forbes emphasised the essentials in the faith. The aim must be to counter the Roman threat, and minor matters of difference with other Protestant denominations, *adiaphora*, should be put aside.¹⁵ All this may have been in Johnston's mind when he graduated in 1599, and departed for the University of Heidelberg to train in theology and perhaps return as a Reformed minister.

Heidelberg University

Johnston entered the theology faculty of Heidelberg at the height of its fame, under the leadership of David Pareus, Aristotelian in philosophy and covenantal in Reformed theology. We can be certain that Johnston had graduated from Aberdeen by virtue of his designation as *M[agister]* in the matriculation register at Heidelberg. The evidence of his matriculation places him alongside Walter Donaldson, a friend from Aberdeen, who travelled with him during many of his years abroad:

106.	M Gwalterus Donaldsonus, Abredonensis Scotus	11 Sept
107.	M Arturus Johnstonus, Abredonensis Scotus	11 Sept ¹⁶

His matriculation is not accompanied by the designation *injuratus* which would have been required if he had been born in 1589 and thus were indeed a precocious student of nine or ten.¹⁷ In the *matricula studiosorum theologiae* there is also:

M Arturus Johnstonus, Scotus 4 Oct¹⁸

At some moment, however, Johnston chose not to follow the path which might have led into the Kirk. He made the decision to divert from theological study and embark upon a philosophical study of nature. Johnston's previous philosophical study at Aberdeen University had introduced him to the writings of Aristotle, but in a modest way for boys in their adolescence. His time in Heidelberg was clearly

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 61-62.

¹⁶ *Die Matrikel Der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, ed. Gustav Toepke (Heidelberg, 1886).

¹⁷ Paul Mellon, *L'Académie* (Paris, 1913), pp. 117-18.

¹⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xxxv. Some vicarious research was undertaken for Geddes by Professor Merx of Heidelberg University.

substantially Aristotelian, reflected in the disputations in which he acted as *Praeses* not long after his arrival, an interesting role indeed for someone who had only recently matriculated as a student into the theology faculty. The topics for these, and the theses for which he was *Praeses* in Sedan, are firmly Aristotelian, as would be expected from someone appointed to be Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Sedan – disputations on movement, place, being, unity.¹⁹ In moving from a path of theology to one of philosophy, Johnston was not necessarily rejecting his religious background; all theology students at Sedan studied philosophy as preparation for their theological training, and a training in philosophy was part of the course in theology at Heidelberg. Reason was in principle still divine, even though it had been damaged by the Fall.²⁰

There are no theological traces of Johnston in Heidelberg beyond his matriculation, and when Johnston left Heidelberg it was to a philosophy post in the Huguenot Academy of Sedan; he was not called to a pulpit in Scotland. We should not underestimate the choice he made. Puritan opposition to the study of natural philosophy did exist; Bacon in the *New Organon* wrote of the ‘superstition, and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion’ which could stand in the way of the study of nature.²¹ Johnston, in moving from Heidelberg to Sedan, chose to pursue the study of logic and the philosophical analysis of nature, and not the study of God’s Word; that preference is supported by the infrequency of any reference to Scripture in his writing until his later return to Aberdeen.

The reasoning behind Johnston’s change of path is not easy to determine. The confessional fracturing of the Holy Roman Empire had been mirrored in the new colleges which had emerged to challenge the power and status of the ancient seats of

¹⁹ Ibid., ii, liv. Geddes reports on a thesis entitled *Theoremata Physica De Motu*, defended at Heidelberg in 1601. In the National Library of Scotland, there is notice also of a Heidelberg ethics thesis defended by Ioannes Casimirus Gernandus in 1602, in which the *Praeses* was Arthur Johnston, *Scoto Philosopho & Poeta Laureato*. The extant records from the Vatican Library of disputations in which Johnston was involved are: *Theses ethicae, politicae et oeconomicae ex singulis philosophi ethicorum, politicorum et oeconomorum libris desumptae: quae praesidente Arturo Ionstono ... defendere conabitur Ionnes Casimirus Gernandus*, (Heidelberg, 1602). *Disputatio metaphisica de Ente in genere, cuius theses ... praeside Arturo ionstono ... propugnabat Phimees Moravatus*, (Sedan, 1605). *Disputatio de Natura metaphysicae cuius theses ... praeside Arturo Ionstono ... examinandas proponet Iohannes Brazyus*, (Sedan, 1605). *Disputatio de loco ... praeside Arturo Ionstono ... propugnare conabitur Iohannes Brazyus*, (Sedan, 1605). Joannes Bogusz Baron De Ziemlic, *Metaphysica de unitate ... Praes. Arthur Johnston* (Sedan, 1605).

²⁰ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1954), pp. 155-59. Miller has famously demonstrated that the puritans of New England recognised in natural philosophy a route to an understanding of God’s work in nature, and man’s fallen state.

²¹ John Morgan, 'Puritanism and Science: A Reinterpretation', *Historical Journal*, 22/3 (1979), 535-60, at p. 544.

learning. The *studia humanitatis* in these German courts and universities thus became confessionalised: ‘humanistic ideals were absorbed by both Catholics and reformers and tailored to suit their respective confessional goals’.²² Theological study at Heidelberg, under its Dean and principal theologian David Pareus, focused upon covenantal theology, a modification of Calvin’s teaching common to many Reformed stances in the period. This interpretation of the relationship between God and man stressed the idea that, although man himself through his reprobation had no power to win Grace for eternal life, reward for his struggle to find godliness was possible. In the early seventeenth century considerable argument would develop around differing interpretations of the theological application of reason, and the efficacy of such a struggle when faced by man’s fallen nature and God’s omnipotence and omniscience. The idea of the covenant in Scotland permeated even the more restrained reformation of the north-east; the later writings of the irenic spokesman of the Aberdeen Doctors, John Forbes of Corse, professor of theology in King’s Aberdeen, and, like his father, a student at Sedan, reveal a struggle to keep the Covenant in his *Diary, or Spirituall Exercises*.²³ Johnston would have attended the lectures of Pareus in the theology faculty, yet no evidence of personal religious determination or conviction to keep the Covenant with God emerges from his writing.

The newer colleges of the Palatinate, like Herborn, preparing their students for the world of a ducal patron who needed their services, and for Reformed pulpits, directed them towards a curriculum with a Ramist emphasis. Heidelberg, however, was an ancient university. By the 1570s it had eclipsed Geneva in leadership of the German Reformed movement, and this university chose not to exchange the challenge of the analysis of Aristotelian texts for the approach favoured by Ramus. Howard Hotson’s work on Heidelberg and Herborn has pointed to the contrast of the firm Aristotelian allegiance of the former, particularly under the philosophical leadership of Bartolomäus Keckermann.²⁴ Keckermann had undergone his own Ramist education in the gymnasium of Danzig. At the universities of Wittenberg, Altdorf and Leipzig,

²² Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford, 2000), p. 8. Also noted in Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550-1650* (Leiden, 2010), p. 24.

²³ National Archives of Scotland, John Forbes, *Diary, or Spirituall Exercises*, Ch12/18/1.

²⁴ Joseph S. Freedman, ‘The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)’, *Proceedings, American Philosophical Society*, 141/3 (1997), 305-64; Howard Hotson, *Commonplace learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 138-42; Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588-1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 23-28.

however, he was subsequently exposed to the writings of Zabarella, the Paduan philosopher who provided ‘a more sophisticated Aristotelian alternative to Ramus’.²⁵ His study at Heidelberg included the works of Ursinus, Jungnitz, Pareus, Zabarella, and of the Protestant refugees from Italy, Crellius, Zanchi and Pacius. All were anti-Ramist, but still favoured systematic approaches to Aristotelian writings. The philosophical style of Keckermann, inherited from these thinkers, was to ‘develop the methodological ideas of Ramus, to blend them with those of Aristotle, Zabarella, and others, and to apply them across the curriculum’.²⁶ He removed the confusions of scholastic Aristotelianism but also avoided Ramus’s paring down of logic. Heidelberg needed Peripatetic complexity, especially in the areas of syllogism and fallacy, in order to play its international role in theological polemics, both with Rome and with other Protestant confessions. Theology at Heidelberg, therefore, followed Zabarella’s emphasis upon the synthetic order.²⁷ Knowledge of God led to knowledge of principles and then of contingent conclusions, all based on the application of logical procedures, and the systematic presentation of doctrine.²⁸ Theology at Heidelberg began with divine principles, and created a body of knowledge.

It is difficult to imagine that Johnston was not affected in some way by this atmosphere at Heidelberg, largely the work of this renowned teacher of philosophy. In 1599, coinciding with Johnston’s arrival there, Keckermann published his *Praecognitorum logicorum tractatus III*, followed in 1600 by his *Systema logicae*.²⁹ When Johnston arrived, Keckermann was teaching in the *Collegium Sapientium*, a separate theological college, but from 1595-99 was also involved as *Praeses* in university philosophical disputations. His corpus of published writing is extensive, pedagogically structured, and covers most intellectual areas.³⁰ Besides his lectures in the *Collegium*, these published works, and the Lutheran attacks upon them, gave him

²⁵ Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, p. 139.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁷ Heikki Mikkeli, 'Jacopo Zabarella (1533-1598): The Structure and Method of Scientific Knowledge', in Paul R. Blum (ed.) *Philosophers of the Renaissance* (Washington DC, 2010), pp. 181-91, at p. 191.

²⁸ Charles H. Lohr, 'Latin Aristotelianism and the Seventeenth-Century Theory of Scientific Method', in Eckhard Kessler, Charlotte Methuen, and Daniel A. Di Liscia (eds.), *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 369-80, at pp. 374-78.

²⁹ Bartolomäus Keckermann, *Praecognitorum logicorum tractatus III* (Hanover, 1599). Bartolomäus Keckermann, *Systema logicae, tribus libris adornatum* (Hanover, 1602).

³⁰ Freedman, 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)', 305-64, at pp. 317-22. In an essay on the discipline of Politics, and in his consideration of history, Keckermann discusses the contribution of Bodin, and Johnston may have found here an interest in Bodin’s writings, and later a use for Bodin’s analysis of ‘soul’. See below p. 92.

a prominent position in the university, prominent enough for the university to consider him for professorial posts from 1599 onwards. He was eventually appointed Professor of Hebrew in the theology faculty in 1600. In 1602 he was also offered the post of Professor of Theology but chose instead to return to his native city. He departed from Heidelberg, in response to a plea by Danzig, and supported by considerable funds, to return and help the city respond to Jesuit preaching. Shortly afterwards Johnston too departed Heidelberg, to teach philosophy at Sedan.

Johnston's success as a student of philosophy at Heidelberg raises the question of why he did not remain there. As *Praeses* in philosophical disputations, Johnston was himself building a reputation, and his change of path was perhaps a result of the influence, and then the departure, of Keckermann, whose experiences had also introduced Johnston to argument within the confessionalised world. Keckermann's writings were the target of confessional attacks by Lutheran writers across Germany, and that may have persuaded Johnston that theological sparring was not a route he favoured.³¹ Johnston's departure was a response to the invitation to take up the post of Logic and Metaphysics at Sedan, and there his aversion to conflict became obvious, and would contribute to his eventual return to London and then Scotland. It was thus probably Keckermann, whose zeal for Aristotelian logic was such that he has been trumpeted as the first scholar to write a history of logic, who instilled in Johnston an attachment to philosophy and to the writings of Aristotle.³²

Johnston left the Palatinate in 1602 to teach in the new Huguenot Academy of Sedan, the creation of Henri de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon. This dukedom was on the boundary of the French kingdom, yet independent. De la Tour saw in the Huguenot Academy a way of raising his and his territory's status. Johnston brought his experience of Keckermann's teaching, and may even have introduced Keckermann's semi-Ramism into the curriculum of Sedan. The Academy of Sedan, with its sister College which prepared younger boys for entrance, taught two streams of young men either in training for the Ministry or completing a second degree in philosophy. The philosophy teaching would have benefited from courses which involved a semi-Ramist pedagogical approach to Aristotle.³³ Johnston may also have brought an enthusiasm for the composition of poetry. A reference to Johnston on a Heidelberg

³¹ Hotson, *Commonplace Learning*, pp. 142-43.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³³ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 58-61.

disputation as both *philosopho* and also *poeta laureato* may just have been a recognition of his contribution to the poetry tradition which marked a graduation; it could also imply, however, that at Heidelberg his ability and fame in poetic composition were also advancing, even if no poems have survived from that time.

PART II

Chapter 3

Johnston in Sedan: 1603-1615

In 1603 Johnston's first roles in Sedan were those of Regent of the Third Class and Professor of Logic and Metaphysics. In 1604 he advanced to Regent of the Second Class, and in 1610 he progressed to the Professorship of Natural Philosophy, replacing Walter Donaldson who had taken on the role of Principal of the Academy.¹ The Protestant stronghold of Sedan, a small hamlet close to the Meuse and on the edge of the rocky Ardennes, lay on the strategic route north from France into Spanish Habsburg lands. It was at one and the same time a satellite within the polity of France, headed by the De La Marck and De La Tour ruling families, and also a sovereign territory. This ambivalent political orientation of Sedan has its roots in the fifteenth century. In 1424 Evrard de La Marck obtained the territory from his brother-in-law, Louis de Bracquemont, and during the reign of Henri II it became a *seigneurie* within the French royal demesne. The neighbouring territory was within the lordship of the prince-bishop of Liège, and Bishop Heinsberg in the mid-fifteenth century granted the title of Duc de Bouillon, along with governorship of the fortress of that town, to de La Marck in recognition of service done in his struggle against Philip of Burgundy. The French, for their part, tempted the Duke with independent status and tax exemptions. By the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis the territory of Bouillon was returned to the prince-bishop of Liège, but de La Marck retained the title of duke.²

Besides this political ambivalence, there was confessional complication. The ruling duke Henri-Robert de La Marck converted to the Reformed faith in 1558, and the chroniclers of Sedan – the Catholic authors of the *Annales de Mont Dieu*, and Père Norbert – saw in this the influence of political exigency. The catholicising policies of Henri II led Henri-Robert to open the doors of Sedan to large numbers of Huguenot refugees. The resulting mixed polity, with an emphasis upon co-existence, produced

¹ See the Appendix for a discussion of the dates of his career in Sedan.

² Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 1-4.

an enlightened (for the time) legal code and a confessional situation quite distinct in its moderation from those of its neighbours, even if there was a degree of austere moral supervision which rivalled that of Geneva.

The *Académie*, which was to be Johnston's home for around twenty years, and a significant factor in his formation, grew out of the Reformed goal of an educated populace who could read the Scriptures, and the need for Reformed pastors. Françoise de Bourbon, widow of Henri-Robert, with a Calvinist public-mindedness, had encouraged education, combined with social concern for the ill and destitute. Sedan followed the lead of the national synods of the French Huguenot church in discipline, even though it technically existed outside their control, and with their financial help she had established elementary schools, educating both Sedan's Roman Catholics and Reformed. At the Royal Court Catherine de Medicis had also encouraged Françoise's schemes for education, again with financial support.³ These links with Paris were further reinforced: when France adopted the new calendar with the encouragement of Rome, Françoise, as Regent of Sedan, followed suit.

The provision of pastors necessitated firstly a *Collège*. The Regent issued her decree establishing this in 1576, and the institution probably opened in 1579. As France descended into religious turmoil, this Sedanese policy reinforced its sense of independence. Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne (1555-1623), Johnston's patron, assumed the title of Bouillon upon marrying Charlotte, heiress of the de La Marck family in 1591. Her death, and his remarriage to Elizabeth of Nassau, daughter of William, Prince of Orange, made this Duke of Bouillon brother-in-law to Maurice of Nassau, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, and also to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, who had married Elizabeth of Nassau's sister Louise Juliana. Sedan's independence was thus reinforced through links with the leading Reformed polities to the north, ensuring membership of International Calvinism.⁴ The promotion of the *Collège* to the status of *Académie* at the opening of the seventeenth century restored some

³ Ibid., pp. 4-6, 53-55. Mario Turchetti, 'Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22/1 (1991), 15-25, at p. 17. Turchetti argues for links between the Queen Mother and the *Moyenneurs* group of the Poissy Colloquy period, and for their association in turn with the heritage of Erasmus and the use of *adiaphora* to bring about reunification of the Gallican Church through the return of the Huguenots.

⁴ Simon D. Hodson, 'Sovereigns and subjects: the princes of Sedan and dukes of Bouillon in early modern France, c. 1450-1652' (unpublished Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1999). Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 7-17. Abbé Pregnon, *Histoire du Pays et de la Ville de Sedan depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (3 vols., Charleville, 1856), vol. i. Charles Peyran, *Histoire de l'Ancienne Académie Réformée de Sedan: thèse présentée à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante* (Strasbourg, 1846), pp. 14-15.

balance by emphasising Sedan's place within the French Huguenot world of scholarship. The ducal religious and political policies thus reinforced the ambivalence of Sedan with a commitment to the Reformed faith and a willingness to co-exist with the complex polity of France.

The transformation of the College into an Academy required the provision of additional teaching in philosophy and theology, although one chair of 'enseignement supérieure' would technically have been sufficient.⁵ Since an Academy had no papal or imperial charter they were unable to grant decrees, but students seeking a Reformed education would still choose to attend, rather than follow a degree in one of the ancient universities.⁶ In pursuit of this policy, Henri de La Tour, probably while visiting the Palatinate in 1602, attracted Arthur Johnston and Walter Donaldson, two philosophical Scots, to help foster his new Huguenot Academy. Sedan became 'un foyer de culture et de forte éducation'.⁷ In place of a degree, the graduating students would receive certificates – printed disputations, for example – which operated as degrees in the Reformed world.⁸ To qualify as pastors, these students would then be examined, mainly through disputation at provincial synods.⁹ The renown of the Academy grew quickly, and Blaeu, in his 1631 atlas, pictured the city and Academy as an environment which delighted the Muses, *quasi Thessala Tempe*.¹⁰ The philosophical curriculum, in line with other Huguenot academies, was an Aristotelian one and the rules of the College, in line with most other Latin schools, prescribed that the rudiments of dialectic in the form of Aristotle's *Organon* should be introduced to those students who were to progress upwards, in this case into the Academy.¹¹ Details of the curricular texts of the Academy, like its library, have not survived, but Mellon creates a picture of the curriculum by examining the familiar curricula of Huguenot academies for which evidence is extant. He cites the Academy at Nîmes, for example,

⁵ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 50, 214-16. Mellon transcribes a letter of Principal Berchet. Sedan by 1602 had about ten professors of 'theologiae, hebraicae, graecae latinaeque linguae, tum logicae, physicae et jurisprudentiae'. McCrie refers to the College as a university from its foundation. Thomas McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1856), 2, p. 149.

⁶ Paul F. Grendler, 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57/1 (2004), 1-42, at p. 26.

⁷ Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 46.

⁸ Joseph S. Freedman, 'Philosophy instruction within the institutional framework of central European schools and universities during the Reformation era', *History of Universities*, 5 (1985), 117-66, at p. 121.

⁹ Richard Stauffer, 'Calvinism and the Universities', in Leif Grane (ed.) *University and Reformation: Lectures from the University of Copenhagen Symposium* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 76-98, at p. 92.

¹⁰ Willem Jansz Blaeu, *Appendix Theatri A. Ortelii et Atlantis G. Mercatoris, continens Tabulas geographica diversarum orbis nunc primum editas...* (Amsterdam, 1631), BBB.

¹¹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 221. Freedman, 'Philosophy instruction', p. 119.

and at Montaubon, where philosophy teaching concentrated upon Plato and Aristotle, subdivided into logic, ethics, physics and politics. The comparative picture of the philosophy curriculum will take us no further, and the Aristotelianism of Sedan may possibly have been modified by the pedagogical writings of Bartholomäus Keckermann, introduced by Johnston as the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics. Beside philosophy, the curriculum included the teaching of mathematics with arithmetic, geometry and astrology. The continuing study of Greek and Latin included the reading of ancient writers whose work would also provide a knowledge of history, and at Nîmes the chronicles of Melanchthon and Sleidan were introduced. The Institutes of Justinian may have provided the basis for teaching in Jurisprudence. Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldean were possibly studied as the basis of a humanist approach to Old Testament learning, and the early Church fathers were added. The works of Hippocrates and Galen may have provided medical knowledge as part of the study of philosophy, particularly after Johnston had visited Padua.¹²

Johnston's move took him into a Francophone princely court with a humanist emphasis upon classical learning. He was an Aberdonian, arrived from Heidelberg with a reputation for philosophy and clever Latin poetry, and became a servant of the Duc de Bouillon to assist in the building up of this new *Académie*. Bouillon would have seen in the Academy an essential prop to his growing status; the knowledge promoted inside its walls would help Sedan internally as well as internationally. It would respond to the need for Reformed pastors, and equally, in recalling the knowledge of the ancient past, it would provide secular benefits to an independent principality. This assumption of the role of accessory in Bouillon's plans may have enhanced Johnston's gloss of Sedanese assimilation. In this petty court environment, Reformed but with a measure of toleration of Roman Catholicism, Johnston settled into a circle of friends, colleagues and students in the Latinate Academy, and into the Francophile court and city.

He married a wife, Marie de Cagniol, whose family probably hailed from across the frontier, and was at ease in the Franco-Burgundian society of Sedan. Her family could have had its roots in the Spanish Netherlands or in the independent fiefdom of the prince-bishop of Liège, to judge by the economic links which her father and brother had forged with merchant circles there. Those links led to a legal

¹² Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 57-60.

challenge in which Johnston became embroiled, concerning some property rights in the Spanish Netherlands. The case was therefore heard in the Supreme Court of that territory. The *Extended Verdict* of the case, however, was recorded in French – the preference of the defendant, Hampteau, Deputy Governor of the Fortress of Bouillon for the prince-bishop of Liège.¹³ The rules of the Academy prescribed that within the precincts Johnston should speak and write in Latin at all times, but he would have developed the skill of balancing the French culture of the city with the scholarly internationalism of the Academy.¹⁴

Johnston took his place, along with the students, regents and professors, at a weekly French divine service in the Reformed Temple.¹⁵ The theology professors at the Academy played an important role in this world, and the pastor of the Temple was an Academy professor. The leading theologians of the academy established the stance taken by Sedan within the Reformed world. That stance could be independent of the French national Huguenot Synod, although in practice the desire for a united Reformed front kept the Sedanese and French worlds in step. Despite this influence, the ultimate arbiter in theological matters was the duke himself. The oversight of morals and behaviour lay with the Moderators of the Academy, appointed by the duke. While that may have imposed strictures as thorough as Geneva, overall direction was kept within the bounds of Bouillon's wishes, and when crisis arose in the Huguenot world in 1619, in the wake of the Synod of Dort, it was Bouillon who decided which path the city and Academy would take.¹⁶

Latin Poet

As well as pursuing his teaching of philosophy, and receiving plaudits in 1605 and 1608 for his role as *Praeses* in thesis disputation,¹⁷ Johnston carved a path into the humanist Republic of Letters by developing his Latin verse skills. The earliest extant examples of his skill, later published in the *Parerga* and the *Epigrammata*, date from his time in Sedan. His writing projects a scholarly tone, helping to establish the nature of the Sedanese Court and Academy, allowing colleagues and friends to compete with

¹³ Royal Archives, Brussels, *Régistres aux sentences 1624-25 Sentences Extendues*.

¹⁴ Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 219.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 57. Only a German-speaking pastor was appointed to provide the religious services for his compatriots. Samuel Neran, Sedanese professor, composed a short verse in his honour. Samuel Naeranus, *Samuelis Naerani Batavi Poemata* (Dordrecht, 1611), p. 68.

¹⁶ Stauffer, 'Calvinism and the Universities', pp. 85-89.

¹⁷ Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 154.

each other in verse. He spent around twenty years in Sedan and there is no evidence that he returned to Scotland in the interim. No extant letters suggest a correspondence with friends or family in Scotland, and only Walter Donaldson could have shared Johnston's memories of his homeland. His early writing, too, focuses inwards upon Sedanese life.

The genres of poetic writing adopted by Johnston in his Sedan years replicated the work of many other poetical writers of the time. His use of classical allusion in emulation of Ovid, Horace and occasionally Virgil, is pronounced and skilful, and has led Mellon to judge his output to be at a level above the writing of his Sedanese friends.¹⁸ His poems gradually grew in length and import, intended not just for those who lived in Sedan, but for scholars beyond its frontiers in the international Republic of Letters, for poets like Caspar Barlaeus in the Netherlands, with whom he would later establish contact.

a) Court poems

Johnston's poetic register projects Sedan as a glittering Renaissance court where the classical world was celebrated. He alludes, apparently effortlessly, to lesser mythological characters and deities, with whom his audience, as members of the ducal court, were presumably acquainted, or were being challenged by Johnston to become acquainted. Johnston composed verses of consolation or praise for the ducal family, and his writing thus affirmed the status of one of France's leading Huguenots and the prince of a sovereign state. The duke and his adherents, as recipients of classical poetry, were recognised as men of learning and invested with international importance. One early poem of 1607 addresses his patron, Henri de La Tour, duc de Bouillon and Sovereign Prince of Sedan, lamenting the death of a daughter. De La Tour had built a reputation for intrigue at the Parisian court. He was imprisoned for a time following his involvement in the Conspiracy of Biron in 1601, and was further involved in conspiracies against the influence of Marie de Medicis at the court of Louis XIII. In this early poem, however, it is neither as plotter nor as military leader that he is drawn by Johnston, but rather as a vulnerable paternal figure. Johnston's writing, perhaps influenced by the climate of the Ardennes, invokes the vicissitudes of nature. The cold of Bouillon's grief is reflected in the weather:

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94. The style of the other writers is 'heavy with learning' and 'lacking in elegance'. Johnston is 'highest in the pantheon of ancient Caledonia, save for Buchanan'.

Solvitur in lacrimas caelum, furit horridus Auster,
 Squalet hiems, Nereus fletibus auget aquas.¹⁹
 [Heaven dissolves into tears, the sharp south wind rages, winter stubbornly
 reigns, the waters of Nereus rise with your tears.]

There is also in the poem, however, a lesson in courtly governance for De La Tour. If he is to play the role of the humanist prince then he must be visible. Erasmus had taught that good rule would be reflected in the good ruler through his affirmation of the lessons he had learned in the *studia humanitatis*, and though his appointment of good councilors and his public exercise of power. The good ruler, unlike the tyrant, would be visible to the commonwealth and use his learning and power for their benefit rather than his own.²⁰ Johnston exhorts Bouillon to return to the world, and govern; he has spent enough time in grief:

Unius ad vultum totus componitur orbis,
 Et tecum ridet, teque dolente dolet.
 Aut igitur sistenda tibi sunt flumina luctus,
 Aut hic sperandum nil nisi nox et hiems.²¹
 [The whole world takes on the countenance of one man, and smiles with you and
 grieves with you.
 Thus, either the streams from your eyes must be stemmed, or there will be hope
 for nothing but night and winter.]

Johnston later provided poems for a court wedding. An *epithalamium* of 1619 marks the marriage of Marie de La Tour, Bouillon's eldest daughter, to Henri de La Trémouille, duc de Thouars, and a linked poem celebrates a gift exchanged.²² These poems reveal Johnston's skill in this genre of condensed congratulation. The poem celebrates the duke's good fortune in taking a bride who combines the persons of three goddesses, Pallas, Juno and Venus. He is to be congratulated still more, since his own goddess lacks the negative characteristics of the classical deities:

Dissimilis tantum tribus una est, quod sit in illa
 Palla blanda, humilis Iuno, pudica Venus.²³
 [She alone is quite different from the three, in that your Pallas is soft, your Juno
 is gentle, and your Venus is chaste.]

The bracelet described in the second poem contains a lock of the bride's hair. Johnston weaves around his poem a web of classical references emphasising the

¹⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 58, ll. 7-8.

²⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Lester Kruger Born (New York, 1965), pp. 170-74, 245.

²¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 58, ll. 11-14.

²² *Ibid.*, ii, 16-19.

²³ *Ibid.*, ii, 16-17, ll. 7-8.

beauty of the hair, clearly from the person of a nymph: 'Nympha dedit crines'. Such is its beauty that it is from no ordinary nymph, but must belong to a Berenice, Venus or Phoebe.²⁴ Johnston writes of the Sedanese Court with an easy, graceful description. By this time, Europe was moving towards war, however, and these two poems mark his final service as court poet; Johnston then departed to offer his poetical skills to another patron, and follow a medical career.

b) Academy Poems

Other poems are directly linked to Johnston's friends and colleagues in the Academy. His memories of Scotland would have been suddenly rekindled with the arrival in 1611 of Andrew Melville, as an exile of celebrity from James VI and I's wrath. Scottish historiographical assessments of Melville have emphasised the religious aspects of his writings, and he is traditionally viewed as the proselytizer of Scottish Presbyterianism. In his short poem of praise for Melville, however, Johnston avoids Melville's confessional fame, setting his comments instead in a classical, humanist context – the praise of one humanist poet for another.²⁵ The poem is perhaps overblown, with no comment upon the recent troubles of Melville's life. The original poem, as it appeared in an earlier manuscript, ran to many more verses, all excessive in their praise of Melville. In verses four and five, James VI and I is pictured as having given a gift to Sedan. Verses six and seven place Melville on a par with Daniel Tilenus, another theology professor.²⁶ The poem's humanist focus lies in its verses' complex web of classical references, of which only one is retained for its publication in the *Epigrammata* and the *Delitiae*. In that verse, Johnston compares Melville's scholarship to the flight of a bird, in this case Ovid's swan of Sthenelus. Further Ovidian mythological links to the legend of Phaeton and Cynus create an elaborate classical image of the swan as earth-bound, while Melville soars, tempering his

²⁴ Ibid., ii, 18-19.

²⁵ Steven J. Reid, 'Early Polemics by Andrew Melville: The *Carmen Mosis* (1574) and the St Bartholomew's Day Massacres', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30/4 (2007), 63-81. Stephen King, 'Your Best and Maist Faithfull subjects: Andrew and James Melville as James VI and I's "Loyal Opposition"', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 24/3 (2000), 17-30. King points to the early academic exchanges between the Melvilles and James VI and I. This important philosophical aspect of Melville's writing is the least studied, submerged beneath the more familiar picture created around him as the flagship of Scottish Presbyterianism. Reid emphasises the need to balance Melville's religious importance with a consideration of his humanist academic career.

²⁶ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 188-89.

seriousness – matching the swan’s weeping – with some very un-swan like light-heartedness.²⁷ The swan has beauty, but is unable to match the strengths of Melville:

Tu foris, ille intus candorem possidet. Unam

Tu Venerem, Veneres mille sed ille vehit.²⁸

[You possess a splendour on the outside, his is within. You have one charm, but he bears a thousand.]

Johnston and Melville were asked in 1613 to consider together the fitness of another Scot, John Cameron, regent and theologian at the College of Bordeaux, for the post of Professor of Theology at Sedan.²⁹ Despite Melville’s seeming friendship with Johnston, and despite the former’s involvement in Scottish and British politics, he did not ignite any immediate Scottish or British poetic response in Johnston; their relationship remained couched in the Republic of Letters. The contrast is evident with another Scottish encounter: Johnston’s chance meeting in Padua with George Sibbald, another Scottish poetical doctor, encouraged Johnston into a reconsideration of his roots.

Another poem, *De Nuptiis Stasquini et Hayae*, celebrates the marriage of Stasquin, an Academy financial official, to Anne Haye, of a Scottish family, resident in Sedan – Johnston would later build links with another branch of the family in Aberdeenshire.³⁰ Again Johnston invokes the Ardennes, and the nuptial joy is reflected in the smiling of nature. The Sedanese world steps forward in a positive, but also in a moderate way:

Temperies iam regna tenet; non frigore tellus

Stringitur, aut sitiens aestus hiulcat agros³¹

[A temperate clime holds sway; neither is the earth constricted by cold, nor does parching heat scorch the fields]

No mention is made of the Scottish lineage of Lady Haye, and all instead are citizens of Sedan. This marriage thus probably also pre-dates Johnston’s medical year in Padua, which awakened in him a more outward-looking approach with contextual

²⁷ The references are to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, eds. Frank J. Miller and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1977), II.367, IX.273 and XII.581

²⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 54, ll. 5-6.

²⁹ John Cameron, *alumnus* of Glasgow, had spent much of his career in the College at Bordeaux. He had been briefly Professor of Philosophy at Sedan in the early 1600s, but on this second occasion he chose to remain at Bordeaux. In the 1620s, he became the leading theologian at the College of Saumur, where moderation in Calvinist theory was to mark it out from the more dogmatic approach later adopted at Sedan.

³⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 96. Geddes had witnessed the receipts stored in the French Protestant Archives in Paris, and signed by Stasquin, for the stipends of Melville, Johnston, and others.

³¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 96, ll. 9-10.

references to Scottish or British origins. There is a further, partner poem for this one. Johnston also wrote similarly on the marriage of a lawyer, des Merliers to another Haye girl, Marie.³²

Johnston also composed a short poem to mark the death of the scholar Toussaint Berchet, whose Latin translation, with *scholia*, of the Greek grammar of Budé was widely used in the humanist world.³³ George Buchanan, too, had written in praise of Budé's Greek grammar, and Johnston may have used it during his studies in Aberdeen.³⁴ Berchet had been Principal of the College and Academy, and Regent of the First Class. A similar epigram was composed by Samuel Naeranus, Johnston's fellow professor, to mark the event. Johnston in turn composed a funeral ode for the father of Naeranus, of the form which Johnston would employ widely during his years in Aberdeen.³⁵ Naeranus, for his part, offered a quatrain on 'vno', Johnston's acronym.³⁶ Another Johnstonian epigram with its origins in the world of the Academy is entitled *De simia Taurelli*.³⁷ It is unclear what we might understand by his reference to Taurellus (1547-1606), Protestant theologian and physician, noted for his *Theses Philosophicae* (1596), the *Physicae et metaphysicae discussiones de coelo* (1603) and later the *Emblemata Physico-Ethica* (1617). The theme of the poem is sadness after the death of a pet monkey, and Johnston comments upon the cruelty which can accompany ownership of an animal.³⁸ Of uncertain dating, these two poems nevertheless point to a poetic skill which was developing in the first decade of Johnston's Sedanese residence. He had earned a prominent place in the group of humanist poets who contributed to the reputation of Sedan.

³² Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 194-95. Naeranus refers to her name in his *epithalamium*. Geddes searched unsuccessfully for the object of the poem, and referred to her through Johnston's anonymous label from the *Epigrammata* and the *Delitiae*, viz. 'Egla'. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, pp. 79-80.

³³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 30.

³⁴ George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani Scoti, poemata omnia innumeris pene locis, ex ipsius autographo castigata et aucta. Addito insuper ex eodem, miscellaneorum libro, nunc primum in lucem edito* (Edinburgh, 1615), *Epi. lib.* II 7&8. See also Mellon's discussion of Berchet's work on Budé: Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 20-22.

³⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 29. Geddes links this to the death of Naeranus himself. He died in Amersfoort in 1641, however, in the same year as Johnston in Oxford. He studied and worked at the Academy of Sedan until 1610 and the exchange of poems with Johnston, Tilenus and Donaldson points towards a friendship among this group.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 28-29. Naeranus, *Poemata*, p. 68.

³⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 55-56.

³⁸ Nicolaus Taurellus, *D. Nicolai Taurelli ... Ouranologia: hoc est. physicarum & metaphysicarum discussionum: de coelo lib.ii adversus Franciscum Piccolomineum* (Hamburg, 1603), II, 84. Taurellus may have used apes in his anatomy, and did use the example of man and ape in his discussion of similarity and difference in his criticism of Franciscus Piccolomineus. Philosophically, he distinguished qualities which are similar, in things which are different; monkeys have some similarities to men, but are different in substance.

c) Poems to Friends

Johnston's writing also suggests the company and close friendship of a Professor of Theology, Daniel Tilenus (1563-1633) from Silesia; the Scottish theologian, Andrew Melville (1542-1622), probably became a third member of this group. The strength of this friendship is evident in the nature of poems entitled *Lusus Amoebaei*, eventually published in the *Epigrammata*, and expressing a confident humorous exchange among scholarly friends.³⁹ A manuscript, found in Rouen in the late nineteenth century and since lost, contained what are in some cases early versions of the poems composed by the three professors.⁴⁰ The manuscript takes the form of a *miscellany*, or, since it is in a number of different hands, perhaps an *album amicorum*, compiled between 1616 and 1620 by Samuel Bochart, a student at the Academy.⁴¹ The inclusion of poems by Johnston and his two friends in the manuscript suggests that their poems were to be disseminated to a wider audience in the Republic of Letters, and thus carry into other circles the literary fame of Sedan and its Academy. The manuscript version of the first poem in the set of Johnston's *Lusus Amoebaei* allows us to follow his method of re-crafting his poems. The content of the poems reveals his thinking about the nature of their shared life, particularly about the life of his closest friend, Daniel Tilenus, at a time when Tilenus had taken a very public stance.

Daniel Tilenus has traditionally been portrayed as a religious controversialist. His early career in France had included moments of public disputation, most famously in 1599 when he acted as champion of the Huguenots in the presence of Henri IV. That brought him to the attention of Bouillon, who called him to Sedan as Minister and as a Professor in the College; in 1602 he became a Professor in the new

³⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 114-35.

⁴⁰ Notice about the manuscript first appeared in the *Bulletin historique et littéraire / Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 1898, pp. 501-04, under the name of M. R. Garreta, and a brief summary was given of the contents. It was later passed to P. Mellon by N. Weiss, and notice of this was given in the *Bulletin*, 1913, pp. 537-38. We are reliant upon the accuracy of Mellon's transcription. The Library and Museum of the French Protestant Society was unable to trace the manuscript.

⁴¹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 91-95. As well as poems by Johnston, Tilenus and Melville, the second part of the manuscript contains a poem on a marriage celebrated at Sedan, a poem by the Queen of Navarre on the death of M. du Val, some prayers, an *Analysis logica* on the word *Catechesis*, and a philological commentary on the Book of Genesis and its borrowings from the languages of the near east, especially Arabic. The owner of the manuscript was the nephew of du Mesnillet. Possibly born in 1599 at Rouen, he presented a thesis on Natural Philosophy at Sedan in 1615, dedicated to his grandfather and uncle, Joachim and Pierre Dumoulin.

Academy. He gained a reputation thereafter as ‘passablement batailleuse’.⁴² Charles Peyran portrays him as an irascible theologian who recklessly challenged Reformed orthodoxy and damaged the Reformed movement. Peyran is unequivocal about the excessive influence which he considers that Tilenus played in Sedan: ‘écrivain le latin avec plus d'élégance et de correction que les théologiens de son époque, logicien serré, spirituel, incisif, mais esprit passionné, mobile à l'excès et sans principes bien arrêtés, Tilénus a exercé, durant plusieurs années, une autorité presque souveraine à Sedan’.⁴³ Tilenus’s exchanges with other theologians, however, suggest that instead of religious controversialist he would better be understood as disputing theologian, engaging with other theologians on the philosophical underpinning of Reformed theology.⁴⁴

Early modern Protestant soteriology contained room for debate, tracing a line of descent from the philosophical disputations which were the core of the scholasticism of the medieval universities and the church schools. Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson have argued that the Reformation’s disturbance of the Scholastic-Aristotelian settlement, and the accommodation it had fixed between the contrasting poles of Nature and God in understanding the world, rendered subsequent differences in philosophical and theological judgment inevitable, and guaranteed argument and heterodoxy.⁴⁵ Certainly, despite sixteenth-century Protestant adherence to the seemingly indisputable principle of *sola scriptura* as the basis of orthodoxy, by the end of that century soteriological argument in the Reformed world was situated in a middle ground of rational exchange, between orthodoxy and heresy. Amy Burnett, too, has surveyed interpretations of orthodoxy in the Reformed world, pointing to Brian Armstrong’s description of sixteenth-century Protestant theology as ‘deductive reasoning based on Aristotelian philosophy, attributing to reason a place of equal

⁴² Eugène Haag and Emile Haag, *La France Protestante: Vies des Protestants Français* (9 vols., Paris, 1846-59), IX, 383-87.

⁴³ Peyran, *l'Académie de Sedan*, pp. 27-29. Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 103. Peyran apportions to Tilenus the responsibility for the departure of professors Hérauld and Neran from the Academy. Mellon, in revisionist mode, sets out the unlikelihood of their departure being entirely Tilenus’s responsibility.

⁴⁴ Christian Thorsten Callisen, ‘Georg Calixtus, Isaac Casaubon, and the Consensus of Antiquity’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73/1 (2012), 1-23, at p. 23. Callisen similarly has argued for the placing of theologians’ writings within the broader humanist scholarship of the Republic of Letters.

⁴⁵ *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600-1750*, eds. Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (Leiden, 2012), pp. 19-22. They define the problem of the relationship between nature and Grace, philosophy and theology, after the Reformation as ‘the central intellectual problem’.

standing with faith in theology ...'.⁴⁶ The search for truth – a search which had been prescribed by Calvin himself – occupied a prominent position in Protestant humanist scholarship.⁴⁷ In 1617 Melville, in humanist mode, wrote in praise of Tilenus, his fellow professorial colleague, and particularly his skill as *Praeses*. He hailed him as 'Astraeae vate', the bringer of justice to the thesis of a student, Johann Heinsius.⁴⁸ Alongside the scholastic procedures for disputation, codes of conduct existed for the prosecution of argument; Erasmus had emphasised 'civility', in the form of the teaching of self-control, as a part of the moulding process he prescribes in *De civilitate morum puerilium* (1530).⁴⁹ There is also evidence to suggest that the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries experienced a breakdown of the codes of conduct upon which humanist civility rested.⁵⁰

Tilenus as a scholastic Reformed theologian had made prominent contributions to the development of Reformed thought; in 1611 he had engaged in an exchange with Conrad Vorstius over the latter's stance in support of Arminius's inclusive and liberal interpretation of Calvinism.⁵¹ The Arminian case had been fed by the attempted appointment of Vorstius to Arminius's vacant chair of theology at Leiden in 1610 and by the publication of Vorstius's *de Deo*, which brought down upon him charges of Socinianism and contributed to the quarrel which eventually brought about the Synod of Dort.⁵² The attack upon Vorstius was further fuelled by James VI and I who had felt his own writings in the Oath controversy undermined by the Jesuits' linking of his name with Vorstius, and thus to charges of Trinitarian heresy and even atheism.

⁴⁶ Amy N. Burnett, 'Contributors to the Reformed tradition', in David M. Whitford (ed.) *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: a Guide to Research* (Kirkville, MO, 2008), pp. 25-56, at pp. 40-41.

⁴⁷ Herbert D. Foster, 'Liberal Calvinism; The Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort in 1618', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 16/1 (1923), 1-37, at pp. 12-13. Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Paris, 1859), II.ii.12.

⁴⁸ Andrew Melville, *Eidem [In theses Joh. Heinsii Amstelo Batavi, / de Justificatione, Sedani, 1617]*. This poem is also contained in the nineteenth-century manuscript as transcribed by Mellon, p. 209.

⁴⁹ Holger Nehring, 'Civility in History: some observations on the history of the concept', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, 18/3 (2011), 313-33, at p. 323. Nehring has argued that a thread of openness in disputation can be traced back to the Greek concept of *Parrhesia* which implied the right to speak freely and frankly, indeed a duty to do so.

⁵⁰ Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven, CT, 1995).

⁵¹ Daniel Tilenus, *Consideratio sententiae Jacobi Arminii de praedestinatione, gratia Dei, et libero arbitrio hominis: apud ordd. Hollandiae & Westfrisiae ab eodem declaratae* (Frankfurt, 1612).

⁵² Conradus Vorstius, *Tractatus theologicus de Deo, sive de natura et attributis Dei, omnia fere ad hanc materiam pertinentia... decem disputationibus... comprehendens. Accesserunt... Annotationes... quae in thesibus... explicata esse videbantur, auctore Conrado Vorstio* (Steinfurt, 1610).

In 1611 Pierre du Moulin, Minister of the Huguenot church in Paris, was certain that Tilenus and Melville, in contrast to the moderate soteriological position of Vorstius, shared the same dogmatic, extreme, supralapsarian stance in their theologies of justification and expiation for sin, a rigidity which du Moulin criticised and which even Calvin had avoided. Du Moulin sees this as a factor behind the decline in the number of Huguenot students attending Sedan:

I have seen here and have entertained Monsr. Melvil ... I have been told that he is of the opinion of Piscator, but I have not sounded him in that point lest I should ruffle [*sic*] him, for he is represented here as a little warm (*un peu cholère*). He is at present in Sedan. I wish he may not be uneasy there, because of the small number of the scholars at present there. It is said that the sentiments of Piscator, which he and Monsr. Tilenus hold, may hinder many students to go to Sedan, and you know the Regulation of the last Nationall [*sic*] Synod.⁵³

Piscator had been Professor of Theology at Herborn and had espoused a position on the matter of Christ's contribution to the doctrines of forgiveness and justification, which had recently been condemned at the Huguenot National Synod of La Rochelle in 1607. Further condemnation of Piscator's thought came in 1612 at the Synod of Privas. Such comment reveals du Moulin's unease at extremism and rigidity among theologians in the Reformed movement; clearly, he considered his own stance in these matters to be in line with the orthodox Huguenot position.

Tilenus then became involved in 1612 in a scholastic quarrel with du Moulin himself about the two natures of Christ; Tilenus accused du Moulin of understating the humanity of Christ, and thus undermining the doctrine of Justification. Their theological exchange became acute just before the Synod of Tonneins in 1614 when plans were afoot for the reunification of the Protestant world. Some Reformed theologians took the view that the time was right to promote reconciliation among the Reformed churches, and thereafter to involve the Lutheran church, and perhaps even to approach the Roman church. James VI and I might be persuaded to pick up the mantle of leadership, as a proponent of the re-unification of Christendom. Du Moulin, in Paris, approached James with his *Overtures for striving for the union of the churches of Christendom*, contained in a letter of 1613. Interest also in some circles in

⁵³ Robert Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1834), ii, 102. Wodrow translates the letter of 29 May 1611 from du Moulin to Robert Boyd while the latter was Rector of Glasgow, in his *Life of Robert Boyd of Tochrig*. McCrie, *Melville*, ii, 444. McCrie provides a more succinct, less nuanced, and ultimately misleading, picture of the relationship of Melville and Tilenus as being one of entrenched opposition.

the Low Countries was moving towards reconciliation and suggestions appeared in a letter from Hugo Grotius, 7 January 1612, to Isaac Casaubon in London. James was himself much exercised with the possibility of a re-unification of the whole of Christendom and both Grotius and Casaubon encouraged him in his thinking.⁵⁴ It was a version of du Moulin's plan which James's ambassador, David Hume, delivered to the Huguenot Synod of Tonneins in 1614. Any discussion of reunification could be undermined by disagreement within the Reformed confession. To the Synod of Tonneins both James VI and I and the duc de Bouillon contributed letters, in a move to impose silence and thus enforce moderation and an outward display of orthodoxy.⁵⁵ The Synod commissioned the Huguenot grandee du Plessis-Mornay, Governor of the stronghold of Saumur and Principal of the college there, to bring the disputing theologians to a position of agreement. The combatants were 'mutually reconciled on points of doctrine', an outcome which was still possible in a Reformed doctrinal world which recognised the ambivalence of Calvin's doctrines.⁵⁶

i) Tilenus's House

Johnston later made the point in 1618, in a *Propempticon*, that Tilenus was a sound teacher of doctrine. The earlier *Lusus* poems, however, give more insight into the nature of his relationship with Tilenus, and offer thoughts about the complexity of Tilenus's position at the time when he was involved in the exchanges with du Moulin. Despite the style of these poems as 'games', they seem to comment upon more serious matters. The first two are teasing demonstrations of Johnston's developing poetic skill and classical knowledge, with a directness which confirms the security of the relationship among the friends, and at the same time reflects the world of academic disputation in which they were schooled. It is possible that Tilenus may have composed his eponymous verses for the *Lusus*, and in his transcription of the manuscript Mellon has added the name Tilenus to the alternate verses. In the *Delitiae*,

⁵⁴ Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London, 1992), pp. 53-54.

⁵⁵ John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia reformatata, or, The acts, decisions, decrees, and canons of those famous national councils of the reformed churches in France ... the whole collected and composed out of original manuscript acts of those renowned synods* (2 vols., London, 1692), i, 447-48. Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 250-53. W. Brown Patterson, 'James I and the Huguenot Synod of Tonneins of 1614', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 65/2 (1972), 241-70. Henri De La Tour-D'Auvergne Bouillon, *Mémoires de Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, depuis duc de Bouillon, adressées à son fils le prince de Sedan* ([Paris], 1836).

⁵⁶ Quick, *Synodicon*, i, 485. Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 100-01. Patterson, 'James I and Tonneins'.

however, all the stanzas of this and the other similar poems are subsumed under Johnston's name. Mellon, too, refers to the first *Lusus* poem in the manuscript as 'une pièce d'Arthur Johnston'. In other places in the *Parerga* and *Epigrammata* Johnston did make clear the authorship of other contributors. *Tumulus Onopordi*, for example, is attributed *Auctore Dan. Tileni*. It is likely, therefore, that Johnston composed all the stanzas of the *Lusus*, even if some influence of Tilenus were meant to be detected.

Johnston opens *De aedibus Dan. Tileni* with a familiar, academic approach.⁵⁷ A proposal is projected in the first stanza, and a *Palinode*, the converse, is projected in the second. The *prosopopeia* is established, and a disputation begins. The question at issue is the security of Tilenus's new house, built of both brick and stone; when it is assaulted by Zeus will it be secure, or not?⁵⁸ The final couplets of these two verses cleverly mirror each other, underlining the structure:

Unda licet flammaeque ruant, segura pericli est:

Altera pars flammis, altera ridet aquas.⁵⁹ ...

[Even if waves and fire bear down upon it, it will stand against the danger: one part will smile at the flames, and the other at the waters ...]

Sive ignis, sive unda ruat, dabit illa ruinam:

Altera pars flammis, altera cedet aquis.⁶⁰

[Bring on the fire or water, they will lead to ruin: one part will yield to the flames, the other to the waters.]

Johnston, in Tilenusian guise, then challenges the pessimism: fate has provided Tilenus with a secure house, the bricks are protected by Vulcan and his forge, the stones by Doris.⁶¹ He is the child of these gods and is under their protection. Tilenus was indeed building a new house; on an allegorical level, however, the poem could also be a reference to the building of a scholarly career, or even of a theological position. His readers may well have recognised a reference to the Scriptural equation of 'house' and 'faith'; the house of the wise man is built upon rock, and is able to withstand the storm.⁶²

Johnston challenges the picture of security, and casts doubt on the power and motives of these two gods. Renaissance Sedan and the classical world merge as he

⁵⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 114-20.

⁵⁸ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 130-49. Tilenus had already composed in 1613 a century of epigrams on the building of this house, merging with thoughts about his life in the Academy. The poems were transcribed from the Bochart manuscript by Mellon.

⁵⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 115, ll. 5-6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 115, ll. 11-12.

⁶¹ Doris, a sea nymph, was the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys. Johnston seems to regard stone as an attribute of the sea.

⁶² Matthew 7:24-27.

considers the repercussions of the gods' mythological exploits, and their failure to help each other at the expulsion of Vulcan from Olympus. Johnston himself would advise detachment from such deities, proposing to Tilenus that the house may not be securely founded:

Qui sua, qui sese non subduxere periclis,
His ego fortunas credere nolo meas ⁶³
[I will not trust my fortunes to those who do not bear their own, and themselves,
out of danger.]

A contrasting case is then made out, under Tilenus's name, for the evident compassion of these gods and their dual support for him, who is in need both of Doris's quenching floods and the fellow-feeling of a lame God.⁶⁴ Johnston pursues his classically-allusive argument, and introduces some humour: lame Vulcan's sympathy cannot solve Tilenus's lameness, since that lameness takes the form of the barrenness of an old man whom Juno will not bless with children. This sharp jibe about Tilenus's virility is countered by the latter's assertion that Juno will provide children to fill the new house. The poem then becomes an encouragement for Tilenus in his childless state. Johnston finally excuses his poetic criticisms, and begs to retain the friendship of Tilenus. He allows Tilenus the final word in the disputation: Johnston, rescued by Apollo from Circe's evil spell, can at last recognise the potential for success in Tilenus's house, and his married state. In any case, Johnston concludes in the mollifying words of Juvenal, 'only innocent youth would possibly believe the words of a poet':

Tam male constantis sibi, qui nondum aere lavantur,
Sat norunt vatis verba carere fide. ⁶⁵
[All those, except those who are still wet behind the ears, know that the words of
a poet, so often inconsistent within themselves, are somewhat lacking in truth.]

His readers would recognise this reference, and the accompanying implication that Johnston's poetic message is layered in meaning and purpose.⁶⁶ What was the real object of Johnston's witty criticism? The poem was later published in the *Epigrammata* of 1632 as the first of the group of poems displaying sharp wit and an element of intrigue, or even absurdity – a friend proving his friendship by developing

⁶³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 116, [ll. 25-26].

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 117, 31-32. In a later verse Tilenus's lameness consists of gout.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 121, [ll. 79-80].

⁶⁶ Juvenal, *Satires*, 2.152; *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

humour at another's expense. They are also demonstrations of classical textual skill by one humanist scholar to others, an indication that a wider audience of humanist scholars was intended. And so this poem found its way into Bochart's manuscript. Although modestly labeled a 'game', the poetical technique and the classical allusions which the poem displays are an advance in the development of Johnston's skills.

It is persuasive to read the seeming *badinage* on a theological level. The timing of the poem is revealing. Internal evidence from the twin poem, *De filia Tileni*, suggests 1613 as the year of composition of this first poem – the daughter of Tilenus was born in 1614 – and it could therefore be Johnston's response to Tilenus's public position as he pursued a theological dispute with Pierre du Moulin in the period 1612-14. Just as the bricks and the stones conflict, divergent theological interpretations may weaken Reformed doctrine. The structure of the poem as a scholastic disputation works successfully as a reflection of a theological dispute. The poem – playful but also challenging – is then revealed as the clever product of one professor offering pointed comment on another professorial friend's life. The poem moulds a persuasive rhetoric, with learning, humour and reconciliation.

ii) Tilenus's daughter

The second 'poetical game', *De filia Tileni*, stemming from 1614, at the end of the first decade of Johnston's time in Sedan and before his departure for Padua, reveals that Tilenus has fathered a child.⁶⁷ Johnston's opening stanza claims the responsibility – by means of his poem of the previous year – for having awakened Tilenus's virility.⁶⁸ This poem mirrors the successful template of the previous one; it is the same length, divided into the same number of stanzas, and of similar directness. Johnston entwines complex classical mythology, cultural Sedanese norms, and playful competitiveness, as he questions how Tilenus could succeed in fathering a child at a time when grey hairs had begun to appear. The wailing of the infant daughter at home – the power of passion over reason, perhaps – moves Johnston to withdraw his claim of responsibility, and he willingly hands back all credit for fathering the child to his friend. Tilenus counters this, equating the pure tears of the infant with pure poetic inspiration:

⁶⁷ In addition, another poem celebrates the birth of this daughter; that poem, too, was in the manuscript. Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 153. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 121-28.

⁶⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 121-28.

Imber at Aoniis longe hic mihi gratior undis,
Quippe merum fundens mel, elegosque meros.⁶⁹
[But this water is far more pleasing to me than the Aonian dew, brimming, as it
does, with pure sweetness and poetry.]

A final opportunity arises for Johnston to indulge in some self-deprecating humour and at the same time a playful attack upon his friend; the infant pours forth her tears in elegiac verses. This verse – Johnston’s favourite metre – is of course a ‘lame’ metre in which five feet follow six, and thus the child is the daughter of a lame father.

Like *De aedibus*, the style of this poem is direct; the humour is bawdy enough in places to induce what is probably some nineteenth-century bowdlerisation in Geddes’s comment. As with the first of these poems, this is the work of a Latinist versifier of growing skill, displaying his classical knowledge and matching it to an event which was a cause for celebration among the community of scholars in Sedan, and thus fostering friendship within the group. Its dating, after the birth of the daughter, suggests a composition around the time of the reconciliation of Tilenus and du Moulin after the successful outcome of the Synod of Tonneins. Its positive tone may reflect that.

Conclusion

By 1615 Johnston had passed more than a decade in Sedan. He had been praised for the skill in disputation which he had brought from Heidelberg, and he had proved himself equally skilful in the writing of Latin verse. Perhaps with encouragement from his colleagues, or even from the duke, Johnston decided to extend his competence in philosophy by undertaking a year’s study in the Arts and Medical University of Padua. Such a move would open the possibility of a professional career as a physician; or he could add lustre to the Academy by further extending the teaching of philosophy into medical areas. In 1615, therefore, he set off for Italy.

⁶⁹ Ibid., ii, 126, [ll. 59-60].

Chapter 4

Johnston in Padua: philosopher to physician

Part I: Johnston's Stay in Padua

The *Studio* of Padua

In October 1615 Arthur Johnston matriculated into the Arts University of Padua, where he embarked upon a course of medical study which eventually led him out of the world of academic philosophy and into that of the practising physician. The record of his matriculation, written in a carefully crafted hand, emerges from the *natio* Register of 1615:

Arturus Ionstonus Abredonensis huic inclytæ nationis Germanicæ matricula
nomen dedit, solutis solvendis, Pridie Nonas Octob[ris] Anno Chri[sti] 1615.¹

He later published, in his *Epigrammata* in 1632, a poetic record of one incident from this visit, in the form of two short poems in praise of the wonders he witnessed at an anatomical dissection.² From those two short poems we can begin to create a picture of his thoughts upon the world of marvels which opened before him in Padua.

Johnston had temporarily taken leave from his professorship in Sedan in 1615 to learn from the medical scholarship which Padua had to offer a philosophy professor minded to extend his expertise. Padua University was held in high regard by the scholarly community of Europe. Its reputation was built upon famous teachers who had become members of its sacred colleges – among them, Nikolaus Cusanus, Jan Ursinus, Andreas Vesalius and Fabricius ab Aquapendente, Nicholas Copernicus, Pietro Pomponazzi, Giacomo Zabarella, Marco Mantova Benavides, and Galileo Galilei. Such men, like their students, had journeyed across European boundaries, for

¹ 'Arthur Johnston of Aberdeen gives his name in matriculation to the famous German *natio*, all dues discharged, 6 October, 1615'. Archivio Antico dell'Università di Padova, *Matricula Nationis Germanicæ Artistarum in Gymnasio Patavino*, fol. 89v. The confusion surrounding the dating of his Paduan visit is examined in the Appendix.

² Johnston, *Epigrammata*, p. 27. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60. The poems are entitled: *De anatomica sectione, a Iulio Casserio Placentina Patavii exhibita* and *De eadem*.

Padua was a place of learning not just for the Paduans.³ Venice recognised the value of the university for a city which otherwise they looked down upon. The Venetian diplomat, Bernardo Navaguero, writing in 1549, summed up the city and university: 'Che senza il studio, Padova non saria Padova'.⁴ Scots were to be found in fewer numbers there than in the more favoured French schools, however,⁵ and the international character of the place rested instead upon the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Poles, Danes, Dutch, Germans, Hungarians and Greeks who attended and graduated.⁶ Thomas Coryate noted that 'More students of forraine and remote nations doe live in Padua, than in any one University in christendom'.⁷

Scottish Students in Padua

The presence of those Scotsmen who did attend Padua, either as students or as visitors, is not well-documented, and previous surveys are somewhat dated.⁸ Some analysis of a Scottish presence has recently been carried out by Francesco Piovan of the Archivio Antico dell'Università, but his primary focus has been those Scots who matriculated into the Law University.⁹ The edited primary evidence for the period is in the form of a volume in process, for the years 1606-1620.¹⁰ The Scottish footprint in this official graduation list remains slight, as in the two volumes which precede it. Johnston is not among them.¹¹ Traces can be detected, however, of one Scotsman with

³ *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe 1500-1789*, eds. Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Jon Arrizabalaga (Farnham, 2010).

⁴ 'Without the university, Padua would not be Padua.' Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2002), pp. 38-39.

⁵ John Durkan, 'The French Connection in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in T. C. Smout (ed.) *Scotland and Europe 1250-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 19-44. Durkan provides biographical details of Scottish students and the French institutions they attended, and argues that the predominant orientation towards France was little altered even during the years when Scottish political orientation was turning towards London.

⁶ Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 26-27.

⁷ Thomas Coryate, *Coryat's crudities* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1905), i, 297-99.

⁸ Giovanni L. Andrich, *De natione Anglica et Scota iuristarum universitatis Patavinae ab a. MCCXXII ... usque ad a. MDCCXXXVIII* (Padua, 1892). A. Francis Steuart, 'The Scottish 'Nation' at the University of Padua', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 3 (1905), 53-62. Horatio F. Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova dall'anno 1618 sine al 1765* (Venice, 1921).

⁹ Francesco Piovan, 'Autonomy by imposition. The birth of the *natio Scota* in the law faculty of the University of Padua (1534)', *Renaissance Studies*, 27/4 (2013), 549-59.

¹⁰ This volume is going through the process of editing, and I am grateful to Professor Piovan of the Archivio Antico dell'Università and to the other editors for allowing me to make use of the material which has emerged from the manuscript sources to date.

¹¹ The new list contains so far the names of only two graduating Scots – Guielmus Lesleus (no. 1234) and of Ioannes Voderbonius (no. 588). Wedderburn may have been he who later achieved fame as physician to Charles I. A. H. Millar and Rev. Roger Hutchins, '*Wedderburn, Sir John (1599-1679)*' (2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28959>> accessed 14 April 2011. Little is recorded

clear links to Johnston.¹² George Sibbald, uncle of the better known Sir Robert Sibbald who became the first professor of medicine at Edinburgh University in the late seventeenth century and who had a hand in founding the Botanical Garden in 1670 and the Scottish Royal College of Physicians in 1681, was present in the city, and to all accounts became a friend of Johnston. They each lauded the other's time in Padua at graduation. Sibbald had come to Padua as his third place of medical instruction, Johnston tells us, after study in Paris and Montpellier:

Artis Apollineae Sibbaldo, Gallia! primum,
 Tu schola supremum das Patavina decus.¹³
 [France, you give Sibbald his first honour in the art of Apollo, the Paduan school
 gives a higher honour.]

The dearth of Scottish students is also reflected in the election process surrounding the *Consiliarius* of the Scottish *natio* in the law university, a dearth which frequently rendered the Scottish *natio* subject to the *ius supplendum*, by which another *natio* could exercise the right to appoint the Scottish *Consiliarius*, and thus acquire another vote in the election of the law university *Rector*.¹⁴ It is clear that Scottish students made only a small contribution to the international flavour of Padua.

Johnston in Padua

Johnston was unlikely to have been considered a prominent Scotchman, or even Englishman. Johnston's world had been un-Scottish since his departure in 1599. Walter Donaldson, and Andrew Melville, exiled to Sedan in 1611, would have been his limited source of Scots conversation. His years at the Académie, as a leading academic agent of a Huguenot prince, would have imprinted upon him a European, even Francophone, lifestyle – he had chosen to marry a local lady. There was little need in Padua to seek out linguistic solace in an English- or Scots-speaking environment when his own linguistic world was based primarily upon Latin and French. The small Scottish group, gathered in the enclave of the Paduan Scottish

anywhere of this William Leslie, although the Leslies were an important Catholic family in the north east of Scotland.

¹² It is possible that the poet John Dunbar may also have met Johnston, although that may have taken place instead in Sedan. Dana F. Sutton, 'John Dunbar (d. 1926)', *The Philological Museum*, <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/dunbar2/intro.html>> accessed 22 May 2013.

¹³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 246, ll. 1-2.

¹⁴ Woolfson, *Padua*, pp. 18, 31-32. The number of students required to avoid being subject to the *ius supplendum* was three.

natio, may even have been unattractive to him, particularly if that group revolved around the sons of a number of Catholic families.

Of his journey to Padua, he mentions only his crossing of the Alps and nothing more,¹⁵ but he presumably followed a route from the borderland of northern France, either via the amenable Protestant path of the Palatinate and Basle, or perhaps through eastern France and then into Savoy – a road known to the well-travelled ambassador Sir Henry Wotton on his journeys between Venice and London.¹⁶ Johnston reveals no concerns about his journey, but presumably would have made use of one of the many travel guides.¹⁷ Upon arrival at Padua, he joined a world of learning presided over by professors of theoretical and practical medicine, surgeons, anatomists and professors of *materia medica*, who shared in a broad European medical humanist movement which had gained momentum in the sixteenth century. The fame of some of these men resided in their recovery and purifying of the antique sources.¹⁸ For others it stemmed from their contribution to the advances achieved in anatomy. Johnston could draw upon their knowledge and skills, and with his documentary certification of study, he could return to Sedan with the standing of a Paduan physician, and build a medical career.

Johnston and Matriculation

Membership of a *natio* provided the means of living securely in the Roman Catholic society of Padua.¹⁹ In 1587 students of Protestant background had been granted immunity from prosecution. The historic powers of the University through

¹⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 190-94, ll. 83-84.

¹⁶ *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), i, 113-52. Smith's commentary upon Wotton's negotiations with the Duke of Savoy documents his journeys between Padua and the English Channel. John H. Ghazvinian, 'A certain tickling humour: English Travellers, 1560-1660' (unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 2003), pp. 76-87. Ghazvinian surveys popular routes across seventeenth-century Europe.

¹⁷ Jonathan Woolfson, 'Padua and English students revisited', *Renaissance Studies*, 27/4 (2013), 572-87, at pp. 578-79. Andrew Cunningham, 'The Bartholins, the Platters and Laurentius Gryllus: the *peregrinatio medica* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe 1500-1789* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 3-16.

¹⁸ Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: the Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 206-30. Nancy G. Siraisi, *Avicenna: in Renaissance Italy: the Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton, NJ, 1987). Maclean discusses scholarly and pedagogical developments in the medical faculties of sixteenth-century Europe. Siraisi, in turn, has contributed an exhaustive study of sixteenth-century recovery and continuing use of one particular text, the Canon of Avicenna, despite the humanists' restoration of the Greek texts.

¹⁹ *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, eds. Rawdon Brown, George Bentinck, Horatio F. Brown, and A. B. Hinds (38 vols., London, 1864-67), vol. 11, pp. 426-37.

matriculation to resist prosecution for heresy by the Paduan Inquisition can be seen in those foreign visitors who chose to matriculate as students in the University.²⁰ The religious danger was ever present. A complaint was delivered to the Senate of the Venetian Republic in 1610, on behalf of James VI and I, about interference in the lives of Protestant students by the Inquisition and the difficulty of confessing the Catholic Faith at graduation.²¹ Johnston thus probably matriculated for security, as well as for academic reasons.

Despite being a medical student he could have associated himself with the nations which existed for English and Scottish students in the Paduan Law University; William Harvey, student in the Arts University, for example, was *Consiliarius* in the English *natio* in the Law University in 1600. These English and Scottish nations had followed turbulent paths through the sixteenth century.²² The Scottish law *natio*, united with the English until 1534 and then separated from it, had originally been created as an independent body for the purpose of maintaining the dominance of the Ultramontane nations over the Cisalpine in the Law University.²³ Their tale is thus one of university politics as well as of national sensibility. This continued into the seventeenth century when the two nations were reunited in 1603, in another move driven by politics and the small numbers of Scots present in Padua. Simeon Foschint, *Anglus*, was appointed *consiliarius* of the Scottish nation in 1603 to reflect the position of the Stuart monarch newly placed upon the English throne. It was only in 1617 that the English and Scottish nations felt strongly enough about loyalty and membership to compile lists of those who matriculated.²⁴ We therefore know the identity only of those students of the English or Scottish *natio* in the Law University who were elected to the post of *Consiliarius* or *Electionarius*, or who reached the heights of *Rector* – the name and origins of only these post holders being recorded in the University's own *Acta*.

The balance of Johnston's sense of Scottish affiliation and his focus upon European life is not easy to assess throughout his career abroad. Two later poems

²⁰ Woolfson, 'Padua and English students revisited', pp. 579-85. Woolfson discusses the ambiguity of this distinction between student and visitor.

²¹ Lucia Rossetti, *The University of Padua: An Outline of its History* (Trieste, 1983), p. 40. Woolfson, *Padua*, pp. 17-18. Cf. below, p. 56-57.

²² Woolfson, *Padua*, pp. 25-38.

²³ Piovan, 'Autonomy by imposition'.

²⁴ Andrich, *De natione*, p. 5; Steuart, 'The Scottish 'Nation'', p. 56. *Gli stemmi dello Studio di Padova*, ed. Lucia Rossetti (Trieste, 1983), p. 32. Woolfson, *Padua*, p. 33.

from his time in Aberdeen after 1622 assist us towards a judgment. His autobiographical poem describes his early formation in the culture of north east Scotland,²⁵ and the brief poem dedicated to his birthplace, *De loco suo natali*, speaks with fondness of the countryside of Aberdeenshire.²⁶ His writings of 1618-24, at his time of departure from Sedan, also present a Scottish voice, allowing the designation *Caledonius* to emerge from his first published poems.²⁷ His life and career in the years before his visit to Padua, however, was considerably more European in outlook, and his adoption of a Scottish identity in his writing seems to emerge only after this stay. On his arrival in Padua, his sense of national identity was not strong enough to encourage him into a public assertion of that link through involvement in the Scottish *natio* of the Law University. Rather, his matriculation reflects his outlook as a European man of letters. Fewer 'nations' existed in the Arts and Medical University – Ultramontane, Ultramarine, Tuscan, Lombard, Trevisan and Roman – and students from beyond the Alps were grouped together in the Ultramontane *natio*, transcending their own national background and producing a European academic *mélange*.²⁸ That *natio* was dominated by the German Protestant group which consistently took the lead in resisting all pressure from the Church and any intrusion into the workings of both universities. In 1615 Johnston joined this 'German', or international *natio* within the Arts University, and afforded himself protection through membership of the strongly Protestant body. Important in his choice of self-definition may also have been the fact that he was probably around thirty-five years of age, and was in the presence of enthusiastic students.²⁹ It is highly likely that participation in the politics of a small *natio* and the part it played in the election of the *Consiliarius* and the *Rector* of the university – a jockeying for position in the academic world of the city, and perhaps a

²⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 190-94.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 21.

²⁷ '*Caledonius*' appears at various moments in his poetry of 1618-24 – in the Eglisheim satire, the Saravicto-Biomea exchange, and the letters to the lawyers of Mechelen.

²⁸ Rossetti, *The University of Padua*, pp. 37-38. *Statuta almae Universitatis DD. Philosophorum, et medicorum, cognomento artistarum Patavini Gymnasii. Denuo correctae & emendatae, & nonnullis apostillis ... aucta*, (Padua, 1607). Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, MA, 1948), pp. 3-64, 116-22.

²⁹ Grendler, *Universities*, pp. 480-83. Jonathan Davies, 'Violence and Italian universities during the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, 27/4 (2013), 504-16. The streets of Padua could be plagued by student violence. A representation from Padua of the two top professors of philosophy, Piccolomini and Cremonini, attended the Venetian Senate in December 1591, for example, in the wake of student violence directed at the Jesuits. They presented the image of a dangerous parallel of the Jesuits and the *Studio* as Guelfs and Ghibellines. The result was the closure of the Jesuit Academy, on the grounds that this *anti-studio* contravened the Venetian law which forbade any university in their territory save Padua.

training for later public office by these young men – was not to his taste.³⁰ His later poems to the lawyers of Mechelen make clear his distaste for the world of business and politics; he was interested, he wrote, only in his professional career.³¹ Only upon his return to Scotland from London did he eventually return to the world of civic and academic office.

The mixture of cultures in his chosen *natio* was in keeping with his own outlook, and the wording of his matriculation reflects a European view, with no explicit mention of a Scottish affiliation, nor of any British link, nor even of any Sedanese residence. He declares his affiliation to be ‘Abredonensis’, and we can infer that he considered such a designation to have been recognisable. He expressed his origins, not through his membership of a national group, but through his individual membership of the international academic world *via* his *alma mater*. As a scholar from Aberdeen he would contribute to Padua University, just as he would contribute to the international Latinate Republic of Letters, on the same basis as other poets or physicians from Padua, or Prague or Paris, Leiden, Krakow or Basle, geographically dispersed, but resident in the interlinking cruces of the humanist network.

As an academic of some standing, and as a poet, he could draw upon the comradeship and the protection afforded by membership of that *natio*, and yet also maintain a dignified distance. There is no sign in the records of the German *natio* of any involvement in the machinations of this body, and he could easily have merged into the background. In contrast to Johnston’s approach, the subsequent entry in the *natio* register, entered nine days after his own matriculation, was that of George Sibbald. This entry throws into relief Johnston’s subdued internationalism. Sibbald prefaced his signature with a poem of praise for Padua’s most famous anatomist, and for the German *natio*:

Societati sophiatricae Germanor[um]
 Patavii Antenorei.
 Cum res grata tibi, clarissima natio, toti
 Sit capere, in numerum meque referre tuum;
 Privaque Seylero lex de me lata probulo
 Verba sit in lepidi mellea FABRICII:
 Mactus ego inde tuo votivo hic inserar albo,
 Dando Sophiatrico nomina nostra choro
 Georgius sibbald[us] à Rankilor
 Caledonius Britann[us]

³⁰ Woolfson, *Padua*, pp. 24-37.

³¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 108, 19-20.

Idib. ^{iiX.}^{br} ann. MDCXV.³²

[To the discerning Antenorian Society of the Germans of Padua
Since, oh most august *natio*, it is a great honour to associate with you all, and to
count myself in your number;
And, having taken the oath privately with [Cratus] Seylerus [Lycopolitanus
Hassus], *proboulos*, to be present at the sweet words of the excellent Fabricius:
I am honoured, then, to inscribe my name here in the register belonging to this
wise body.

George Sibbald of Rankeilor
Caledonian Briton
15 October 1615]

Sibbald had journeyed in his career from Edinburgh to Padua via Paris and Montpellier. He was clearly more alert than Johnston to developments in Britain, and chose to make a statement in support of those developments; he announced himself ‘Caledonius Britannus’, and marked his entry into Padua with a poem of praise, drawing attention both to himself, and to his national allegiance.³³ It may be that it was through his contact and friendship with Sibbald, that Johnston too began to consider himself not just a European, but also a Scot and a Briton, as self-fashioned labels of his increasingly prominent membership of the Republic of Letters. His poems in criticism of Eglisheim, and his comments upon the Bohemian Crisis, published in 1619 and 1620, display all three aspects of that identity.

Johnston and Graduation

Despite Johnston’s entry in the Matriculation Register, no documentary proof has emerged of his graduation. Not everyone who attended the University of Padua, even in the formal role of student, chose to graduate, and very many names in the registers are found nowhere in the official graduation lists. For those who did graduate, the evidence of the *Acta Graduum* reveals that the period from matriculation to graduation varied from one month to a number of years. Johnston’s leave of absence from his philosophy teaching in Sedan would have been carefully measured. He arrived to begin his course at the opening of the academic year in 1615, and the *Acta* of the German *natio* hailed him as doctor in the summer of 1616, along with George Sibbald.

³² *Matricula Nationis Germanicae Artistarum in Gymnasio Patavino*, fol. 89v. Sibbald’s matriculation appears immediately below that of Johnston.

³³ *Acta nationis Germanicae artistarum, 1616-1636*, ed. Lucia Rossetti (Padua, 1967), 1615. Shortly after this matriculation Sibbald was elected *Consiliarius* of the Scottish *natio* in the Law University, where he probably felt more at home. That did not prevent the Ultramontane *natio* later hailing him as Doctor.

There was widespread appreciation of the advantages of a certificate of graduation: ‘The medical degree was necessary for recognition as a ‘proper physician’, and nothing served more readily than a lack of it to mark out the uneducated empiric’.³⁴ Johnston’s graduation would also be a means to advance the reputation of the Sedan Academy.³⁵ The flourishing market in up-to-date editions of texts also suggests that extensive examination and graduation needs influenced the printing market. Evidence of contemporary medical developments in Britain also suggests that by the start of the seventeenth century a document proving qualification in medicine was advantageous for a career. In London, for example, increasing numbers of graduation certificates were lodged with the new Royal College of Physicians. In Scotland, however, it was still possible to practise medicine at high levels without a diploma, and a Royal College of Physicians was given a Royal Charter in Edinburgh only in 1681. Johnston did become a member of the circle of royal doctors around James VI and I, and yet there is no record of his diploma in Munk’s Roll in the Royal College, nor in the National Library of Scotland, nor in the National Archive.

The situation for Scottish doctors in England seems to have been irregular, as shown also in the career of George Eglishem, whose membership of the circle of royal doctors is not formally attested by a diploma recorded in *Munk’s Roll* or by any record of appointment. Nor is there evidence of Eglishem’s graduation, as he claimed, from Leiden University in any capacity, least of all in medicine.³⁶ Yet he was able to interfere in the investigations into the deaths of the Marquis of Hamilton and of King James in 1625 when another Scottish royal doctor, John Craig, revealed to him the treatments given to James just before his death.³⁷ In Johnston’s satirical attack on Eglishem in 1619-20, he was thus able to assert with devastating humour, Eglishem’s incompetence as much in the composition of Latin poetry as in the practice of Medicine. A certificate, although not yet essential, could by its absence be taken as a

³⁴ *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Andrew Wear, Roger K. French, and Iain M. Lonie (Cambridge, 1985), p. ix.

³⁵ Mellon, *L’Académie*, pp. 58-62. There is some doubt about the provision of medical teaching at the Academy. There would have been some teaching in theoretical medicine through the works of Aristotle. Nothing further seems to have been provided before Johnston attended Padua, and no change in curriculum provision is commented upon when he returned.

³⁶ O. P. Grell, ‘The Attraction of Leiden University for English students of Medicine and Theology, 1590-1642’, in C. C. Barfoot and R. Todd (eds), *The Great Emporium: The Low Countries as a Cultural Crossroads in the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century*, Amsterdam, 1992, pp. 83-104.

³⁷ Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*, pp. 280-81.

sign of incompetence, especially for a foreign outsider in the circle of English medical men.

Yet the absence of Johnston's formal graduation record from the *Acta Graduum* does suggest some obstacle. Some of his contemporaries appear in this volume as witnesses, graduands, etc., are labeled as 'Scottish': Ehericus Areskinus {Eric Erskine}, Davidis Culmillus (Culvillus?) {David Colville?}, Guielmus Lesleus {William Leslie} (designated not only 'Scotus', but 'Abertonensis' [sic]), Georgius Sibbaldus {George Sibbald} (also designated 'Scotus' and 'Abertonensis') and Ioannes Voderbonius {John Wedderburn}. During the examination process, the candidate for graduation was required to swear an oath professing the Catholic faith. Of those Scots mentioned, only Ioannes Voderbonius and Guielmus Lesleus appear in the records as graduands, and swore the oath.³⁸ The influence of the Roman church had advanced confidently after Trent, and graduation in Padua University had been made subject to the oath by Pope Pius IV's Bull of 1564, *In Sacrosancta*, and confirmed by the Bull of Pius V, *Supra gregem*, in 1566.³⁹ The *professio fidei* was thus prescribed for all candidates for graduation, not just those in theology. Wotton, in July 1621, complained to Sir George Calvert of the doctoral graduations 'at which formality if it be performed in the college, where for more reputation it is commonly done, especially by all Papists, there is an oath to be first taken'.⁴⁰ Such a stringent requirement put pressure upon those outside the Roman fold and the oath caused consternation among the Protestant groups. Their plea was that they were traditionally allowed to live in Padua and contribute to its international scholarly esteem without religious pressure from the church, and particularly the Inquisition, so long as they caused no religious scandal. Wotton wrote with concern to the Earl of Salisbury (June

³⁸ 'Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, 1518-2005', *Royal College of Physicians*, <<http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/>> accessed 20 September, 2013. As indicated above, Leslie probably came from a Roman Catholic family. It is likely that Wedderburn (Munk's Roll, i, 251), however, came from a line of religious reformers, hailing from Dundee; although he himself inclined towards the royalist cause in the Civil Wars and became a royal doctor to Charles I. He may have adopted an irenic view of confessional affiliation, and recognised the importance of accepting the instructions of those who held civil power.

³⁹ Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, 'The Mobility of Medical Students from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries: The Institutional Context', in Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe 1500-1789* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 47-89, at p. 59.

⁴⁰ *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, i, 213-14.

1609) about the dangers to Protestant travelers in Italy; he saw a Jesuitical plot.⁴¹ Although matriculation still carried protection from persecution by the Inquisition, the religious oath now emerged as a challenge at the moment of graduation. Venice occasionally intervened in Rome's efforts to enforce the oath. The Podestà, Niccolò da Ponte, chose to let the matter pass when a German *Rector* refused to take the oath.⁴² In 1610 James VI and I requested that his subjects be excused the oath at graduation; Francesco Contarini, Venetian ambassador in London, replied that 'by ancient and unbroken custom students took the oath, but no one was forced to take the degree'.⁴³

An alternative route to graduation lay with the Paduan Counts Palatine. These were citizens whose families had achieved unmediated noble status in the Holy Roman Empire, and this is the most likely forum for Johnston's graduation. It was probably as an attempt to stem the rising tide of these graduations, which were beyond the control of the Venetian *Podestà*, that the *Collegio Veneto* was established, providing a further, official path by which graduands might evade the oath, and graduate *auctoritate veneta*.⁴⁴ A graduation by Count Palatine would have taken place in the home of a Count, and one name found frequently in both the *Acta graduum* of the University and the *Notarial Archive* in the Archivio di Stato in this context is that of Sigismondo Capodilista.⁴⁵ Such a graduation, in common with those carried out in the episcopal palace, involved witnesses to present the candidate, the appointment of examiners to test competence, and the subsequent examination and declaration of doctoral status. It also, but rather irregularly, could involve the oath, which might be taken in the home of the Count, allowing some anomalies to creep in: Norman Ullinstone graduated in 1606 through the offices of Capodilista and swore the oath to

⁴¹ Ibid., 456-57. Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice, 1470-1790: the Renaissance and its Heritage* (London, 1972), pp. 88-89. Logan describes the situation as one of 'haphazardness of prosecution rather than ... toleration'.

⁴² A. Stella, 'Tentativi controriformistici nell'Università di Padova e il rettorato di Andrea Gostynski', in Comitato Per La Storia Dell'università Di Padova (ed.) *Relazioni tra Padova e la Polonia: Studi in onore dell'Università di Cracovia nel VI centenario della sua fondazione* (Padua, 1964), at pp. 75-87.

⁴³ Brown *et al.* (eds.), *CSPV*, vol. 11, pp. 426-37.

⁴⁴ Wolfson, *Padua*, p. 23. The foundation document of the *Collegio Veneto* in the Archivio Antico dell'Università is dated 1616. It conferred graduation upon two candidates only in 1617 – too late for Johnston.

⁴⁵ *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1601 ad annum 1605*, ed. Francesca Zen Benetti (Padua, 1987), no. 37. 'D. Sigismundus de Capitibuslistae, com dell'Universitas palatinus, auctoritae imperiali sibi et nob. eius familiae concessa ab invictissimo Sigismundo olim Romanorum imperatore'.

the Catholic faith.⁴⁶ Edward Benedict, on the other hand, swore an oath to the Count Palatine's own family, rather than to the Catholic faith.⁴⁷ William Harvey, who graduated in 1602, swore the oath to the Catholic faith in the home of Capodilista, but the record includes an explanation in the hand of the notary that 'for convenience' he had omitted the mention of the oath from Harvey's own certificate.⁴⁸

The reason behind the move to graduate via the Counts may not primarily have been religious, however, but rather one of cost. Padua was an expensive University at which to graduate. It was cheaper to graduate through examination by the college of Venetian doctors; Richard Palmer has not unearthed any evidence of Johnston from the Graduation lists, however.⁴⁹ Bologna, Ferrara and Siena all charged lower fees for graduation, and some students did move from Padua to take their degrees.⁵⁰ Everyone in the process received some financial recognition, and the sum amounted to a considerable requirement. Since graduation by Count Palatine involved fewer payments, it may have been the financial concern which was paramount. Johnston, too, may not have been a wealthy student – his later pursuit of an inheritance to facilitate his return to England and then Scotland confirms this suspicion – and he may have chosen graduation by Count Palatine for this reason, perhaps in addition to the religious reasons. Graduation by Count Palatine required the services of a notary, and proof of Johnston's graduation may exist in the notarial records and may yet be uncovered.⁵¹ In the meantime, we have the hailing of Johnston as Doctor in the *Acta* of the German *natio* in July 1616.⁵²

⁴⁶ Archivio di Stato, *Archivio notarile 4106*, fol. 291.

⁴⁷ Lucia Rossetti, 'Nel quarto centenario della nascita di William Harvey', *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 9-10 (1977), at p. 241.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 242. This certificate now resides in the Royal College of Physicians in London.

⁴⁹ Richard Palmer, *The "Studio" of Venice and its Graduates in the Sixteenth Century* (Padua, 1983).

⁵⁰ Biagio Brugi, 'Uno descrizione dello Studio di Padova in un ms del secolo XVI nel Museo Britannico', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 15/6 (1907).

⁵¹ The early twentieth-century inventory, the *Guida generale*, currently the only route of research into the legal archive, reveals over one hundred notaries active in Padua in this period. Their records vary immensely in detail and length, but very many volumes are extant. By far the most frequently recurring name in the context of university graduations is that of Francesco Raffetto, but the records of that notary do not appear to contain Johnston's name.

⁵² *Acta nationis Germanicae artistarum*, 1616-1636, p. 15.

Part II. Johnston's Poetic Record

A. The Paduan World of Medicine and Philosophy

An analysis of the seventeenth-century medical world will provide some context in which to place Johnston's ideas as they emerge from his two poems. The period 'of learned medicine in the age of medical humanism' has been judged to be one of conciliation between the medieval tradition, the humanists, the Paracelsians, and between the Aristotelians and the Galenists, until it was undermined by the effects of the Thirty Years War and, later, the Scientific Revolution.⁵³ Medical teaching in sixteenth-century north Italian universities, and beyond, experienced a widely acknowledged ambiguity. In line with Aristotle, medicine was judged to be both a practical and a theoretical subject, both an *ars* and a *scientia*.⁵⁴ It was concerned with the practical end of health, but also with knowledge for its own sake. To build that knowledge, it absorbed data from sense experience, and used rational principles and procedures to transform the singular observations into universal truths. From there it could pursue its end. To reinforce this rational status, the medical degree in Padua required the study of philosophy. This rationalist medical tradition also encompassed anatomy; Galen's writing had emphasised the value of this empirical observation, seeking to build secure knowledge of parts of the body. Anatomy was traditionally a form of *accessus*, a scholastic device of questions to be asked of an ancient text – authorship, title, structure, contents, etc. – but focused upon the body. The questions produced a set of observable features such as shape, consistency, connection, number, and provided justification for the dissections which began in Western Europe in the later middle ages.

Physicians thus emphasised words and reason, and established a place in medical study for the natural philosophy of Aristotle, interpreted mainly through the writings of Avicenna. The doctors Aristotelianised their subject, and inserted it into the universities;⁵⁵ through his writings, even Hippocrates was pictured as a rationalist

⁵³ Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ Only a few lines of what was regarded as Aristotle's sole medical treatise *De sanitate et morbo* survived in the *Parva naturalia*. Aristotle's distinction of theoretical and practical knowledge, of 'science' and 'art', however, features in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and in the *Metaphysics*. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. Harris Rackham (Cambridge MA, 1934), VI.4 1140a1-24. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, ed. Hugh Tredennick (Cambridge MA, 1933), II.1 993b20-24.

⁵⁵ R. Kenneth French, *Ancients and Moderns in the Medical Sciences: from Hippocrates to Harvey* (Aldershot, 2000).

philosopher.⁵⁶ The medical-philosophical course thus involved the study of logic and natural philosophy, mainly through the works of Aristotle, before progressing to the more medical works of Galen and Hippocrates, amongst others. Students studied parts of the Aristotelian *Organon* and *De anima*, which offered training in the patterns of thinking necessary for the physician who sought certain truth. The philosophical basis of medical study at Padua thus assured the status of the theoretical physician.⁵⁷ There was a natural progression from an understanding of the tools of logic, to what can be known for certain about the world, to what can be known about the workings of man.

This disciplinary integration was still an object of theorising when Johnston arrived in Padua. Hippocrates was judged to have established medicine as an ‘art’, yet it was also from Hippocrates that the idea of the philosophical physician had been adopted.⁵⁸ Aristotle’s medical works consisted of his botanical and zoological investigations of all animal life, but also his philosophical considerations of the functions and the uses of its parts. Besides the writings of Hippocrates and Aristotle, the course included the important medical writings of Galen and the medieval Arab commentators like Avicenna and Averroës, and also commentaries and surgical textbooks or compilations such as the *Articella*.⁵⁹ Galen had stated his view upon the partnership of philosophy and medicine in the treatise *Quod optimus Medicus sit quoque Philosophus*, widely read in Renaissance Europe in its translation by Erasmus.⁶⁰ Celsus, too, in *De medicina* had declared the medical art to be rational – *rationalem medicinam* – but also to be dependent upon things available to the senses, which laid open to question the certainty of medical knowledge; medicine was thus,

⁵⁶ Doubt surrounds the writings of Hippocrates. Philip van der Eijk notes that ‘for none of the treatises collected under the rubric ‘Hippocratic Corpus’ has the authorship of Hippocrates been satisfactorily proven’. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine*, ed. Mark Jackson (Oxford, 2011), p. 36.

⁵⁷ Charles B. Schmitt, ‘Aristotle among the Physicians’, in Wear, French, and Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 1-15.

⁵⁸ Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, pp. 70-72 and 92. Hippocrates, *Opera Omnia*, ed. William S. Jones (Cambridge, MA, 1923), i, ‘Precepts’, XIII; *ibid.*, ii, ‘The Art’, V. Also noted in Schmitt, ‘Aristotle among the Physicians’, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Grendler, *Universities*, pp. 269-79. William A. Wallace, ‘Natural Philosophy: Traditional Natural Philosophy’, in Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 201-35. Wallace (at p. 213) sets out the order of teaching for all these works in the Paduan Arts course in 1590. In the *Articella*, the earliest reference to this conjunction of theory and practice in medical education was to be found in the ninth-century writing of Johannitius [Hunayn ibn Ishāq]: *Medicina dividitur in duas partes id est theoricam et practicam*. Schmitt, ‘Aristotle among the Physicians’, p. 3. Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, rev. edn (London, 1963), p. 856.

⁶⁰ Galen, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Karl G. Kuhn (20 vols., Leipzig, 1821), i, 53-63.

as Celsus declared in his *Proemium*, an *ars coniecturalis*.⁶¹ In Padua, in the later thirteenth century, the integrity of this philosophy-medicine duality had famously been championed by Pietro D'Abano (1257-c.1315). His work had been published at least eighteen times by the end of the sixteenth century. D'Abano, writing in the scholastic tradition, declared in his first *differentia* that the three most important things for the education of the physician were logic, natural philosophy and astrology.⁶² The *puncta* set for the oral examination for the degree of doctor of medicine and philosophy at Padua included a broad range of these works.⁶³ Most graduations were in Philosophy and Medicine. Without this combination of the empirical and the rational, medicine would be open to the charge of being merely the skill of the 'empiric', ranging from the cunning woman to the cleric, and all despised by the physicians as dispensers of unreliable cures based upon folklore. Attempts were made by the theoretical doctors to deride and suppress their 'uneducated rivals'.⁶⁴

One Paduan *lexicon* available to Johnston *qua* medical student was that of Bartolomeo Castelli, first published in Venice in 1607. On the title page the author declares himself to be *theologo, philosopho* and *medico*, explicitly pointing therefore to the close association of philosophy and medical study (with a further intriguing involvement of theology). The *lexicon* first appeared in the gifts to the library of the Ultramontane *natio* in 1608.⁶⁵ There is no entry for *Philosophia* in this edition. In the 1665 edition, contrastingly, there is such an entry, with supporting quotations from Galen and Hippocrates emphasising the link with medicine.⁶⁶ Conjunction could be taken for granted in 1607, but developments in both medicine and philosophy by 1665 required an emphatic statement of the link.

⁶¹ Celsus, *De medicina*, ed. Walter G. Spencer (Cambridge MA, 1936), i, 74 and 48.

⁶² Schmitt, 'Aristotle among the Physicians', pp. 3-4.

⁶³ *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1601 ad annum 1605*. Jerome Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', in Charles Webster (ed.) *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 335-70, at pp. 368-69. The core texts of the examinations were still the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, Galen's *Ars medica*, the first *fen* of the *Canon* of Avicenna, and the writings contained in the *Articella*.

⁶⁴ Wear, French, and Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. xiv-xv. In Venice the authorities eventually chose the path of licensing the empirics.

⁶⁵ Bartolomeo Castelli, *Lexicon medicum Graecolatinum ... Ex Hippocrate et Galeno desumptum* (Venice, 1607). Schmitt, 'Aristotle among the Physicians', p. 2. *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, ed. Antonio Favaro (2 vols., Venice, 1911-12), ii, 1608. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, (Rome, 1978), pp. xxi, 685-86.

⁶⁶ Bartolomeo Castelli, *Lexicon medicum Graeco-Latinum* (Rotterdam, 1665), pp. 340-41. Schmitt in 'Aristotle among the Physicians' makes no reference to this development within the editions.

Padua in the early seventeenth century was a centre of renewed interest in Aristotle's writings as the means of analysis of the natural world and medicine.⁶⁷ Johnston's prior foundation in Aristotelian philosophy at Heidelberg and Sedan would have fitted the emphasis at Padua, and allowed him to graduate *philosophicus et medicus* after a year of study and practical experience, to practise as a physician or continue his academic career in natural philosophy. This Aristotelian emphasis may in fact have been one reason for Johnston's choice of that university rather than a course elsewhere.

B. Johnston's Poetic Comment

The first of Johnston's two poems about Padua bears the name of Giulio Cesare Casserio di Placentina {Iulius Casserius Placentinus (1552-1616)}, one of the foremost anatomists of Padua in the early seventeenth century.⁶⁸ Although Johnston sets his two poems at Casserio's anatomy dissection within the anatomy theatre, there is a possibility that he conjured this anatomical scene from his imagination. The tone of the poem, however, gives a strong sense of personal experience, and is made vivid in the poet's present tense narrative. Like other students who made their way to Padua, Johnston would have intended that Padua be more than a place in which to develop his theoretical knowledge, which he could have done in Sedan. His goal in Padua would have been the practical teaching – particularly the bedside teaching undertaken by the professors in the hospital of S. Francesco, a component of the medical course which had been made statutory by a Venetian Decree of 1578. The Statutes of 1589 required that the students visit the sick during their course of study, and Padua had achieved the premier position in this aspect of teaching by the end of the century.⁶⁹ Additionally, they could attend lectures by the Ordinary professor of *materia medica* on the use of 'simples' in the Paduan botanical garden, opened in 1546. Most importantly they could witness the presentation of anatomical detail in the annual dissections, and develop such skills for themselves. All these were experiences which they could later call upon, and document, as proof of their own skill as

⁶⁷ John H. Randall, Jr, *The School of Padua: and the Emergence of Modern Science* (Padua, 1961). Paul O. Kristeller, 'Renaissance Aristotelianism', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 6/2 (1965), 157-74. Schmitt, 'Aristotle among the Physicians', p. 4. Schmitt draws attention to the contrasting approach to medical study which existed in Montpellier and in Vienna.

⁶⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60.

⁶⁹ Giacomo F. Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum* (Udine, 1654), pp. 420-21. Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', pp. 346-52.

physicians. The students made this point whenever it seemed that the practical aspects of their training might be reduced, emphasising practical needs as the primary reason for their attendance at Padua.⁷⁰

The timing of Johnston's presence in the city coincided with the final months of fame there of the surgeon Casserio.⁷¹ He had been a pupil of the arguably more renowned Professor of Anatomy, Geronimo Fabrici ab Acquapendente, {Hieronymus Fabricius ab Acquapendente (1533-1619)}, and his performance, witnessed by Johnston in the anatomy theatre, mirrored that of his teacher. The public anatomy took place during a holiday – Christmas, or Carnival just before the opening of Lent – and a large number of students and professors would attend. It was hoped that the cold weather might preserve the body, and the performance would go on for some days, and even nights.⁷²

Johnston had already employed eponymous titling for the poems he dedicated to the court circle in Sedan, and to his friends Daniel Tilenus and Andrew Melville. It is a technique which he would later employ in the poems dedicated to his lawyers in the Court in Mechelen. The content of these two poems suggests, rather, that Johnston is here offering his thoughts on the wider anatomical world of Padua. They relate the skills of Casserio, but they also comment on the prevalent medical world as it had been conjured up in the anatomical theatre. The first, larger poem places the work of the anatomist at the centre of the scene. The description is a thoughtful response to a witnessed event, with tropes about medical technique and the procedures of the theatre, employing classical myth with echoes of Ovid and Martial. The tone of this poem, akin to an epigrammatic memorial inscription, contrasts with the second poem, which, with a contrasting jaunty humour, addresses the souls of the cadavers which had come under the anatomist's knife. The change of focus of the second, as well as the shorter and wittier form of an epigram, distances it from the first, suggesting that it may have been composed some time later. They appeared in the *Epigrammata* of 1632, and then re-appeared in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* of 1637 for the

⁷⁰ Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', p. 351. *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, i, 1597.

⁷¹ Giuseppe Sterzi, 'Giulio Casserio, Anatomico e Chirurgo (c. 1552-1616)', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto Ser. 3*, 18-19 (1909-10), 206-78, 25-111, 238-40, at pp. 238-40. Alessandro Riva, Beniamino Orrù, Alessio Pirino, and Francesca Testa Riva, 'Iulius Casserius (1552-1616): The self-made anatomist of Padua's golden age', *The Anatomical Record*, 265/4 (2001), 168-75.

⁷² Grendler, *Universities*, pp. 143-44.

enjoyment of the wider audience of European, scholarly humanists.⁷³ Although no evidence exists of any earlier printing while Johnston remained in Sedan, the medical-philosophical content and the cleverness of the textual multi-layering would have made it a topic for discussion, enjoyment, and presumably congratulation, upon Johnston's return from Padua to the poetic humanist circle of the Academy.

Johnston's poetic output hitherto had consisted of some *epithalamia*, a few short dedications, and some *Lusus Amoebaei*. These were close personal comments for friends and colleagues, relying for effect upon shared knowledge and clever use of myth, and presumably provoking comment from the recipients and others. The complexity of this epigram marks his step forward in the genre and earns him a position, in the company of George Buchanan and most neo-Latinists, in the wider community of humanist epigrammatists.⁷⁴ The genre was so widespread that, it has been claimed, to compose epigrams was to establish one's self-definition as a humanist writer.⁷⁵ Johnston's two poems defy easy classification in a single category of epigram.⁷⁶ The first poem, typical of Johnston's 'polished elegance', offers a broad and elevated comment upon medical truth.⁷⁷ His classical guide on this poetic journey would probably have been the epigrams of Martial; although Johnston prefers a more elevated tone, the wit of the sting-in-the-tail remains.⁷⁸ Andrew Melville, too, had composed epigrams; that concerning the altar in the Chapel Royal in London had been the occasion of his imprisonment in the Tower, and may have been a topic of

⁷³ *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, i, 610-11. The form of the poems is identical in the *Epigrammata* and in the *Delitiae*.

⁷⁴ Epigrams by George Buchanan were published in the second and third editions of Bèze's poems and in the Guarinus edition of his *Franciscus et Fratres* of 1568, and in a 1584 edition which included the three books of the *Epigrammaton*. The first edition of Buchanan's complete secular poetry, including the three books of epigrams, first emerged in the Andrew Hart edition of 1615.

⁷⁵ *The Neo-Latin Epigram: a Learned and Witty Genre*, eds. Susanna De Beer, Karl A. E. Enenkel, and David Rijser (Leuven, 2009), p. 16. In the introduction to this survey, Enenkel considers the elusive nature of the definition and the boundaries of the epigrammatic genre, and its wide attraction among neo-Latin writers, pointing (at p. 17) to J. C. Scaliger's willingness to accept within 'epigram' all types of situations and textual forms. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *J. C. Scaligeri ... Poetices libri septem ... Editio secunda* ([Heidelberg], 1586).

⁷⁶ They blur the categories even of the exhaustive list provided by Marion Lausberg. Marion Lausberg, *Das Einzeldistichon: Studien zum antiken Epigramm* (Munich, 1982), pp. 103-432. Only in the second poem does Johnston seem to join the seventeenth-century epigrammatic trend towards concision, and a focus on satirical wit, detected by Bradner. Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: a History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500-1925* (New York, 1940), pp. 77-87.

⁷⁷ D. F. S. Thomson, 'The Latin Epigram in Scotland: The Sixteenth Century', *Phoenix*, 11/2 (1957), 63-78, at p. 76.

⁷⁸ Martial, *Epigrams* (3 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1993).

discussion in Sedan after his arrival there in 1611.⁷⁹ Johnston's writing in Sedan had made wide use of classical allusion, and this poem too, employing myth and imitating the ancients, calls into existence a classical world alongside the Paduan contemporary world.

i) Couplets 1 + 2: Anatomy and Spectacle

Amphitheatralem miretur vulgus arenam,
 Quemque movent elephas, bos, leo, tigris, aper.
 Qui Phoebum, quem Phoebus amat, spectacula, Caesar,
 Muneribus praefert Casseriana tuis.⁸⁰

[The common man, moved by the elephant, the ox, the lion, the tiger, and the wild boar, might marvel at the Amphitheatre.

He who loves Phoebus, and whom Phoebus loves, prefers Casserian wonders to your games, oh Caesar.]

The opening couplets of the poem conjure up the marvels of the Paduan anatomical theatre, through a comparison with the classical Roman Amphitheatre. As elevated followers of Phoebus, Johnston separates himself and his audience from the common man. The couplets reveal Johnston's skilful rhetorical management of *polyptoton*. 'Phoebus' partners 'Phoebum'; Caesar's match, however, is more subtle than a simple inflection of the substantive, and Johnston balances *Casserian* and *Caesarian* Amphitheatres. At the same time the couplets move from the insubstantial wonderment of the vulgar crowd, to the certainty of the marvel revealed by the very present Paduan amphitheatre.

The introduction of the amphitheatre allows some deft manipulation of textual echoes from Martial. The opening contrast of verb moods is imitative of the structure of Martial's epigrams in celebration of the Amphitheatre of classical Rome.⁸¹ Martial employs the subjunctive mood to suggest the insubstantial wonders of the world of the untutored crowd, and the comparison is then emphatically made with the wonder of the Roman Amphitheatre. Johnston points his own use of the subjunctive mood at the classical Amphitheatre, and then draws the reader towards the superior grandeur of the Casserian spectacle. Both Martial and Johnston address their lines to Caesar; in Johnston's case the Caesar is left unidentified. Each poet encourages wonder on the

⁷⁹ Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson, *Viri clarissimi A. Meluini Muae, et P. Adamsoni vita et palindomia [sic] et Celsae commissionis ceu delegatae potestatis regiae in causis ecclesiasticis ... descriptio* ([Edinburgh?], 1620), p. 24.

⁸⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, 1-4.

⁸¹ Martial, *Epigrams*, I.i.

part of the reader, but Johnston takes the reader beyond Martial's *epitome* of the Roman theatre to the even higher pinnacle of the Casserian theatre. His writing expresses his admiration for Martial and at the same time outdoes him with skilful *aemulatio*.

Johnston intriguingly also introduces a range of animals into the scene. A decorative *motif* of animals was adopted later in the Leiden anatomical school, and even today there is some animal pictorial representation on the walls of the Paduan Medical Hall in the Palazzo del Bo'. But that representation is a work of the early-twentieth century and there is no record of any such animal depiction in the early seventeenth-century theatre at which an 'untutored crowd' could marvel.⁸² It is, furthermore, unlikely that Johnston would have referred to his fellow audience at this dissection as an 'untutored crowd'.⁸³ Instead, the animals probably acted as stimulus for his readers' acquaintance with Martial's epigrams. In the Roman Amphitheatre animals were indeed slaughtered for the wonder and satiation of the 'untutored crowd'.⁸⁴ Additionally, there may be echoes of Ovid; in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid conjures up the image of Orpheus's death, surrounded by animals dismembered by Maenads, and Ovid may have intended to blur myth and reality with a reference to dismemberment in the imperial Amphitheatre.⁸⁵ Johnston may also have been prompted in his animal references by the skeletal teaching aids held by the University; Tomasini, in his early history of the University, refers to animal skeletons and 'other things useful to the anatomists'.⁸⁶ Tomasini's description of these is linked to a medical preparation room where, he suggests, the skeletons were stored, and transported into the theatre for teaching, where Johnston may have witnessed them.⁸⁷ All this deft layering of the past and present is enclosed in Johnston's easy punning

⁸² Camillo Semenzato, Vittorio Dal Piaz, and Maurizio Rippa Bonati, *Il Teatro Anatomico* (Padua, 1994).

⁸³ It is possible that there were some ordinary Paduan citizens at the 1616 dissection. On the occasion of the opening of the second theatre, the *Acta* of the German Nation of 1595 refers to the presence of *hebrei, sartores, calceolarii, solearii, carnarii, salsamentarii* [Jews, tailors, shoe-makers, sandal-makers, butchers, spice traders] *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, ii, 1595.

⁸⁴ Martial, *Epigrams*, i. Four of Johnston's five animals are to be found in the *Liber de spectaculis*; in Martial's epigram there are others besides. Johnston's exception, *bos*, might have been employed in the poem for reasons of metre; Martial instead employs *taurus*, *bubalus* or *vison*.

⁸⁵ Andrew Feldherr, *Playing Gods: Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Politics of Fiction* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), pp. 167-76. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II.25-27. Philip R. Hardie, *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 38-42.

⁸⁶ Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, p. xxxi.

⁸⁷ *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, 1600. The *Acta* refers to the anatomy of three corpses and the use of the wing bones of some birds – *tam humanorum quam ceterorum animalium*.

upon the Roman ‘Caesarean’ and Paduan ‘Casserian’ games. In his ancient-Renaissance duality Johnston forges a humanist link from classical spectacle to dissection in the Casserian amphitheatre, restoring to life that classical world, and he presents a multi-layered picture for an audience of learned humanist scholars. The ‘devotees of Phoebus’, like Johnston, can marvel at both the medical wonder and also the poetical wonder.⁸⁸ In introducing this theme of ‘marvel’, he also prepares us for the associated idea of contemplation which pervades the poem and which leads us towards his philosophical moment in Padua.

ii) Couplet 3: Macro and Micro: God and Nature

Adspicis his parvus quot habet miracula mundus,
Inque tuo vultum cernis et ora Dei.⁸⁹

[In these you see how many miracles this small world has, and in your own [face] you discern the face and mien of God.]

‘Adspicis’ establishes the theme of the first poem: it points towards a Hippocratic and Galenic insistence upon close observation in medical practice, and to arguments about the balance between that observation and reason, arguments which were still alive in Johnston’s world. Galen’s emphasis upon the senses justified anatomical investigation as the means by which the physician could best ‘see’. His ‘On the use of the parts’, was required reading on the Paduan medical course.⁹⁰ The poem then continues with the common trope of the parallel of the micro and the macro. Johnston is studiously vague in his attribution of the roles within the parallel; whom is he addressing with ‘inque tuo’ – in whose face can be detected the face and mien of God? Is it that of the cadaver, or those of the audience at the anatomy, or even of his readers? His picture of the anatomy clearly goes beyond an observation of the cadaver, to a contemplation by man of his own place in the cosmos. The textual echoes perhaps again recall Ovid when Sisyphus, ‘inque tuo’, is stunned into contemplation by the song of Orpheus; or perhaps when Clythie turns, ‘ora vultusque’, towards the sun god.⁹¹ This is a Paduan moment to stop and contemplate.

⁸⁸ Perhaps a glance towards the acolytes of Phoebus in Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, eds. Grant Showerman and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1977), XV.

⁸⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, 5-6.

⁹⁰ Galen, *On the usefulness of the parts of the body: De usu partium*, ed. Margaret T. May (2 vols., Ithaca, NY, 1968).

⁹¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X.44, IV.264-65.

Johnston's trope of the parallel of God and Nature, the idea of intelligent design in the cosmos, is commonly encountered in the middle ages and the early modern world. All shades of Christianity accepted that in some way the cosmos reflected the work of God, and that a study of man would reveal that divine work in all its perfection. Religious associations were thus an easy outcome of this trope; the practice of adding religious overtones to anatomy, and particularly to the anatomy table, were legion in confessional propaganda. Christ had set the pattern with a table upon which, at the Last Supper, was placed his body broken for those who sat around. Religious polemicists played upon the allusion.⁹² Yet Johnston reins in his pen and resolutely avoids any confessional association. Indeed, besides this micro-macro moment of conjunction between God and Nature, the poem eschews all religious emphasis and leans decisively towards philosophy and the secular.

His use of the macro-micro may suggest, if not a confessional, then perhaps a neo-Platonic association. Such an interpretation of his writings and ideas, however, is *prima facie* unlikely; his training in philosophy had been fundamentally Aristotelian. Yet some Platonic influence upon Johnston may have filtered through Galen, whose syncretic writing *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, and whose *On the use of the Parts*, reveals a teleology which is Platonic – the demiurge seen in the perfection of creation. The lack of obvious theological allusion in his writing, however, both during this period and later in his career, points to Johnston's reluctance to allow Christian or Neoplatonic ideas to drive his Muse. He had briefly pursued theological training in Heidelberg, but had then stepped back from theological study, and had become associated with philosophy. His medical training was undertaken at the very secular Padua university, and influenced by the anatomist Geronimo Fabrici, a committed Aristotelian.

It is unlikely, therefore, that Johnston's anatomical and medical interests went hand in hand with any religious or spiritual commitment. The implications of the reference to the micro and the macro in this poem probably go no further in their resonance than the commonplace of the divine creation and man's place in it – the point which Johnston explicitly makes. After his initial reference to God and nature in the first part of the poem, he maintains a distance from the divine, and instead the laws of nature become the centre of his interest. In so doing, his approach is to

⁹² Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, *Medicine and the Reformation* (London, 1993), pp. 2-3.

separate philosophy, and medicine, from theology. The dominant approach at Padua was just such a separation – the double truth.

iii) Couplets 4 + 5: Johnston's Philosophical Moment

Hic illud, quo nil maius natura vel ausa est,
Vel potuit, sollers dextra retexit opus.

Lingua comes dextram sequitur, natura loquentem

Ausculat, leges discit et ipsa suas.⁹³

[Here that work of which nature has nothing better tried or achieved, the skilled hand unveils.

The accompanying tongue follows the hand; nature hears the oration and she learns her own laws.]

a) Sense and Reason

The skilled hand of the anatomist reveals nature's marvel, the human body, to the senses. The oration of the tongue reasons about the observed, and nature learns her own universal laws. The correct combination of *a priori* and *a posteriori*, of sense and reason, would achieve a favourable outcome in health and ensure medicine's status both as an *ars* and as a *scientia*. The elevated tone of his epigram may have surprised his readers; it is a poem of compact allusion and wonder. Johnston solemnly trumpets the import of the event at the opening of these two central couplets with a heavily weighted series of spondees; only one dactyl relieves the sense of solemnity. An important message is being conveyed.

The status of the ancient knowledge in the context of which the tongue would reason – a traditional ingredient of the dissection, and itself a product of the balance of sense and reason – had faced a number of challenges in the sixteenth century. The medical humanists, starting with the work of Niccolò Leonicensio of Ferrara, had made a philological attack upon the flawed manuscripts and corrupt Arabic commentaries; in their turn, the Paracelsians had dismissed the humoral theory of disease in favour of an alliance between God's intervention in human life and the influence of natural factors as balancing remedies; and discussion of the praeternatural had disturbed the notion of the universal principle. In response to these, the medical humanist writers worked to restore Galen to a position of dominance.⁹⁴ Developments in empirical

⁹³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, 7-10. Geddes erroneously prints the second *Natura* thus.

⁹⁴ Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY, 1973), p. 136. Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, p. 4. Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', p. 340. The sixteenth century is widely regarded as 'the golden age of Galenism'.

anatomy had also issued a challenge to ancient reasoning. Was anatomy to be demonstrative and confirmatory of ancient authority, or was it to be critical and progressive in uncovering and correcting errors? What was to be the balance of the senses themselves – should sight and hearing be accompanied by an equally valuable process of touch? The records of the Ultramontane *natio* of late sixteenth-century Padua repeatedly register the desire of the Paduan student body that empirical practice should be pursued as an accompaniment to the study of ancient wisdom.⁹⁵

Johnston's poem, in pointing to a combination of 'sollers dextra' and 'lingua comes', does not do so strictly in accordance with the rubrics for anatomy set out in the university statutes.⁹⁶ Responsibility for arranging the event lay with the *Rector* of the university, the two student *consilarii* of the Ultramontane *natio*, and two student *massarii*, elected by their peers. The *massarii* arranged for the room, the surgical instruments, the cadavers, and animal specimens. Three teachers were involved in the event: the *lector*, a junior Extraordinary professor of medicine, sat above the proceedings, and read the relevant passages from the prescribed anatomical textbook of Mondino de'Luzzi (d. 1326); the *ostensor*, a more senior Ordinary professor, would then explain the passage and indicate the structure of those parts of the body being dissected; the *sector*, a lecturer in surgery or some other suitably skilled surgeon, carried out the dissection.⁹⁷ The much discussed *Fasciulo* anatomy scene from the frontispiece of the anatomy text of Mondino can, with caution, be interpreted in the light of these statutes.⁹⁸ Dissections were thus intended to reinforce learning.

In practice, even if the statutes of 1545 continued to describe the traditional involvement of the three physicians, changes had occurred whose outcome was the separation of the contribution of the *lector* into a lecture series given by a senior professor. In return the junior professor substituted in the demonstrative role of the *ostensor*, and the way was thus open for the *sector* to assume a more important role.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*. In 1590, as in other years, the student body was concerned that the public anatomy might not take place.

⁹⁶ *Statuta almae universitatis d. artistarum et medicorum patavini gymnasii*, (Padua, 1545), p. 36. Maurizio Rippa Bonati, 'Le tradizioni relative al teatro anatomico dell'Università di Padova con particolare riguardo al progetto attribuito a fra' Paolo Sarpi', *Acta Medicae Historicae Patavina*, 35-36 (1988-90), 145-68.

⁹⁷ Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', pp. 353-54.

⁹⁸ Jerome J. Bylebyl, 'Interpreting the *Fasciulo* Anatomy Scene', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 45/3 (1990), 285-316. There is an emphasis upon a spatial detachment in the two aspects of the anatomy. Bylebyl (at p. 312) points to a reference in the Statutes to the declamation from the ancient text being made 'in a high place' ('*eminenti loco*').

⁹⁹ Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', pp. 356-57.

The increased emphasis on sense data permitting the correction of the works of the ancients accorded fully with the medical humanists' work. It is less clear, however, to what extent anatomical training by the end of the sixteenth century had become primarily a process of viewing the dissection of a cadaver.¹⁰⁰

In his *Commentary* on the central surgical text by Mondino, Berengario da Carpi, *Professor Ordinarius* of Surgery at Bologna from 1502 until 1526, certainly had aimed to elevate the status of dissection.¹⁰¹ Around 1512-13, he was seconded by Pope Leo X to attend one of the latter's ailing relations in Florence. In the University records there is a revealing marginal note beside this event which indicates that surgery 'non est multum honorabilis' and that it was more popular with students from north of the Alps than among Italian students.¹⁰² Berengario, himself the son of a barber surgeon, likened the image of the anatomist to that of the craftsman – an occupation 'secundum manulem operationem'. He proposed that when authorities were in conflict the use of dissection and observation ('ad sensum') should be the *determinatio* (a scholastic term from disputation, staking his place in the scholastic community).¹⁰³ Medical knowledge required the secure foundation of the work of the ancients; thereafter, he argued, it might be necessary to use sense experience to settle disagreements. There were no medieval commentaries exclusively upon the process of dissection, yet Berengario locates his writing in the scholastic commentary tradition.¹⁰⁴ While raising the status of dissection, however, he at the same time insisted upon anatomy being linked to ancient knowledge, and surrounded it with a philosophical framework; in his opening he considers the role of anatomy in contributing to a medical *scientia*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Loris Premuda and Gaetano Ottaviani, *Storia dell'Iconografia Anatomica* (Milan, 1957), pp. 42-43. Premuda, nevertheless, refers to the change as a shift from the older scholastic book-anatomy towards the triumph of empirical surgical anatomy.

¹⁰¹ Roger K. French, 'Berengario da Carpi and the Use of Commentary in Anatomical Teaching', in Wear, French, and Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 42-74. Jacopo Berengario Da Carpi, *Commentaria cum amplissimis additionibus super Anatomia Mundini* (Bologna, 1521).

¹⁰² French, 'Berengario da Carpi', pp. 47-48.

¹⁰³ In contrast, Gabrielle De Zerbi, a Bolognese anatomist and contemporary of Berengario, used 'rationabiliter' as his means of resolution in such cases. Gabrielle De Zerbi, *Liber Anathomie corporis Humani et singulorum Membrorum illius* (Venice, 1502), 22v.

¹⁰⁴ Medieval medical commentaries, if they touched upon anatomical procedures at all, had focused mainly upon the *Articella* or upon the *Canon* of Avicenna with the aim of updating knowledge, synthesising ideas, or filling gaps.

¹⁰⁵ French, 'Berengario da Carpi', pp. 48-49. French indicates the difficulty of putting Berengario into any category – anatomist, scholastic, Hellenist.

A famed successor of Berengario, Andreas Vesalius, also adjusted the balance of sense and reason in anatomy. Appointed lecturer in surgery in Padua in 1537, his success and renown did much to upgrade the status of the anatomical event, and the status of the *sector*. His *Tabulae anatomicae sex* of 1538 and especially the *fabrica* of 1543 confirmed the growing importance of the practice of dissection.¹⁰⁶ He arrived in Padua preceded by his reputation for surgery, established during his time at Paris, and seems to have been given sole responsibility both for the public anatomy and for the lecture course, rather than leaving the latter to a senior professor of medicine. Thus, with Vesalius as a professor of medicine employed as a surgeon, and also responsible for the annual anatomy, practical and theoretical, it would seem that Padua now had a professor of anatomy. Vesalius's reappointment in 1541 explicitly records this role as surgeon and anatomist.¹⁰⁷

Like Berengario, Vesalius considered the physical skill of surgery, and a Galenic close observation of the result, as invaluable for medical knowledge. The public anatomy of Vesalius at Bologna in 1540 – of human and animal cadavers, and the vivisection of a dog – was recorded by Baldasar Heseler, a transalpine student from Silesia, and it confirms this growing emphasis on dissection. Heseler's experience and record, a remarkable contrast to that of Johnston, is mirrored in the frontispiece of Vesalius's *fabrica*. The students stand close to the anatomist, see his work, hear his explanations, and even participate by touching the specimens. Heseler: 'I saw how the heart of the dog bounded upwards; and when it no longer moved the dog instantly died. Those mad Italian students pulled the dog back and forth so that nobody could truly feel those two movements.' In reply to the students' request for his judgment on these movements, Vesalius replied: 'I do not want to give my opinion, you yourselves should feel with your own hands, and trust them'.¹⁰⁸ Vesalius thus introduced into the public anatomy a radical element of participation, in both

¹⁰⁶ Andreas Vesalius, *Andrae Vesalii ... de humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basle, 1543).

¹⁰⁷ Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', pp. 359-61. The fragility of this new arrangement is clear in the return to the previous triple arrangement during Vesalius's absence. Bylebyl proposes the appointment of Gabriele Falloppio in 1551 as lecturer in surgery, with responsibility for anatomy from 1552, as the moment of the formal creation of a professor of anatomy. Even in 1626, however, there was a brief return to the practice of divided responsibility.

¹⁰⁸ Baldasar Heseler, *Andreas Vesalius' First Public Anatomy at Bologna, 1540: an Eyewitness Report*, ed. Ruben Eriksson (Uppsala, 1959), pp. 290-93. Also noted in Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: the Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 114-15; Cynthia Klestinec, 'A History of Anatomy Theaters in Sixteenth-Century Padua', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 59/3 (2004), 375-412, at pp. 375-76.

sight and touch, which had previously been the hallmark of instruction at private anatomies.¹⁰⁹

Like Berengario, however, it is clear that Vesalius was not committed to an anatomical path which would divorce anatomy from the ancients, rather he aimed to correct.¹¹⁰ He insists that neither surgery nor a humoral emphasis alone is adequate for a full understanding of disease. He criticises the shortcomings and errors of Galen, and yet also places confidence in Galen's work as the authority who provided most detail about, and a structure for, anatomy. Galen, like Hippocrates before him, had emphasised the importance of observation of each case, placing this emphasis within the wider structure of the Hippocratic principle of the balance of bodily humours.¹¹¹ Vesalius clearly did not seek to lose touch either with the role played by the ancient authorities, particularly Galen, nor with the pedagogical value of the traditional, disputatious approach to learning.

Sixteenth-century anatomy in fact remained 'largely a book anatomy', and not primarily a practical matter.¹¹² Despite the work of Vesalius, the difficulties of acquiring cadavers and overcoming other practical difficulties, such as the reluctance of one of Padua's primary anatomists in the late sixteenth century to undertake anatomy, described in the records of the Ultramontane *natio*, reinforce the idea that anatomy could take place without a corpse.¹¹³ The records of the early seventeenth-century Paduan University examinations also suggest that an approach involving the classical texts remained the dominant framework within which students and professors worked and thought.

b) The Philosophical Challenge to Paduan Anatomy

Johnston's poem indicates that the elements of the traditional, and much argued over, dual approach – sense and reason – are both present, but he is describing a procedure in which the emphasis has radically changed. In 1565 Geronimo Fabrici

¹⁰⁹ The core distinction between the public anatomy of the university, a celebratory day, and the private dissections, was that the latter were undertaken to demonstrate an individual anatomical point, and were thus more useful and reliable in their revelation of the structure of the body.

¹¹⁰ Vesalius, *fabrica*, Praef. 3-3v.

¹¹¹ Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Vesalius and the Reading of Galen's Teleology', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50/1 (1997), 1-37, at pp. 2-3. Siraisi brings out the ambivalence in Vesalius's *fabrica* towards Galen's writing, and particularly towards *On the usefulness of the parts*.

¹¹² Vivian Nutton, 'Wittenberg Anatomy', in Ole P. Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Medicine and the Reformation* (London, 1993), pp. 11-32, at p. 15.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

ab Acquapendente was appointed to be lecturer in surgery and responsible for the annual anatomy, advancing in status in 1584 above the natural philosophers to the new anatomical post of Ordinary professor until his death in 1619, and admitted to the college of physicians and philosophers – the first surgeon and anatomist to be so.¹¹⁴ In 1610 he was appointed Supraordinary professor, the most senior professor in the University. Although Johnston witnessed the skill of Casserio, pupil of Fabrici, the anatomy was still marked by the approach of Fabrici.¹¹⁵ Casserio employed Fabrici's anatomical procedure in the theatre, placing emphasis upon the philosophical context into which the sense data was situated, and upon the atmosphere in which it was gathered. His published writing similarly resembles the pattern set by Fabrici.¹¹⁶ There was a degree of competitiveness between the two anatomists for status and money within the university.¹¹⁷

Johnston emphasises that the outcome of Casserio's anatomy was the learning by nature of her own laws. The anatomy produced an awareness by the audience, not of detailed anatomical structure, but of universal natural laws:

... natura loquentem
Ausculat, leges discit et ipsa suas.¹¹⁸

This reference to natural laws is a philosophical, and not a strictly anatomical moment. Natural philosophy in Padua had traditionally been viewed as propaedeutic to medicine, and students moved on from the discrete study of natural philosophy to develop their medical skills and knowledge. The medical professors at Padua were paid substantially more than even the most senior professor of philosophy. Within the discipline of medicine itself, teachers of practice were less well rewarded than the top

¹¹⁴ Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, p. 302. Jardine points out that in a society obsessed with status, where professors taught the same topics *in concurrentia*, Fabrici's superiority to the philosophers was not publicly reflected on the *Rotuli* before 1597. Nicholas Jardine, 'Keeping Order in the School of Padua: Jacopo Zabarella and Francesco Piccolomini on the Offices of Philosophy', in Eckhard Kessler, Charlotte Methuen, and Daniel A. Di Liscia (eds.), *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 183-210, at pp. 189-91. Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', pp. 365-67.

¹¹⁵ *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, 1595. Fabrici's reputation was foremost. Students travelled great distances because of his renown: 'multos quoque sui nominis celebritate longinquis etiam peregrinationibus huc advolasse'. It was Fabrici whom George Sibbald hoped to see when he arrived from Montpelier.

¹¹⁶ Riva *et al.*, 'Casseri'us', p. 169. Riva details the similarity and rivalry in their publications. Fabrici's *De visione voce auditu* and Casserio's *De vocis auditusque organis Historia anatomica* both emerged from the printing presses in 1600 (the former in Venice, and the latter in Casserio's home town of Ferrara), and both emphasise in their work the philosophical structure of 'Historia, action and use', producing an Aristotelian understanding of 'cause'.

¹¹⁷ Grendler, *Universities*, pp. 492-9. Grendler develops this thesis of competition.

¹¹⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, 9-10.

theoretical physicians who combined medical skill with a consideration of the philosophical procedures which produced *scientia*. Both Fabrici and Casserio, although anatomists and thus associated with surgery, also acted as medical theoreticians.

The superiority of the physicians over the natural philosophers in Padua faced a challenge in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in part stimulated by the advance of anatomy itself. Jacopo Zabarella (1533-89) (appointed as Professor of Logic in 1564, and in 1577 as Extraordinary Professor of Natural Philosophy) and his successor Cremonini (1550-1631), both contemporaries of Fabrici, maintained that their teaching was intrinsically valuable in its own right.¹¹⁹ In *De rebus naturalibus*, published posthumously in 1590, Zabarella defended forcefully the hierarchical superiority of natural philosophy over medicine, arguing that the latter was entirely a productive *ars* concerned with the contingent world and pursued for the outcome of health.¹²⁰ Natural philosophy, in contrast, was a *scientia* concerned with the eternal world of nature – knowledge pursued for its own sake, and the proper goal of man. A *scientia* would generate certain knowledge but the medical *ars* could lead only to opinion. The boundary between knowledge and the use of knowledge, argued Zabarella, was clear in the adage *ubi desinit philosophus, ibi incipit medicus*. The ability of medicine to cure must be based upon philosophical understanding of man's place in the natural world through physiology, not upon anatomical observation.¹²¹ Similarly, in his commentary *De anima* (1605), Zabarella claimed the study of the natural world, and thus of the human body, to be entirely the province of the natural philosopher, not the physician; the body should be studied as part of philosophy, a preparation for the students' medical study, where they might then learn 'a few more

¹¹⁹ Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', p. 338. Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, pp. 306-09. Tomasini's *History* indicates that Girolamo Bagolino may have been the last professor to move from philosophy into medicine. Nancy G. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and his Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, 1981), p. 150. Siraisi argues that the distinction of philosophy and medicine appeared in the fourteenth century, and was sharper by the sixteenth.

¹²⁰ Jacopo Zabarella, *Iacobi Zabarellae Patauini, De rebus naturalibus libri xxx.: Quibus quaestiones, quae ab Aristotelis interpretibus hodie tractari solent, accuratè discutuntur. ... Cum triplici indice, vno librorum, altero capitum omnium librorum, tertio rerum omnium notatu dignarum, quae toto volumine continentur*. (Venice, 1590).

¹²¹ Heikki Mikkeli, *An Aristotelian Response to Renaissance Humanism: Jacopo Zabarella on the Nature of Arts and Sciences* (Helsinki, 1992), pp. 189-90. The acute hierarchical challenge led Zabarella into conflict with the fellow philosopher Piccolomini, over the approaches to discovery of knowledge and to teaching in the different disciplines, and the status associated with those approaches. Jardine, 'Keeping Order', pp. 206-07.

facts'.¹²² Zabarella's insistence was itself a response in part to Fabrici's and Casserio's emphasis upon the importance of anatomy in its philosophical aspects.¹²³

Cremonini, Zabarella's successor, and leading philosopher in the University in the early seventeenth century, reasserted this philosophical challenge to the physicians on their claim to be involved in pursuit of *scientia*.¹²⁴ His *Apologia*, a transcription of lectures from the 1620s supporting Aristotle's zoological works against the views of Galen and the physicians, opens with a withering criticism of the claims of anatomy to reach truth, and propounds the view that 'It is for the fool to collect trivia, not for the philosophical genius'.¹²⁵ Truth was to be sought not in anatomical observation, but in the writings of Aristotle on natural philosophy. The Ultramontane *natio* had also contributed to this argument: in support of Casserio to succeed Fabrici in 1613, they had trumpeted the Hippocratic maxim 'Anatomy, the foundation of all of medicine'.¹²⁶ In a few poetic lines in 1616 Johnston also contributed to this contest.

Fabrici and Zabarella had been contemporaries in the Arts University of Padua, and they were appointed to Paduan professorships almost within twelve months of each other; their approach to the building of *scientia*, however, was quite different. John McCaskey has teased out a dichotomy in the path to knowledge which emerges from Aristotle's writing.¹²⁷ In early seventeenth-century Padua, the accepted version of the philosophical procedure needed to establish knowledge was Zabarella's *regressus demonstrativus*, involving two Aristotelian syllogisms ('demonstration of the reasoned fact' and 'demonstration of the fact') from the *Posterior Analytics*

¹²² Jacopo Zabarella, *Commentarii Iac. Zabarellae ... in III. Aristot. libros De anima Nunc demum à mendis quamplyrimis typographicis quae priore editione irrepserant, summo labore purgati, & in Germania commodioribus & distinctioribus typis in studiosorum vtilitatem editi* (Frankfurt, 1606). Noted in Vivian Nutton, 'The Anatomy of the Soul in Early Renaissance Medicine', in Gordon R. Dunstan (ed.) *The Human embryo: Aristotle and the Arabic and European traditions* (Exeter, 1990), pp. 136-57, at pp. 143-45.

¹²³ The developing distinctions between observation of the body and the philosophical steps which would thereafter lead to *scientia* – developments in which Zabarella and Fabrici would both play a part – is surveyed in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge, MA, 2005), pp. 105-17.

¹²⁴ Schmitt, 'Aristotle among the Physicians', pp. 4-5, 7.

¹²⁵ 'Coligere enim festucas est delirantis, non philosophantis ingenii': Cesare Cremonini, *Apologia dictorum Aristotelis de origine et principatu membrorum adversus Galenum* (Venice, 1627), p. 406; Bylebyl, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', pp. 363-64. Fabrici, in his introduction to his treatises 'On speech and its instruments' and 'On the vocal communication of brutes', expressly rejects the charge that he is indulging merely in the study of grammatical and childish matters. Instead, he is involved in uncovering 'the natural causes of all things'. Andrew Cunningham, 'Fabricius and the "Aristotle Project" in Anatomical Teaching and Research at Padua', in Wear, French, and Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 195-222, at p. 205.

¹²⁶ Sterzi, 'Giulio Casserio', p. 155.

¹²⁷ John P. McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis: The Rediscovery of Ancient Induction in Early Modern England' (unpublished Stanford University Ph.D. thesis, 2006).

1.13.¹²⁸ A demonstrative inference, based upon Aristotelian rules of syllogistic logic, would guarantee the connection between cause and effect, and build universals upon the observation of singulars.¹²⁹ Interpretation of other Aristotelian *loci*, however, led to deviating views of the Aristotelian path to knowledge, and attempts had been made to reconcile those differences. Averroës had suggested that Aristotle's description of those two syllogisms in *Physics* 1.1 dealt instead with progression from the particular to the universal – a view found also in D'Abano's *The conciliator*.¹³⁰ Confusion increased with Galen's identification of Aristotle's two syllogisms with the analytic and synthetic procedures with which he begins his *Ars Medica*. Combining these led to sceptical suggestions of Aristotelian inconsistency by commentators such as Nifo.¹³¹

Furthermore, in Zabarella's interpretation of Aristotle, induction played only a possible, even peripheral, role in his deductive process. Zabarella's 'demonstrative induction' aimed to reconcile two seemingly conflicting passages in Aristotle's writing: *Prior Analytics* 2.23 (that the universal can be induced from particulars only if all particulars have been observed) and *Posterior Analytics* 2.19 (which states no such restriction).¹³² He argued that secure knowledge required the dual approach of the two Aristotelian syllogisms: the *methodus resolutio* (or *demonstratio quod*: demonstration of the fact) which infers causes from effects, and also the *methodus compositio* (or *demonstratio propter quid*: demonstration of the reasoned fact) which infers effects from causes – both of which were deductive.¹³³ Induction, Zabarella spells out in his commentary on Book 2 of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, is an alternative, weaker form of *methodus resolutivo*. The stronger form is *demonstratio ab effectu* (or *a signo*) and it is those elements which are combined with the *methodus compositivo* to form the *regressus* to produce universal knowledge. Some things can

¹²⁸ Nicholas Jardine, 'Problems of Knowledge and Action: Epistemology of the Sciences', in B. Charles Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 685-711, at pp. 686-7. McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis', p. 164.

¹²⁹ Mikkeli, *Zabarella on the Nature of Arts and Sciences*, p. 184.

¹³⁰ Jardine, 'Epistemology of the Sciences', pp. 688, 704.

¹³¹ Agostino Nifo, *Aristotelis Stagiritae Topica inuentio in octo secta libros* (Paris, 1540). Nifo, in this final version of his commentary, suggested a circularity in Aristotelian *regressus*.

¹³² McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis', p. 154. McCaskey traces (at pp. 94-137) the descent of Zabarella's approach, through the neo-Platonic school of Alexandria, to its place in the Scholastic world. At the centre of this view, he argues, was a misreading of *Prior Analytics*, 2.23.

¹³³ Giacomo Zabarella, *Opera logica* (Cologne, 1597), 265f-67d. His view in *De methodis* 3.19 emerges from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* 2.19 100a3-9, where sense perception leads to knowledge of universals through memory and a reliance upon divine interference in the active intellect. Jardine, 'Epistemology of the Sciences', p. 691. Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature*, pp. 167-70.

be known inductively, he admits: those which require no cognitive action other than perception, are known *per se*, and require only declaration.¹³⁴ The role of induction in Zabarella's system is thus a deductive one – to provide the major premise in the deductive process of both his *methodus compositio*, and his *methodus resolutivo*.¹³⁵ He followed medieval scholastic tradition in subsuming 'demonstrative induction' into the deductive process.¹³⁶

c) *Scientia* in the Anatomy Theatre

Johnston's central claim for the anatomy he witnessed also points to *scientia*, the emergence of a universal law, but his poem suggests that its emergence was based upon a different procedure. The anatomical dissections of Fabrici challenged the natural philosophers' monopoly of *scientia* in all matters of nature. The consistent line detectable in his teaching and research suggests that his pursuit of anatomy reflected an understanding of Aristotle, not primarily as a biologist or a classifier of nature, but instead as a philosopher.¹³⁷ In the dedication of his *De voce* to Leonardus Donatus, *Procurator* of St Mark, in 1600 he attributes to Galen his inspiration in method. Galen's *De usu partium* explained the features of an organ, and then aimed to develop an understanding of its principles of action and use, in order to uncover its nature.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, it was the human body which had been at the centre of Galen's work. Fabrici went beyond this focus, and pursued a teleological approach within the wider context of the whole of nature, thus answering a causal question: what made a particular organ the organ it was, both within a human body and also in the animal kingdom. For Aristotle, to have knowledge of something was to understand its material, formal, efficient and final causes.¹³⁹ Fabrici pursued the causality of organs,

¹³⁴ McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis', pp. 158-70. Mikkeli, 'Jacopo Zabarella', p. 186. Jardine, 'Epistemology of the Sciences', pp. 690-91.

¹³⁵ McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis', pp. 175-76.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 147-78. McCaskey traces confusions in modern interpretations of Zabarella back to Cassirer, Randall and Gilbert, and the debate which they initiated about the link between Zabarella and the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century. He argues (at pp. 157, 163) that Zabarella's method was 'retrograde' and open to the criticisms of circularity which had previously been raised by Lorenzo Valla.

¹³⁷ Cunningham, 'Fabricius and the "Aristotle Project"', pp. 195-98. Such was the extent of Fabrici's wholesale commitment to the writings of Aristotle, that Andrew Cunningham has argued that his writings and teaching reveal that he was pursuing an 'Aristotle project', which aimed 'to recreate the research programme of Aristotle in anatomy'.

¹³⁸ Hieronymus Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *De visione, voce, auditu* (Venice, 1600).

¹³⁹ Hieronymus Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *The Embryological Treatises of Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente: The formation of the egg and of the chick, De formatione ovi et pulli, [and] The formed fetus, De formato foetu*, ed. Howard B. Adelman (2 vols., Ithaca, NY, 1967), i, 76. Adelman in his

through an analysis of Aristotle's topics of motion, sense, respiration, digestion and generation, placing his analysis within the notion of Aristotle's vegetative and organic soul.¹⁴⁰ He challenged the claim of the natural philosophers to be the sole foundation of medicine's knowledge; anatomy could provide that. The novelty of his approach is seen in the *Acta* of the *natio* which make frequent reference to his disorientating order of teaching, and to his refusal to follow customary dissection procedures – the structured inspection of trunk, thorax, head, and then extremities.¹⁴¹ An Aristotelian influence can also be detected in the structure of his published writing. Although published in parts, it was intended as a unit, a *Theatrum totius animalium fabrica*, a 'showing' of the whole fabric of the animal kingdom, and a memorial of his life's research.¹⁴² And the building with which that work is associated was a physical *theatrum*.

Fabrici's challenge to Zabarella and Cremonini approached knowledge from a Socratic inductive basis, as Aristotle had done in the *Topics*.¹⁴³ Unlike the *Analytics*, the inductive path of the *Topics* involved an emphasis upon similarities and differences in order to establish the formal cause of stuff. Cicero (who had coined the neologism '*inductio*'), Quintilian and Galen had all recognised this Socratic path to the essence of things.¹⁴⁴ Fabrici began with observations, based upon the Aristotelian categories, to build a *historia* of a part of the body. Then he turned to the action or function of the parts, and their use, to build an understanding of its *differentiae* and *causae*, comparing and contrasting a number of different animals, distinguishing which features were essential.¹⁴⁵ In effect this involved an appreciation of what made something what it was – a heart, a wing, a man.¹⁴⁶ The outcome of the instances did

introduction links Fabrici's work to Aristotle's dictum that 'wisdom is knowledge about certain principles and causes'.

¹⁴⁰ Cynthia Klestinec, 'Civility, Comportment, and the Anatomy Theater: Girolamo Fabrici and his Medical Students in Renaissance Padua', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60/2 (2007), 434-63, at p. 436.

¹⁴¹ *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, 1590. Also noted in Cunningham, 'Fabricius and the "Aristotle Project"', pp. 199-200.

¹⁴² Hieronymus Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *De venarum ostiis* (Padua, 1603). Cunningham, *Anatomical Renaissance*, p. 174. Fabrici reveals this cumulative idea in the Dedication, and Cunningham compares his publications with Aristotle's works.

¹⁴³ McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis', pp. 20-28. The *Topics*, known to the scholastic world only through its interpretation by Boethius, returned to use only in the sixteenth century.

¹⁴⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione*; *De optimo genere oratorum*; *Topica* (Cambridge, MA, 1949), 1.35 (*De inventione*), and 4 (*Topica*); Quintilian, *The institutio oratoria of Quintilian* (4 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1920), 5.11.38; Galen, *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, ed. Karl G. Kühn (20 vols., Leipzig, 1821), 18b.909.4. McCaskey, 'Regula Socratis', pp. 72-79.

¹⁴⁵ Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *De visione, voce, auditu*. At the opening of *De visione* Fabrici outlines his procedure.

¹⁴⁶ The most quoted *locus* for this approach by Aristotle is *Topics* 1.14, 105b25-29.

not act as syllogistic proof, but was an exhibition of the essential nature of things. Thereafter Fabrici could infer effects from these universal principles, via the deductive method, and establish distinct knowledge. Fabrici also stated that an investigation based upon cause would be pedagogically more effective: an approach to learning which concentrated upon memorising the muscular structure, done through complex propositions and objections common to the traditional *quaestio* and *disputatio*, would be replaced by a more effective understanding of cause.¹⁴⁷

The 'causal' account could be developed to take account of variation through unusual existence, and Fabrici provides just such an account of the bat and the dogfish as part of his discussion of the role of the foetus and the egg in generation.¹⁴⁸ Also, when Fabrici encountered something new – the *ostioli*, or small doors in the veins, for example – his broader view of the teleological purpose of an organism led him to consider the reasons for their existence, and to explain why they existed in some veins but not in others, and not in the arteries. He writes that previous anatomists had not looked carefully at them, nor investigated their function.¹⁴⁹ The doors displayed themselves and the action of the veins would have been obvious if anatomists had employed careful observation. Aristotle enjoins the same careful observation for the discovery of *differentiae* in his discussion of Socratic induction in the *Topics*, offering an important *locus* for Fabrici's approach.¹⁵⁰ The path to universal truths of nature is thus not through propositional conclusions to be proved by Zabarella's two-fold deductive process. Universals just exhibit the meaning of the common features which link things, and separate them from other things, through a process of observation and contemplation. Fabrici's pedagogy progressed inductively from a grasp of bodily detail through sensory perception, to an understanding of *causae*, with confirming and contrasting examples from the animal kingdom – the student records relate the use of skeletons in his work, and Johnston's opening reference to animals may have been prompted by that. It is to this Socratic, inductive process which Johnston points in his poem; knowledge of the universal is achieved, but not through the syllogistic path of Zabarellan *regressus*.

¹⁴⁷ Hieronymus Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente... De motu locali animalium secundum totum* (Padua, 1618), p. 82; Cunningham, 'Fabricius and the "Aristotle Project"', p. 219. Jardine, 'Keeping Order', p. 187.

¹⁴⁸ Cunningham, 'Fabricius and the "Aristotle Project"', pp. 216-18.

¹⁴⁹ Hieronymus Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *De venarum ostiolis 1603 of Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente (1533?-1619)*, trans. Kenneth J. Franklin (Springfield, IL, 1933), pp. 70-72.

¹⁵⁰ Aristotle, *Topics*, ed. Forster E. S. (Cambridge, MA, 1960), 8.14 164a16.

It was, of course, not Fabrici but Casserio, whom Johnston observed. He had built his reputation in the realm of private dissections, which had taken on increasing importance as Fabrici's Aristotle 'project' seemed not to meet the examination needs of the students. In 1609, after lengthy complaints over many years by the German *natio* about Fabrici's unwillingness or inability to carry out adequate dissection, the post of anatomy and surgery was divided. Fabrici continued as *Professor Supraordinarius* in Anatomy and the post of surgery was awarded to Casserio. Before this, in 1604, Casserio had presented the public anatomy in his own house, during an illness of Fabrici. The latter was ill again during the winters of 1612-13 and 1614-15, and was also concentrating upon the challenge of the publication of his research;¹⁵¹ Casserio again performed the public anatomy in his own house.¹⁵² For the first and only time in 1616 Casserio performed the public anatomy in Fabrici's theatre, in Fabrici's manner; he then died on 8 March.¹⁵³ This three week dissection by Casserio, which had such an impact upon Johnston, was commemorated in a booklet produced by the student *natio*.

Traditional dissection procedures required that ancient reasoning would firstly be heard. When that had been understood, it would then be confirmed by dissection and observation. Johnston's poem, reflecting the anatomical techniques of Fabrici, and Casserio too, inverts this procedure in his description:

... sollers dextra retexit opus.
Lingua comes dextram sequitur ...¹⁵⁴

It is the accompanying tongue which here follows the skilled hand; surgical procedure seems to come before comment. The Latin of the poem is not without some doubt, and Geddes in his translation of 1895, preferred to emphasise 'comes', the accompanying tongue, rather than to point out that it followed the hand, 'sequitur'. The Latin, however, places the action before the commentary, and makes no suggestion that more than one person is involved. It may be that Johnston was trying to evoke a close association of the two procedures, and indeed Casserio was praised in

¹⁵¹ Giuseppe Favaro, 'Contributi alla Biografia di Girolamo Fabrici D'Acquapendente', *Monografie storiche sullo Studio di Padova, contributo del r. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti alla celebrazione del VII centenario della Università* (Padua, 1922), pp. 248-348, at pp. 276-77. Fabrici wrote a new will in November and December of 1615, and then within the space of a few weeks added a number of codicils.

¹⁵² Sterzi, 'Giulio Casserio', pp. 247-74; Riva *et al.*, 'Casseri', pp. 169-70.

¹⁵³ Riva *et al.*, 'Casseri', p. 274.

¹⁵⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, 8-9.

1604 for having ‘read and demonstrated ocularly’ the anatomy.¹⁵⁵ Casserio was clearly still in touch with Vesalian anatomical procedure, even if the purpose of the anatomy, after decades of Fabrici’s work, had changed.¹⁵⁶ Johnston does not actually make explicit the task in which the tongue is engaged; his poem would be read by an audience who would grasp this. He is clearer on the surgical procedure; corporeal details are ‘exhibited’ or ‘displayed’ by the anatomist – ‘exhibita’ in the title, and ‘retexit’ in the poem. His terms imply no messy dissection. Pro-section had already taken place in the medical preparation room. Thereafter, the dissection moved, through induction, to a causal understanding of an organ or a set of organs, and through that, of a law of nature. Fabrici, and now copied by Casserio, had reclaimed for anatomy the status of a *scientia*. Johnston had no doubts about the outcome of the event: nature learns her own laws. Such epistemological questions would have been very familiar to a professor of philosophy from Sedan, as would the import of the procedure which he witnessed.

iv) Civility: Disputation to Contemplation

Johnston then underlines the implication of this Socratic technique in the final lines of the poem. He offers advice to the audience, prescribing the behaviour which ought to apply for an anatomy, and the previous solemnity of his description of the event is dispelled by humour:

Haec ad Antenorei quisquis spectacula theatri
 Non stupet, ille oculis, auribus ille caret.
 Aut si forte oculos natura indulsit et aures,
 Abderitanae pectora plebis habet.¹⁵⁷

[Whoever does not wonder at the marvels of the Antenorean theatre, lacks eyes and ears.

Or if, perhaps, nature has endowed him with eyes and ears, then he has the soul of an Abderitean peasant.]

The audience should observe, and listen, and reason; and if they fail to use their eyes and ears, and reason, they are idiots. They will call down upon themselves the humour associated, in Aristotle’s analysis, with characters of the lower sort.¹⁵⁸ This reference

¹⁵⁵ Sterzi, ‘Giulio Casserio’, pp. 86-87. ‘... l’havere letta ed ocularmente mostrata ...’.

¹⁵⁶ Like Vesalius, Fabrici and had been given the right both to dissect and to explain. Jacopo Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini, J. F. studio atque opera collecti* (2 vols., 1757), ii, 388. Casserio adopted the same approach.

¹⁵⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, ll.11-14.

¹⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Aristotle Poetics*, eds. W. Hamilton Fyfe, Stephen Halliwell, Doreen Innes, W. Rhys Roberts, and Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 5.

to Abdera may be an echo of Martial,¹⁵⁹ but the widely-known tale of Hippocrates and Democritus is perhaps an even richer device through which Johnston is commenting upon the role of the sage in society.¹⁶⁰ His academic readership could thus be advised about their own behaviour. It is upon the citizens of Abdera that Johnston focuses, rather than Democritus or Hippocrates, also implying some comment, perhaps, upon the role of the citizens in Paduan/Venetian society and their famed civic values. The citizens of the *Respublica literaria* may also be in his sights, and he may already have had a growing investment with them, in his own mind. The behaviour of the Abderites reveals their misjudgment of Democritus, the famous citizen who lived on the edge of their society. Hippocrates suggests the context of a Socratic magical grove, where the unusual may occur, but only for those who are open to it.¹⁶¹ For Johnston, the anatomical theatre may have been just such a grove.

Besides using their eyes and ears, the audience must reason – *pectora* was the seat of the Aristotelian rational soul, in contrast to Galenic theory of reason situated in the brain. The citizens of Abdera were emotional, unappreciative, unseeing and unthinking in their judgment. ‘Madness’ is their interpretation of the strange actions of Democritus; Hippocrates, instead, sees wisdom.¹⁶² Democritus, responding in turn to Hippocrates’s criticism of his laughter, gives a recipe for successful living: progress in the good life, he says, comes when the limitations of the senses are recognised and reason is employed to establish knowledge and the right course of action. Johnston’s epigram recommends precisely this path to the Paduan audience.

Much of Johnston’s previous life – his teaching of philosophy, his fame as *praeses*, his Sedan poems to friends – had placed him in the world of the disputation and its scholastic formulae and structure. In that world, learning took place through distinctions, affirmations and negations.¹⁶³ In contrast, the learning which he experienced in Padua, and which was encouraged in the audience, came by way of

¹⁵⁹ Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.25.4. His readers would have recognised ‘Abderitanae pectora plebis habet’ as Martial’s criticism of the Christian martyrs.

¹⁶⁰ Johnston may have encountered the story, as a possible examination concern, in the original Aldine Hippocratic *Opera omnia* of 1526 or perhaps the Venetian Mercurialis edition of 1588.

¹⁶¹ Hippocrates, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, ed. Wesley D Smith (Leiden, 1990), p. 21. The introduction links the scene to Plato’s grove in *Phaedrus* 230.b.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 24. Democritus was carrying out anatomical research, seeking the gall bladder and bile, an excess of which was regarded as the cause of madness and other diseases. Hippocrates in turn had mused upon another excess – that of learning by a sage. Such an excess is not possible he concludes, because it would be an excess of virtue, and that can only be good.

¹⁶³ Grendler, *Universities*, pp. 152-57. Grendler offers a detailed explanation of the techniques and purposes of disputation.

careful observation of difference and similarity. More widely, in the context of humanist educational practice, this development became an institutionalised procedure, encouraging respect for authority.¹⁶⁴ Such an observation was a normative procedure; it had methodological standards which could be upheld in the anatomical theatre.¹⁶⁵ Previously, public dissections in both Bologna and Padua had taken place in a variety of temporary venues such as a student hall. The first permanent theatre was completed in 1584, but after a fire in 1588 it was dismantled in 1592;¹⁶⁶ the second, twice the size, replaced it in 1594.¹⁶⁷ In his theatre Fabrici could manipulate the thoughts of an audience kept at a distance by the wooden structure. He aimed to remove participation by observers, and his architectural marvel thus reflected a shift in anatomical technique away from dissection as a communal undertaking, as in the Vesalian disputatious involvement of audience members; it became instead a rhetorical exercise by the anatomist of the University. Such a move harmonised with the steady subsuming of academic power by the *Serenissima* through the *Riformatori*, and a consequent reduction in student autonomy in the second part of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁸ An anonymous transalpine student, who wrote to the university in 1590 before the construction of the second theatre, described the public anatomy event as ‘civil’, rebounding to ‘the honour, fame and benefit’ of the *natio* and University.¹⁶⁹ Johnston’s poem reflects the sense of the detachment at which Fabrici was aiming, as the audience contemplated the perfection of nature in an atmosphere of ‘civility’.

¹⁶⁴ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 124-25.

¹⁶⁵ McCaskey, ‘Regula Socratis’, p. 79. McCaskey notes that Galen in *De simplicium* emphasised the need for norms in the inductive procedures. Induction was more than a mere listing of examples, but a search for the cause of things, and he referred to the need to be ‘well-trained’ in methods. Galen had set out those methods in his (subsequently lost) *De demonstratione*.

¹⁶⁶ *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, 1588-89.

¹⁶⁷ The support of Venice for Fabrici and this theatre may in part be explained by his links to the élite. Links between Fabrici and Paolo Sarpi, for example, were forged around 1580 in their student days at Padua. In *De visione* Fabrici declares Sarpi to be a mathematician very skilled in optics. Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, *De visione, voce, auditu*, p. 93. The construction may also have been an attempt by the Venetian authorities to rebuild the status of Padua after an unsettled period. The new theatre was accompanied by a statement of the need to prevent the ‘maleficio de’scolari’. Grendler, *Universities*, pp. 480-83.

¹⁶⁸ François Dupuigrenet Desroussiller, ‘L’Università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento’, in Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (eds.), *Storia della Cultura veneta* (6 vols., Vicenza, 1980), vol. 3/2, pp. 640-47.

¹⁶⁹ *Epistolario della nazione artisti 1565-1647*, 476-77: *Epistolari Tedesci*, January-April 1590, 82-83. ‘... la publica Anatomia con nostro grandiss[imo] civile et non senza singular honor, fama, et augmentatione de tutto vostro illustriss[imo] Studio’. His main purpose in writing was to encourage the undertaking of the anatomy. Also noted in Klestinec, ‘Civility’, p. 434.

Tomasini, in his later history of the University, also stressed the civility and honour emanating from the event.¹⁷⁰ From him we learn one contributory aspect of the procedure. He describes the preparation chamber where pro-section of the cadavers took place. Thereafter the cadavers were transported into the theatre to be demonstrated before the audience. The public dissection, therefore, could avoid accidents of surgery taking place in the theatre, the effects of which resulted in its being impossible to carry out deeper anatomy. That preparation was undertaken by students, and during Fabrici's occupation of the role of public anatomist the student *massarii* were renamed *anatomisti*. The mess of surgery, as Tomasini wrote, would have seemed out of place in an arena where the anatomy was 'solemnly and festively' celebrated. Little if any cutting was necessary in the theatre. This preparatory step transformed the anatomy into the civil and philosophical event pictured in Johnston's writing. Although the theatre was designed to present a drama, the mess of practical anatomy was lacking from that drama; it was replaced by an atmosphere encouraging the civil behaviour much lauded in the late humanist environment of Europe.¹⁷¹

Fabrici's theatre also reduced student complaint. It provided the student body with a part to play in a public event of importance – alongside the senior academics, and the statesmen and politicians, and even the lute players, brought in to counter any sense of sadness among the audience.¹⁷² The public anatomy was now more likely to take place, and would afford the medical faculty an increased importance in the life of the University. Student relief was also strengthened by the increasing recourse of the University to the use of the private anatomies, providing the students with knowledge they needed for their examinations and their subsequent careers.¹⁷³ That relief helped them to be compliant in the conversion of the surgical anatomy into a philosophical event, and Johnston offered his wholehearted support.

The notion of civility is also clear in the students' involvement in the pro-section. The *Acta* of 1597 records that the *massarii*, now *anatomisti*, took to the task of pro-section in a manner which exhibited their awareness of the expectation of their

¹⁷⁰ Tomasini, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, p. xxxi.

¹⁷¹ Miller, *Peiresc's Europe*.

¹⁷² *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, 1597. Johnston's poem makes no reference to lute players, or to visiting dignitaries, and Casserio may have used a more restrained style, employing the philosophical approach but without the celebration.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1587-88. Private anatomies and other courses, balancing Fabrici's project, were important enough to be listed by the narrator of the *Acta* in that year. The need for private anatomies grew further as Fabrici began to exhibit signs of illness and an unwillingness to conduct the public anatomy.

‘civil’ behaviour. They behaved with *pudor*, a sense of propriety, an adolescent modesty, as well as a determination not to lose the favour of the most venerable Doctor. Cicero’s *De officiis* is often recorded as a gift by grateful and generous members to the library of the Ultramontane *natio*, at the end of their course. That too was a manual of appropriate behaviour, a guide to the honourable life. *Pudor* for Cicero implied a restraint which ought to guide behaviour, and especially by the young towards those of experience.¹⁷⁴ The students were clearly aware that the virtues should guide their behaviour. In the wake of Aristotle’s Rhetoric and the impetuosity of youth, a tradition of student manuals of behaviour grew up, providing the students with guidance.¹⁷⁵ There was, furthermore, a Paduan tradition of treatises on learning, encompassing not just the *ordo* of teaching but also ideas on civil order, including Cremonini’s *Tractatus de paedia* (1596). Several of the early seventeenth-century comportment manuals linked the docility of the student to the notion of wonder.¹⁷⁶ Aristotle had taken wonder as the first step to inductive knowledge, to be dispelled by an understanding of the deeper cause; Fabrici encouraged wonder as the first step to knowledge in the anatomy. That knowledge took the form of an understanding of Aristotelian ‘cause’, for Johnston and for those who attended, using their eyes, ears and reason.

Civility was required for Fabrici’s public anatomy, even for the pro-section. The wider society of the *natio*, of the university, and even of Padua and Venice, impressed upon its members the necessity of acting civilly. Disagreements could break out between professors, among the students, and between the students and the city. Johnston wrote in terms which would have been recognised and applauded by the anonymous student who had commented in his letter that the anatomy was ‘most civil’. All this emphasis fitted with the nature of the Venetian state and its civic

¹⁷⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, eds. Miriam T. Griffin and E. Margaret Atkins (Cambridge, 1991); Malcolm Schofield, ‘Republican Virtues’, in Ryan K. Balot (ed.) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought* (Malden, MA, 2009), pp. 199–213. *Pudor*, like *temperantia*, was one of the cardinal virtues.

¹⁷⁵ Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, ed. Freese, J. H. (Cambridge, MA, 1926), II.12.

¹⁷⁶ Klestinec, ‘Civility’, pp. 451–57. Klestinec discusses the manuals of comportment, drawing attention to the often opposing stance of ‘disputation’ and ‘ceremony’. She draws attention to the *Syntagma Anatomicum* of Johann Veslingus (1647). In his dedication to the reader Veslingus describes the history of anatomy as the history of contemplation. The anatomy theatre was a place to ‘behold’ rather than to ‘dispute’ the causes of anatomy.

virtues.¹⁷⁷ The idea of civility, an idea with a long classical heritage, and particularly in the reception of Cicero, features in many of Johnston's poems. *Virtus*, an important component of civility, is at the centre of his own motto. The civility of the Paduan anatomy theatre encouraged restraint and moderation, and Johnston applauded. It was partly the sundering of this civility in Johnston's life in Sedan which would encourage him to leave for London. There, the court atmosphere of intrigue, to which he was unaccustomed, made him seek civility even farther afield, and he retreated to Aberdeen and his home for the final seventeen years of his life.

De eadem

i. The Souls

Johnston's second poem is more concise, witty, and perhaps cynical. Only six lines long, it resembles the increasingly familiar style of the pithy epigram of the seventeenth century, and the contrast with the first poem suggests that Johnston may be offering a later, retrospective comment upon his Paduan moment.¹⁷⁸ Once again the poem inhabits both the classical world and that of contemporary Padua. It opens with a sonorous Virgilian salutation to the souls of the cadavers – those souls who, he writes, are watching from above ('caelo'):

Felices animae, quarum, plaudente theatro,
Secta Placentinus corpora monstrat eques.¹⁷⁹
[Oh you blessed spirits, whose dissected bodies the Knight of Piacenza lays
open to the applauding theatre.]

Felices animae resonates as a reference to the souls hailed by Aeneas on his visit to Hades and would certainly have been recognised as such by Johnston's audience.¹⁸⁰ The classical world is further developed by the evocative picture of an applauding arena, and the temptation is therefore to situate these shades in a classical context;

¹⁷⁷ Jardine, 'Keeping Order', pp. 191-207. Jardine has brought out the very public conflict between the views of Padua's top philosophers in the 1580s, Zabarella and Piccolomini, about the superiority of the contemplative or the active political life in the civil, and civic state of Venice.

¹⁷⁸ Johannes Jansen, 'The Microcosmos of the Baroque Epigram: John Owen and Julien Waudré', in Susanna De Beer, Karl A. E. Enenkel, and David Rijser (eds.), *The Neo-Latin Epigram: a Learned and Witty Genre* (Leuven, 2009), at pp. 276-96. The poem may possibly betray the influence of John Owen – 'the Baroque epigram at its culmination' – whose epigrams, concise and witty, were published in their entirety in Leipzig in 1620 and London in 1622, but with partial printings in 1606 and thereafter.

¹⁷⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, ll. 15-20.

¹⁸⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, eds. G. P. Goold and H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA, 1999), VI.669.

perhaps they are on their way to Hades, and awaiting the arrival of Charon. They are invited by the poet to pause and interfere again in the mortal world.

Johnston later used this trope of interfering classical shades in his *Eglisheim* satire, with the emergence of Onopordus from Hades into Edinburgh, through the Nor' Loch. Onopordus, the shade, remains very Hades-bound and then earth-bound, however. Here, however, the souls are 'above', looking down.¹⁸¹ The souls have not been carried off at death – neither by angels into Heaven nor by devils into Hell. The trope of these 'souls above' steers our thoughts away from the ancient world. We might speculate that they inhabit a religious world of Johnston's imagining, and are being offered to Johnston's learned audience as the object of some theological musing. Roman and Protestant confessions maintained a dualistic pneumatology – the soul was quite distinct from the body, the immaterial from the material. Rome's teaching emphasised the release of souls from the body through the sacrament of extreme unction for their journey to Heaven, with the complication of a delay in Purgatory, or to Hell. Protestant theory, in turn, dispensed with this complex theology for the polarity of Heaven and Hell; one interpretation of Calvin maintained that souls were doubly predestined, and departed immediately upon death. Protestant theory had also tried to dispense with interfering angels and demons, but evidence in the seventeenth century suggests there was still more than a trace of this, and Johnston's reference may have provoked some wry smiles in his readers.¹⁸²

This religious theme is an unusual focus for Johnston, and any real discussion of death, or of Heaven and Hell, is lacking from the poem. He may not therefore have intended to give the lines a primarily religious complexion. Since his time in Heidelberg, Johnston's academic career and his writing had reinforced his displacement of theology by philosophy. He did compose sacred poetry in Scotland, but not until much later; almost without exception, the poems which stem from his Sedan period are thoroughly secular. The souls of the epigram might better be given a medical or a natural philosophical context.

The Aristotelian thought world of Padua Medical University had attached the study of the soul to natural philosophy; anatomy was 'an inquiry into the body as an

¹⁸¹ The elevation of classical souls was generally associated with their translation to a higher sphere, for example with Livy's relation of the raising of Romulus, or Suetonius's association of Caesar's death with the appearance of a comet.

¹⁸² Peter Marshall, 'Angels around the Death Bed', in Alexandra Walsham and Peter Marshall (eds.), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 83-103, at p. 103.

extension of the soul'.¹⁸³ All theories of the soul involved philosophical questions surrounding notions of immortality and incorporeality, and teleological problems involving purpose and cause. The Reformation, and the philological work of the humanists in recovering and purifying the ancient sources, coupled with the growing appreciation of alternative religions, had disturbed the certainty of the dualist religious position. In the Lateran decree of 1513, the Roman Church, motivated partly by a Neoplatonic syncretism, had declared the immortality of the immaterial soul to be rationally provable in line with Thomist writings. Strands of the philosophical world remained sceptical, however, and an autonomous and deviating natural philosophical position was bolstered by the writings of Pietro Pomponazzi (particularly his *De immortalitate animae* of 1516), a position which was defended and developed throughout the sixteenth century.

Johnston's own philosophical conception of the soul is not easy to extract from the few brief lines which make up the second poem, but some hypotheses might be proposed. His career in natural philosophy had led him towards an Aristotelian world view, and we might expect that he would write within that context. Aristotle's hylomorphic approach to substance and form proposed a position in *De anima* which emphasised the materiality of the soul, but in such a way which left a degree of uncertainty. The Aristotelian soul is the 'form' of the physical body, and enlivens that body, but Aristotle seems to allow the possibility of a degree of dualism: 'It is not unclear that the soul – or certain parts of it, if it naturally has parts – is not separable from the body'. The part of the soul which was argued to be separable from the body was that which Aristotle termed *nous*, the intellective, rational or contemplative soul, or mind, in contrast to the *organic* soul which was associated with practical aspects of life.¹⁸⁴ Aristotle thus allowed philosophers an approach which left room to question the theological dichotomy of materiality and immateriality.

Within this Aristotelian context, the views of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theological and medical worlds were remarkably divergent. If sickness was God's punishment – through plague, for example – then cures by physicians could take on a materialist resonance. The doctor was the 'proverbial atheist', even if he rarely appears in the extensive body of seventeenth-century anti-atheistic literature,

¹⁸³ Klestinec, 'Anatomy Theaters', p. 392. Cunningham, *Anatomical Renaissance*, pp. 191-211; Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 126-28.

¹⁸⁴ Aristotle, *De anima*, ed. W. S. Hett (Cambridge, MA, 1935), III 413a3–7.

most of which focused upon the proponents of the new mechanical philosophy who were easier to challenge than the ambivalent medical writings.¹⁸⁵ Theologians could associate medical theory with a monism traceable to the views of Galen as a non-Christian writer. For their part, physicians fostered the separation of religion and medicine, and resisted interference by those who offered cures, from empirics to clerics.

These philosophical considerations were complicated by theories of medical spirits – animal, vital and natural.¹⁸⁶ Influenced by Aristotle's theory of spirit, *pneuma*, in animals (which he had linked to the non-elemental quintessence of the heavenly bodies),¹⁸⁷ by his tripartite theory of the soul (rational, sentient and vegetative), and by growing anatomical knowledge of ventricles in the brain and the heart, Galen and later Arab physicians had posited important roles for these spirits, particularly in bridging the gap between the body and the soul. These medical spirits complicated the traditional pneumatology and opened a path to discussions about the nature of the soul. Johnston's poetic souls, floating above the University of Padua, may have emerged from such considerations.

Physicians awarded an important role to Galen's theory of the three powers, concupiscible, irascible and rational, associated with the three most important organs in the body, the liver, heart and brain. Galen had posited the animal *pneuma*, whose *locus* was the heart and from there, through the arterial system, the brain, acting as the agent of the organic soul, and carrying out functions like motor-activity, imagination, sense experience and appetite.¹⁸⁸ The spirits were judged to be corporeal, a hot vapour originating from the blood and breathed air, a material which was quintessentially open to astrological influence.¹⁸⁹ This spirit construction also explained the difference in arterial and venous blood – one carried the animal, and the other the vital spirits –

¹⁸⁵ John Henry, 'The matter of souls: medical theory and theology in seventeenth-century England', in Roger K. French and Andrew Wear (eds.), *Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 87-113, at pp. 91-95.

¹⁸⁶ Daniel P. Walker, 'The Astral Body in Renaissance Medicine', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21/1 (1958), 119-33; Daniel P. Walker, 'Medical spirits in theology and philosophy from Ficino to Newton', *Arts du spectacle et histoire des idées: recueil offert en hommage à Jean Jacquot* (Tours, 1984), pp. 287-300.

¹⁸⁷ Aristotle, *Generation of animals*, ed. A. L. Peck (Cambridge, MA, 1963), 736b.35-737a.2.

¹⁸⁸ Michael W. Dols, *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 23-24.

¹⁸⁹ William Harvey, *Exercitationes de generatione animalium: Quibus accedunt quaedam de partu: de membranis ac humeribus uteri: & de conceptione* (London, 1651). English translation in William Harvey, *Disputations touching the Generation of Animals*, trans. G. Whitteridge, Oxford, 1981. Harvey later explained 'spirit' rather as a quality of blood, and wrote that the discussion of spirit should thus be about blood. In Calvin's Geneva too, in 1553, Michel Servet had stated, in *Christianismi restitutio*, that 'sanguis est ipsissima vita'. Johnston makes no reference to any role for blood.

and linked the brain with bodily activity. Being material, however, they raised dangerous questions about the status of the soul. Galen's much quoted passage in *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis VII*, which also makes important reference to the idea of an 'astral body', set out an ambivalence concerning the degree of identification of the spirits and the soul: the soul could be fully identified with the spirits, making it corporeal, or the spirits could be the linking substance between immaterial soul and material body.¹⁹⁰

One sixteenth-century strand of thought did fully identify the soul with spirits, making it therefore mortal, extended, and divisible into parts.¹⁹¹ The souls which Johnston introduces do have a certain corporeality, displaying human faculties which would fit Aristotle's psychology and the prevalent theory of medical spirits. Aristotle's organic soul, enlivening the body, has faculties of perception, imagination and desire, mediated through the body.¹⁹² So, Johnston's souls perceive and contemplate the dissection from above, they exercise a degree of thought about how the events on the anatomist's table have affected them, and they are then invited to express a desire to have the physician reconstruct their bodies. They are not simply Aristotle's rational soul.¹⁹³ If this poem was intended as a brief lesson on Aristotle's *De anima* by a professor of philosophy and a physician, it would not have been lost on his readers in the Republic of Letters.

Yet the situation does still seem un-Aristotelian. How can the souls exercise faculties which belong to the body, when they are detached from the body? It is possible that Johnston, as an experienced teacher of philosophy, is making comment upon philosophical theories of soul and spirit, a comment through which he intended perhaps to express critical and humorous views. Johnston's conceit of these souls and their corporeality may owe something to the writings of Jean Bodin, probably first introduced to him at Heidelberg through the interest taken by Keckermann. The latter was both a supporter and a virulent critic of Bodin's anti-Aristotelianism and cited him both for agreement and for disagreement. Bodin had maintained the 'single-truth' argument of the conjunction of philosophy and theology. He thus had rejected many

¹⁹⁰ Galen, *Opera omnia*, v, 643.

¹⁹¹ Walker, 'Medical Spirits', p. 288. Walker lists as members of this strand Michel Servet, Jean Bodin, Agostino Donio, and even includes, but with less certainty, Melanchthon, Vives and Persio.

¹⁹² Aristotle, *De anima*, ii 3 414a28–b19. Cf. iii 9 432a–b6.

¹⁹³ In Aristotelian psychology, although the mind may decide upon an action, desire is required for the achieving of a goal. Aristotle's answer is a faculty of 'practical reason', acting with desire.

of Aristotle's notions – 160 in all.¹⁹⁴ It was his emphasis upon the corporeality of souls that led to his inclusion on the post-Tridentine Index and led to the exclusion of his writing from French universities – a restriction which the Germans could ignore.¹⁹⁵ For Bodin, every being except God was corporeal.¹⁹⁶ Souls are immortal, but since they are also corporeal, they need a shape, and that shape is likened to Neoplatonic astral bodies – spherical (the most perfect shape) and similar to the sun, the moon and the stars.¹⁹⁷ Bodin posited that corporeal souls after death became like angels, corporeal minds, and equated this with the rational *intellectus agens* of Aristotle. Even Scriptural support could be found for this idea; the Prophet Daniel had said that the souls of the righteous would shine like stars.¹⁹⁸

Johnston's souls, rather than being shades of the underworld, are more likely then to have emerged from this philosophical and medical world. It may not just have been the encapsulating shape and atmosphere of the crowded anatomical theatre which made it necessary for Johnston to place his souls 'above', in the only remaining space. They are above because, in their particular corporeal form, they have achieved detachment. There is, of course, no reference to any shining, but they are the souls of executed criminals, and it may have been important for Johnston to suggest that they were dull. They are invited to interfere in the mortal world – an idea which involved more than one philosophical idea, and is perhaps the start of the humour which emerges at the end of the poem.

ii. Both Worlds

Johnston shifts into contemporary mode: Casserio enters and the theatre applauds his skill:

Vestra ille aeternum victuris nomina chartis

¹⁹⁴ Ann M. Blair, 'Tradition and innovation in early modern natural philosophy: Jean Bodin and Jean-Cecile Frey', *Perspectives on Science*, 2/4 (1994), 428-54, at pp. 437-38.

¹⁹⁵ Hotson, *Commonplace learning*, pp. 151-52. James Melville, also, suggested that his uncle may have used Jean Fernel's *Therapeutices Universalis* as part of the reformed curriculum in Scotland. Melville in France may thus also have imparted to Johnston Fernel's views on innate heat and *spiritus* as the instrument of the soul. Holloway, *Andrew Melville and Humanism*, p. 160. Linda Deer Richardson, 'The generation of disease: occult causes and diseases of the total substance', in Wear, French, and Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, at p. 176.

¹⁹⁶ Walker, 'Medical Spirits', pp. 292-93.

¹⁹⁷ Jean Bodin, *Universae naturae theatrum in quo rerum omnium effectrices causae & fines contemplantur, & continua series quinque libris discutiuntur* (Lyon, 1596), p. 535. Philipp Melanchthon, *Commentarius de anima* (Wittenberg, 1540), pp. 111-12.

¹⁹⁸ Daniel XII.3.

Insert, et laudes orbis uterque leget.¹⁹⁹
[He enters your names for ever in the enduring books, and both worlds will read
your praises.]

Johnston points to the serious nature of this, and perhaps any, anatomical event. The expansive idea of ‘both worlds’ is difficult to discuss with certainty. It could have been read by his audience as another Virgilian moment, where in the *Aeneid* Virgil sweeps up Asia and Europe in his reference to ‘both worlds’ clashing on the fields of Troy.²⁰⁰ Or Johnston’s irenic eye could even be on two confessional worlds. Padua provided a remarkable arena for Roman and Protestant to unite for the purpose of scholarship. Johnston had left a Sedan where religious harmony had also permitted the use of the Protestant temple to Roman Catholic citizens. Johnston is certainly inclined towards peace and tolerance, and this preference grows with him. His poetry upon his return to Sedan became focused upon the dogmatism which was infecting the Reformed world. He also later betrayed his distaste for the troubles faced by Hugo Grotius. His later Scottish poetry is clearly opposed to dogmatic, Sabbatarian stances adopted by the Aberdeen Presbyterians and their support for the National Covenant; his poems to Black and other Aberdeen Doctors indicate his sympathy for their irenic position.²⁰¹

In this medical arena, however, ‘both worlds’ might best be explained in terms which are both medical and poetical, as Johnston presents a form of immortality to the souls. Martial had considered his poems to be *victura charta*, enduring pages. In his *Epigrams* he declared confidently that his writing would bestow immortality upon those whom he names.²⁰² It was a widely employed classical trope, from Homer to Horace, Ovid to Seneca, and Johnston in his poem may be assuming such a role. The anatomist, he writes, bestows immortality on the souls through his dissection of their bodies, recording their names for posterity in the eternal books, the *victuris chartis*. As acolytes of Phoebus, therefore, both the anatomist and the poet can dispense immortality. The former shares his medical renown with the souls; the latter shares his poetic fame with both the eponymous anatomist Casserio and also those bodies

¹⁹⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, ll. 15-20.

²⁰⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII.223-24.

²⁰¹ Peter Elmer, ‘Medicine, Religion and the Puritan Revolution’, in Roger K. French and Andrew Wear (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 10-45, at p. 34. Elmer sees a link between irenicism and medical reform, particularly Paracelsian reform, and Johnston does later interact with the iatrochemical world of Mayerne in London.

²⁰² Martial, *Epigrams*, 1.107.5-6. Also 7.44.7 and 5.15.3-4 and 11.3.7 and 3.20.2

whom he has anatomised. The two worlds of Apollo, of poetry and medicine, may be the two worlds to which he is alluding.

iii. The Anatomical Hero

Mortalis sin vita placet, descendite caelo,
Corpora restituent quae secuere manus.²⁰³
[But if this mortal life pleases you, come down from the sky, and the hands
which cut up your bodies can reconstruct them.]

The medical context also works successfully for the humour at the close of the poem, and for Johnston's breathtaking shattering of the bounds of medical possibility. In a radical moment of iconoclasm he suggests with understatement that the skilled anatomist could reconfigure the bodily parts. The *caesura* of the final line of the poem allows a pause to emphasise the idea of bodily reconstruction. The humour of his offer may be intended as a way, at least poetically, of closing off and resolving the bewildering medical and philosophical positions.

Aristotle's *hylomorphism* suggested that a body without a soul may perhaps not even count as a body; only a body already ensouled was potentially alive. Thus a human body no longer exists as a body after it loses its soul. Rescue from this counter-intuitive idea comes in the form of the idea of non-proximate matter.²⁰⁴ Such matter would lie beneath the matter used in the formation of a compound. So, bricks and mortar are the proximate matter of the house, the clay of the bricks is the non-proximate matter. The non-proximate matter in a human is not alive, but still exists. So, there will be effectively two bodies, and such a distinction may have been conjured up in Johnston's very Aristotelian mind by the dissected body, no longer indeed a body but a collection of parts. This question emerged in the conflict between church and university, and is revealed in the *Acta* of the *natio* about the respect to be shown to the anatomised parts through proper burial.²⁰⁵ *Scientia* moved forward as the order of nature was uncovered; at the same time the danger of dismembering the

²⁰³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 60, ll. 15-20.

²⁰⁴ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 5.6 1016a19-24 (substrate matter being uniform in kind). Also 8.4 1044a15-25 (things deriving from ultimate matter); 9.7 1049a24-7 (the final term in a sequence). Richard Sorabji has analysed the breadth of analysis among the early peripatetic commentators on Aristotle's idea of matter without form. Richard Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators, 200-600 AD: a Sourcebook* (3 vols., London, 2004), ii, ch. 17.

²⁰⁵ *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, 1597. This report by the Ultramontane *natio* supplies a list of the accusations which had been levelled at the students and their behaviour towards the corpses. Funerals of the body parts did take place, for example in S. Sophia, offering the proper respect to these souls whose bodies had at the same time advanced medical understanding.

whole through an anatomy of the bodies was averted by reconfiguring them in burial.²⁰⁶

Thus Johnston can close, still with an anatomical theme, with a focus on the skill of the anatomist. He calls upon the power of the anatomist to reconstruct the dissected parts into bodies for the souls.²⁰⁷ The physician would thus go beyond the rules of medicine, beyond nature, beyond those very laws to which reference had been made in the first poem. The precedent from the classical world is that of Aesculapius, son of Apollo, who was endowed by his father with such skill in the healing art that he even restored the dead to life. Is Casserio being deified by the poet, or is the poet deflating the ego of the anatomical hero? In a practical sense Casserio was certainly a hero of the arena; he had won his spurs as Knight of Piacenza in the field of private anatomy with his deft surgical skill, and was famed for the first successful dissection of the ear. Johnston's suggestion to the souls that the anatomist might reconstruct their mortal bodies is an arresting and witty flourish to close a poem; it may also be a criticism of the confidence of this Paduan anatomist in his contest with Fabrici.

Thus a medical interpretation of 'both worlds' would best maintain a consistency between these two poems. Johnston's first poem had pointed towards a dualism – the trope of the old world of theoretical medicine, and the new world of the anatomist; the world of reason, and the world of anatomical investigation. Fabrici's Aristotelian world gave more emphasis to the former; the skills taught by Casserio in the private anatomies had given emphasis to the latter. Johnston in his poems may be attempting to offer an appreciation, and perhaps a reconciliation, of both worlds.

²⁰⁶ David A. Hedrich Hirsch, 'Donne's Atomies and Anatomies: Deconstructed Bodies and the Resurrection of Atomic Theory', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 31/1 (1991), 69-94, at p. 71.

²⁰⁷ Johnston's suggestion goes far beyond the partial re-articulation of the skeleton which was undertaken by the anatomist before burial. Roberto Lo Presti, 'Anatomy as Epistemology: The Body of Man and the Body of Medicine in Vesalius and his Ancient sources (Celsus, Galen)', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 33/3 (2010), 27-72, at p. 42. M. Kornell, 'Vesalius's method of articulating the skeleton and a drawing in the Wellcome Library', *Medical History*, 44 (2000), 97-110.

Chapter 5

Johnston in Sedan: 1616-1623

On his return to Sedan from Padua in 1616 Johnston reassumed his professorial role and made further poetic contributions to Academy life. His poems began to look outward, with reference to Scottish and British matters, but still within a European context.

The *Propempticon*

Johnston's initial foray into the world of printed poetry bridges the gap between academy and castle, and looks confidently outwards at European developments. Produced probably by the press of Jean Jannon in Sedan, the *Propempticon ad illustriss. Principem Ludovicum, Comitem Palatinum, Ducem Bavariae, etc.* is a poem of farewell to Ludwig Philipp of Pfalz-Simmern-Kaiserslautern, Count of Bavaria and brother of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and thus brother-in-law of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James VI and I. No copies of this early edition would seem to have survived, pointing to a very limited print run – perhaps only a presentation copy to Ludwig and also to Bouillon, besides Johnston's own copy and perhaps for his friends.¹ Ludwig and Frederick had been students in Sedan, Ludwig in the *Collège des Exercices*, the sister school of the Academy, set up in 1613 to teach a curriculum which incorporated instruction on the principles of warfare, the first of its kind in the francophone world. These 'Académistes' studied law, mathematics and philosophy, as well as military skills. Ludwig was sufficiently prominent as nephew to Bouillon for Johnston to compose a *Propempticon* to wish him speed, and perhaps for Bouillon to subscribe the printing.

Ludwig's departure was occasioned by the birth of a nephew late in 1617, and he probably departed for Heidelberg early in 1618 when the weather had improved.² Johnston's poem is composed in his familiar elegiac couplets, the metre which he was

¹ Arthur Johnston, *Parerga Arturi Ionstoni Scoti, medici Regii* (Aberdeen, 1632), pp. 72-5. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 225-29.

² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 228-29, ll. 83-88. The nephew is Elizabeth Stuart's second child, Prince Charles Louis, born on 22 December, 1617.

to employ in most of his poetry. It runs to ninety-two lines and it is thus much more substantial in length and theme than any of his previous Sedan poems. It reflects the honing of his poetic skill for a public appearance. The poem may self-consciously suggest this in the words of the opening: ‘Arcturi iam sidus adest’: *Arcturus* the star, guardian of the great bear, appearing just before the spring equinox, is now in the ascendant. Or, playing upon the similarity of Arcturus to Arturus: *Arturus* [Johnston] now ascends in confidence and skill. A moment of personal reflection as well as a seasonal comment.³ The poem is intended to impress a wider audience than just a departing Sedan student; the poem would travel with Prince Ludwig to the Palatine Court at Heidelberg.

In its customary form, a *Propempticon* protests the subject’s departure and, when his determination is revealed to be immovable, prays to the gods for a successful journey and return. Geddes proposed that Johnston had taken Statius as his model for this poem; a more likely source which he may have mined is the *Ode* Horace composed as a *Propempticon* for Virgil.⁴ As with the *Propempticons* of Horace and Statius, Johnston also adapts the mould. He develops his opening description of nature and of spring – a trope which he would use effectively in later poems, especially in descriptions of his native country – and complains that the departure will bring to an end the joys of spring:

Omnia cras tecum migrabunt gaudia: tecum

Primitias anni deliciasque feres ...

Te crocus et violae, te lilia nostra sequentur:

Sedanasque leget Teutonis ora rosas.⁵

[Tomorrow all joys will depart with you: and you will carry off the first fruits and the delights of the year ...

Our crocuses, violets and lilies will follow you: and Germany will gather
Sedanese roses.]

The poem then surprises by embarking upon extended praise of Sedan, as substance for his claim that to remain in Sedan would be the better option: its hospitality, its

³ Ibid., i, 226, l. 1.

⁴ P. Papinius Statius, *Silvae*, ed. David R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, MA, 2003), III.2. Horace, *Odes and epodes*, ed. Niall Rudd (Cambridge, MA, 2004), I.3. Kenneth Quinn, *Latin Explorations. Critical Studies in Roman Literature* (London, 1963), pp. 239-73. Charles W. Lockyer, Jr., 'Horace's "Propempticon" and Vergil's Voyage', *The Classical World*, 61/2 (1967), 42-45, at p. 42. Lockyer points to the rhetorician Menander as the source for our understanding of this genre.

⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 227, ll. 17-24. Geddes offers Hesiod, *Opera et dies*, as Johnston’s source for the Roman tradition of spring. That could have been known to him through one of the sixteenth-century Latin translations and commentaries. Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Cambridge, MA, 2006), pp. 564-70. The trope also appears, however, in Ovid, *Fasti*, ed. James G. Frazer (London, 1931), 2.149.

fame, its military prowess, the flourishing of the Muses, its learning, entertainment, and civility.⁶ He depicts an idealised Renaissance ducal court.

Into this panoply of humanist courtly life, Johnston projects Daniel Tilenus, his friend and Professor of Theology, as Chiron:

Nec desunt Phoebi comites, tua cura, Camenae;

Nec quae Pieridum temperat unda sitim.

Ipse, cui Musae, cui plectrum cedat Apollo,

Imbuit Aoniis ora Tilenus aquis.

Artibus his puerum Chiron perfecit Achillem:

Et docuit fortes plectra movere manus.⁷

[Nor are the Muses, companions of Phoebus, lacking for your care, nor those Pierian streams which slake the thirst.

Tilenus himself, to whom the Muses, to whom Apollo, has handed on the gift of teaching, fills mouths with Boeotian waters.

Chiron tutored the young Achilles in these arts; and taught those strong arms the skill of poetry.]

Chiron the centaur was renowned as teacher and tutor of Achilles and other classical mythological heroes; so the equally renowned Tilenus prepares the young Protestants of Sedan for feats of heroism.

Only after this extended hymn of praise for Sedan does Johnston accept that the subject of the poem does indeed have to leave:

Ast ego Phoebeos frustra sufflamino currus:

Præcipites frustra sistere conor equos.

Tu puer ire paras, fruiturus Castore Pollux:

Statque celer moestas Cyllarus ante fores.⁸

[But in vain I hold back Phoebus's chariot: in vain I try to restrain the rearing horses.

You, young man, are preparing to depart and you would be a Pollux to Castor: and swift Cyllarus stands before the gloomy walls.]

Castor and his brother Pollux were the classical patrons of the equestrian skills which were taught in the Collège des Exercices, and also of athleticism and travel, and thus integral to this poetic genre.⁹ Johnston may also have weaved an equine presence into these lines to raise the association of poetry and horses, particularly of Pegasus, born from Medusa's blood as son of Poseidon, the carrier of divine messages for Zeus; as such it was the origin of the Hippocrene, the sacred spring of poetic inspiration.¹⁰

⁶ Ibid., i, 227-28, ll. 39-78.

⁷ Ibid., i, 227, ll. 49-54.

⁸ Ibid., i, 228, ll. 79-82.

⁹ Horace, *Odes and epodes*, I.3.2. Horace opens his *Propempticon* with a reference to the role of these twin gods, bothers of Helen: 'sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera'. Statius refers to the 'Oebalii fratres'.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V.256.

Then, however, instead of closing with good wishes for the journey and a safe return, Johnston adds an extended flourish, at one and the same time classical and Reformed, and finishes with an allusion which leaves us musing into which of the two worlds he intends that the poem should be placed:

Tanta suis nequeunt frustrari Numina votis;

I puer et patriae te cito redde tuae.

Te patriae cito redde tuae: sed Numina nobis

Tam cito restituant quam rapuere cito.¹¹

[Such Powers cannot be gainsaid by prayers; go, young man, and take yourself quickly back to your fatherland.

Go home quickly: but as the Powers swiftly take you from us, may they just as quickly restore you to us.]

Who is really driving this departure and hoped-for return? Seemingly, the Powers ['Numina'] have summoned Ludwig home to his fatherland and cannot be gainsaid through prayer. Johnston then draws attention to the phrase 'Numina votis' through prominent repetition and minor alteration of it: 'Numina votis' becomes 'Numina nobis'. With that emphasis and a minor change of verb – 'frustrari' rather than 'flecti' – he probably intended to summon up in the minds of his readers a fable of Aesop, descended through Avianus, and learned by college students in Sedan, and widely elsewhere:

Disce tamen pigris non flecti numina votis,

Praesentesque adhibe, cum facis ipse, deos.¹²

[So, learn that the gods are not persuaded by empty prayers: and that the gods help those who help themselves.]

Johnston leaves us in little doubt about who should drive events. Ludwig should take himself home ['I puer'] and it is. Ludwig who should work to bring about his own return to Sedan – a brief nod by Johnston, perhaps, towards the barbed question of contributory Free Will, an issue at the centre of Reformed theology. There is more to the poem than pagan gods, myths and intertextual references. Ludwig's impending journey allows Johnston the opportunity to intertwine his display of classical allegory with a comment upon the world of Protestant theology. He then returns to the classical world, and places Ludwig's journey back into the hands of the gods; those

¹¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 229, ll. 89-92.

¹² *The Fables* were prescribed study for the second class in Sedan. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 229, ll. 89-92. Flavius Avianus, *The Fables of Avianus. Edited, with Prolegomena, Critical Apparatus, Commentary, Excursus, and Index, by Robinson Ellis* (Oxford, 1887), pp. 35-36. Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 220.

same gods who take him home might soon restore him to Sedan: 'sed Numina nobis / Tam cito restituant quam rapuere cito'.¹³

Elsewhere, Protestant theology was being intertwined with European regal and Imperial politics. Habsburg overlordship was under challenge by the Protestant nobility in the Czech lands, and Ludwig's brother was a focus for leadership. Although the spark of rebellion, the Defenestration of Prague, occurred only on 23 May 1618, and the invitation to take up the crown arrived in 1619, Frederick had been canvassed in Protestant circles as a possible King of Bohemia since the election of Matthias as King in 1611. Johnston describes a future role of both child and father:

Invitat te fratris amor, Nymphaeaeque sorores,
Et genetrix primas inter habenda Deas.
Nympha Caledonio sata rege, puerpera fratri
Facta iterum, cunctas rumpit Eliza moras.
Aureolusque ex fratre nepos, cui Caesaris ara
Debita, si qua polo sideribusque fides.¹⁴
[The love of a brother summons you, and young sisters, and a mother who must
be counted as first among the goddesses.
Elizabeth, the daughter nymph of the Scottish king, has again produced a son for
your brother, and removes any remaining delays.
And your Golden nephew, a son for your brother, for whom an Imperial altar is
foretold, if somehow we can trust in Heaven and the stars.]

This poem contains the first reference in Johnston's poetry to Elizabeth Stuart; here she is 'Nympha Caledonio sata rege'.¹⁵ She is proclaimed in Ovidian terms, with hints of the goddess Flora, the first among the goddesses, and of the Roman spring games and their aura of productivity, mother of a new boy.¹⁶ That same Ovidian passage from the *Fasti* is probably his source for the lilies, crocuses and violets, and the loss of productivity when Flora's beneficence is absent, the complaint which Johnston had offered at the opening of this poem.¹⁷

A further allusion can be read into her role: Virgil in the fourth Eclogue had pointed to the return of Astrea who had ruled over men in the Golden Age. Elizabeth Tudor's role as Astraea, the celestial dispenser of justice, had been a well known trope, and Johnston may be nominating Elizabeth Stuart as her successor.¹⁸ Her son,

¹³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 229, ll. 89-92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 228-29, ll. 83-88.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 228, ll. 85.

¹⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.348.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.317-8. *Musa*, I, 227, ll. 23-4.

¹⁸ Virgil, *Eclogues*, eds. G. P. Goold and H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA, 1999), IV.6. Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1993).

too, occupies a place in the classical world as an ‘Aureolus nepos’, a golden child. In that phrase Johnston intertwines Protestant eschatology and classical myth. The Latin syntax seems to point the imperial throne towards the boy, but in the light of the associations surrounding Frederick V in 1618, Johnston may be including both father and heir. Eschatological allusions abound. With the death in 1612 of Prince Henry Stuart, shortly before the marriage of Frederick to Henry’s sister Elizabeth, the apocalyptic associations which had gathered around Henry, as the Lion of the North, were transferred to Prince Charles, his younger brother, and to Frederick V of the Palatinate. The Lion of the prophecy of Ezra would emerge from the forest – a fitting Scriptural source for a King of Bohemia and the topography of that country – and destroy the Eagle, interpreted as the Holy Roman Emperor, and his ally the Pope.¹⁹ With the Bohemian challenge to Habsburg power the appearance of the Lion was anticipated.

Humanist thought had married Scriptural prophecy of Christ’s return to the Augustan poets’ interpretation of the golden foundation of the Roman Empire at the close of the Republic; the Second Coming was associated with the re-founding of a classical Golden Age.²⁰ This idea was rich in classical associations, and Buchanan had employed the idea of the child in his *Genethliacon* for James VI. Johnston may have intended his readers to detect echoes of Virgil’s fourth Eclogue and another Stuart child who would inaugurate the return of the golden age.²¹ So we are told that the child is destined for an Imperial altar. Johnston may well have in mind the specific *Ara Pacis Augustae*; through his reading of Ovid he would have been acquainted with the tale of its the dedication on 30 January 9 B.C., and its association with the inauguration of the new Golden Age.²² The altar also featured in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romanae*, a late medieval guide to Roman ruins, establishing aspects of the

¹⁹ 2 Esdras [4 Ezra] 11.37 – 12.34. The writings of the Prophet Ezra were Apocryphal, but appeared nevertheless not just in the Vulgate but also in both the Geneva Bible and in the Authorised Version. Both made reference to apocryphal *loci* in their cross-referencing footnotes until Protestant scholarship reduced the status of Apocryphal Scripture.

²⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.791-94. Such a circular view of history was familiar in Ovid’s description of the Ages of the world. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.89-150. G. J. Whitrow, *Time in History: the Evolution of our General Awareness of Time and Temporal Perspective* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 43-59. Peter J. Holliday, ‘Time, History, and Ritual on the Ara Pacis Augustae’, *The Art Bulletin*, 72/4 (1990), 542-57, at p. 543.

²¹ Virgil, *Eclogues*, IV.15-20. George Buchanan: *The Political Poetry*, eds. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 154-63, ll.1-4.

²² Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.13-15, 697-722. John F. Miller, ‘Ovid’s “Fasti” and the Neo-Latin Christian Calendar Poem’, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 10/2 (2003), 173-86, at p. 174. Simona Dolari, ‘Riscoperta e fortuna dei rilievi dell’Ara Pacis nell’eta della Rinascita’, *Engramma*, 75 (2009).

topography of the city. That may offer just the germ of an explanation for Johnston's otherwise inexplicable claim that he had seen the Tiber.²³ Augustus used the Senate's decision to erect the *Ara Pacis* in order to project a link between himself and a new age of peace, and also to associate his reign with renewed attention to the needs of the gods.²⁴ The conceit sat well with a Protestant judgment of the times.

Thus Johnston, in millenarian mode, binds the portentous weight of this Protestant moment to classical allusions to the impending peace of the new Golden Age. Frederick and his wife, and now also their son, would bring about a new Protestant polity in anticipation of the Second Coming of Christ, all revealed in Christian Scripture, and through signs in the skies: 'polo sideribusque'. The early seventeenth-century skies had been temptingly active for those who wanted to read into them signs of the Second Coming. New stars had appeared in 1602 and in 1604, widely invested with chiliastic potency – Kepler had linked the 1604 comet to the star of Bethlehem.²⁵ Another comet appeared towards the end of November 1618 – too late to be the focus of Johnston's comment here, unless the poem was written twelve months after the more likely date of 1617-18. The 1618 comet appeared close to the constellation of Leo, and was much commented upon as signalling the likely appearance of the Lion.²⁶ The Bodleian Library holds a copy of Manilius's *Astronomicon* bearing the autograph of Arthur Johnston, and dated 'Sedan 1608'.²⁷ Johnston himself clearly was not averse to some astronomical considerations. It is interesting to note, however, his use of the ambivalent 'si qua': 'if by some means', or indeed, 'if at all'. Does he see belief supported by movement in the skies?

The poem also hints strongly at the role which would be played by Bouillon in any coming struggle; he is projected as the historic protector of Sedan against France and Spain. The poem appropriately emphasises physical and equestrian skills, exemplified in the attribution of the role of Castor to Ludwig, departing to join his

²³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 192, ll. 84.

²⁴ Arnaldo Momigliano, 'The Peace of the Ara Pacis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 228-31. Gail E. Armstrong, 'Sacrificial Iconography: Creating History, Making Myth, and Negotiating Ideology on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *Religion and Theology*, 15/3-4 (2008), 340-56, at pp. 541, 344.

²⁵ Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht, 2001), pp. 44-45

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 57-60. Vladimír Urbánek, 'The Comet of 1618: Eschatological Expectations and Political Prognostications during the Bohemian Revolt', in J. R. Christianson (ed.) *Tycho Brahe and Prague: Crossroads of European Science: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the History of Science in the Rudolphine Period, Prague, 22-25 October 2001* (Frankfurt, 2002), pp. 282-91.

²⁷ Marcus Manilius, *M. Manili Astronomicon libri quinque* (Paris, 1579).

brother Pollux. Thus, in Johnston's conjunction of humanist scholarship, Bouillon's military valour and the recently founded *Collège des Exercices*, he underlines the value of Sedan's support for the palatinate family in the anticipated battle.²⁸ This association of his writing with a religious and political development was a bold step for Johnston.

Civility and Sociability in Sedan

Surrounding this political and eschatological writing of the *Propempticon* are other, challenging poems related to Johnston's friends. Like Blaeu, Johnston's poetry projects the Academy at Sedan as a niche within the Republic of Letters – 'quasi Thessala Tempe'. It was a place of learning, of Reformed devotion and of humanist civility. Toussaint Berchet, the long-serving Principal, encouraged the professors to attend his lodgings after supper for discussion, conjuring a scene of shared *otium* in the lives of these men. Melanchthon's humanist writings, in reconciling classical thought and theology, had emphasised an idea of Christian civility, and it was that positive concept of moderate discourse and engagement for which those Protestant scholars were reaching.²⁹ Scholasticism was to be put aside and true philosophy re-established through moderation and forbearance – true to the ideals of Aristotle.³⁰ Inherent in this was an openness, a freedom of speech. Erasmus, in his *De civilitate morum puerilium*, placed this strand of Christian civility securely into the early modern period, contributing to a de-politicisation of the term 'civil' and introducing the notion of 'politeness', where conscience would guide human behaviour in a well-ordered polity. Melanchthon's marriage of classical philosophy and Scripture, however, still required the context of a civil commitment within the humanist world, a dutiful public engagement by these scholars.³¹ The Academy of Sedan would be the

²⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 227-28, ll. 43-46, 81-82. Han van Ruler has discussed the intertwining of the *Philosophia Christi* after Erasmus, with knightly valour and princely ruling. Han Van Ruler, 'The *Philosophia Christi*, its Echoes and its Repercussions on Virtue and Nobility', in A. A. Macdonald, Z. R. W. M. Von Martels, Jan R. Veenstra, and Arie Johan Vanderjagt (eds.), *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 235-41.

²⁹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 93-94. Brian Vickers, 'Leisure and idleness in the Renaissance: the ambivalence of *otium*', *Renaissance Studies*, 4/1 (1990), 1-37; *ibid.*, 4/2 (1990), 107-54. Vickers has revealed the complexity, and the ambivalence of the purpose of early modern humanists in seeking *otium*.

³⁰ Nehring, 'Civility in History', pp. 319-22. Nehring argues for the descent of the early modern concept of 'civility' from the Greek world, and thence to Cicero's political idea of civil society, based on the power of rhetoric to resolve public conflicts.

³¹ William V. Frame, 'Philip Melanchthon and the Idea of Christian Civility', *The Cresset*, 69/1 (2005), 6-10.

training ground not only for theology and philosophy, but also for civility and citizenship.

Such ‘civility’ implied broad guidelines for the interaction of the humanists, who could thereby demonstrate their shared membership of the Republic of Letters. Scholars such as Peiresc could later foster such guidelines in their contact with other humanists through letter writing; in Sedan, in contrast, the rules of behaviour were acted out more immediately, from day to day. Johnston’s writing uncovers his views on these guidelines. The behaviour and writings of Johnston’s circle of friends could display not just civility, therefore, but also sociability. Into this society of humanists came other scholars who would later distinguish themselves – Scots such as Patrick Forbes of Corse, later bishop of Aberdeen, for example, and his son John Forbes, who became a spokesman for Erastian opposition in 1638 to the Scottish Presbyterian party’s assault on the Caroline government’s religious policy, and with whom Johnston formed links later in his career in Aberdeen.³² The expectations of such men would be moulded by the attitudes and experiences which they had shared in Sedan, and so the civility and sociability – and thus the fame – of Sedan would be carried beyond its borders.

Virtus nos ornat

This outlook of a classically inspired civility in the humanist world resonates not only in Johnston’s poems, but also in his motto. This latter first appeared at the close of his published attack upon George Eglishem in 1619-20. ‘Virtus nos ornat’, Johnston declared confidently at the close of the poem, after revealing that Eglishem had singularly failed to display *virtus*.³³ In its abbreviated form of ‘vno’, his motto is an acronym of this tag, and in its expanded form it is an anagram of Arturus Ionstonus. It has at its centre the humanist *topos* of *virtus* as the dignity and the true end of man. Anagrams, and their popularity, have been explained as ‘the poetry of escape and divertissement’ – a reaction to the committed verse style of the French

³² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 249-54; *ibid.*, i, 264-69; *ibid.*, ii, 74-75. Johnston also forged a close friendship with Robert Baron, another member of the group later identified as the Aberdeen Doctors.

³³ Arthur Johnston, *Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de mania G. Eglishemii, quam prodidit scripto, cui titulus: Duellum poeticum pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi CIII* (Edinburgh, 1619).

wars of religion. Their popularity, however, also draws upon their revelation of the character of the writer.³⁴

Virtus has a long philological, moral philosophical and intellectual history, and by the seventeenth century it no longer suggested just martial valour but other displays of human excellence in a public setting.³⁵ For Johnston, as a professor of philosophy in a Huguenot Academy, *virtus* should probably be seen in the context of Aristotelian *arete* and rational humanity's ultimate goal of *eudaimonia*.³⁶ Happiness for Aristotle was a state of acting – the happy man displayed the human function of rational action, and achieved fulfilment; we become virtuous by performing virtuous actions.³⁷ Johnston, in his Aristotelian outlook, would have recognised the moral requirement of public duty, and he had previously recommended such Renaissance princely *virtus* to Bouillon in his poem after the death of his daughter.

Johnston may also have had in mind the intellectual virtues of Book VI of Aristotle's *Ethics*, an exhortation to virtue in which the members of Sedan's academic Republic of Letters should participate.³⁸ Cicero had proposed, *via* the life of Scipio, that civilised man was distinguished by a facility in those arts which were characteristic of him: 'propriis humanitatis artibus'. Such a view was still being projected in the second century A.D. when Gellius suggested that what made man a civilised being was study of the arts, the *studia humanitatis*. It was through the study of the classical texts in Sedan too that man would distinguish himself from the animals, and make himself capable of 'civil' action. The analysis by Grafton and Jardine of the link between humanist pedagogical techniques and the creation of the

³⁴ Ian D. Mcfarlane, 'The Renaissance Epitaph', *The Modern Language Review*, 81/4 (1986), xxv-xxxv, at p. xxx. Ian D. Mcfarlane, *Renaissance Latin Poetry* (Manchester, 1980), p. 8. Mcfarlane points to the skill in epigrammatic composition of J. C. Scaliger, Jean Dorat and others.

³⁵ Crucial to an understanding of early modern *virtus* is the writing of Machiavelli, as Pocock and Skinner have shown: John G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 2003). Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1978). For Machiavelli the concept of *virtù* remained in essence an ideal of public duty.

³⁶ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA, 1982), I.vii.14, 1098a. Michael Moriarty, *Disguised Vices: Theories of Virtue in Early Modern French Thought* (Oxford, 2011), p. 28.

³⁷ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II.i.4, 1103a24-03b25. Moriarty, *Disguised Vices*, pp. 26-27. The motto of Marischal College, founded as Aberdeen's second university in 1593, is equally Aristotelian: 'Virtue is self-sufficient', an end in itself. There has long been a degree of scholarly uncertainty about Johnston's attendance at King's or Marischal as his place of first study, with the balance of judgment favouring King's. The similarity of motto, therefore, between the poet and Marischal may be nothing more than that, in a world deeply imbued with Aristotelian references.

³⁸ In the *Eudemian Ethics*, too, Aristotle makes a further association of virtues, such as justice, with the establishing of this kind of behaviour within a community. Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution; The Eudemian Ethics ; On Virtues and Vices*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA, 1961), VIII.iii.7, 1248b37.

virtuous man emphasises particularly the presence of that conjunction in the writings of Erasmus and the *Philosophia Christi*.³⁹ It was widely held that the ancient texts taught man virtue.

The origins of Johnston's association through his motto with this scholarly *virtus* may be traceable to exchanges with Samuel Naeranus, his colleague at Sedan, and in particular to a poem which Naeranus composed for Johnston, linking *virtus* to Erasmus's *Philosophia Christi*:

Non fascēs, non eloquium, non mentis acumen,
 Non census, non nos stirpis honestat honos:
 Verum nobilitat mortales unica virtus:
 Haec, Christe, in sponsa dos placet una tibi.⁴⁰
 [It is not public office, it is not eloquence, it is not sharpness of mind, not
 standing, not family reputation which gives us dignity.
 In truth, virtue alone brings fame to us mortal men: only this gift, O Christ, is
 pleasing to you in our covenant.]

In these lines, Naeranus trumpets his elevation of virtue and matches the absolute which is implied in Johnston's motto – it is virtue alone which adorns us and is acceptable to Christ.⁴¹ More limited conceptions of virtue are left behind; moral virtue is to be pursued as a foundation for excellence. Naeranus certainly implies that he and Johnston shared an interpretation of *virtus*, and it may indeed have been Naeranus who guided Johnston towards the motto. Johnston, however, may himself have used the motto to close a previous, unpublished poem to Naeranus, and the latter's response then reinforced the *topos*.⁴² Johnston may later have felt some regret about this uncompromising interpretation of virtue; it did not stop him from taking up the duty of public service as royal physician to Charles, and duty in the civic world of Aberdeen.

Johnston's use of the plural in his motto, although a popular *topos* and perhaps also a means of making his point with greater civility rather than with

³⁹ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1986).

⁴⁰ Naeranus, *Poemata*, p. 68. 'Arturus Ionston / Philosophiae in Academia Sedanesi / Professor / Virtus nos Ornat.' Geddes quotes this poem, but with the mis-transcription in the final line – of Christi for Christe. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 12. Naeranus's version of the line is corroborated by the *Delitiae c. poetarum belgicorum*, III, 695.

⁴¹ This rejection of birth and insistence upon virtue as the essence of man's dignity appears also in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 5.11.8.

⁴² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 13. *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, i, 439. The poem which suggests itself for this role, composed upon the death of Naeranus's father in 1608, comments upon the grief of the poet son. Johnston's motto is absent from this, and from the other poems published in both the *Parerga* and the *Delitiae*, as part of his general preference for anonymity of subject; there, only his dedication to Scotstarvet retains it.

singular directness, seems to suggest that those around him should also take *virtus* as their lodestar. Peiresc, the *epitome* of the world of the late humanist scholar in France after Johnston had departed from Sedan, was seen as embodying scholarly *virtus* by dint of his devotion to the classical past, and his civil and moral involvement with those scholars with whom he maintained an extensive network.⁴³ So, in line with the emphasis upon morality and the formation of conscience in the rules drawn up to guide behaviour in the Academy, Johnston's motto is more than a description of personal adornment; he is prescribing *virtus* to the humanist world of Sedan and beyond.⁴⁴

Johnston's motto was not just his signature, but a *leitmotiv*, a defining feature which he offered in his published poetry to the humanist scholars who claimed membership of the Republic of Letters. Mottos establish a group of colleagues, of friends, of like-minded thinkers.⁴⁵ His motto rearranged his name with cleverness, but its theme was also at the core of Renaissance scholarship and of humanist self-identification by the Latinate scholars who inhabited the Sedanese academic world – those who read his published work, and with whom he shared mutual dedications. 'Ornat' suggests also not just 'embellishment', but also 'equipping for purpose' – as with the virgins who kept their lamps prepared ['ornaverunt'].⁴⁶ As the achievement of happiness is concerned with action, so virtue is displayed through effective and successful action. Johnston aims to persuade the members of the humanist Republic of Letters of their duty to foster that Republic. Their fitness for membership of the Republic rested upon education and the exercise of community, fostering *virtus* as the quality which adorns rational man, his distinguishing characteristic.⁴⁷

In 1619 it was a challenge to this virtuous community which would provoke Johnston to write at length and to publish for the first time. George Eglishem was someone who, in Johnston's view, did not foster the Republic. He was un-civil and not adorned by virtue. In a subsequent and impressive outpouring, Johnston then entered the political arena, with advice on the Bohemian Crisis. The behaviour of the

⁴³ Miller, *Peiresc's Europe*. Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*. Moriarty, *Disguised Vices*, pp. 131-44.

⁴⁴ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 218-21.

⁴⁵ Moriarty, *Disguised Vices*, pp. 131-44.

⁴⁶ Matthew 25.7.

⁴⁷ Aristotle emphasised the idea of habit, which he adopts from Plato's discussion of how virtue could be taught: Plato, *The Republic*, ed. Paul Shorey (2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1978), VII.518d-e.

participants in that event also threatened his world of civility.⁴⁸ Plato had emphasised that virtue was learned through knowledge (*episteme*) and wisdom (*phronesis*). Johnston's writing in these Crisis poems would criticise lack of knowledge, and emphasise a reliance upon the wisdom of King James in Britain's response to the pleas of the beleaguered Palatinate. He further bemoaned in 1624, in the poems he dedicated to his lawyers at Mechelen, this loss of civility in his private world. Cicero's reference to ambition as the destroyer of civil society may have helped to form Johnston's notion of the dangers which abounded from 1618.⁴⁹ Johnston lays the charge of ambition at the feet of Eglishem. He strongly suggests also that it was present in the Palatine grasp for the Bohemian throne. It was present too in 1624 in Florent Hampteau, whose grasp at the property Johnston judged to be his own rightful inheritance he would challenge in the Supreme Court of the Netherlands at Mechelen.

Johnson's commitment to a virtuously ordered scholarly Republic was also challenged by the fault line which developed within the Reformed confession in the early seventeenth century and which had repercussions in Sedan.⁵⁰ Since Duke Henri-Robert's conversion to the Reformed faith, Sedan had stood as a Protestant refuge and as a modest beacon of toleration. The Huguenot temple in Sedan was shared for a time by the Roman Catholic community, whose priests were paid as state servants. While not unique, this combined use of the Sedan church was unusual since the Edict of St Germain (1562) had established the principle of separate worship within France.⁵¹ This tolerant approach had an effect upon Johnston's poetry, and he himself favoured some form of religious co-existence. Mention of any religious division consistently takes second place to classical or philosophical considerations in his writing, and is generally embedded in them. His later poems certainly incline towards an irenic acceptance of difference, praising such paragons of irenicism as William Forbes, first Bishop of Edinburgh in the mid-seventeenth century, whose eloquence

⁴⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 14-85, 106-23.

⁴⁹ Cicero, *De officiis*, III.26. Hans W. Blom, 'Styles of Heterodoxy and Intellectual Achievement: Grotius and Arminianism', in Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (eds.), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600-1750*, (Leiden, 2012), pp. 47-73, at pp. 60-61.

⁵⁰ Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism*. Arnoud Visser, 'Escaping the Reformation in the Republic of Letters: Confessional Silence in Latin Emblem Books', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88/2 (2008), 139-67, at pp. 140-41.

⁵¹ Andrew Spicer, 'Continental Calvinism and its churches - an overview', *The Aberdeen University Review*, 58/4 (2000), 301-08.

he later extolled in an epigram.⁵² Forbes, like Johnston, was born in the north east of Scotland with its confessional ambiguity. Johnston finished his degree at King's as Forbes matriculated at Marischal. Forbes surrendered his Professorship of Philosophy at Marischal in 1606 to undertake study in Europe 1606-11, including a visit to Leiden where he met Grotius, Vossius and Joseph Scaliger. He was a vocal supporter of the irenicism of the Articles of Perth in 1618, and in 1626 he reassumed the professorship of philosophy at Marischal, as Johnston settled back into Aberdeen. His preaching at the Coronation of Charles I in Edinburgh in 1633 earned him the new see of Edinburgh in 1634. His *Animadversiones* (since lost) were directed against the rigidity of Bellarmine, and averted to by Robert Baron with whom Johnston built a friendship. Johnston's epigram suggests that he and Forbes shared both an educational and formative background, and may have been of mutual support in an irenical stand.⁵³ Like Johnston too, Forbes favoured an attachment to *adiaphora* and to the avoidance of rigid confessional demonstration. Johnston's later criticisms of the Sabbatarianism and the excessive moral strictures of Aberdeen city council would confirm his irenic outlook; his plea for Sunday fishing, for the welfare of the cunning woman of Aberdeen, and his apology on behalf of some boisterous sailors speak of a desire for peaceful accommodation.⁵⁴

The Melon

Some confessional disturbance in Johnston's final years in Sedan may perhaps be detectable in his third *Lusus* poem, *Ad Andream Melvinum, de melone ad tilenum misso*, in which Johnston and Tilenus, and briefly Melville, are pictured sparring over the giving of presents.⁵⁵ It is a difficult poem to unravel, but there are indications that relationships are under threat, and internal evidence of the poem suggests a date of composition after his return from Padua. In this game, Johnston presents to Tilenus a melon, the first fruits of his garden. To Melville, he writes, such a gift would be an

⁵² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 26-27. Jan Van Eijnatten, *Lodestars of latitude: Gerard Brandt's Peacable Christian (c.1664), irenicism and religious dissent* (Amsterdam, 1999). Eijnstten examines concepts of plurality and toleration, pointing out in the life and writings of William Johnston the importance of civil behaviour and toleration.

⁵³ Nicholas Thompson, 'The Long Reach of Reformation Irenicism: the "Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae" of William Forbes (1585-1634)', in Ian Breward (ed.) *Reforming the Reformation: Essays in Honour of Principal Peter Matheson* (Melbourne, 2005), pp. 124-47. Thompson argues that the irenical emphasis in Forbes's life had a native, Scottish formation, as well as a continental, Erasmian influence, rather than any Anglican source.

⁵⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 128-46.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 128-35.

error; a draft of old Falernian, or eggs, or hare, or partridge would be appropriate. Melville is an old man and the digestive fire would not welcome melon. Melville's phlegmatic nature also should avoid the cold and moist. 'Cinnama ... et piper' – cinnamon and pepper – are prescribed instead to reduce phlegm, along with hare, partridge, kid and pheasant.⁵⁶ The three succeeding stanzas develop a discussion of the appropriateness to the humoral balance of various foods. Melville is permitted one response, complaining of Johnston's favouritism, and does so in Greek medical terminology; Geddes points to Homer's *Odessey* as a possible source.⁵⁷ Tilenus – and it is probably Johnston, in line with the previous *Lusus* – then comments on the matter of the gift's fitness to himself, and questions the suitability of cold and moist food for Melville.⁵⁸ Such tropes encourage the judgment that the poem dates from this later period, after Johnston's return from his medical experience.

Johnston's poem develops an exchange between Johnston and Tilenus about the effects of water and wine. Tilenus espouses the latter; Johnston prefers water. The poem employs a range of classical allusions, from Johnston's customary Ovid, Virgil and Horace, to references to Ennius and Pindar. In the comparison of water and wine, Tilenus' association with wine is seen as a means to gather strength for battle; Johnston's activity as poet is better suited to pure springs of water.⁵⁹ Disagreement escalates; Tilenus is accused of being stupefied by Bacchus. He responds in turn by rejecting the gift of the melon:

Melo ingrate epulis procul hinc, ingrate cubili
Hinc procul, haud utor conditione tua.⁶⁰
[Unpleasing melon, go far away from this feast, this couch, I do not wish to use
you as you are.]

Johnston's final comment is that a man who dislikes melon must be old, and unable to cope with it. Johnston will therefore send Tilenus no more melons, and the latter will send him no more poetry:

Ergo melos post hac nullum missure, Tilene,
Melonemque a me nullum habiture, Vale.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Ibid., ii, 129, ll. 3-12.

⁵⁷ Homer, *Odysey* IV.230. There, Helen prepares an appropriate prescription. Equally, however, Johnston could be recalling Galen, *De simplicium*, where the quantity and nature of the drug and its appropriateness to the humour are emphasised.

⁵⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 130, [ll. 19-24].

⁵⁹ Ibid., ii, 131. l. 37.

⁶⁰ Ibid., ii, 135, [ll. 89-90].

⁶¹ Ibid., ii, 135, [ll. 99-00].

[Therefore, Tilenus, since hereon you will send no lines, you will receive no melon from me, Farewell]

Melons were certainly eaten at the time and their medical efficacy on the balance of the humours was discussed.⁶² The poem functions rather better, however, as a 'game' about the comparative effects of water and wine. It is a darker poem than the two earlier examples in this *Lusus* collection, with fewer moments of humour. It is longer – fourteen stanzas rather than the eleven. There is no reconciliation at the end, and it finishes abruptly with a seeming exasperation which the humour does not successfully hide. In *De aedibus*, Johnston's earlier criticism of Tilenus's house – and perhaps his academic stance – camaraderie was reasserted at the close. Here Johnston is making a point about the changing relationship of the two men.

Johnston was critical of religious enthusiasm, as evident in his later attacks upon Sabbatarianism, and he preferred a confessional stance which found room for irenic co-existence. It was possible to do so without denying Calvinist doctrine. The lack of any recorded criticism or approval, by his friends and by others within the Reformed world, of any confessional ambivalence on Johnston's part during his time in Sedan, suggests that Johnston's reputation was within the camp of Reformed theological orthodoxy. He preferred to avoid scholastic excess in interpretation of Calvin, and at the same time the complications of heterodoxy. The disconcerting suppression by Spang, editor of his posthumously printed works, of Johnston's final poetic criticism of the Covenant in 1638 also fits this picture.

Tilenus's 'gathering of strength for battle' through wine may be more than just a commonplace. In preferring wine to water, Johnston may suggest that Tilenus has abrogated self-control. In stanza twelve he is 'lymphaticus', or distracted, suggesting a judgment by Johnston on Tilenus's views.⁶³ St Irenaeus had used the term 'melon' in his criticism of the excessive arguments surrounding Gnostic terminology; Johnston may have intended his lines as a criticism of a culture of religious polemic.⁶⁴ He had made such a criticism, but then couched in humour, in *De aedibus* of 1612; Tilenus may stand accused here of undermining Calvinist consensus through his arguments, and perhaps also the humanist code of civility.

⁶² Stephen Bamforth, 'Melons and wine: Montaigne and joie de vivre in Renaissance France', in Susan Harrow and Timothy A. Unwin (eds.), *"Joie de vivre" in French Literature and Culture: Essays in Honour of Michael Freeman* (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 99-128, at pp. 105-16.

⁶³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 133-34.

⁶⁴ Irenaeus, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus haereses ...* ed. William Wigan Harvey (Cambridge, 1857), 1.11.4.

The Synod of Dort: The Departure of Tilenus from Sedan

The nuances within *De melone* should be read in the context of the crisis experienced by the Reformed movement at the Synod of Dort. The followers of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), including Conrad Vorstius (1569-1622), with whom the 'orthodox' Tilenus had earlier had his public disagreement, had adopted a stance which broadened God's Grace and at the same time allowed some contribution by man to his own Salvation.⁶⁵ The division drew in many scholastic points of difference, but at the core of the distinction between orthodox Calvinism and its Arminian form was an argument about God's sovereignty. Arminianism favoured an interpretation of Calvin's ambivalent writings which allowed some element of Free Will in the human striving for salvation, and questioned the interpretation of Calvin which emphasised irresistible Grace given to the Elect. The Arminian challenge, which emerged in 1610 with the publication of their Remonstrance, accorded with the tradition of toleration and latitude for discussion in Dutch society, and found earlier form in the writing of Erasmus, with his irenic principle of *adiaphora*. The tendency towards allowing 'Religion to be professed in a certain latitude, the bounds whereof they enlarge' was a complaint raised by Ambassador Winwood to Secretary Cecil in 1611 at the height of the Vorstius controversy.⁶⁶ The Arminian stance became enmeshed in a political argument when the Arminian group gained power in the state of Holland.

The struggle in the Dutch polity was also a struggle between the rigid Calvinism of the more rural provinces, allied to the urban poor, and the central areas of Holland and Utrecht which favoured a more tolerant approach. It was also a political struggle between the States of Holland – tolerant and inclined to continue the twelve year truce of 1609 with Spain – and Maurice the Stadtholder who favoured war, and acted in the name of orthodoxy alongside the anti-Remonstrant group. Giving further focus to this was a personal contest between Gomarus, of the Counter-Remonstrants, and Vorstius, when the latter's name was advanced by Leiden University to the empty chair of Arminius. The Synod of Dort was summoned by the States General of the Provinces to cut this personal, political and religious knot. At the same time international support was sought from European theologians, and

⁶⁵ Blom, 'Styles of Heterodoxy', p. 58 ff. Blom examines the variety of responses to the question of heterodoxy among the Dutch Contra-Remonstrants, whose views were at the core of the crisis at Dort.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 50-64. Frederick Shriver, 'Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius Affair', *The English Historical Review*, 85/3 (1970), 449-74, at p. 456.

considerable pressure was exercised by James in London, who had found his public stance in the oath controversy now associated with Vorstius's position in *De deo* – a position which carried accusations of Socinianism. The Counter-Remonstrants focused at the Synod upon the central tenets of faith rather than any prescription of latitude or political association, and declared the Remonstrants' Five Articles of 1610 to be a heterodox stance. Occasional rewording of the 1610 Articles was employed by them to make the condemnation stick, particularly on the matter of double predestination, which was in essence accepted by both sides.⁶⁷ In 1619 the States General of the Dutch Republic restated the orthodox position, endorsing the Heidelberg and Belgic Confessions in the Canons of Dort, and then deprived some two hundred Arminian supporters of their pulpits and their power in the state, and Grotius of his liberty, and Oldenbarneveld, of his life.

By royal command no representative of the French Huguenot church attended the synod of Dort, although Tilenus was present as a professor from the independent principality of Sedan.⁶⁸ In the international situation after the Dutch upheaval, his rejection of the rigid outcomes of Dort and his espousal of the liberal Arminian interpretation of Calvin could not be accommodated in a Huguenot academy which was linked to Frederick of the Palatinate and to the House of Orange. Confessional lines, which for a combination of personal, political and international reasons had been carved at Dort through the previously broad Calvinism, were reinforced in Sedan. Sedan situated itself within the Huguenot world, despite its independent status. After the death of Henri IV the growth of Catholic influence in Paris led the Reformed Church of France to associate itself, at the Synod of Alais, with the rigidity of Dort, the only foreign church to do so officially.⁶⁹ Within a few years, however, changes in the political and theological climate of the Provinces brought the return of the Arminian clergy, and the Huguenots were prepared once again to allow latitude; Moses Amyraut would argue successfully at Saumur for an interpretation of Grace

⁶⁷ Foster, 'Liberal Calvinism', pp. 13-18. It was the matter of resistible Grace which caused most division, even among those who stood together. Gomarus, the leader of the Contra-Remonstrants was more extreme than Calvin's theory and was forced to compromise.

⁶⁸ Karin Maag, 'The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future', in Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 139-56, at pp. 153-54. Maag suggests that a deliberate policy of isolation was adopted by the French court in order to undermine the strength of the Huguenots.

⁶⁹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 101. Foster, 'Liberal Calvinism', p. 24.

which offered salvation to all men and not just the Elect. In 1619 however, Bouillon broke with Tilenus, for reasons of state, and the latter left Sedan in 1620.

Johnston's Response to Calvinist Rigidity

In retrospect, Huguenot historiography preferred to read into these events a steady decline by Tilenus into heresy and apostasy.⁷⁰ If the confessional interpretation of the *Lusus* poems is correct, then Johnston judged Tilenus's intra-Calvinist engagements to be unwise. In the first *Lusus* poem, around 1613, he had counselled restraint and offered criticism of Tilenus's theological polemic with Dumoulin. Yet in the *Propempticon* in 1618, he was unequivocal in his praise of Tilenus's theological teaching. His picture of Tilenus is that of a professor of standing and ability, offering inspiring teaching. Melville, too, in 1617 praised Tilenus in his skill as *praeses* in a disputation on the matter of Justification; clearly the two men could find agreement in argument. Melville referred to Tilenus as the bringer of justice to the thesis.⁷¹ Johnston's *De melone*, written perhaps shortly after that, displays more astute criticism, however. The poem is directed 'ad Andream Melvinum'; Melville favoured the drawing of confessional boundaries, and Johnston may be criticising Melville's position, even more than that of Tilenus. Melville, as the poem remarks, was an old man. With Johnston's dislike of theological argument and inclination towards irenical coexistence, Melville's rigid confessionalism was inappropriate. Irenicists in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries turned to the concept of *adiaphora* as a means of ensuring Reformed unity, partly in the face of increasing Roman aggression after the Council of Trent. James VI and I looked to the concept in his efforts to undermine rumbling opposition to the Articles of Perth of 1618, and to persuade critics into supporting him in his desire to impose upon the Kirk a greater congruence with Anglican practices. Melville had argued against the idea with James VI and I at their meeting at Hampton Court in 1606, and he had probably maintained that rigid position in Sedan.⁷²

⁷⁰ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 103-04. In McCrie's hagiographical biography of Melville, responsibility for Tilenus's departure is attributed to Melville 'and others'. McCrie maintains from a statement in Wodrow's *Life of Boyd of Tochrig* that Tilenus taught a committed stance of Arminian opinions to his students, thus causing *furor* in Sedan. Wodrow, *Lives*, II, 194.

⁷¹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 198-99. Henry M. B. Reid, *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow, 1545-1654* (Glasgow, 1917), p. 78. Reid finds it incredible that two men from opposing standpoints could have agreed, and explains it through the effects of the gorgonism of the times.

⁷² King, 'Andrew and James Melville'.

Some suggestion of Johnston's irenic preference may be detected in the poems inspired by his stay in Padua. Those poems expressed his preference for the contemplative atmosphere of the Paduan anatomical theatre, and for a rhetorical pedagogy based upon observation leading to ratiocinative certainty, rather than upon disputatious display. Johnston had built a reputation in Heidelberg and Sedan upon his skill as *praeses* in disputations, an approach which focused upon challenge and argument over small points. Fabrici in the Paduan theatre moved the study of anatomy away from such scholastic formalism and employed an inductive observation of nature.⁷³ Johnston, on his return, remained Sedan's Professor of Philosophy, but this experience in Padua perhaps heralded the beginnings of change. These questions of latitude and *adiaphora* would have been in Johnston's mind in 1619, and *De melone* may embody an intention to comment to his friends upon confessional intrusion into the lives of these scholars.

Johnston's departure from Sedan

Johnston probably visited London in 1619 and in 1620, arranging for the publication of his poems on Eglishem and the Bohemian Crisis. He also left traces in Aberdeen, where he became a burghess of the city in 1622 and commissioned from Jamesone a portrait to mark that event. Around 1623 he resigned his post of Professor of Philosophy in Sedan and exchanged that world for the unified Stuart realms, for which he felt a loyalty which begins to shine through in many of the poems.⁷⁴ The decision to return home is unexpected; the Sedan poetry still speaks of a friendship with Tilenus in 1617 and 1618, and he enjoyed an established family life. Any links which may still have existed with Aberdeen, on the other hand, would have become tenuous after twenty years of absence, and he would face the challenge of inserting his family into that world.

A positive vision of a role in the world of medicine and in the world of Scottish and European Letters emerge as factors encouraging his departure from Sedan; negative developments probably also had a role. He later wrote of his regret at the change in his situation, which he says was brought upon him by the troubles in

⁷³ Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, p. 73. Grafton and Jardine detect a similar emphasis in the earlier teachings of Lorenzo Valla and his attack upon formalism: 'In the *Dialecticae disputationes* Valla combines assault on traditional dialectic with constructive thinking on the effective means of adding ratiocinative strength to the *Elegantiae*'.

⁷⁴ The sources are mostly in agreement that Johnston surrendered his Sedanese chairs in 1623.

Bohemia.⁷⁵ The international network placed the Academy politically and geographically close to the rapidly developing conflict occasioned by the Bohemian Revolt in 1618.⁷⁶ Frederick of the Palatinate had visited Sedan in July 1617 to confer with Bouillon about the forthcoming Imperial election.⁷⁷ With the formal offer by the Protestant nobles of the crown of Bohemia to Ludwig's brother in 1619, and his subsequent coronation as King of Bohemia in November of that year, a substantial threat faced Sedan, with its links to the Palatinate and the Netherlands. After the disaster for Protestantism at the Battle of the White Mountain in November of 1620 the prospects for the Huguenot Academy looked bleak.

By then Johnston had already visited London and was engaged in publishing, albeit anonymously, for the Protestant cause in the Bohemian Crisis. The Habsburgs' military advance into the Palatinate in 1620 is evident in Johnston's final Crisis poem – a propaganda piece which records his alarm about the movement of troops, and makes clear his view about the moral and legal rectitude of the Palatinate's cause – a incitement to British troops to intervene. Tilenus also was in London in 1620, enjoying favourable discussions with James VI and I, now happy that Tilenus should be voluble rather than silent. In 1620 Tilenus published against the Scottish Presbyterians' rash support for the resolutions of Dort.⁷⁸ James was willing to receive Tilenus's tract in support for his own stand against Presbyterian rigidity.⁷⁹ Indeed, James acted as patron, and financed the tract. Johnston, too, probably shared Tilenus's opinion of the Presbyterians' support for the confessional boundaries etched at Dort. The London imprint of Tilenus's work displays the printer's mark of William Stansby – the printer whom Johnston employed for his poems commenting on Eglisheim and on the Bohemian Crisis, published around the same time. Although it is difficult to trace their movements, Tilenus and Johnston may have been acting in concert.

The evidence from Johnston's poems from these later Sedan years inclines us, therefore, towards the judgment that matters connected to Johnston's group of friends and their religious positions contributed to a decision to move. Johnston and Tilenus

⁷⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 188-94; *ibid.*, i, 233-38.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, i, xvi. Geddes refers to Sedan being at that moment 'on the verge of the burning crater'.

⁷⁷ S. L. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: religious alliance with the West European Calvinist communities as a political issue in England, 1585-1630' (unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1973), p. 274.

⁷⁸ Daniel Tilenus, *Paraenesis ad Scotos, Genevensis disciplinae zelotas* (St Andrews(?) and London, 1620).

⁷⁹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. 115-16.

were close friends and had stood as godfather to each other's children. Along with Melville, the trio of poets was renowned within the Academy – enough for the student Bochart to persuade them to fill his *album amicorum* with their poems. It is possible to tie conclusively Johnston's decision to depart to these emerging confessional difficulties and to the departure of Tilenus from Sedan.

Conclusion

The Synod of Dort opened a fault line between the theological worlds of the Huguenot Church and Daniel Tilenus. Theological stances within International Calvinism became sharper and condemnation for heterodoxy, and consequent exclusion, replaced previous policies of persuasion into orthodoxy, or at least silence. The series of poems which Johnston composed for his friends during the Sedan years, hints at his regret about this development of theological argument, expressing sympathy for Tilenus's position, and for an irenical approach. Their humour indicates his toleration of a degree of heterodoxy in Tilenus's theology, and suggests that Melville was less tolerant. Johnston clearly preferred to avoid confessional demarcation lines, and the repercussions of the separation of Tilenus and Bouillon probably encouraged Johnston to retreat to a more agreeable humanist environment, with a philosopher king open to moderation and to classical learning. He may have acted with Tilenus in arranging their visits to Britain. He may also have judged that the pursuit of a medical life would allow him to distance himself from these religious troubles.

PART III

Chapter 6

The Eglisheim Satire

The Republic of Letters: Polemics and War.

In 1619 Johnston, at about the age of forty, embarked upon a new stage in his life and career. Into the difficult religious situation which had undermined his settled world in Sedan came a number of disparate events which further disturbed his life. In 1618 George Eglisheim, another physician and Latin poet, challenged the poetic prowess of George Buchanan, and Johnston saw an opportunity to make his poetic name, and his medical name. Thereafter, a political and religious crisis emerged in central Europe, provoked by events in Bohemia. This conjunction contributed to Johnston's decision to end his European residence of twenty years and to return to Scotland.

This short span of three or four years witnessed the first moves in Johnston's public poetic career, with published poems aimed at a wide audience of the humanist, scholarly world. We can tie the composition of five poems to these years 1619-22. Establishing the precise timing of the composition of these poems presents difficulty. It is certain, however, that in 1619 there appeared the first of two lengthy poems which make up a satire upon a pamphlet of Eglisheim, who in a *Duellum poeticum* of 1618 had objected to the pre-eminence of George Buchanan's Latin versification of the Psalms.¹ Johnston's second comment upon the views of this opinionated doctor followed in 1620.² At five hundred and sixty-eight lines, this is the longest of Johnston's published poems. It is an Ovidian tale of the downfall of a messenger from

¹ George Eglisheim, *Duellum poeticum. Contendentibus, Georgio Eglisemio medico regio, & Georgio Buchanano regio praeceptore. Pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi centisimi quarti. Adiectis prophylacticis aduersus Andrae Meluini Cauillum in aram Regiam, aliisq[ue]; epigrammatis* (London, 1618). Arthur Johnston, *Consilium collegii medici Parisiensis de mania G. Eglisheimii, quam prodidit scripto cui titulus; Duellum poeticum pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi CIII decertantibus G. Eglisemio Medico, Buchanano Paedonomo regio, quod Parisiensis Academiae iudicio submisit* (Paris [London?] and Edinburgh, 1619). *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 14-28.

² Arthur Johnston, *Onopordus Furens. Autoribus Philologis Parisiensibus* (Paris [London?], 1620). *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 29-50.

Hades, and it took further the criticism of Eglissem in the first poem. Johnston then accompanied this entry into the world of published poetry with a further incursion (possibly even temporally overlapping the second Eglissem poem), in the form of three poems on the Bohemian Crisis of 1618-20.³ These reflect upon the outbreak of hostilities between Frederick V, Elector Palatine, recently elected King of Bohemia, and Ferdinand of Styria, Holy Roman Emperor and recently deposed King of Bohemia – hostilities which were to broaden and lengthen into the Thirty Years War. Johnston took up Buchanan's mantle of *vates* and offered advice on this Bohemian-Palatine issue to men of influence in London, and to other concerned members of the Republic of Letters.

Johnston's published writing after 1618 reveals three intentions. He aimed to display his classical learning and poetic skills, particularly in emulation of the writing of Ovid and Horace; at the same time he allowed a Scottish literary allegiance to emerge in his defence of Buchanan against Eglissem. Additionally, he pursued a medical position at the Jacobean court, and his writing on the events in Bohemia and the Palatinate suggests that he wished to be recognised as an adviser to those with influence in London. The strong friendship links which he had built with Tilenus and others in Sedan had flourished in that international world; a stronger Scottish and British element now emerged as Johnston moved to foster with his own writing the contribution which Scottish Letters traditionally offered to the Republic of Letters.

Eglissem: The Initial Imprint

The stated purpose of Johnston's satirical attack upon Eglissem is clear. Eglissem had criticised George Buchanan's poetic skills, and Johnston would point out the absurdity of such a step. Other aspects of these poems, however, present a greater challenge. There are, first of all, intriguing difficulties in defining the precise location of their printing. *Consilium collegii*, the first poem, appears to have been printed simultaneously in Edinburgh and Paris in 1619. An examination of the two editions reveals such a high level of congruency of syntax and orthography that we can probably attribute the two pamphlets to the same manuscript or to two very accurately scribed copies of the same one. There are distinctions in the typeface and in the approach to abbreviation which implies the use of two different types: the

³ Arthur Johnston, *Querelae Saravictonis & Biomeae* ([n.p.], 1620). Arthur Johnston, *Nicrina ad Heroas Anglos* (Heidelberg [London?], 1620). *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 53-85.

Edinburgh copy is more prone to employ abbreviation, such as ‘:’ for the suffix ‘-que’, and has a greater tendency to suppress letters. It would seem that there was simultaneous, or temporally close, publication in two different print houses. Entries in both Aldis and the *Short Title Catalogue* (second edition) note a provenance of Edinburgh for one of the copies, from the press of Andrew Hart (both clearly stated on the title page).⁴ There is no corroborative printer’s mark on the title page but it is unlikely that another press would make use of Hart’s name. The poem finishes with Johnston’s motto, *Virtus nos Ornat*.

The *STC* offers an alternative provenance for the copy purporting to originate in Paris; a false printing is proposed, with London as the more likely origin, and the workshop of William Stansby.⁵ The printer’s mark on the title page of this edition is a small, abstract motif, not listed in McKerrow’s *Printers’ and Publishers’ Devices in England*.⁶ This mark and others of a similar design can be found in the output of a wide range of printers operating in London and in Europe, as part of decorative border flourishes or other compartments. The design can easily be repeated for a lattice effect. It seems likely that this mark was originally a section of such a border, and a brief survey of works printed in London between 1618 and 1624, and digitised on *Early English Books* online, reveals widespread use of such designs in the presses of Bill, Alde, Eld, Alsop, Jones and Stansby; in the printed works of Alde digitised on *EEBO*, for example, such an element occurs in about half of their production, while in the works of Stansby it is less frequent. Employing such a mark as a printer’s mark could add an air of genuineness and confuse any effort to detect the origin. It appears in 1620 as the mark on a mathematical treatise by Edmund Gunter, involving Napier’s logarithms; there, Stansby’s name is asserted as printer.⁷ The *STC* may have based its judgment about the *Consilium collegii* partly upon this work. Several anonymous publications, besides Johnston’s, also carry the mark, many on the topic of the

⁴ Harry G. Aldis, *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700: including those printed furth of the realm for Scottish booksellers with brief notes on the printers and stationers*, 1st ed. reprinted with additions including entries for books published in 1700 (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 16. Alfred W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd ed. rev. & enl. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer (3 vols., London, 1976-91), i, 30.

⁵ Pollard and Redgrave, *STC* (second edition), i, 30.

⁶ R. B. McKerrow, *Printers’ & Publishers’ Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London, 1913).

⁷ Edmund Gunter and John Tapp, *A canon of triangles: or A table of artificiall sines, tangents, and secants, drawne from the logarithmes of the lord of Merchistone: Whereby all sphericall triangles are most easily resolved by addition and subtraction onely* (London, 1620).

Bohemian crisis. The *STC* proposes Stansby as the printer for many of these, and also points to Stansby as the printer of Johnston's subsequent poems of this period, the *Querelae Saravictionis et Biomea*. For that work, a printer attribution of Stansby is easier to argue. Coincidentally, that work also bears the abstract motif, combined on that occasion into a decorative border.

The printer of Johnston's satire probably had much to gain. An attack upon one of the doctors in the royal circle would be of interest to London's educated *milieu*, particularly as it was such a competent display of Latin poetic skill, medical knowledge, classical allusion and humour. The name of Eglisheim was emblazoned on the title page, and he was already well known. Johnston's satire, when it reappeared as part of his *oeuvre* in 1632, stepped back from the realm of comment upon current events and became an enjoyable conceit of classical allusion, medical humour and the re-telling of myth. In 1620 John Leech (Epigrams II.66) had recommended to Johnston such a retreat into politeness, when his own scurrilous epigram had landed him in gaol.⁸ Eglisheim thus regained his anonymity in 1632 and became just *Medicaster Hypomorous*.⁹ As they originally stood however, Johnston's two poems were a scurrilous, but enjoyable *duo* of satires aimed at a public figure. Concealing the production in London may have been advisable where Eglisheim or a patron could have interfered; Scotland was perhaps at a safe enough distance, geographically and politically, to allow print responsibility to emerge. The political distance between Edinburgh and London is represented by the interesting lack of any publications emanating from the presses in Edinburgh or Aberdeen (reflected in Aldis) about the Bohemian crisis, while such productions in support of the Bohemian cause flooded from the presses in London. The deception in London, however, was not complete. The false printer's mark would have suggested that the poems had emerged from one of those print houses in London which regularly used the motif. And the literary style of classical allusion, and the motto at the close of the poem, would have been helpful aids to detection.

The imprint of Johnston's second poem, *Onopordus Furens*, presents further challenges. Only three copies of the initial edition of this work seem to have survived,

⁸ Dana Sutton, 'John Leech', *The Philological Museum*, <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/leech/contents.html>> accessed 8 August 2013. John Leech, *Ioannis Leochaëi Scoti, Musae priores, siue Poematum pars prior* (London, 1620), pp. 15-16. Leech's attack on Eglisheim, which makes reference to Johnston's conceit of Eglisheim as an ass (I.47), is entitled *Epigrammata, In Buchanano-mastigis Onopordi, arrogantiam*.

⁹ Johnston, *Parerga*, pp. 3-28. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 14-37.

held in Aberdeen University, the Bibliothèque Nationale and Harvard University, but its attribution to Johnston is made secure by his inclusion of it in his *Parerga* of 1632. The gentle humour of the *Consilium collegii* is replaced here by a much more virulent and bawdy abuse of Eglisheim. In this poem Eglisheim is never mentioned by name, but his participation in the tale is clear in a reference near the opening which picks up a theme from the end of *Consilium collegii* and thus links the two works. Johnston later made a veiled reference to Eglisheim in a poem dedicated to Chancellor Hay, and composed by Johnston during his residence in Aberdeen. In this, he alludes to his happy life of twenty-four years under a foreign sun, listing those events upon which he had previously written, including the contest between the Holy Roman Emperor and Bohemia - the ‘quarrels of *Saravicto* and *Biomea*’ – and the enjoyment he had had with Eglisheim:

Sole sub ignoto vixi ter messibus octo,
 Et melior vitae pars fuit illa meae.
 Sub Iove securus cantabam Phyllidis ignes,
 Et, quibus incalui non semel ipse, faces.
 Tunc Saravictionias, et quas Biomea querelas
 Fudit, et Aeoliden dicere, lusus erat.¹⁰
 [Under a foreign sun I lived for twenty four years, and that was the better part of my life.
 Free from care beneath the sky I sang of my love for Phyllida, and the passion with which I have not since burned.
 Then there broke out the quarrels of Saravicto and Biomea, and there was the game with the one called Aeolides.]

The name *Aeolides* directly alludes to *Onopordus furens*, to that section where a name is being discussed for the infant:

Tum caput irrorans Acheron, vocitabere Brontes;
 Persephone Aeolides; Dis, Onopordus, ait.¹¹
 [Then, sprinkling his head, Acheron suggested that he be called Brontes;
 Persephone preferred Aeolides; Dis said Onopordus.]

By referring to Eglisheim as *Aeolides* in this later poem to Hay, Johnston has softened the insult – assuming that ‘windbag’ would have been less objectionable in the 1630s than ‘prickly individual’ or perhaps even ‘ass’s fart’. ‘Onopordus’, the name which was used in 1620, could have some association with ‘onopyxos’ [thistle] and Dana Sutton in his online Introduction to the poetry of John Leech prefers that solution. ‘Ono’ implies ‘ass’, however, as in ‘onocoetes’ [one (i.e. Christ) who has lain in the

¹⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 237, ll. 97-102.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 36, ll. 103-04.

manger of an ass], or ‘ono-centaurus’ for a hybrid ass-centaur. Additionally, Onopordus was entirely air, weighing almost nothing:

Ut littus tetigere, ratem de littore saltu
Occupat Aeolides, subsequiturque senex.
Excipit una duos puppis; sed pondus ab uno est:
Qua satus, Aeolidem fecerat aula levem.¹²

[When they reached the shore Aeolides jumped from the bank into the boat, and the old man followed.

The ship received the two of them, but there was only one weight: the air from which Aeolides was constructed weighed little.]

Onopordus was created from the foul breath of the Furies and emerged from the body of an ass. Johnston left to his readers the task of unravelling the full import of the name. The subsequent softening to Aeolides, and the very limited survival rate of the first edition of *Onopordus*, may suggest that the title’s scurrility was perhaps too much for early seventeenth-century taste. It may also have run into some opposition at court in London, where John Leech was also meeting up with opposition from Eglisheim and an episcopal patron.¹³

The original copies of *Onopordus* indicate Paris as the place of imprint. The *STC* makes no mention of this pamphlet, nor does Aldis, and the printer’s mark on the cover of the copy held in Aberdeen is entirely different from the previous *Consilium collegii*. A survey of publications in London in 1620 reveals no examples of that mark in use as a printer’s mark, although a similar mark does appear as a decorative compartment in Eglisheim’s own publication.¹⁴ A similar mark was also in use in Paris, for example by Gueffier.¹⁵ It may be, therefore, that Johnston’s second poem was indeed printed in Paris. Johnston could have passed through there on his way to London, and was possibly reunited there with Tilenus in 1620. The latter had been in Paris since his departure from Sedan in 1619, except for a brief sortie to the Chateaux de l’Isle, near Orléans in April 1620, to take part in a disputation with John Cameron, Professor of Theology at Saumur, on the question of Grace and Free Will.¹⁶ Tilenus also composed a short epitaph on the fictional death of *Onopordus* to accompany

¹² Ibid., i, 40, ll. 257-60.

¹³ Sutton, ‘John Leech’, *The Philological Museum*, Introduction.

¹⁴ Eglisheim, *Duellum poeticum*, sig. A4.

¹⁵ Guillaume Du Peyrat, *Le Dauphin, ou l’image d’un grand roy, tirée des propriétés du Dauphin du ciel et de la mer* (Paris, 1605).

¹⁶ Haag and Haag, *La France Protestante*, ix, 384.

Johnston's second satire on Eglisheim, and both poems could have been printed in Paris before both men travelled to London.¹⁷

In London, Tilenus also made use of the press of Stansby, introduced perhaps by Johnston, to publish his attack on Scottish Presbyterian enthusiasm for the outcome of the Synod of Dort. Tilenus's *Paraenesis* carries the same printer's mark as Johnston's poems on the Bohemian Crisis, also published by Stansby that summer.¹⁸ By this time Johnston had clearly built up useful contacts with that London printing house – a link which was then further developed in the printing of his Crisis poems. A case might reasonably be made, therefore, for the surreptitious publication of *Onopordus furens* by Stansby.

Whether printed in Paris and taken to London, or printed in London by Stansby, *Onopordus furens* was in circulation there in the summer of 1620, as part of Johnston's continuing campaign against Eglisheim, and his efforts to advance his own position among the Latin élite. In that summer Johnston built up a friendship with John Leech, who had returned from France and was in the process of seeing his book of epigrams through the presses. One of those (III.66) complains of their shared woes. Another (II.60) sets up the playful conceit of Leech and Johnston having missed each other in their attempt to meet in London. Eglisheim was clearly in both of their minds and Leech introduced Eglisheim into that poem under the name created by Johnston: *Onopordus*, writes Leech, would have taken pleasure at their difficulties.¹⁹

Eglisheim's Challenge: The *Duellum poeticum*

An explanation, *prima facie*, for Johnston's Parisian deception can be found in the framework of the poetic exchange between Eglisheim and Johnston. Eglisheim issued a provocative challenge to a tradition within Scottish and European Latinity: he questioned the elevated status held by George Buchanan, and particularly by his Latin versification of the Psalms, and he called upon the Sorbonne to judge the matter. In doing so Eglisheim himself introduced Paris, as an important knot in the net of *loci* which made up the European *Respublica litterarum*.²⁰ Eglisheim's work, like

¹⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 51-52.

¹⁸ Tilenus, *Paraenesis*.

¹⁹ Sutton, 'John Leech', *The Philological Museum*.

²⁰ Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester, 2007). This metaphor originates in Davidson, introduced by him as one metaphor for the connections, the variety, and the centrifugal nature of the locations within the Baroque world. It is a metaphor which may also have considerable mileage in a discussion of geographical *loci* during the Renaissance.

Johnston's response, presents some interpretative difficulty. Universally, the extant copies contain two sets of prelims, setting out differing dedications to James VI and I, each collating to four signatures, and each bearing a title page with the mark and name of Edward Allde, the London printer. The first copy is dated 1618 and the second 1619; the *STC* leaves this difficult matter undecided.²¹ It is not possible to know which version of Eglisheim's work Johnston had seen; a copy may have arrived in Sedan in 1618, encouraging Johnston into his poetic response over the winter of 1618-19; or he may have met it in London in 1619, perhaps while pursuing the possibility of a place in the royal circle of doctors. A measured criticism of Eglisheim also appeared from the pen of William Barclay, and this may have been intended as his lever of entry into the royal court;²² Johnston may have been advancing his own interests by a similar method, and to the same end. In his use of *Hypomorus* [dull-witted] for Eglisheim he may have intended to raise memories among his readers of the work for which Eglisheim was known – the *Hypocrisis* of 1612 against Vorstius.²³ In what Thomas Conley has labelled, in another context, a 'rhetoric of insults', Eglisheim set out to destroy the reputation of someone whose memory he knew was already *non grata* at the court of King James.²⁴ Yet there is a reasoned quality to Eglisheim's writing: he offers a criticism of Buchanan's versification of the Psalms, and suggests an alternative. Barclay responded in like manner; Johnston, instead, chose to make his name through satire.

Each of Eglisheim's dedications exudes an excess of flattery of James, and an excess of criticism of Buchanan. Eglisheim opens by declaring Buchanan guilty of *impietatem in Deum, perfidiam in Principem, tyrannidem in Musas*.²⁵ He probably felt that in doing so he was on safe enough ground. Buchanan's political writings had been under proscription in Scotland since 1597, as part of James VI's determination

²¹ Pollard and Redgrave, *STC (second edition)*, I, 341. R. B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a typical trade printer', *The Library*, 4th ser., 10 (1929-30), 121-62. McKerrow saw Allde as a trade printer of poor craftsmanship. He faced prison in 1621 for contributing to the Bohemian propaganda campaign.

²² William Barclay, *Guil: Barclayi amoeniorum artium, & medicinae doctoris, iudicium, de certamine G. Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano, pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi CIIII. Non violandi manes. Adjecta sunt, Eglisemmii ipsum iudicium, ut editum fuit Londini, typis Eduardi Aldaei, ann. Dom. 1619: et in gratiam studiosae iuventutis, ejusdem Psalmi elegans paraphrasis Thomae Rhaedi* (London, 1620). Matthew Steggle, 'Barclay, William (b. c. 1570, d. in or after 1627)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/1353>> accessed 20 September, 2013.

²³ George Eglisheim, *Hypocrisis apologetica orationis Vorstiae; cum secunda provocatione ad C. Vorstium missa* (Delft, 1612).

²⁴ Thomas M. Conley, 'No Way to Pick a Fight: A Note on J. C. Scaliger's First *Oratio contra Erasmus*', *Rhetorica*, 26/3 (2008), 255-65.

²⁵ Eglisheim, *Duellum poeticum*, sig. A2v.

to rid himself of those aspects of his tutor's teaching which had compromised the rights of kingship as James understood it. James had been faced with a nobility exceeding its feudal rights in opposition to his power, as well as Calvinist divines reminding him of the equality of God's elect. James was determined to free himself from those political restrictions which Buchanan had judged to be evidence of Scotland's greatness (alongside her unmatched and unbroken line of kings stretching back into obscurity), that is, the right of her people to challenge and if necessary to depose her ruler; James's view was made clear in 1603 with the publication of *Basilikon doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*.²⁶

Eglisheim opens his analysis of Buchanan's errors with a telling comparison. Just as Buchanan had erred *non minus quam Historiam Scotorum ad dialogos de iure regni*, so he had erred in his writing of Latin psalmody.²⁷ Eglisheim then suggested that in the latter area he, Eglisheim, could do better. He rehearses at some length the faults he has found in Buchanan's versification of Psalm CIV – mainly his perceived errors of style in the choice of words, weaknesses of scansion, and, 'as Julius Scaliger would have pointed out, of philosophical solecism'.²⁸ He offers his translation in parallel with that of Buchanan, and preceded by Jerome's version, for the judgment of the reader.²⁹ He then offers his and Buchanan's versification in a parallel text, along with versions from Arias Montanus's polyglot, and the Protestant version by Tremellius and Junius. Eglisheim is intending to display an approach which is designed to appeal across the confessional divide. In a final flourish Eglisheim indicates that he will pass over other errors and submit his writing to the *limatissimo celeberrimae Parisiensis Academiae iudicio*, ... *utrique nostrum benigna ... parens studiorum*.³⁰ Like many other claims for which Eglisheim was renowned there is no evidence of his ever having studied at the Sorbonne. This submission to a renowned

²⁶ *A dialogue on the law of kingship among the Scots: a critical edition and translation of George Buchanan's De iure regni apud Scotos dialogus*, eds. Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith (Aldershot, 2004). George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (Edinburgh, 1582). *King James VI and I: the Political writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-84.

²⁷ Eglisheim, *Duellum poeticum*, sig. B.

²⁸ Ibid., sig. Bv. J. C. Scaliger is the sole authority upon whom Eglisheim calls in this work. Scaliger's mightily contemptuous and abusive *Oratio pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Des. Erasmus* ([s.n.], 1531) would have been known to Eglisheim, although the reference Eglisheim makes may be to the *Exercitationes*. Scaliger's tendency to self-glorification has a distinct resonance in Eglisheim's criticism.

²⁹ It may be possible to see in elements of this poetic exchange the germ of Johnston's own, later version of Psalm CIV, where he applies his elegiac couplets to this Psalm of praise. Buchanan, on the other hand, had judged the hexameter to be the appropriate metre for this high topic of God's protection for his chosen people.

³⁰ Ibid., sig. B4v.

university can only have been a gesture, confident and, as it turned out, foolhardy. He presumably hoped for a more immediate response from King James, than he might receive from the Sorbonne.

The dramatic submission to the Sorbonne may also have had a stimulus in the link between the two realms of France and Scotland, a link which stretched back through many centuries of shared opposition to English ambitions. Such shared purpose reached a peak with the dynastic link of Mary Queen of Scots to Francis of Valois. Eglisheim was thus placing Buchanan into his traditional Franco-Scottish context. Buchanan's first visit to France occurred in 1520 during his teenage years and it was followed by a period of study under the tutelage of John Major. He then taught in Paris, and began to write Latin verse there. Later came a spell of teaching at the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux and then a final residence back in Paris during the 1550s, after his escape from the censure of the Inquisition in Portugal.³¹ There was understandable reason, therefore, for Eglisheim to appeal to the Sorbonne in the matter of a contest between the Latin styles of Buchanan and himself. George Buchanan's extended stay in France and his participation in an august French Latinate culture made French Latinists the natural judges.

Johnston, however, was quick to pounce upon this gesture. Eglisheim had submitted his argument to the College of the Sorbonne; why should the College not issue an answer? Johnston penned the response of the Medical Faculty of the Sorbonne; it declared Eglisheim to be mad. His madness was not that of the classical poet, not the madness of the *Pythia* pronouncing her judgment, not even madness of the *vates* inspired to offer advice to the ruler; instead, Eglisheim was just medically insane. For those who considered madness to be a punishment imposed by God, medical interference was often regarded as a dangerous materialism.³² Johnston, in his discussion and parodying of the state of mind which had led Eglisheim to publish, avoids almost entirely the suggestion of any religious character in the disease. The foolish contribution of Eglisheim to the world of letters is to be explained in medical terms. At the end of his poem, Johnston does briefly introduce the notion of a religious connection, but then only to describe a ritual cure in a bizarre, cultish rite.

Eglisheim's writing appends the title *medico regio* to his name. There is no specific evidence to back up his claim to that title, although he was in the circle of the

³¹ Ian D. Mcfarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981).

³² Henry, 'Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century', p. 87.

royal doctors.³³ It is therefore possible to interpret his attack on the public perception of Buchanan as having the additional purpose of further ingratiating himself into James's favour. He also attacked Melville's epigram criticising the royal altar, a move designed to appeal to James. By pointing out the supposed weaknesses of Buchanan's Latin, and adding examples of his own, Eglishem could raise his own profile and his status in James's eyes. His attack probably also had the purpose of fostering his own membership of the Republic of Letters, through the conceit of seeking a judgment from the Sorbonne. His work would demonstrate his own Latin scholarship, and a number of his poems and epigrams were included after his attack on Buchanan.

Johnston's Response

Johnston, in his response to Eglishem's writing, combined poetic and medical comment. Poetic and medical skills were linked in the classical and Renaissance mind. The *vates*, the poet-seer, had combined a prophetic religious role with a quasi-medical or scientific role as the taker of the augurs. The Delphic oracle had given its answers in poetic riddle form, and that oracle pointed to the shared divine attribution of poets and physicians (and musicians) in the form of the god Apollo. Johnston's motives emerge clearly in the responsive form of his publication to that of Eglishem. By indicating a Parisian imprint Johnston could remain within the conceit created by Eglishem, and at the same time allow it to rebound upon him by offering a negative response from the Sorbonne. The negativity of the response was not restrained to a balanced judgment in Buchanan's favour, however, but took its rejection of Eglishem's work down a path of ridicule, both as poet and as physician. If Johnston knew of Scaliger's attacks upon Erasmus, his approach was rather different, however avoiding vindictiveness by a clever humour. Although scathing in its judgment of Eglishem it uses many more shades of poetic colour, particularly in its weighty allegorical references, situating it in the world of classical myth.

Johnston was clearly aiming to build a wider public reputation, extending the impression he had already given through the poems written and distributed to his friends and colleagues in Sedan. The Republic of Letters laid great store by the creation of reputation, and Johnston clearly appreciated the importance of the printed eulogy, particularly in the prose and verse pieces he later dedicated to Sir John Scot of

³³ Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, pp. 280-81.

Scotstarvet in their joint venture of the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* in 1637, and in the dedications included with his own *Parerga* and *Epigrammata* in 1632. This Eglisheim satire, through the weight of its substance, and its clever interweaving of medical knowledge and classical mythology, was designed to allow Johnston to break out of the world of Sedan. He appended his anagrammatic motto and thus raised curiosity and interest. As his first foray into substantial printed poetry, the satire would extend the reputation which he had been trying to build through manuscript and through the *Propempticon*, printed on a small scale in Sedan.

i. *Consilium collegii*

The *Consilium collegii* opens with Johnston's conceit for the poem – Eglisheim has challenged the skill with which Buchanan composed poetry; Eglisheim must be mad. He is assailed by the doctors of the Sorbonne as a fake doctor, a quack, a *medicaster*. Opening with the reference to the poet-seer, Johnston continues in classical mode. It is the madness inspired by the gods, as when Athamas and Orestes were afflicted by divine ire. In the fifth couplet of the poem, Johnston shifts from the world of divine intervention and cause, to the world of natural cause. We are still in the classical period, but we step out of mythology and into the Hippocratic *corpus* and the beginnings of medicine. It is an excess of black bile – 'atra ... bilis' – which is at the root of Eglisheim's trouble.³⁴ Thereupon the poem embarks on an exciting, lengthy and humorous recitation of the gamut of medical views about the causes of madness and its cures. Johnston roots Eglisheim's madness firmly in medical diagnosis.

In the Galenic world of the medical universities like Padua and Paris, the body was composed of four humours – black and yellow bile, blood and phlegm – an excess of any one of which would cause disease. Such an excess could be the result of internal, or external factors, or both. This view fitted Greek natural philosophy and ethics, with its emphasis upon moderation and balance and its use of the four elements of air, earth, fire and water. The four bodily humours each contained a duality of the four qualities of hot, cold, moist and dry, and they were reflected in a person's temperament and the events of their life. Madness, certainly for the early physicians, was produced by an excess of black bile (which came later to be considered the specific cause of one species of madness, melancholia). To cure disease, including

³⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 18, l.9.

madness, it was necessary to restore the humours to harmonious proportion.³⁵ Galen, too, emphasised humoral theory, although he recognised a number of biles and, by the theory of coction, not only was food turned into humour, but humours were turned into each other.³⁶

An imbalance could be caused by many misjudgments in the living of one's life – from diet, or work, to ambient temperature. Galen also allowed for the effects of external damage to the body and Johnston introduces just such a fiction of rabies into Eglisheim's crisis. Eglisheim's madness has led to delusions – the shepherd who thinks he is king, a spider which fears the birds, men who believe they are made of clay or glass.³⁷ He is suffering from a mania. For Galen, an excess of an artificial, burnt black bile ('melancholia adusta') would cause such mania.³⁸ Johnston unrolls a catalogue of symptoms, just as he will later unroll almost the entire history of medical intervention aiming to cure insanity until his own day. The many layers of symptoms in Johnston's poem lead us to suspect that his purpose may not have been to describe one specific form of madness – that would have been too strictly medical – but to allow his description to exaggerate the criticism of Eglisheim and at the same time display Johnston's encyclopaedic grasp.

Johnston suggests that as a doctor, Eglisheim had contracted the disease from a rabid dog. Avicenna had written on the link between mania and rabies, and his classification of madness associated mania with the bite of a dog. Avicenna's description may indeed be the source of Johnston's wealth of knowledge of the symptoms and the treatments for this form of insanity. For Avicenna, both mania and rabies are characterised by aggressive behaviour and delusion. An excess of any type of bile could lead to raving, as the bile forced out the natural spirit which allowed reasoning. Rabies produces a mania with 'a rage that combines play with jest'. Like

³⁵ Ainsworth O' Brien-Moore, 'Madness in Ancient Literature' (unpublished Princeton University Ph.D. thesis, 1924), pp. 35-36. Hippocrates, *De morbo sacro*, eds. W. H. S. Jones, E. T. Withington, Paul Potter, and Wesley D. Smith (Cambridge, MA, 1923), pp. 14-15.

³⁶ Galen, *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*, *Comm. in Hipp.* I.26. Hippocrates had argued for one perfect balance for health; Galen had allowed for a number of such balances, according to an individual's predisposition. Dols, *Majnun: The Madman*, p. 25.

³⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 18, ll. 13-24. Galen, in *De Locis affectis* III.10 also cites such delusions, but as symptoms of melancholia. Other textbooks discussed them anecdotally. Johnston may have seen such texts, and perhaps the much printed one by a royal doctor of Henri IV, André Du Laurens, *A discourse of the preservation of the sight: of melancholike diseases; of rheumes, and of old age. Composed by M. Andreas Laurentius, ordinarie phisition to the King, and publike professor of phisicke in the Vniuersitie of Mompelier. Translated out of French into English, according to the last edition, by Richard Surphlet, practitioner in phisicke* (London, 1599).

³⁸ Dols, *Majnun: The Madman*, pp. 18-19.

melancholy, it is mainly caused by burnt black bile. It is ‘entirely derangement ... and an inhuman appearance ... like that of a wild animal’.³⁹ Johnston employs the metaphor of the animal, lacking reason and thus also lacking humanity; Eglisheim is like a goose among swans, a full-voiced crow, an Arcadian cow.⁴⁰ The incongruity of the madness, writes Johnston, is clear in Eglisheim’s own self-praise:

Blanditur tamen ille sibi, non ipsa Maronis
Carmina, Maenidae non putat aequa suis.⁴¹
[He flatters himself, however, in thinking the songs of Virgil or Homer unequal
to his own.]

Johnston develops a lengthy description of Eglisheim’s descent into madness.⁴² As a previously successful physician, he says, Eglisheim had cured a young Dutch boy of rabies – in reality, the classical physicians thought such a cure very rare – and the tumult of mad, would-be patients pursued him. From them he caught the disease, as one would, he writes, with leprosy or venereal disease. Johnston sidesteps briefly into philosophy, perhaps to provide a moment of enjoyment for his learned readership: the madness was the proximate cause of his trouble, while the rabid dog and the Dutch boy were the more remote causes.⁴³

Amongst this outpouring of medical and classical knowledge Johnston touches upon the worst symptom of the madness – Eglisheim’s questioning of the Latin skills of George Buchanan and his suggestion that his own writing is better. Johnston’s two poems are satirical attacks upon Eglisheim, but they aim, secondarily, to rescue Scottish Letters from Eglisheim’s attack, to foster the status of those Letters among the European humanists, and to stake a claim for his own writing. Eglisheim questioned Buchanan’s Latinate contribution to the *Respublica litterarum*; in his madness he thus put himself outside that civil society. Johnston emphasises this most heinous crime: he had been contemptuous of the very stars, ‘Te vatum, Buchanane, decus / ... dente petit [It is you, Buchanan, the honoured poet-seer, whom he has savaged]’.⁴⁴ Johnston makes a direct connection with Buchanan’s Paraphrase, through his own echo of ‘cultu donata Latino’ from Buchanan’s dedication of his Psalms to Mary, Queen of Scots. His defence of Buchanan reflects his understanding of him as the *epitome* of

³⁹ Ibid., 481-83.

⁴⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 19, ll. 27-30.

⁴¹ Ibid., i, 19, ll. 31-32.

⁴² Ibid., i, 20-21, ll. 79-120.

⁴³ Ibid., i, 21, ll. 98-100.

⁴⁴ Ibid., i, 19, ll. 35-36.

Scotland's contribution to the *Respublica literarum*. Both Scotland's Letters and the *Respublica* are under attack.

Eglisheim's crime is against Apollo and King David, whose lyre has fallen silent. Johnston pursues Eglisheim's insult into the contemporary world; not only has he attacked Scottish Letters, but in so doing he has dishonoured Scotland's king. Buchanan's writing had been with James since he lay in his cradle. The honoured poet has not echoed Homer or Virgil with songs of the deeds of gods and the weapons of men; it is the praises of Eternal God that he has sung. He has written of Scotland's history and leaders, of whom neither Rome nor Greece can boast better. Buchanan had made one slip ['Nisi deliquisset in uno'] but Johnston regards that as outweighed by Buchanan's other teaching – the enthusiasm for study, his encouragement of the love of the Muse, the skills of ruling and of distinguishing royal rule from tyranny:

Hoc duce tu felix: ut rex sis, sanguinis auctor,

Ut reges inter maximus, ille dedit.⁴⁵

[Blessed are you by this teaching: he made you into a king, the greatest among kings, the progenitor of a blood line.]

The remainder of the poem considers cures for madness, from medieval dungeons to remedies current in the medical world of Johnston's time – the use of purgative drugs, and particularly hellebore, as suggested by the ancients. The prescriptions are couched in liberal allusions to the texts of Horace, Virgil and Ovid. Indeed the whole poem demonstrates, besides Johnston's satirical wit and medical skill, an intertextual referencing much more extensive than his previous poems. Some of these allusions would have resonated immediately with his audience, such as that to Horace's *Epistles*, in describing Buchanan's training of moderation in the tender mouth of the boy king: 'finxit et os tenerum puero'.⁴⁶ Others may have been less clear.

As he considers cures for insanity, Johnston cleverly weaves a web of classical allusion to conjure into existence a classical medical world. The cure would not be easy since Phoebus felt gravely the insult to Buchanan. Homer had similarly pointed in the *Iliad* to Agamemnon's discovery, in taking the daughter of Chrysis, that the god had long arms.⁴⁷ The madman, too, resembles Ovid's drowning man in the *Epistulae*

⁴⁵ Ibid., i, 20, ll. 77-78.

⁴⁶ Ibid., i, 20, l. 71. Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA, 1929), II.1.126.

⁴⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 22, ll. 131-34. Homer, *Iliad*, eds. A. T. Murray and William F. Wyatt (2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1999), I.392.

ex Ponto, gasping for breath, thrashing his arms in the water.⁴⁸ Ovid's *Ex Ponto* might also provide the prompt for Johnston's exhortation to Eglishem's doctor:

... omnem
Tolle moram, et promptam, si potes, affer opem.⁴⁹
[Remove delay, and bring help quickly, if you can.]

The first cures – dungeon and restraint – appear extreme and unenlightened, and Johnston justifies them with reference to myths like Leucothoe and her children.⁵⁰ Beatings, too, might help, and here Johnston may be turning again to Arab sources.⁵¹ He moves on to discuss the therapy of venesection, of both the head (distinct, therefore, from Aristotelian associations of madness with the heart) and the knee, where his dependence upon Galen's writings is clearly evident. Galen emphasised the use of bloodletting and his anatomy of monkeys advanced medical knowledge of the venal structure.⁵² Such recommendation is in line with a concomitant use of drugs either to evacuate the bile, or to expel it to another part of the body through the theory of revulsion.⁵³ Johnston suggests the use of hellebore, widely recognised for the treatment of insanity.⁵⁴ It is to be found in the groves of the Aonian heights, he writes. Myth had suggested that it was first picked by Melampus the shepherd, and it was through hellebore that the daughters of Proteus, fleeing the ire of Juno, were steadied in their minds. Two forms exist, he writes, black and white. He describes the small island of Anticyra, a utopia where hellebore grows of such gentleness that it does no harm to the body, and yet of such effectiveness that Carneades, to quicken his wits, drank a potion before his attempt to refute the writings of Zeno.⁵⁵

Johnston, amidst all his analysis of hellebore in the classical world, reminds us of the ulterior aim of his poem – to foster Scotland's place in that re-born classical world. The best source of all for hellebore, he writes, is the Grampian mountains.⁵⁶ Ox-drawn carts must be dispatched. Every hellebore plant must be harvested. The

⁴⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 22, ll. 137-38. Ovid, *Tristia; Ex Ponto*, eds. Arthur Leslie Wheeler and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1996), I.6.34.

⁴⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 22, 141-42. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, II.3.48, II.9.6.

⁵⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 22, ll. 149-50. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV.541-52.

⁵¹ Dols, *Majnun: The Madman*, p. 61.

⁵² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 23-24, ll. 167-90. Galen, *On the Affected Parts*, ed. Rudolph E. Siegel (Basle, 1976), 87. Peter Brain, *Galen on Bloodletting: a Study of the Origins, Development and Validity of his Opinions, with a Translation of the Three Works* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 154-57.

⁵³ Brain, *Galen on Bloodletting*, pp. 129-30.

⁵⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 24, ll. 199-216.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 26, ll. 275-76. Geddes notes the confusion over the location of, and indeed the number of, Anticyra(s).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 25-26, ll. 217-52.

patient should imbibe of this hellebore and nothing else – and inhale it, and take it in through his ears. Bracelets and necklaces of it must be hung around him, with appropriate singing. Its dust must be sprinkled upon him. His room must be full of the plant. With great humour, therefore, Scotland is revealed as a source of hellebore to cure madness; with greater seriousness, as evinced by Buchanan's and Johnston's writings, Scotland is also a source of good poetry and learning, again to soothe the soul and the body. Johnston places Scottish geography onto the classical mythological map, and reinforces the place of Scottish writing on the map of the Republic of Letters.

Instead of drawing the poem to a close with this message, one further burst of humour – a black humour – appears; religion could be resorted to as a cure, and Johnston introduces this idea in language which trumpets his confessional antipathies. Failing enough hellebore being found – in medical reality hellebore was used in very small quantities because of its powerful effect – there remained the efficacy of prayer. With scorn Johnston describes the cult of St Hubert, based in the Ardennes, not far from his home in Sedan. He describes the popular local practice of curing insanity by submission to religious ritual, and the eyewitness detail which he offers suggests that he may have visited the site, and perhaps even have witnessed the ceremony. With pagan resonances he describes the temple with its wooden statue of St Hubert, noted for his power to expel rabies. The humour, with which he had enlivened his description of the medical cures, noticeably lessens as he ridicules a religious process which sheds blood on the ground. He leaves aside all allusion to the classical world, and describes the rite in the vernacular Latin of the lives of the Protestant scholars. His repetition of the number three matches the incantations of a cultish rite, and manifests a sense of anger on the poet's part:

Non tamen extemplo linquit furor; ante sacerdos
 Ter caput irrorans crimina lustrat aquis.
 Ter niveam indutus vestem procumbit ad aram,
 Raucaque ter mussans murmura farre litat.
 Tunc ante ora Dei vinclis circumdatus aeger
 Sternitur, et supplex oscula figit humo.
 His fovea est vicina Deo, caput abdit in illam;
 Pars latet anterior, posteriora patent.
 Haec secat antistes virgis et verbera denso:
 Tota venenato terra cruore madet.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Ibid., i, 28, ll. 319-28.

[Their madness did not immediately quit them, however; until the priest three times purifies them of guilt by sprinkling water on the head.
 Three times, decked in white robes, he prostrates himself before the altar, and three times intoning, offers deep murmurs with grain.
 Then, in the sight of the God, the sick man, wrapped around with chains, is stretched out and as a suppliant he plants kisses on the ground.
 There is a small pit here close to the God, he hides his head in it; the front part hidden, the back part exposed.
 The priest cuts this part with twigs and repeated lashes; the entire earth becomes wet with crimson blood:]

This section contrasts noticeably with the rest of the poem and there is a temptation to judge it as a later addition. Perhaps he passed St Hubert's shrine on a passage to or from London and was moved to add the criticism to a poem previously written in Sedan. It also usefully acts as the connecting passage for the second poem. Johnston otherwise leaves off his tale with no effective conclusion. He has ridiculed Eglisheim with a satirical, encyclopaedic outpouring of his knowledge of the symptoms and cures of madness, rooted in the classical, philosophical, medical and even religious worlds. He has defended the European Republic of Letters from the uncivil Eglisheim, and fostered Scotland's place of that world by restoring Buchanan to his deserved rank, by pointing towards its philosopher king, and by advancing his own place in the Republic.

ii. *Onopordus furens*

The second poem, *Onopordus furens*, picks up again the story of St Hubert's shrine; its efficacy has somewhat diminished since the priest's stole has been taken by the victorious Dutch in their struggle with the Spanish, and is now an item in the wardrobe of a Dutch commander. This second tale of the exploits of the mad Eglisheim gathers pace – Johnston repeats six times the phrase 'mora nulla' [no delay] – as *Onopordus*, or Eglisheim, carves his path of evil across Europe. Alongside the destruction of the reputation of Eglisheim, the focus is again on a paean of praise for Buchanan and James. The clever mythological roots of the writing are clear – Ovid's *Metamorphoses* supply many tropes which his audience would recognise, even in their warped Eglisheimian form. Again, Johnston's skill at handling classical allusion ensures a place for him among the other Scottish scholar-poets, and embeds Scotland and her Letters in the international *Respublica*.

In Johnston's new discussion of the cause of Eglisheim's insanity, the medical conceit of the bite of the rabid dog from the *Consilium collegii* is set aside, and it is in Ovid's mythological world that Johnston finds his new plot. He adapts the story of the birth of Orion, popular as a source for philosophical interpretation for scholars in the Renaissance since Boccaccio had used it as an allegory for conception.⁵⁸ Johnston transmutes the story into the hellish birth of Eglisheim.⁵⁹ The kernel of the tale is the desire of Acheron, as god of the underworld, to become a grandfather. Ovid's original fanciful story – arresting enough – is transformed into one of startling humour. The wish of Acheron can be fulfilled; many births had occurred through magical means:

Orta mari Venus est, patrio de vertice Pallas,
 Primaque sunt hominum corpora facta luto.⁶⁰
 [Venus rose from the sea, and Pallas from the head of her father, and the first
 bodies of men were formed from clay.]

On this occasion, however, it is not the hide of an ox, transformed by the urine of three gods, from which the character will emerge. From the hide of a donkey, inflated by the putrid air of the hellish Furies, Eglisheim emerges as *Onopordus*, half-man, half-ass, the anti-hero of Johnston's tale:

Monstrum horrendum ingens! protrudit pellis aselli
 Semivirumque asinum, sesquiasinumque virum.⁶¹
 [He was born, a frightful monster! he emerged from the skin of the ass, half-
 human donkey, and half-asinine man.]

While clearly castigating Eglisheim for having embarked upon a criticism of Buchanan, his description of the career of the young *Onopordus*, as a refugee from the evil machinations of the inhabitants of Hades, raises some sympathy. The method of his birth, and the treatment *Onopordus* receives from his 'family' of Furies, were by their nature bound to induce madness. Ovid related the methods used by Tisiphone and Erinyes to drive Athamas and his wife Ino into insanity; the myriad gestures of the Furies towards Eglisheim were destined to have a similar effect:

Tum canis inferni spumas et viscera lyncis
 Miscet, et anguineis orta venena comis.⁶²
 [Next she mixed the foam of a hellish dog with the entrails of the lynx, and
 poisons taken from her snake-like hair.]

⁵⁸ Roger D. Woodard, *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 407-24.

⁵⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 33-38, ll. 23-167.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 34, ll. 39-40.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, i, 36, ll. 99-100.

⁶² *Ibid.*, i, 36, ll. 123-24.

The stage is set for a humorous romp and Johnston does not disappoint. Atropos, struck by the plight of mankind, refuses to cut short the lives of men. Hell is short of corpses; unemployment has set in among Aeacus, Minos and Rhadamantus, the judges of Hades. Pluto is concerned; the situation is worse than the abduction of Persephone. A conference is summoned, drawn from the Protestant conceit of the Infernal Council at which the Pope takes counsel with his infernal church and despatches the Jesuits to undo civilisation.⁶³ Eglisheim must do his bit – the (questionable) medical skill of the young *Onopordus*, as the instrument of Hades, will restore the supply of the dead. Johnston points his humour towards the reputation of a medical profession whose public image included a tendency to bamboozle their patients:

Phoebus eris, notis dare barbara nomina morbis
 Si potes, et stirpes enumerare duas.
 Utque sacrum dictis accedat pondus, in ore
 Saepe sit et Coüs Pergameusque senex ...
 Palantesque polo stellas, et fixa recense
 Sidera, perque suas digere signa domos.⁶⁴
 [You must be Phoebus, giving, if you can, foreign names for known diseases, and list two sources.
 And so that sacred authority attaches to your sayings, let those sages, Hippocrates of Cos and Galen of Pergamum, often be on your lips ...
 Reckon the wandering stars in the north, and the fixed stars, and interpret the signs of their houses.]

Johnston rehearses from his first poem some of the more extreme and dubious medical interventions for insanity, and then *Onopordus* is released as a doctor into an unsuspecting world. After a hair-raising journey through the gruesome halls of Hades, the young Eglisheim emerges, bemused, through the Nor' Loch into Edinburgh. He encounters an Edinburgh nymph who enquires after his purpose – 'Quid te proiicis, hospes?' – and warns him against any attempt to assail the Scots. They are too canny and too hardy a people – they cure themselves with porridge – 'succo se curat avenae' – and thus avoid paying a doctor.⁶⁵

⁶³ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, pp. 69-71. The theme is present in Elizabethan literature, and in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, in works such as Michael Wallace's *In serenissimi Regis Jacobi liberationem*, and Phineas Fletcher's *Locustae*. Bradner traces the theme of the Infernal Council to Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, and Milton uses it in *Paradise Lost*. Helander points to the origin of the idea in Claudian. Olin H. Moore, 'The Infernal Council', *Modern Philology*, 16/4 (1918), 169-93.

⁶⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 39-40, ll. 228-38.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 43-44, ll. 358-75.

Onopordus proceeds instead to cause widespread mortality in Holland. He then sets his sights upon England but finds the people too difficult to dupe. He is from Arcadia, the English say, or perhaps an Abderitean peasant. The less he succeeds in persuading them of his skills, the more extreme he becomes, and Johnston's description of *Onopordus*'s, or Eglisheim's, babbling contains the evident signs of madness – from scholastic sophistry, through astrological prognostication, to poetic claims. That poetry, of course, was the ultimate demonstration of his insanity; he had attacked Buchanan's writing and in so doing had criticised James, the royal father of the nation.⁶⁶ Eglisheim must be left to the gods for his punishment.

Johnston's purposes in this longer, and more comic poem are multi-layered, but chief among them is an attack upon Eglisheim's reputation. Eglisheim's career had taken him from Scotland to the Low Countries and from there to England, and the structure of the poem follows in parallel the career of the fictional, eponymous, anti-hero, *Onopordus*. Eglisheim's origins were surrounded by cloud, if not exactly the miasma of the marsh of Cocytus, and no record exists of his claimed university career in the medical faculty of Leiden. The conceit of this child of Hell was well designed for Johnston's purpose in tracing Eglisheim's career as a physician. But what sort of fool are we to recognise in Eglisheim, through his personification in *Onopordus*? As a product of the activities of mythological creatures in Hades, *Onopordus* was not a product of nature. He was an unnatural and hybrid animal, reflected in the difficult description of his head, which seems to suggest malformation:

Et sine fronte caput, quod acuti turbinis instar
Prominet ...⁶⁷

[And his head, without forehead, which rose like a pointed spinning top]

He was 'monstrous', and Johnston refers to him as such, and to his hellish family in similar terms. It is thus difficult to judge him on human terms. In Johnston's first poem, Eglisheim is clearly mad. His status in the second is less clear.

The élite, literate society which would have read Johnston's poem was steeped in Renaissance views of madness, through the works of More, Montaigne, Erasmus, Rabelais, Shakespeare and others, and in the idea of 'the fool' offering critical comment, and in the idea of the outsider, the 'other'.⁶⁸ Like Eglisheim in the first

⁶⁶ Ibid., i, 49-50, ll. 519-50.

⁶⁷ Ibid., i, 37, ll. 133-34.

⁶⁸ Paromita Chakravarti, 'Natural fools and the historiography of Renaissance folly', *Renaissance Studies*, 25/2 (2011), 208-27. Chakravarti surveys the categories of 'otherness', seeking to question

poem, *Onopordus* is ‘mad’, but his madness is attributed to his ‘otherness’ – the nature of his creation and upbringing in Hades. Nor is this a madness in the sixteenth-century understanding of the ‘natural’, or mentally deficient ‘other’; *Onopordus* is quite clearly rational in his search for a population which would be susceptible to his medically lethal techniques. *Onopordus*, or Eglisheim, is rationally complicit in his own crime, but in committing that crime will sink into an insanity which will lead him to compose his poor poetic challenge to Buchanan’s status. While it is clever and enjoyable for Johnston to create a mythological fiction of Eglisheim’s origins and career from Scotland through the Low Countries to England, his descent into madness, while still in the realm of fiction, is rather more pregnant in its suggestion. Eglisheim was certainly mistaken about Buchanan, as other contemporary writers also stated, and so he could have fallen into a form of madness. Such a claim was important because of his position in the circle of royal doctors. Eglisheim suggested that Buchanan be expunged from the canon of Scottish writers by a king who had his own reasons for disliking Buchanan. Eglisheim’s aim might have been dangerously attractive to James.

There is certainly no place for *Onopordus* in Robert Burton’s later view of madness – a wide and inclusive categorisation of melancholia in the line, ‘for indeed who is not a fool, melancholy, mad?’⁶⁹ Instead, we laugh at *Onopordus*, and yet we can separate him from Eglisheim and to some extent sympathise with the fictional outsider and anti-hero. Erasmus in his picture of the humility of the fool in the *Morae encomium* suggested such sympathy, and in one sense, therefore, we can perhaps see *Onopordus* as the ‘natural’ fool.

Johnston’s Self-fashioning: Humanist Scholar

i. The Physician

Beyond this immediate criticism of Eglisheim, however, Johnston clearly wished to advance other aspects of his writing for which he could thereafter be recognised; he had concluded the *Consilium collegii* with his motto, after all. That poem emphasised his persona as a physician and poet, and a better physician and poet than Eglisheim. His medical knowledge is in evidence in the second poem too, as he

traditional understanding of the apparent Renaissance distinction between the inclusive ‘praise of Folly’ genre, which emerges from the unworldly wisdom in Platonic philosophy and Pauline Christianity, and an uneasiness with disorderly madness.

⁶⁹ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (3 vols., London, 1932), i, 39.

describes the concoction of the poison which is applied to the young *Onopordus* by Tisiphone.⁷⁰ Medical knowledge in this poem is employed in a clever parodying of his profession. Medicine, he avers, had been introduced into the classical world to cure overpopulation in a Roman Empire which had swapped its traditional martial fervour for luxury. *Onopordus* is instructed to indulge in medical sophistry, and in astrological disputation, with the aim of deluding the uneducated:

Artibus his oculos stulto praestingue popello;
 Sic cadet in casses praeda petita tuos.⁷¹
 [Dazzle the eyes of the stupid mob with these arts; in this way let the plunder we seek fall into your nets.]

And as *Onopordus* later sinks into a madness, Johnston has him ramble through false syllogisms and astrological nonsense.

As a Paduan physician, Johnston steps back from religious explanation for illness, but briefly introduces a critical reference. At first it is the power of the Pope which Johnston has in his sights. As *Onopordus* seeks a route out of Hades, the Pope becomes primarily responsible, in Johnston's original version, for the opening and closing, not just of the gates of Heaven, but also of Hell:

Sancte parens, Petri clavis cui credita, Ditis
 Claudere cui fas est et reserare fores.⁷²
 [Holy Father, to whom was loaned the key of Peter, you have the right to close and open the doors of Pluto.]

Johnston later takes up the religious strand once again and in a number of sharp questions boldly points to the logic of the fear in Hades of the failure of Atropos to cut the life lines:

Quis ferat inferias Erebo, si dempseris umbras?
 His sine tartareos quis putet esse Deos?
 Vos quoque quis metuat, Superi, si clauditur Orcus?
 Quis vestrum credat sceptrum tenere Iovem?⁷³
 [Who will make offerings to Erebus if you remove the shadows? Without these, who will believe in the Tartarean gods?
 And who will fear you, oh Gods on High, if Hell is closed? Who would believe that your Jove holds a sceptre?]

⁷⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 36-37, ll. 115-36.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, i, 40, ll. 237-38.

⁷² As part of the general process of anonymity which Johnston imposed on his poetry for publication in 1632, both the Holy Father and Peter later disappeared from the text, and that association was left to the reader. *Ibid.*, i, 38, ll. 169-70.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, i, 39, ll. 195-98.

No form of pressure and fear would seem to have any place in Johnston's religious *schema*.

ii. The Poet

Johnston also projects his superiority over Eglishem in the second Apollonian art – that of poetry. Johnston's poem would out-do Eglishem's attempt, through his skill in emulating classical writers and in conjuring a Scottish historical context. The classical *trope* is established mainly *via* Ovid; the conceit of the birth of *Onopordus* would have been recognised by his readers from the *Metamorphoses* or from the *Fasti*. Johnston firstly rehearses the myth of Orion, and then expands it to even more unpleasant lengths.⁷⁴ The notion of the stupidity of the ass was widely used by Renaissance writers, and Johnston may have been recalling Aesop or Cesare Ripa, or have had in mind the Scriptural injunction, 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back', a phrase which, with its conjunction of restraint and punishment, has resonance also in his reference to physical 'cures' for the insane.⁷⁵ In Ovidian mode, he may even have been intending his readers to recognise a reference to Apollo's gift of ass's ears to Midas for preferring Pan's pipe playing. This reference is also persuasive in its association with bad musical taste – Eglishem was incapable of making any mellifluous sound in his poetry.⁷⁶

But Johnston goes beyond the *trope* of the ass. In using the notion of a hybrid monster, the Ovidian Minotaur may have been the template.⁷⁷ His description of the anointing of *Onopordus* with the poison, integral to the idea that his madness was part of his nature, is similar to the Ovidian anointing of Athamas and Ino by Tisiphone.⁷⁸ Much of the extensive description of the underworld and its waterways may also have been adapted from Ovid, although here he may equally have taken ideas from Plato's description in the *Phaedo* of the lake of Acheron, or indeed Virgil's description of the Sybil and Aeneas by the marsh of Cocytus where the unburied must wait.⁷⁹ Finally,

⁷⁴ Ibid., i, 34-36, ll. 47-100. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V.493 ff. Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.495 ff.

⁷⁵ Proverbs xxvi.3

⁷⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 48, ll. 507-14. Deborah Baker Wyrick, 'The Ass Motif in *The Comedy of Errors* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 33/4 (1982), 432-48, at pp. 433-34. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI.146 ff.

⁷⁷ Ovid, *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, eds. J. H. Mozley and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1985), 2.24.

⁷⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV.464-511.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 5.534 ff. Plato, *Euthyphro; Apology; Crito; Phaedo; Phaedrus*, ed. Harold N. Fowler (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 112.e. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.323.

Johnston's picture of the Furies themselves is reminiscent of the horror of Ovid's description.⁸⁰

Johnston was not only displaying skill in the genre of satire but responding in a most effective way to Eglisheim's presumption; going further than other forms of classical comedy, satire was designed to castigate.⁸¹ Johnston's writing does not fit neatly into any of the classical satirical genres, yet it is likely that he would have had a particular model in mind – by associating his writing with some recognisable classical *trope* he could avoid any charge of flippancy.⁸² It may have been the *Satires* of Juvenal or Horace which he took as his model; his criticism is certainly more subtle than Scaliger's flood of invective directed at Erasmus. Geddes suggests Ovid's poem *Ibis* as the likely source; they certainly both share an unbroken invective.⁸³ The emergence of *Onopordus* from the Nor' Loch in Edinburgh is an emergence from a dream – and Lipsius's imagery in *Somnium* might have been a possible influence. His liking for Horatian *tropes* comes through elsewhere in his writing, so perhaps it is to Horace and his satirising of the poet's life that he is drawing upon. Johnston's *Onopordus* employs spells and ingredients reminiscent of Canidia in *Epode* 5. Yet the conceit of the machinations of the gods, even if it is those of Hell, lifts *Onopordus* to a different level, as do his inventive descriptions of Hades. Throughout both poems, there is an intermingling of poetry and medicine and Johnston's handling of those aspects, couched in classical allusion, makes the poems individual and successful works in Renaissance eyes. In writing about a poetical issue, he comments upon the medical failings of a doctor, and displays his superior grasp of the medical world by his knowledge of the cures for a poet's inspiration turned to madness.

Behind the poetic aspects of this contest, there are political factors at work. William Barclay's learned response to Eglisheim was a cogently argued case emphasising the faults of Eglisheim's twelve points of criticism of Buchanan, contrasting Eglisheim's and Buchanan's versions with that of the Parisian Hebraist, Vatable, and aiming to prove that, philologically, Buchanan's versification of Psalm

⁸⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV.451.

⁸¹ Irene Samuel, 'Milton on Comedy and Satire', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35/2 (1972), 107-30, at p. 107.

⁸² Ingrid De Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters 1581-1655* (Geneva, 1996), pp. 32-56. De Smet surveys the complex reception and philological analysis of ancient satire in the early modern period.

⁸³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 50.

CIV was the better.⁸⁴ Barclay's response also invokes Scots with influence at court – men like James Fullerton, William Alexander and Robert Ayton. His pamphlet closes with a paraphrase of the Psalm by Thomas Reid, Latin Secretary of King James, who was translating James's *Workes* of 1616 at the time.⁸⁵ Alexander Julius's paraphrase of Buchanan's *Paraphrases* also appeared in 1620. There does not seem to be any obvious causal connection, but it may be part of a courtly interest in the Psalms, and have contributed to further discussion. Barclay's offering may indeed be a first step in his approach to the court; Johnston's poem may well have had a similar purpose, perhaps with an eye to Eglisheim's place. Barclay responds in detail with convincing points of style and metre; Johnston, in contrast, proffers an alternative cure for Eglisheim's bad poetic criticism of a good poet – he proffers a display of good poetry, taking a line on the principle of decorum. Aristotle's widely known analysis linking noble poetry to noble persons and comic poetry to low people may have been part of Johnston's intention.⁸⁶ Eglisheim deserved only a humorous satire.⁸⁷

Johnston's poems, however, never allow us to lose all sympathy for Eglisheim. As we receive a lesson in the cures for insanity, these are taken to such extremes that we begin to feel sympathy for Eglisheim the patient. And when he is created in donkey form Johnston maintains that sympathy; it is upon the Furies instead that we focus our dislike. Such a degree of calculated balance would be evident again in his *Querelae*, which emerged around the same time and was designed in rhetorical form to convince us of the views of the writer. This use of balance was spotted by one of Johnston's early biographers, Olaus Borrichius, who, in his praise of Johnston called upon the classical trope of the dull-witted Greek soldier of the Trojan campaign, Thersites, whose gruff tendency to speak what is justifiable makes him acceptable. To Borrichius Johnston's telling pictures of *Onopordus* were 'amarissimis sed una

⁸⁴ Barclay, *Guil: Barclayi amoeniorum artium, & medicinae doctoris, iudicium, de certamine G. Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano, pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi CIIII. Non violandi manes. Adjecta sunt, Eglisemmii ipsum iudicium, ut editum fuit Londini, typis Eduardi Aldaei, ann. Dom. 1619: et in gratiam studiosae iuventutis, ejusdem Psalmi elegans paraphrasis Thomae Rhaedi* (London, 1620). *Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms of David (Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica)*, ed. Roger P. H. Green (Geneva, 2011), p. 89. Green judges that Eglisheim had some points to make, but that Barclay was the winner in the contest.

⁸⁵ Alexander Julius, *Ecphrasis paraphraseos Georgii Buchanani in Psalmos Davidis: ab Alexandro Iulio Edinburgo, in adolescentiae studiosae gratiam elaborata* (London, 1620).

⁸⁶ Aristotle, *Poetics*, eds. Stephen Halliwell, D. A. Russell, W. Hamilton Fyfe, and Doreen Innes (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 4.1448b 24-27.

⁸⁷ Further criticism of Eglisheim appeared from the pens of John Leech and Daniel Heinsius. Irving, *George Buchanan*, pp. 113-14.

suavissimis'. Johnston's writing was never 'expletum inops aut scaber'. In a Greek myth Eglishem would have been called Thersites; Johnston called him *Onopordus*.⁸⁸

iii. The Caledonian-Briton and the *Respublica litterarum*

Along with his demonstration of skill in the Apollonian arts, Johnston drew a conscious connection in the poems between Scotland and the *Respublica litterarum*. His aim was to defend Scotland's traditional place, and the place of Buchanan as a writer of status, in the world of the international humanists. After the Hellebore harvest in the Grampians, the arrival of the Scottish theme in the second poem is initially inauspicious: Onopordus's introduction to the country is through the Nor' Loch of Edinburgh.⁸⁹ From the depths of this stagnant pool, Johnston takes his readers to the heights of Scottish scholarship, and to the philosopher king. His opening description of Edinburgh may have been obvious only to his Scottish readership, who could have read the references to the Castle of the Maidens and the Palace of Holyrood. The praise of the country which follows is more widely accessible: her justice – fierce but stalwart in defence of rights – and her hardiness. The principal role played by Scotland, however, lies in her heritage of Latinate writers, and in particular the works of George Buchanan.

Johnston establishes a link with the Stuarts, now kings of England too, and it is the English, in their cleverness, who drive *Onopordus* into madness. King James was the dedicatee of Eglishem's brazen volume:

Quodque magis stupeas, inscribit nomina Regum

Verbero, cumque suo vult simul illa legi.⁹⁰

[And what is even more astonishing, the scoundrel writes the names of kings and wants them to be read along with his own.]

Buchanan's fame, announces Johnston, is as high as the heavens – 'contermina caelo / Fama' – and yet Eglishem is unmoved by Buchanan's eloquence. Johnston appeals for the intercession of the ghost of Mary, Queen of Scots – 'Diva suprema' – to end this madness. Having trod dangerous ground in the first poem with a seeming mention of Buchanan's political writings, here Johnston's follows a more secure path. The topic of the argument is the writings of the Son of Jesse, violated by Eglishem's

⁸⁸ Olaus Borrichius, *Dissertationes de Poetis in regio Hafniensi Lyceo habitae* (Frankfurt, 1681). Geddes quotes his judgment in *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xxxviii.

⁸⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 42-43, 329-54.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 49, ll. 521-22.

‘hands from Hell’ [‘Acherontes ... manus’]. Eglisheim had questioned Buchanan’s skill in his Latin versification of the Book of Psalms, and so Johnston reminds his readers that that book had been dedicated to Mary. He borrows and develops Buchanan’s own words of dedication, that his Scottish writing has emerged ‘Parnasso procul et Permesside lympa’ [far from Parnassus and the Parnassian Spring]. Johnston fashions himself as a promoter of Scottish Letters and the international Republic, and associates himself with James VI and I, Queen Mary and George Buchanan. Eglisheim is excluded.⁹¹

Johnston seems to recognise Eglisheim as a Scot, although the latter’s career had begun in the Low Countries and subsequently focused upon the Court in London, and it is to Scotland, as well as the Republic, that Eglisheim had brought injury.⁹² Johnston may even have regarded the Court in London as a Scottish institution, the seat of the Scottish Stuarts. He had been absent from the British islands since 1599, and news reaching him in France, for example from the mouth of Andrew Melville, may have been of Hamilton, the Chamberlain, and other Scots at Court. Eglisheim’s crime is not just that he has criticised Buchanan, the personification of the Scottish Muse, but that in so doing he has harmed Scotland and her royal parent, James. It is difficult not to suspect that Johnston, from his exiled status in 1619, experiencing confessional difficulties among his friends and political danger from Bohemia, had one eye upon his monarch and the court for his future employment. The role of ‘exile’ is prominent in those later poems which describe his relations with his lawyers in Mechelen. It may have been this sense of being an outsider which encouraged him to consider the move back to the British islands, and may partly explain his obvious attachment to the writings of Ovid, another exile.

His absence abroad may also account for Johnston’s error in the first poem when he raises the thorny question of Buchanan’s populist beliefs. He makes the plea that Buchanan be excused from condemnation:

Tuque parens patriae, nisi deliquisset in uno,
 Quid de te vatem non meruisse putas?⁹³
 [And you, father of the fatherland, except for one slip, what do you think this
 poet might not deserve from you?]

⁹¹ Ibid., i, 50, ll. 549-54.

⁹² Ibid., i, 19, ll. 55-56.

⁹³ Ibid., i, 20, ll. 67-68.

Geddes, in dealing with Johnston's references to Buchanan's 'deliquisset in uno', suggests that Johnston had in mind Buchanan's disparagement of James's mother.⁹⁴ With this interpretation another interesting possibility may have been missed. Buchanan's *De iure regni* had allowed for the possibility of tyrannicide and had caused James to proscribe Buchanan's political works.⁹⁵ That may have been the slip to which Johnston was referring, emerging directly from Eglisheim's own critical emphasis upon Buchanan's political and historical writing. Johnston seems to judge that James might have considered renown in the Latinity of the Scriptures as sufficient reason to forgive his former tutor:

Ille Dei aeterno modulatur carmine laudes,
 Aptat et Hebraeae plectra Latina lyrae.⁹⁶
 [He tunes his praises to the eternal divine song, and prepares Latin verses for the
 Hebrew lays.]

If the writing of these poems were an attempt by Johnston to obtain a position at court as *medicus Regius* then his raising of this issue was perhaps unwise.

iv. Growing Reputation

Johnston or his printer chose to conceal place of imprint and authorship of this satire, at least to some degree. Presumably in order to benefit in reputation from the skill which these poems displayed, however, Johnston appended his anagrammatic motto to the first, less scurrilous, poem. He could rely upon recognition of this motto and of his style in a small network of contacts. It is possible that about ten of his poems may have been in the public domain by the time the Eglisheim satire was printed in 1619. Some of these may already have been carried from Sedan, in manuscripts such as that of Bochart for example, or in the hands of their recipients. His writing was available, therefore, even if on a narrow footing, to assist in the recognition of his Eglisheim satire. The existing *corpus* would already have made his particular style – his frequent and complex allusions to classical myth, his use of the elegiac couplet, and now his anagrammatic motto – recognisable in the Huguenot principality of Sedan and beyond. Sedan had strong connections with France and with the Reformed principalities in Germany. Lines of transmission had thus been forged.

⁹⁴ Ibid., i, 20, l. 65 n.

⁹⁵ Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 83.

⁹⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 20, ll. 63-64.

The particular path followed by this printed satire could have led further. The Low Countries would have taken an interest in the poems, and Paris too may have been intrigued by the topic, and possibly by a false printing. England and Scotland would certainly have been interested. Johnston's reputation began to emerge therefore into the European humanist world. Even without the reference to the Dutch commander and his sporting of the stole of St Hubert, it is likely that these poems would have struck a chord with the French and Dutch humanists who shared links with George Buchanan as 'possibly the best poet of our age' (in the words of his proud publisher).⁹⁷ His writing as a member of the Pleiade in Paris had been praised in the Francophone world, and had also been applauded by the group of Dutch poetic humanist scholars around Janus Dousa who had looked to Buchanan as a source of inspiration and emulation. Johnston was associating himself with an inheritance which would ensure himself greater prominence. Buchanan and the Dutch had also favoured the humanist role of *vates* – a role which Johnston would also shortly endeavour to assume in his Crisis poems of 1620.⁹⁸

In 1619, Leiden was Johnston's reference point as he stepped forward into the poetic world in which Buchanan had left such strong traces. Buchanan was not the only member of the *dramatis personae* whose name would strike a chord with the Leiden humanists; Eglishem had also made a name for himself in the Dutch city, but in a decidedly less positive manner than had Buchanan. Our knowledge of Eglishem's education, like much of the rest of his life, is lacking in detail, and often confused by his own tendency to create a level of success which challenges belief by its extent.⁹⁹ It is clear, however, that he left Scotland to study at Leiden and although there is no record of his graduation there, it may have been there that he studied medicine. It was not in medicine, however, that Eglishem had first made his name while studying in the Provinces, but in theology. His devotion to Calvinist doctrine, and seemingly to controversy, was passionate enough for him to attack in print Conrad Vorstius, humanist theologian at Leiden, with charges of Arminianism and Socinianism.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ George Buchanan, *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica, nunc primum edita* ([Geneva], 1565).

⁹⁸ See below, pp. 185–6 for further discussion of Johnston's poetic focus upon Dutch humanism.

⁹⁹ Alsager Vian and Sarah Bakewell, 'Eglisham [*sic*], George (fl. 1601–1642)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8600, accessed 22 Feb 2010].

¹⁰⁰ W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 263. A survey of Vorstius's career indicates that he at least toyed with a Socinian position, although he successfully persuaded various bodies, including the University of Leiden, that his writings were orthodox.

Eglisheim published extensive criticism and invited Vorstius to a debate on the points at issue.¹⁰¹ James VI and I was concurrently being accused of theological errors by Bellarmine and Becanus, and the challenge by Eglisheim in the same year must be seen in that light. Arminian controversy became even more acute in the shadow of the Synod of Dort, and when Johnston wrote in 1619, the resonances reached into his own circle with the involvement of Daniel Tilenus. In Leiden, the Remonstrant group suffered death and imprisonment at the hands of the doctrinaire Calvinists. Hugo Grotius was one to suffer persecution and there is evidence that Johnston may have been reacting to that in his *Querelae*, published in the same year as *Onopordus*. The Dutch would have taken notice of the publications of these two Scottish physicians on the topic of Buchanan – summoning memories, and entertaining with humour and poetic skill.

Johnston's writing would also have had an impact, with some element of surprise perhaps, in Sedan, where he was still a professor of philosophy. Buchanan's earlier years in Paris and Coimbra had established his position among the French élite, and scholars would have remembered him as a prominent player in the world of French Latinity, as a friend of the poets who had formed the Pleiade. Later, with his Protestant credentials, Buchanan had retained a prominent reputation among the Huguenot community, particularly in the wake of the assassination of Henri IV. And Sedan would thus have had particular interest in Johnston's religious comment. In his description of the scene in the local shrine of St Hubert we have one of the few moments when religious concern is displayed in Johnston's writing. In the *Consilium collegii*, his affiliation to the Reformed position, through his criticism of obscurantist ritual, is clear. Even through this confessional criticism, however, we can detect a physician's sympathy for the patient forlornly seeking a cure. Confessional comment also appears at the opening of *Onopordus*, and in the light of war between the Dutch and the Spanish, Johnston rejoices in the iconoclasm of St Hubert into a useless tree stump.¹⁰² Later in *Onopordus* Johnston leaves us in little doubt that religious belief is open to satirical comment, even beyond the Reformed policy of placing the Pope at the centre of their attacks. If there is no threat of death people may not believe in God. In these poems, Johnston once again places the world of Letters before confessional, or even Christian, concerns.

¹⁰¹ Eglisheim, *Hypocrisis*.

¹⁰² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 33, ll. 13-18.

Conclusion

By entering the realm of published poetry with the clever but thin guise of a French imprint, Johnston must have expected his words to be read at least in London and in Scotland. Copies of his work would have reached Sedan when he travelled back to his academic duties in the autumn of 1619 and 1620, and from there routes were available for his skill to be admired in France, and in the Low Countries. As well as Johnston, William Barclay, John Leech and Daniel Heinsius contributed critical responses to Eglissem, but neither to the extent of Johnston, nor with his sense of daring. Europe could not have ignored this intriguing activity in British Latinity.

Johnston's own standing as a physician could gain from his learned exposition of the treatments for insanity, while at the same time suggesting that Eglissem was unfit for medical practice, but the main outcome of his enjoyable conceit was intended as a declaration that Eglissem had been inspired in an un-classical way. He had been infected with an un-poetical insanity, and should be exorcised from the international community of humanists – a windbag who could not recognise the skills of Scotland's 'prince of poets', one of the greatest stars in the European humanistic constellation. In the same way, Johnston by associating himself with the memory of Buchanan – a contribution from a writer who was both Scottish and European – could raise his own standing, and move successfully from professor of philosophy in Sedan, to royal doctor and appreciated member of the *Respublica litterarum*. Borrichius, Johnston's early admirer, described Johnston as stepping into the shoes of Buchanan: 'In Arturo Ionstono Scoto, medico Regio, redivivum agnoscimus Buchananum', a position of evident respect.¹⁰³

Johnston's concern for Scottish Letters and their place in the wider *Respublica litterarum* shapes the nature of this poem, expressed through the international medium of Latin, transcending national and confessional barriers. The Eglissem satire, as with the subsequent poems which comment upon the Bohemian Crisis, all appearing in print in or around 1619-20, depict Johnston as participating in a fully European poetic dialogue, the distinctly classical rules and allusions of which would have been appreciated by the European community of Latin *cognoscenti* with their immersion in the antique. Johnston may have anticipated that other scholars in the Republic would join him in condemning the insult to Buchanan. At the same time, through the

¹⁰³ Borrichius, *Dissertationes de Poetis*, p. 159. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xxxviii.

distinctly Scottish resonances inherent in his use of language, tropes and plot, Johnston was reinforcing that inheritance of the Scottish humanists, which stretched back to Hector Boece and Florence Wilson, both of whom, like Johnston, had hailed from Aberdeen, and had worked, studied and written in Europe.¹⁰⁴ The tradition was familiar to the international community, and Johnston could strengthen the place of Scottish Letters in that community, and establish his own credentials with his readers.

¹⁰⁴ Durkan, 'The French Connection'. James K. Cameron, 'Some Aberdeen Students on the Continent in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in P. Dukes (ed.) *The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe* (Aberdeen, 1995), pp. 57-78. George Molland, 'Scottish-Continental Intellectual Relations as Mirrored in the Career of Duncan Liddel (1561-1613)', *idem*, pp. 79-101. W. Caird Taylor, 'Scottish Students in Heidelberg, 1386-1662', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 5/17 (1907), 67-75. Margaret F. Moore, 'The Education of a Scottish Nobleman's Sons in the Seventeenth Century: I. Study in Holland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 31/111 (1952), 1-15. Margaret F. Moore, 'The Education of a Scottish Nobleman's Sons in the Seventeenth Century: II. Study in France', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 31/112 (1952), 101-15.

Chapter 7

The Bohemian Crisis: analysis and advice

In 1620, in a poetic outpouring of some 660 lines in classical vein, Johnston offered a lengthy analysis of the clash of the Holy Roman Emperor and Bohemia. This offering, two years after he had issued supportive comment on this Protestant moment in the *Propempticon*, is more developed, and intended for a wider audience. In two pamphlets, entitled *Querelae Saravictonis & Biomeae*, and *Nicrina ad Heroas Anglos*, Johnston issued three poems, remarkable in the extent to which they comment upon confessional conflict and monarchical legitimacy, topics which otherwise do not feature widely in Johnston's writing.¹ Even in his final poem, *De Foedere Nupero ad Scotos Paraenesis*, written in 1638 in response to the National Covenant, he avoided such questions, concentrating instead upon the horrors of civil war; only the title and the final couplet of that poem pick up the theme of rebellion.² In circulating his views on the Bohemian Crisis, however, in a literary style similar to that in which he had recently published his Eglisheim satire, he clearly aimed to foster discussion and promote understanding of the repercussions of this Crisis upon the polities of Europe, and upon the Republic of Letters.

A discussion of the positions adopted on the constitutional and religious issues in the Crisis is at the centre of an exchange of letters between *Saravicto* and *Biomea*.³ In the first poem, *Saravicto* gives an exposition of the complex historical relationship between the two polities. He focuses upon the legal challenge issued by *Biomea* through her rejection of *Saravicto* as her lord, going against years of connection, legally sealed. Her departure is made the more urgent by the barbarian threat faced by Europe, which *Biomea*'s flight into the arms of another prince has now rendered more dangerous. This action threatens the *pax Europea*, and a discussion of responsibility for this informs the argument. Former and new allies will flock to *Saravicto*'s

¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 53-85.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 252-54.

³ Geddes disentangles the anagrammatic challenge of *Saravicto* and *Biomea*, the names of the protagonists, as Austria and Bohemia.

support; *Biomea* will stand alone; she even lacks leadership. *Saravicto* calls upon her to return to the fold and abjure her new husband.

In replying, *Biomea* alters the emphasis of the premises, giving more weight to religion as the basis of her constitutional reasoning. While there may have been some legality to the marriage of *Biomea* and *Saravicto*, she says, her people did not give their consent to it, and the religious tyranny of *Saravicto* has dissolved any bond which may have existed. The fifteenth-century massacre of the Hussites was the responsibility of *Saravicto*, and since then his family has become associated with the hated Jesuits. *Biomea* had previously been forced to accept *Saravicto*'s false religion. It is not possible to regard any marriage link as valid where one party is such a monster. *Saravicto* is also mistaken in thinking that he will gain support from a host of allies – they will look to their own interests. And *Biomea* now has a military leader the equal of any other. It is possible, indeed certain, that some princes will come to the aid of *Biomea*. *Saravicto* should confess his deception, and the over-riding desire for booty and power which lies behind his plea.

The Initial Imprint: Challenges and Solutions

In 1620, therefore, shortly before he finally departed from Sedan and returned to his native Scotland, Johnston confirmed his poetic progression from the relatively private world of manuscripts, and one printed poem, delivered into the hands of their dedicatees or circulated among friends in Sedan, into the world of the printed pamphlet aimed at a much wider audience. His first satirical poem on Englishmen had been in the hands of readers for only twelve months, and his second one had probably just emerged from the presses, when the two poems of this new pamphlet, *Querelae Saravictonis & Biomeae*, appeared. They each carried a further title – *Saravicto Biomeae* and *Biomea Saravictoni*. The third poem of this group stands apart from this dialogue, in a second pamphlet entitled *Nicrina ad Heroas Anglos*. Some bibliographical research into the poems uncovers the authorial challenge which Johnston offered to his readers.

Extant copies of the first edition of the *Querelae* are in Aberdeen University Library, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, St John's College Cambridge and the Bibliothèque Nationale, all identical in structure, provenance, and date. They appeared economically in *octavo*, the *Querelae* utilising two sheets (the later *Nicrina* pamphlet ran to one), at reasonable cost to Johnston, or his sponsor, and with little

challenge to the printer. Although there are minor problems with the signatures, the appearance of the two poems is of a unity, through a shared heading, and the responsive nature of the theme of the second poem to that of the first.⁴

All the copies bear the same mark of the *Gioliti* printing house of Venice, and are the sole examples of Johnston's work with this mark.⁵ The *STC (second edition)* interprets the *impresa* as a feint for a surreptitious printing by William Stansby of London, and allots to it the date 1620.⁶ This mark is only one of many such *Gioliti imprese* which pictured a phoenix; in its census of the 'Italian Editions of the Sixteenth Century' (EDIT16) the ICCU online catalogue lists 107 publications to which such a mark was attached, and gives 1569 as the year of its final use.⁷ Thereafter, a number of other *imprese* took its place. The *Gioliti* press ceased publication altogether in 1606, and an Italian provenance for Johnston's poems is thus unlikely.

Evidence exists of an earlier appearance of a *Gioliti impresa* on a book printed in England; John Wolfe, a London printer, issued a number of Italian books with this mark, including Machiavelli's *Historie Fiorentine* in 1587.⁸ This reinforces the suspicion of the surreptitious passage of a print block, perhaps via the Frankfurt book fair, to London. McKerrow compared the imprint on Wolfe's Italian books and on a genuine *Gioliti* book and indicated discrepancies in the depiction of the left wing of the phoenix and some differences in shading. His conclusion was that the *Gioliti* press possessed one such block, and that a copy of that block had been made.⁹ The *imprese* of the 105 books listed on the ICCU, however, also vary in minor details in shading and line, suggesting either deterioration of a block, or the existence of more than one.

⁴ The signatures of the *Querelae* run to A8 and then B4, but some sheets lack signature entirely, and with B3 as an error for A3 in *Saravicto Biomeae*.

⁵ Horatio F. Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice* (2 vols., London, 1907), ii, 88-109. Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts: Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA, 1964). By the mid 1530's the Gioliti family press had become established in Venice and continued to issue books for the rest of the century. Other workshops were opened at Ferrara, Bologna and Naples.

⁶ Pollard and Redgrave, *STC (second edition)*, 14714.5. Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York, 1973).

⁷ More than one Phoenix *impresa* appears under the Gioliti output. In 1555 they issued an edition of Dante's *La divina commedia*, with a mark very similar to the Johnston mark. In the *Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche*, the *impresa* is described: '*Fenice su fiamme che si sprigionano da anfora recante le iniziali G.G.F. L'anfora è sorretta da due satiri con ramoscello in mano*'. <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm> accessed 15 September 2009. There are some inaccuracies in Geddes's relation of the motto, along with his brief description of the *impresa*. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 76.

⁸ Pollard and Redgrave, *STC (second edition)*, pp. 130-31.

⁹ McKerrow, *Printers*, p. 97.

Whether we are dealing, therefore, with one far-travelled specimen of the genuine block, or an illicit copy of a genuine one, such a block seems to have reached John Wolfe's printing establishment, and from there Stansby's press, perhaps via the printing house of John Windet to whom Stansby was apprenticed and whose presses he inherited in 1610. McKerrow uncovered no record of such a device being transferred from Windet to Stansby. He indicates, however, that Wolfe on his death in 1601 had been succeeded by Windet as printer to the City of London, and suggests that a route was open for such a block to be passed on, even if Wolfe's other marks passed to a printer named Islip.¹⁰

EEBO displays many examples of the use of the *Giolitti impresa* in the decade before the appearance of the *Querelae*, with and without attribution to Stansby.¹¹ We might settle for the conclusion that Johnston's poems were issued in London by Stansby with a *Giolitti impresa*, copy or otherwise. Stansby's printing house was probably the second biggest in London after the royal printer. He was more than a polemicist, publishing Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir Francis Bacon and other figures of note. Yet he also issued many pamphlets as part of the London polemical print campaign of 1620 on behalf of Frederick of Bohemia and the Palatinate. The *STC* lists a quantity of surreptitious printing by Stansby in 1619-20, mainly pamphlets decrying Ferdinand's right to the Bohemian throne and supporting Frederick; of forty-one imprints listed by the *STC* for Stansby's press in 1620, fourteen of them are declared to be falsely attributed. Many of these were in English.¹² The dangerous accessibility of that writing was presumably behind the Stuart authorities' action taken in 1621 to seize Stansby's presses and the works which had emerged from them. Stansby was imprisoned along with Nathaniel Butter, and his shop was closed.¹³ He petitioned the Secretary of State, Sir George Calvert, for release, promising never again to stray from the straight and narrow.¹⁴ Interestingly, further use of the *impresa*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 185-86.

¹¹ Many titles are also listed on the website of the University of Virginia Ben Jonson Project [<http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/gants/stc-authors.html>].

¹² Cyndia S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 171-73. Clegg's survey of the *STC* for 1619-1622 reveals that the main concern of the unauthorised publications were in support of Frederick's claim to the Bohemian throne, emerging from a 'Protestant patriotism'.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 177. Stansby's work is absent from the *Register* of the Stationers' Company from May until December 1621. Proclamations were issued on 24 December 1620 and 26 July 1621 against 'licentious speech in matters of state' in an attempt to silence discussion and unauthorised printing about the foreign policy options open to James.

¹⁴ W. W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber: being a calendar of documents in Edward Arber's "Transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640" with text and calendar of*

appears after his freedom had been restored, following the action which was taken against his illicit printing.¹⁵

The date 1620 is supported by references in the content of the poems which suggest that no military action had yet transpired. The earliest date for the *Querelae* is the opening of the political quarrel, probably August 1619 when the Bohemian Estates deposed Ferdinand of Styria as King of Bohemia (two days before his election as Holy Roman Emperor) and elected Frederick V of the Palatinate in his stead. Correspondingly, the *terminus ad quem* for the composition is the momentous encounter of the Battle of the White Mountain in November 1620 when the Catholic forces dealt a severe blow to the hopes of Frederick of Bohemia, and which Johnston could not have ignored.

Three developments, late in 1619 and the spring of 1620, encourage a dating of the pamphlet to this period. Johnston, whether in Sedan or London, would probably have been aware of the change in orientation in French domestic politics. In 1617 Louis XIII had begun to wrest power from Marie de Medicis. His wife of two years standing, Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III of Spain and Margaret of Austria, moved into a position of greater visibility at the French court. Additionally, 1619 had witnessed the imposition of French royal will in Béarn and Navarre, overcoming Huguenot resistance to the instruction that Roman Catholic property in Huguenot hands should be returned to the Church, in line with the promise made by Henri IV. Johnston allows *Saravicto* to claim the fierce French as an ally in the forthcoming conflict:

Marte ferox Celtes, nobis iam sanguine iunctus

Advolat, igne tuos ut populetur agros.¹⁶

[The martial Celtic might, now joined to us by blood, flies to us to raze your fields with fire.]

There is mention also, in *Saravicto*'s letter to *Biomea*, that military action would soon take the place of words:

Hei, mihi quod semper metui, spes omnis in armis

Nunc posita est; rapida verba tulere Noti¹⁷

supplementary documents (Oxford, 1967), pp. 209-11. Mark Bland, 'Stansby, William (bap. 1572, d. 1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64163?docPos=1>> accessed 20 September, 2013.

¹⁵ Mark Bland, 'Invisible Dangers': Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 90/2 (1996), 151-79. Bland discusses the arbitrary nature of the censorship which could be imposed.

¹⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 59, ll. 131-32.

[Alas, as I have always feared, all hope is now placed in arms; words are borne away on a swift south wind.]

Authorisation by Philip III of Spinola's invasion of the Palatinate appeared in May 1620, and Emperor Ferdinand's authorisation of Tilly's re-imposition of Habsburg power in Lower Austria dates from later that summer. The third factor pointing towards this period for the emergence of the *Querelae* is the declaration in 1619 by the Catholic League in support of Ferdinand, and its creation of a military force by December 1619. This development may be the import of Johnston's reference:

Quaeque aquilis paret semper victribus, omnis
Praestat opem Domino Teutonis ora suo¹⁸

[Whoever is always obedient to the conquering eagles, that entire German land offers support to his master.]

The early Summer of 1620 would therefore seem the most credible date for the printing of the *Querelae* pamphlet. The composition of the poems is thus probably traceable to the winter of 1619-20, perhaps after Johnston returned to Sedan from London, if he had personally delivered the *Consilium collegii* there for publication. It would make sense for Johnston himself to carry his poems to London; the proofs had to be corrected; in a topical matter such as the Crisis, speed was important. He may have been introduced to William Stansby in the previous year, on the occasion of the printing of his first satire poem.

Johnston's anticipated readers are the scholars of the humanist world, initially in London, and he offered clear clues to make decoding of the poems more certain. *Biomea Saravictoni* contained the key to the identities of the *dramatis personae*, in a phrase – later removed – which was designed to catch the eye of the reader as the only piece of bold majuscule printing in the entire work. It revealed the link between *Biomea* and the Hussites, and thus to the question of Bohemian historical, political and religious identity. The key to the couplet lay in the fifteenth-century religious quarrel between the Hussites of Bohemia, and the Holy Roman Empire and Papacy over the Roman practice of establishing the superiority of the priesthood by denying communion in both kinds to the laity:

Tessera erat, S U B U T R A Q U E, Deus quia symbola bina
Instituens, specie vult sub utraque coli¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid., i, 59, ll. 121-22.

¹⁸ Ibid., i, 59, ll. 137-38.

¹⁹ Ibid., i, 67, n. 61.

[The clue was, ‘under both kinds’, because God in instituting two symbols, wishes to be worshipped under both species.]

For those who deciphered the clue in the anagram of Bohemia, that of *Saravicto* for Avstriaco was a reasonable sequel. When the next pamphlet appeared, the involvement of the Palatinate and the river Neckar in the drama through the nymph *Nicrina* was an easy final move. Johnston’s thin concealment, therefore, appears rather as an anticipated *topos* within the Republic of Letters. Apparently to conceal, was in reality to reveal the topic to the initiated; it expressed his membership of the humanist circle. It also connected Johnston to those hungry for news and comment on the Bohemian crisis, and to the group of polemicists whose activities brought the abrupt ban on ‘licentious speech in matters of state’.²⁰

Johnston offered his views upon topical events through the three central protagonists, in terms which he intended would be decoded by his audience. He could examine the psychological make-up of political leaders, as well as put forward the political and religious arguments which they might offer, based upon their history and their religious stance. Its outward appearance was a skilful, humanist display of classical knowledge; it did not appear to contravene the ban on printed discussion of the Bohemian Revolt. Finally, by use of rhetorical processes, his own view would be discernible, even if authorship of the pamphlet was left unattributed.

Johnston’s Poetic Comment

The exchange between *Saravicto* and *Biomea* is highly discursive. In almost five hundred and fifty lines, Johnston comments upon the political repercussions of the decision of the Bohemian Estates to remove Ferdinand of Styria from the throne of Bohemia and to elect in his place Frederick of the Palatinate. He examines the constitutional and historical context in which this decision was made; he then introduces religious history as relevant evidence; finally, he discusses the widely accepted claim of the Emperor to act as the defender of Europe against the barbarian.

A. *Saravicto*’s Constitutional Exposition

The argument of the first poem, *Saravicto Biomeae*, focuses upon Bohemia’s right to make that change of monarch and, by implication, upon the status of the

²⁰ Clegg, *Press Censorship*, p. 177.

constitutional link between the Empire and Bohemia. The idea of a *foedera rupta* is introduced in *Saravicto*'s assault on *Biomea*'s desertion.²¹ That idea is developed into the breaking of a religious oath, predicted to elicit mythological meteorological responses from the gods:

An quorum toties iurasti perfida numen
 Ultiores nescis fulmina ferre Deos?²²
 [But do you not know that the vengeful Gods, by whom you, treacherous
 woman, have so often sworn, launch thunderbolts?]

At the same time Johnston's *Saravicto*, through his use of 'nescis', reiterated several times through these poems, creates a parallel between *Biomea*'s ignorance of the circumstances of this pact, and an ignorance of practices in the humanists' classical world. He builds a case on two levels; *Biomea* has undermined European peace by the breaking of her marriage pact, and she is further guilty of putting the entire classical world of the humanists in jeopardy through her ignorance. The symbiotic relationship between the peace of Europe and the world of the humanists pervades the two poems.

Biomea receives lessons from *Saravicto* in the teachings of the ancient world, as Johnston displays his classical skills. The guilt of Helen of Troy in abandoning Paris was less significant because of Paris's use of tricks, and because the suggestion of abduction was involved; *Biomea*'s own adultery is the more culpable, because it involved her use of entreaty and even bribery.²³ Johnston adds weight to *Biomea*'s lesson in classical scholarship and to her guilt, in his striking use of the emphatic alliteration, borrowed from Ovid, in the sibilants of 'nec prece nec precio' [*sic*: Johnston's spelling of 1620, altered by Geddes in 1892].²⁴ The reference is to the *Fasti* where Ovid relates the tale of the Rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius and her fight to resist, when neither prayer nor bribe could move her, and her eventual suicide. *Biomea* has inverted this noble, classical story; instead, she has employed prayers and bribes to provoke adultery. Johnston elaborates further: Clytemnestra may indeed have been guilty of murder, but Agamemnon deserved punishment for his ravishing of Briseis. The unstated implication is that *Biomea*, guilty in her own adultery, has compounded that guilt by wounding her rightful husband *Saravicto*: 'et iugulum

²¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 55, l. 4.

²² *Ibid.*, i, 55, ll. 11-12.

²³ *Ibid.*, i, 55, ll. 16-20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 55, l. 20. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 806.

coniugis ense petis'. He is innocent of any crime.²⁵ *Biomea* in the eyes of *Saravicto*, and possibly of Johnston himself, is displaying destructive ignorance and overturning the justice of the classical world; she is threatening the humanist Republic of concord and scholarship, and she is threatening the peace of Europe. Her sins are political and literary. Johnston has opened with a strong case for the errors of *Biomea*, and the strong position occupied by *Saravicto*.

Saravicto overstates his case, however, and opens the way for *Biomea*'s response; he errs in pointing to the inferior social status of her paramour.²⁶ The Elector Palatine was traditionally *Archidapifer* of the Empire, a position of high status among the Electors but inferior, of course, to *Biomea*'s first husband. In return, *Biomea* will haughtily make reference to the imperial descent of her new husband Frederick, Prince Elector and Count Palatine of the Rhine, and argue that the role of *Archidapifer*, or *Arch-Steward*, should be carried out with honour.²⁷ It was the role played by the Stuarts in ancient Scotland, and King James may have been prominent in Johnston's anticipated Latinate readership. Throughout the poems, this discussion of status is portrayed in language redolent of an Augustan sense of *imperium*; letter writing was equated with a low, or perhaps middle style, but Johnston raises the level of the diction with his use. *Saravicto* emphasises his wife's abdication of her status, and compares the action of *Biomea* to that of the less culpable Helen in abandoning Menelaus for Paris; at least he was of equal rank. Johnston touches upon the rights and status of Electors within the Empire, employing *sceptriber* and 'ferre dapes'. Buchanan had employed this level of 'epic' diction in a similar discussion of *imperium* in his Psalm paraphrases, and with Johnston's recent focus upon Buchanan in his attack on Eglishem, some influence of Buchanan could be anticipated in these Crisis poems.²⁸ On this matter of status, *Biomea* will win the point; *Saravicto* is to be allowed to state his case persuasively, but not by sinking to emotional insult.

Johnston places the constitutional link between the Empire and Bohemia into a conceit of marital rights, and *Saravicto* develops his exposition of *Biomea*'s dangerous ignorance in her interpretation of their marriage. The union of *Biomea* and

²⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 56, l. 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 56, ll. 23-24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 70, ll. 177-82.

²⁸ Roger P. H. Green, 'Davidic psalm and Horatian ode: five poems of George Buchanan', *Renaissance Studies*, 14/1 (2000), 91-111. Green points out that Buchanan, in his metrical version of Psalm 82, conjoins this epic vocabulary to an essentially Horatian inspired discussion of *imperium* in *Ode* III.1.5. It is in this psalm that Buchanan uses his imperial terms.

Saravicto had been freely solemnised. Nessus's rudeness and Jove's trickery on the path to marital union are to be rejected as unworthy of men; *Saravicto* had not stooped to such tactics.²⁹ Biomea is reminded of her own words of self-dedication, in the Ovidian trope of the inversion of nature:

Cum thalamos, Saravicto, tuos, Biomea, relinquet,
In caput urgebunt Albis et Ister aquas.³⁰

[When *Biomea* relinquishes your marriage bed, *Saravicto*, the waters of the Elbe and the Danube will run back to their source.]

Johnston then raises questions of law and inheritance. *Saravicto* argues a case that his marital rights descend through the very ancestors whose legal influence in the matter *Biomea* is endeavouring to cast aside.³¹ Three centuries of history are brought into focus and Johnston once again criticises *Biomea*'s dangerous ignorance: 'Iam tria, si nescis, fluxerunt saecula'. Johnston probably has in his sights the events of the early fourteenth century when Poland gave up claim to the Bohemian throne, thus ending a disagreement of two hundred years.³² Johnston may be indebted in his historical survey to the writing of Fynes Moryson.³³ The latter's *Itinerary*, composed in Latin but published in English in 1617, was presumably available in London in 1619 when Johnston visited with his *Consilium collegii*. Johnston may even have had an interest in its descriptions of Padua. The *Itinerary* opens its Imperial comment with a genealogical analysis of the Empire, and the link forged between Bohemia and 'the House of Austria' between 1273 and 1308, in the persons of Rudolf of Habsburg, and his son Albert, shortly before the election of Charles IV of the House of Luxembourg who confirmed the link.³⁴

If Johnston consulted a source about Bohemia other than Moryson, then it may have been Dubravius's *Historia Bohemica*, perhaps in the library of the College of Sedan, or even at Heidelberg.³⁵ Contact between Bohemian intellectual life and that of

²⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 56, ll. 29-34.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 56, ll. 37-38. The slight variation in punctuation is taken from the original 1620 version in the Special Collection of Aberdeen University.

³¹ *Ibid.*, i, 58-59, ll. 97-116.

³² Norman Davies, *God's Playground: a History of Poland* (2 vols., Oxford, 1981), i, 77.

³³ Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Divided into III parts* (London, 1617), III.4.184-86.

³⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 58. Geddes also settles upon Rudolf as the Johnston's intended historical person.

³⁵ Janus Dubravius, *Historiae regni Boemiae, de rebus memoria dignis, in illa gestis. Libri xxxiii* ([Bratislava?], 1552), Ch. 19.

the German lands stretched back beyond the Reformation. The fifteenth-century Hussite reform of the Charles University resulted in a Reformed Academy, which later sat easily with the Reformed Academies in the German speaking lands and in Huguenot France. The reforms in Prague had resulted in an academy which provided only an arts faculty, however, and Bohemian students moved to the Reformed academies in western Europe for further study.³⁶ Dubravius's volume in the *Bibliotheca Palatina*, therefore, may have initiated Johnston into his knowledge of Imperial/Bohemian history.

Saravicto declares that *Biomea* had displayed a desire to be linked to the imperial title even if the Habsburg monarch had himself stepped back on occasion from imposing the dynastic link, aware of a previous commitment by *Biomea* to another 'suitor'.³⁷ Johnston's reference here may be the fifteenth-century tripartite conflict during the reign of Emperor Frederick III. Bohemia was at that time under the guardianship of George Podybrady for Ladislav the Posthumus, son of Albert V who had died in 1439. During and after the troubles of the Bohemian War (1468-78) an uneasy situation held until the Bohemian crown was eventually awarded to Ladislav II in 1479, while Matthias Corvinus was to rule in Hungary. The Emperor Frederick was left as the disappointed suitor.³⁸ Alternatively, Johnston could be citing events surrounding Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor (1558-64), who inherited the crown of Bohemia through his wife Anne Jagiellonica, on the death of her brother Ludwig II of Bohemia and Hungary at the battle of Mohács (1526). The Bohemian Diet duly elected Ferdinand King of Bohemia but refused to recognise him as hereditary lord of the Kingdom, despite the custom of preferring the Habsburg heir before any other candidate. That precedent supported Bohemia's constitutional right to reject and select their king in 1618. Geddes preferred an allusion to the more recent Protestant-leaning Emperor Matthias (1612-19) – persuaded, perhaps, by Johnston's use of the 'ancient sin', the 'Culpa vetus', with its Scriptural echoes. Johnston's use of 'pridem', however, suggests that he had in mind there a more historical event, and the 'Culpa

³⁶ René Wellex, *Essays on Czech Literature* (The Hague, 1963), pp. 73-75.

³⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 58, 109-12. Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii.4.184-85. Moryson is unclear on this development in Bohemian History.

³⁸ Johnston's use of the rare 'imperiurato' in Onopordus (l. 144), has an interesting echo in an *epithalamium* in celebration of the marriage of Ladislav II: Matthaëus Andronicus Tragurinus, *Epithalamium in nuptias Vladislai Pannoniarum ac Boemiae regis et Annae Candaliae Reginae* ([n.p.], 1502), l. 93. The *Bibliotheca Palatina* may have held a copy. The resemblance of the *Consilium collegii* to Ovid's *Ibis*, however, suggests that Johnston could instead have found the reference there. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 78.

vetus' could in fact be a number of events: the Turkish victory over Christian forces at Mohács is one persuasive candidate.

B. *Biomea's* Response

Johnston's exposition of these constitutional issues suggests that he may be seeking a structural, causal explanation; he seems also to distinguish the mythological nature of such events as the exploits of the Bohemian hero Zizka, and his drum.³⁹ His emphasis upon personification, however, in both letters reveals that it is as much the historical governors as any governmental structure with which he is concerned, an approach which allows him to lean upon the patterns set by Ovid in the *Heroides*.⁴⁰ This personification is even more the case in *Biomea's* reply. The imperial nature of *Saravicto's* rule is not under attack; Johnston had built some basis for *Saravicto's* criticisms upon the Empire's anti-barbarian role, and *Biomea* recognises that duty. Her argument focuses instead upon the moral values and actions of those members of the Habsburg line with whom Bohemia has had dealings.

The response deals comprehensively with the points raised by *Saravicto* – the challenge of a pact broken, *Biomea's* dangerous classical ignorance, the legality of the marriage and its historical context. The fragile symbiosis between the humanist world of Letters and the European world of politics is again evident. Her opening move is to challenge the rhetorical ground from which *Saravicto* had launched his attack. It is *Saravicto*, not *Biomea* who errs, she says, in his depiction of the political situation, because he errs in humanist etiquette. How could he doubt that she would read a letter which has been sent to her, for how could a letter harm her, 'quid enim littera lecta nocet'?⁴¹ *Saravicto* has further erred by allowing his letter to provide an open display of 'superstition, boasting, reproaches, tyranny, and raging and errors', rather than, metaphorically, offering the pleasant welcome which the innkeeper traditionally displays to the traveller.⁴² *Saravicto* has wielded the pen as if it were a knife at her throat.⁴³ Of course the letter is from an enemy, one who is ignorant of the humanists' code – the rules of ancient Latin writing.

³⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 71, 204.

⁴⁰ See pp. 179-81 below for a discussion of his use of the Ovidian precedent.

⁴¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 65, l. 2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, i, 65, ll. 5-12.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, i, 65, ll. 13-14.

The opposing ground established, *Biomea* turns to *Saravicto*'s claims of marital overlordship. In a complex passage, she rejects any legal link with the Habsburg Emperor as invalid, even if a pact had previously been agreed, on the grounds of her being the wife of another husband. Not long before, the fates brought her present husband to her; she cannot be the wife of two. *Saravicto* must be an adulterer.⁴⁴ Like the capture of Troy and Jerusalem, deceit and guile had been used to trick her.⁴⁵ The possible reference here is to the move by Emperor Ferdinand I, during his own lifetime, to have his son Maximilian declared king of Bohemia. *Biomea* points to the lack of popular assent, and to an absence of any vote, and thus to the inadequacy of the pact; custom and natural law were against it [*'quod mos et publica gentis iura vetant'*].⁴⁶ Moryson in his account of Bohemian history similarly lays stress upon this moment.⁴⁷

This complex lesson in Imperial and Bohemian constitutional practices is then underlined by the important assertion that *Saravicto* has in any case shown himself to be a tyrant, and can thus be deposed as King of Bohemia.⁴⁸ Ferdinand's wish to establish Roman Catholicism within the Czech lands had become evident even during the reign of the Emperor Matthias, his brother. The burning of two Protestant churches had been the occasion of the noble revolt of 1618 and the Second Defenestration of Prague. This imputation of tyranny allows Johnston, in his rhetorical plan, to imply that *Biomea* was innocent of rebellion; tyranny made revolt possible, even a duty, as Buchanan had argued in *De iure*.⁴⁹ *Biomea* turns to religious warfare to illustrate the tyranny to which Bohemia had been subjected over the centuries. Any right by inheritance is nullified by centuries of misrule. After a lengthy exposition of the religious wars in Bohemia, *Biomea* returns to constitutional issues to reinforce her criticism of tyrannous rule.⁵⁰ A savage tiger cannot be the husband of a virgin. When Laocoön was revealed as a wolf, his marriage was dissolved; no parents would be willing to unite their daughter to a wolf. She then emphasises that Bohemia

⁴⁴ Ibid., i, 66, ll. 26.

⁴⁵ Ibid., i, 65-66, ll. 21-38.

⁴⁶ Ibid., i, 66, ll. 39-40.

⁴⁷ Moryson, *Itinerary*, III.4.187.

⁴⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 66, ll. 41-42.

⁴⁹ George Buchanan, *De iure regni apud Scotos dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano Scoto* (Edinburgh, 1579).

⁵⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 66-69 ll. 41-152.

in any case was not subject to Imperial law, since constitutionally it lay outside the Empire:

Huic subdat se serva iugo; quae libera nubit,
Obtinet antiquum, et libera nupta manet.⁵¹
[A maidservant submits herself to such a yoke; marrying as a free woman,
[Bohemia] preserves that former status, and remains free in her marriage.]

In the past, Bohemia had rejected suitors and that right of rejection indicated that she had the right to reject *Saravicto*.⁵²

The criticism of *Saravicto*'s fraudulent imperial claims returns at the close of the poem, and there *Biomea* employs the trope of hiding beneath a false skin, in order to expose and reject *Saravicto*'s motive:

Sed vereor, notas ne tu delapsus ad artes
Pelle sub hoedina tigrida saevus alas.⁵³
[But I fear lest, having stooped to fraudulent writing, under the skin of a goat
savagely you nourish a tiger.]

The trope of the false skin had entered sixteenth-century discussions of 'reason of state', and the morality of political manoeuvring. Johnston's use of this trope may originate in Lipsius who had discussed the acceptability or otherwise of such a policy within the arsenal of princes.⁵⁴ Johnston emphasises the idea of deception through personal qualities undermining the moral standing and thus the legitimacy of the political leader; self-interest and deceit feature strongly. It is *Biomea* as a political entity whom *Saravicto* covets. He had argued that heavenly order required that *Biomea* return to the Empire:

Ast ego cui certo? cantatur naenia surdo:
Non tibi religio [sic], sed Biomea placet.
Hanc petis, hanc ardes, hanc nolles linquere praedam,
Si vel tota Deûm cum Iove turba roget.⁵⁵
[But of what can I be certain? This dirge is being sung to the deaf: her religion is
not pleasing to you, but Biomea herself is.
This booty is what you seek, what you burn for, what you do not wish to lose, as
if the heavenly host, and Jove, require it.]

⁵¹ Ibid., i, 70, ll. 153-54.

⁵² Ibid., i, 70, ll. 163-64.

⁵³ Ibid., i, 75, ll. 311-12.

⁵⁴ Justus Lipsius, *Justi Lipsi Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex: Qui ad principatum maximè spectant* (Leiden, 1590), IV. Noel Malcolm, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years' War: an unknown translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford, 2007), p. 106. The idea may have been a development of the Machiavellian idea of the necessity for a competent prince to display a variety of animal qualities – in Machiavelli's case the lion and the fox. Ibid., 172-73.

⁵⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 75, ll. 317-20.

But, she laments, it is not true piety which moves his plea, and she appeals to him to put aside the mask.⁵⁶ In *Biomea's* eyes, and probably in Johnston's, *Saravicto* has weakened the political legitimacy of the Empire through tyranny. *Biomea* is reconciled to the dangers which she faces, both from *Saravicto* and from the threatening 'barbarian'. She complains that *Saravicto* is operating in a world of self-interested commodity, and that the old moral certainties have disappeared.

C. *Saravicto's* Religious Stance

Interleaved with these constitutional exchanges, the *Querelae* offers an analysis of the religious dichotomy of *Saravicto* and *Biomea*. The outcome this time is less balanced, both in its judgment and in its use of antique reference, and many more couplets are devoted to *Biomea's* response, as Johnston expresses his attachment to Protestant culture. *Saravicto* opens with a confession, but a confession which Johnston's rhetoric projects as an expression of his innocence: 'culpa fuit sola, fuisse pium'.⁵⁷ This declaration of a sole fault of *pietas* combines loyalty to his House and ancestry, and at the same time conveys a sense of religious orthodoxy. Responsibility for the ruinous state of religion in Bohemia is laid at the feet of *Biomea* herself. It was by her own hand, on her own orders, that temples, and indeed religion had been laid waste.

Common perception in the sixteenth century had attributed to Bohemia a bewildering variety of religious views, and Moryson in his *Itinerary* enjoys painting a picture of complex, co-existing heterodoxy.⁵⁸ *Saravicto* may be employing the long-standing view that heterodoxy in Bohemia had brought about wholesale destruction; in 1530 Cardinal Wolsey had set out in a letter to Henry VIII his understanding of that destruction.⁵⁹ *Saravicto* expresses his forbearance of these monstrous religious developments. He points out, in a reference to the provisions of Augsburg (1555), his right to extirpate such plagues with the sword, or with sulphurous fire, and yet, he says, he has used gentler weapons.⁶⁰ Johnston relates a catalogue of punishments

⁵⁶ Ibid., i, 75, ll. 309-10.

⁵⁷ Ibid., i, 57, l. 54.

⁵⁸ Moryson, *Itinerary*, III.4.3. Charles Hughes, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century* (New York, 1967). Hughes provides that final part of Moryson's relation, never published in English, and sets out Moryson's consideration of the Bohemians in Book 4, Ch. 5.

⁵⁹ Wellex, *Essays on Czech Literature*, pp. 86-89.

⁶⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 57, ll. 57-62.

faced by sinners against the classical gods – Phlegyas, Sisyphus, Hippomenes, Atalanta are paraded as a warning to *Biomea* and her attack upon proper religion.⁶¹

Saravicto points to the historical tradition of the Roman rite within *Biomea*'s territory, and to the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*. 'Twice eight' centuries have seen the old rite operate in Bohemia, while the current Bohemian rite began yesterday and may disappear tomorrow.⁶² *Saravicto* is permitted to exaggerate the permanence of the Roman rite and play down the Hussite reformation – a rhetorical sleight of hand for which *Biomea* will chide him, and will later provide lengthy emotional argument to overturn this view. *Saravicto* closes with another classical rhetorical flourish:

Crimen erat, magnumque nefas, et morte piamdum,

Templa Diis, templis reddere velle Deos.⁶³

[It was a sin, and a great crime, worthy of death, to want to yield the temples to those gods, and appoint such gods to the temples.]

calling upon a popular humanist *topos* which could have been recognised as deriving from Juvenal, Ovid, or Cicero. A Ciceronian reference would have suited *Saravicto*'s purpose well. *Biomea*'s placing of the churches of Bohemia into Protestant control is raised to the level of an attack upon the sacred values of the Empire. Cicero, in *De domo sua*, had aimed to retrieve his home by implying that its loss was a sacrilegious act, focusing upon the sacredness of the home. *Saravicto*, by borrowing from a writer who was central to the rhetorical programme of the humanists, has invested *Biomea*'s religious heterodoxy with a significance which was detrimental both to Christendom, and also to the *Respublica litterarum*.⁶⁴

D. *Biomea*'s Reply

In giving voice to *Biomea*, Johnston continues the religious line of his *Propempticon* of 1618 in predicting the end times. Protestant theory mingles with classical myth. Frederick V had exercised an eschatological association in his acceptance of the Bohemian throne as the Protestant lion, a Protestant Charles IV, the Calvinist Josiah, perhaps even the embodiment (with two eyes) of Zizka, the one-eyed

⁶¹ Ibid., i, 57, ll. 67-72.

⁶² Ibid., i, 57, ll. 79-82.

⁶³ Ibid., i, 57, ll. 85-86.

⁶⁴ Erika J Nesholm, 'The House as Moral Battlefield in Cicero's *De domo sua*', *American Philological Association Annual Meeting* (Philadelphia, PA, 2002), <<http://www.apaclassics.org/AnnualMeeting/02mtg/abstracts/NESHOLM.html>>, accessed 3 October 2009].

Hussite warlord, whose presence *Biomea* summons up for leadership in her cause.⁶⁵ If Johnston did intend, optimistically, that his writing should come before King James, then he seems not to have been aware that James disliked millenarian enthusiasm among those who favoured intervention, preferring to separate religious from political rationales.

In responding to *Saravicto's* criticism, *Biomea* counters with a reasoned summary of the faults of his letter, and among those faults two constitute the central features of her reply – ‘stulta superstitio’ and ‘furor et fraudes’. In this striking vocabulary Johnston could be combining echoes of Prudentius and Buchanan.⁶⁶ *Biomea* commences a lengthy diatribe, forming a substantial part of the poem, denouncing the weakness of *Saravicto's* argument. She weaves a historical narrative of the religious quarrels between Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire over many centuries, entwining threads of religious persecution and tyrannous repression. She broadens her attack, and reaches out to contemporary Protestant hatred of the Jesuits, and to the much criticised Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation – a lethal concoction of ‘stulta superstitio’ and ‘furor et fraudes’. *Biomea* provides a colourful narrative of the Hussites and their persecution by imperial power – old men and children, virgins and matrons, pregnant mothers and the unborn, even the dead are victims; the Elbe and the Ister blushed red with the blood.⁶⁷ In a couplet, which was later withdrawn from the poem in its 1632 and 1637 editions, the real-world identity of the martyrs is confirmed with a reference to the Hussite battle-cry of ‘Communion in both kinds’, ‘sub utraque’.⁶⁸

Her denunciation moves on with rhetorical energy, and Johnston devotes forty-four lines to *Saravicto's* religious persecution through its association with the Jesuits. This Order is not explicitly named, but the references are unmistakable. The close proximity of the Jesuits to the Habsburgs, indeed to Catholic princes throughout Europe, was regarded as almost self-evidently true. Ferdinand's dependence upon the Jesuits was widely seen as the influence behind his wish to undermine Rudolf II's Letter of Majesty of 1609 which had given a degree of freedom to the Protestants of

⁶⁵ Thomas, *A House Divided*.

⁶⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 65, ll. 5-6. Prudentius, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis, Viri Consularis, Psychomachia. Cathemerinon. Peristephanon. Apotheosis. Hamartigenia. Contra Symmachum ... libri duo* (Basel, 1527), p. 149. George Buchanan, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica, multo quam antehac castigatior; auctore Georgio Buchanano* (London, 1580), LV.

⁶⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 66, ll. 49-54.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 66-67, ll. 53-72.

Bohemia. *Biomea* alludes to a genealogical connection between the Jesuits and the Habsburg dynasty, certain of its existence, but with an element of mystery: ‘propago, nescio quae’.⁶⁹ The link is made between the Jesuits and recent Bohemian troubles – their guile and their ferocity in attacking the religious settlement of Bohemia – a reference probably to the attempts by Ferdinand to undermine the Letter of Majesty:

Illius impulsu cum regno sacra petisti
 Nostra, dolo primum, mox feritate mera⁷⁰
 [You have attacked our sacred rites and our realm at their instigation, firstly surreptitiously, then with real savagery]

The views expressed by Johnston, writing towards the close of 1619 or at the opening of 1620, coincided with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Bohemia after the Second Defenestration of Prague. The Jesuits had reached the pinnacle of notoriety in their views on religious interference in the secular area, and in actions they were assumed to have encouraged; Johnston describes them as ‘regum pernicies’.⁷¹ It was claimed that they actively interfered in politics, manipulating the conscience of rulers and ruled alike, to guide secular events into the path of Catholic advantage. The *Praescriptio Patrum Societatis Jesu ex Regno Bohemiae*, promulgated by the Bohemian Estates on 9 June 1619, rehearsed their crimes: undermining the Letter of Majesty, weakening Imperial government, conspiring to have Protestants excluded from the government of Bohemia, imputing heresy to Protestants through their writing and preaching, and inciting unrest in Bohemia. The accusations of the *Proscription* went beyond their crimes inside the boundaries of Bohemia, to other charges familiar to Protestant Europe: the Decree accused them of promoting sedition and encouraging political assassination. The evidence lay in their banishment from France as a result of the attempted assassination of Henri IV by the former student of the Jesuit Parisian College of Clermont, and the brazen defence of tyrannicide by the Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana.⁷² Johnston may have had access to the collection of King James’s writings, published in 1619, and included his *Meditatio Sacra in Apocalypseos*. There James painted the Jesuits and their threat to Europe in the familiar apocalyptic terms of the loosing by Satan of his forces from the pit to seize

⁶⁹ Ibid., i, 67, ll 75-76.

⁷⁰ Ibid., i, 68, ll. 113-14.

⁷¹ Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 4. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 68, ll. 111-12.

⁷² Francesco Gui, *I Gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema* (Milan, 1989), pp. 13-14.

the earthly powers.⁷³ It is a secular desire for power and wealth, *Biomea* claims, which marks out these evil monsters, of whom the classical world displayed many forerunners – Tydeus, Harpalus, Autolycus, Massa and Cilix.⁷⁴ A picture of the Jesuits as black-robed crows, relatives of Jove’s Stymphalidian birds, very familiar to the Reformation world, is developed.⁷⁵ They emerged, *Biomea* says, from Spain, offering Johnston the opportunity to make the link with Ovid’s monstrous Geryon and his Iberian origin.⁷⁶ Johnston may also be referencing Virgil’s use of ‘volucrum’ to refer to the story of the Harpies persecuting the Trojans on the island of the Strophades.⁷⁷

Johnston has allowed *Biomea* to draw a link between the nature of *Saravicto* and that of the Jesuit movement, in his repetition of the striking image of the evils of which *Biomea* had accused *Saravicto* at the opening of the poem – the undiluted deceit in their language and a dagger in their hand.⁷⁸ Johnston’s allusion to the Jesuits, and his probable emulation of Buchanan in his clever Old Testament image of Jahweh, the vengeful God loosing a plague upon the earth, demonstrates how far he has moved from his world of the personification of *Biomea* and her historical religious complaints into a wider demonstration of Protestant eschatology and a rhetorical attack upon the reputation of the Habsburgs and the Jesuit Order.

Biomea completes her lengthy criticism of *Saravicto*’s religious stance with a criticism of Catholic religious practice and belief, leaving no possibility of a misunderstanding of Johnston’s rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation. He likens it to the very secular myth of Pygmalion breathing life into the sensual image of woman. His iconoclastic discussion includes the popular *topos* of the pastry God:

... e farre et furfure numen
Vidimus, et coctum furnigenamque Deum.⁷⁹
[... and we have seen a God of flour and bran, a cooked and baked God.]

The Calvinist reformers’ attack on transubstantiation had at its core their criticism of the consecrated host as superstitious relic. The *topos* of the pastry God was a commonplace, appearing in popular song and in Huguenot propaganda, and possibly

⁷³ James, *Serenissimi et potentissimi Principis Iacobi, Dei gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regis, fidei defensoris, opera, edita ab Iacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, & sacelli regij decano* (London, 1619), p. 79.

⁷⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 68, ll. 93-94.

⁷⁵ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester, 2004), p. 12.

⁷⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX.159-210. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 67, ll. 83-84.

⁷⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, III.216.

⁷⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 62, ll. 13-14. *Ibid.*, i, 68, ll. 109-10.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 69, 129-30.

stemming from Viret's anti-transubstantiation satire or from Marcourt, whose Placards of 1534 had vilified the pastry God.⁸⁰ One or both of these works may have been available to Johnston in the collection of Sedan. Johnston's attack is more sophisticated than the bodily level favoured in sixteenth-century literature; his themes are 'furor' and 'plebs stulta'.⁸¹

Johnston's religious discussion operates on many levels. It is Protestant preaching; it is a historical narrative of the Bohemian wars of religion; it points to the dangers of religious division within a state; it raises the charge of insubstantiality in Calvinism, and superstition in Catholic doctrine. And it is not a balanced argument. Even within the bounds of rhetoric, *Biomea's* religious argument clearly outweighs the points previously introduced by *Saravicto*. It is nevertheless a *tour de force* of humanist writing, inflected by confessional association. Johnston's friends and colleagues in the Republic of Letters would have enjoyed his rhetorical skill and the classical allusions; and, behind the apparently balanced argument, King James could not have doubted within which confession Johnston's heart and his reason lay.

D. Allies and War

One further exchange of views runs through the *Querelae* poems – that of the defence of Europe, linked once again to the defence of the Republic of Letters. The Holy Roman Empire must act as Christian Europe's protector against advancing Islamic power, and thus against barbarity. *Saravicto* reminds *Biomea* that she and the rest of Europe rely on the power of the Empire to stand firm; her adultery, which he has emphasised from the opening, has brought that into jeopardy:

... contemptor numinis hostis
Non procul est, cui tu praeda subinde fores.⁸²
[a despiser of our God is not far off, of whom you will shortly be the prey.]

Two popular tropes are at work. There is the wide belief in the Holy Roman Empire as the defender of Christian Europe against Islamic barbarity. Lipsius re-analysed the glory of Rome, and recognised a parallel necessity for 'civic discipline' if the Empire

⁸⁰ Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the idols : the reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 188-89. Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim, *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 38-55. Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: the Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York, 1999), pp. 27-55. Pierre Viret, *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale* ([Geneva], 1560), p. 72. Edward Smedley, *History of the Reformed Religion in France* (London, 1832), p. 27.

⁸¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 68, l. 117.

⁸² *Ibid.*, i, 58, ll. 101-2.

of his day were to succeed in the struggle against the Turks.⁸³ And adopting a trope probably from Juvenal in *Satire* VI, Johnston also points at the notion of adultery as contempt for the Gods. These fit Johnston's conception that *Biomea* has put both religion and peace at risk.⁸⁴ He displays his knowledge of the fabled geography of Bohemia; not even *Biomea's* forest ['qua cingere, silva'] would save her.⁸⁵ *Biomea* has fled the Imperial bastion, and by implication has weakened it:

Quam fugis, haec nostrae debetur Gloria genti,
Hunc obicem solum barbarus hostis habet.⁸⁶
[This glory, owed to our House, from which you flee, only this barrier the
barbarian enemy faces.]

Bohemia would be thrown back upon her own resources and on those of any ally whom she could muster. *Biomea* in response is stoically defiant and unafraid:

Me mihi linque modo, timor hic vanescet in auras:
Barbarus hic neutri tum metuendus erit.⁸⁷
[Only leave me to my own, this fear will then evaporate in the wind: this
barbarian will then frighten neither of us.]

In his description of allies, Johnston ranges widely from received classical wisdom about far-flung tribes of the Roman Empire to more contemporary concerns about the ideas which guided the policies of statesmen. Each protagonist maintains the principle of 'honourable loyalty of friends', but Johnston proffers 'reason of state' as a basis for cynicism. *Saravicto* claims support from French, Spanish, Belgian, German and even British troops and advances marriage, revenge, and loyalty in support.⁸⁸ Johnston, presumably reaching for his copy of Herodotus, also posits as allies from the classical world the merciless Sarmatians and the clever Thracians.⁸⁹ *Biomea* dismisses *Saravicto's* confidence as shadows and dreams and the product of

⁸³ Justus Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsii Admiranda, siue, De magnitudine romana libri quattuor. Editio vltima* (Antwerp, 1617), p. 215. Richard Tuck has unpicked Lipsius's re-thinking of the *grandezza* of Imperial Rome based on population, finance, the grandeur of her buildings, and her disciplined citizenry. Lipsius's correspondence reveals that he bought Botero's *Della Ragion* in 1597; Johnston may have bought Lipsius just before the *Querelae*. Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 61-2.

⁸⁴ *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA, 2004), VI.I.342. Johnston, if he was reading Juvenal, may have found there the satire for *Onopordus*, published in the same year as *Saravicto*.

⁸⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 58, ll. 103. Wellex, *Essays on Czech Literature*, pp. 104-5. Moryson, in contrast, in the *Itinerary*, makes mention of mountains but not of any forest in his approach to Prague. Moryson, *Itinerary*, I.1.2.

⁸⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 58, ll. 105-6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 75, ll. 315-6.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 59, ll. 129-38. Steve Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War: 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001), p. 16.

⁸⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 59, ll. 129-38.

self-love; all realms will look to self-interest before offering support.⁹⁰ Reason of state as motive was under contemporary debate, with the publication of Botero's *Della Ragion di Stato* in 1589.⁹¹ In 1621 Lodovico Zuccolo would also note that Venetian 'barbers ... and other artisans of the humblest sort, ... make comments and queries on reason of state, and pretend to know which things are done for reason of state, and which are not'.⁹² Johnston clearly intended to display his grasp of contemporary thinking.

Johnston's most elaborate area of discussion is *Biomea*'s consideration of possible allies for her own cause, and thus for the Protestant cause.⁹³ She is at first bold in a statement that any approaching combat will be limited to *Saravicto* and herself: 'mecum est res tibi, cumque viris' [and the matter is between you and me and our men].⁹⁴ She then allows that certain princes will come to her aid, and in these lines Johnston trumpets his support for the Stuart cause. Princess Elizabeth had taken on mythical status as the tension had worsened.⁹⁵ If it were not possible for men of principle to fight on behalf of the rash Frederick of the Palatinate, recognised by some as a primary cause of the troubles after his acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia from the Estates, then many could and did volunteer to fight for the Stuart Princess. After this stance in the *Biomea* couplets, it would then be a short step for Johnston to develop his theme, and openly call in *Nicrina*, his next poem, for action on the part of 'English heroes'. *Biomea* is encouraging, however, rather than demanding; Johnston devotes forty lines to a moving depiction of the honour of the Stuart monarch, his crown and his realm.⁹⁶ A lengthy calendar of reversals of nature would take place before James, that father of justice and peace ['Iustitiae pacisque parens'] would permit harm to come to his people, or permit tyranny to exist.⁹⁷ Johnston then offers an explanation for the delays for which James had already become famous – 'nil cito formatur [*sic*: the *Musa* has 'firmatur'] magnum et memorabile' [nothing of great or

⁹⁰ Ibid., i, 71, 189-90.

⁹¹ Giovanni Botero, *The reason of state* (London, 1956).

⁹² Lodovico Zuccolo, 'Della Ragione di Stato', in Benedetto Croce and Santino Caramella (eds.), *Politici e Moralisti del Seicento* (Bari, 1930), pp. 23-41. Quoted in Malcolm, *Reason of State*, p. 93.

⁹³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 71-73, ll. 209-70.

⁹⁴ Ibid., i, 71, ll. 202.

⁹⁵ *Early Stuart Libels*, 'The Common Peoples Apollegie to the Queen of Bohemia. 1623', <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/spanish_match_section/Nii5.html>. This poem of 1623 combined praise for Elizabeth and criticism of James's inaction.

⁹⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 71-72, ll. 213-52.

⁹⁷ Ibid., i, 60, 155. James had made clear his opposition to war. Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 13-14.

memorable import is fashioned quickly].⁹⁸ James, even if his aim was to prevent such unofficial discussion which might lead to expectation of action, might have been pleased with this point.

The catalogue of supporters for *Biomea*'s cause is then swelled by the leader himself, Frederick of the Palatinate, a warlike hero and yet also a 'son of the Muses', as had been Alexander and Caesar in their time, and thus not to be criticised by *Saravicto* for his artistic skills. Frederick, the military leader, thus also takes up the mantle of the preserver of scholarship and the Muses.⁹⁹ Such a combination would have resonated with the Dutch scholars whose hero against Spain, Jan Dousa, had also worn the mantle of protector of the new Leiden University.¹⁰⁰ Beyond Aonian and martial prowess, Frederick had other unbeatable qualifications to rule the kingdom of Bohemia. He was the chosen leader of the Protestant League and thus devoid of the weaknesses and errors of any Catholic leader. Terrestrial justification for his accession to the Bohemian throne emerged in his status – in contrast to *Saravicto*'s criticism – through his descent from the Imperial Eagles.¹⁰¹ Most of all he was the choice of the people, invited to take up the crown by the Estates of Bohemia. God, birth and the people formed a powerful tripartite justification of his claim.¹⁰² Johnston's own French patron, the duc de Bouillon, joins Frederick on the list of supporters, linked to the Palatinate by marriage, and leader of a martial race:

Ille triumphatas aquilas, quas fulmina iactas

Ferre Iovis, coget signa Sedana sequi.¹⁰³

[He will compel the triumphing eagles, assailed by the thunderbolts of Jove, to follow the ensigns of Sedan.]

Johnston had not yet finally departed from the Principality, and Bouillon, as the Huguenot Prince of the Academy of Sedan, thus has the classical gods on his side.

Each letter of the *Querelae* thus emphasises the continuing political divide. Each opens in the language of the present; we are overhearing an argument which is

⁹⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 72, l. 241.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 73-74, ll. 277-304.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 73-74, ll. 275-84. Jan Adrianus Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden, 1962), p. 33. Daniel Rogers had pictured Dousa as a combination of the Muses and Mars.

¹⁰¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, p. 70, l. 180. Johnston may be indebted again to Moryson for this information: Moryson, *Itinerary*, 232-36.

¹⁰² Robert Persons, *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland diuided into tvvo partes ... Published by R. Doleman* ([Antwerp], 1594), pp. 119-20. Persons also emphasised these qualifying features in his discussion of Elizabeth's successor in England.

¹⁰³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 73, ll. 269-70.

not yet over. Johnston's adaptation of Ovid's opening for *Saravicto Biomeae Querelae*, as a final, decisive comment upon events; it was a contribution to a discussion. As such it might just have escaped censure by James as an unwelcome proposal of the path he ought to follow. It is also unwise, however, to view it as impartial, or a fully balanced comment. There is some sense of balance, of course, as Johnston makes a studied effort to allow each side room on the debating floor. The constitutional argument of the Emperor carries significant weight, and Johnston has not yet fully revealed his colours as an activist for the Bohemian cause. Yet he is an activist in the Republic of Letters and his rhetorical strategy shines through. His rhetorical approach is to use an *argumentum in utramque partem*. Within that structure, which permitted justified exaggeration with the purpose of persuading his hearers to do the right thing, this poet set out the case which each party in the quarrel might legitimately have made. His purpose was to reveal, with a degree of objectivity, but also within the bounds of humanist rhetoric, the relative strengths of each political and religious stance. Also, through his rhetorical technique, he allows the right stance to win. For Johnston, that stance was the cause of international Protestantism, which he allied to the security of the *Respublica litterarum*.

E. *Nicrina*: Partisanship

Johnston's association with *Biomea*'s stance is further elaborated in the third poem. Unravelling the provenance of this presents further challenge. It shares with the first two the same *impresa*, and below that, near the foot of the title page, an intriguing '*Heidelbergae*'. The extant copies employ a larger type face than the *Querelae* and have some other typographical variations: the abbreviation ':' for the suffix '-que', and turned 'C's, in the date. Despite this, and presumably on the basis of the printer's mark, the *STC* attributes this poem also to Stansby. Bearing in mind the allegation of surreptitious printing levelled at the poems, the typographical variation could have been a distraction – to conceal the identity of author and printer – or perhaps to provoke intrigue. The attribution of Heidelberg is clearly intended to suggest the Palatinate to readers, since the subject of the poem was the eponymous nymph *Nicrina*, who might plausibly have been glimpsed reclining upon the banks of the River Neckar as it meandered through her Arcadian meadow.

All remaining copies of the initial edition of *Nicrina* – in Aberdeen, St John’s College Cambridge, the Bodleian Library, and the National Library of Scotland – bear the *Gioliti* mark of the *Querelae*. The Aberdeen copy is undated, while all the others state 1620 at the foot of the page. The Aberdeen version agrees with the rest in all other respects, however, including the six occasions when they diverge from the *Parerga*. Most importantly, this involves the later removal of two topical couplets between lines 96 and 97 from the *Parerga*. Geddes pointed to difficulties in fixing upon a simultaneous appearance for the third poem. The variation in dating on the title page may, however, just point to a history of bad cropping: ‘*Heidelbergae*’ is positioned very close to the foot of the page. Geddes eventually settled on the date 1620 for the printing of a single edition of *Nicrina*, following the *Querelae* pamphlet.¹⁰⁴ In the increasingly warlike environment of 1620, Johnston made clear his concern about the danger faced by the Stuart Princess. His intended audience for this Latin poem would have included those of influence in London, perhaps to persuade those Scottish courtiers like Ayton or Alexander, whose preference was a link with the French, to move towards support for Elizabeth Stuart.

The continuing link to Ovid’s *Heroides* is clear in *Nicrina*; the embattled heroine of the poem is firmly modelled upon the imprisoned Hypermnestra.¹⁰⁵ The rhetorical style of the *Querelae* was put aside, however, suggesting that the *Nicrina* pamphlet was intended instead to play a role in the 1620 polemical campaign.¹⁰⁶ *Nicrina* is a unilateral cry for help by the Palatinate to Britain, a response to hostile troop movements:

Ducat, an abiiciat calamum Nicrina? Britannos
 Quod petit, infestum reddidit hostis iter
 Occupat imperio terras iam, Caesar et undas, [1632]
 Omne tenet spatium Caesar telluris et undae, [1620]
 Nec superest votis praeter Inane meis.
 Forsan et hic, domini dum passim castra sequuntur,
 Casareae nobis insidiantur aves¹⁰⁷
 [Should Nicrina take up, or put aside, the pen? The enemy has rendered the
 desired road to the British unsafe.]

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., i, 76.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., i, 79, l. 9. Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, eds. Grant Showerman and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1977), XIV.

¹⁰⁶ Adams, ‘The Protestant Cause’, pp. 290-93. Adams surveys the pamphlets encouraging the Bohemian cause.

¹⁰⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 79, ll. 1-6. In the *Parerga* of 1632, Johnston replaced l. 3, *Omne ... undae*, with *Occupat ... undas*, probably for reasons of scansion.

The Emperor holds all land and sea, and there remains nothing beyond my prayers.
And perhaps, while the men here are in the field, the imperial eagles lie in wait for us.]

The troop movements referred to here are presumably those which followed Philip III's authorisation of the invasion of the Lower Palatinate by Spinola's Spanish army:

... in vos duxisse phalangas
Dicitur Ausonio sub duce saevus Iber.¹⁰⁸
[... the armies of fierce Spain are advancing upon you under the command of Ausonius.]

As in the first two poems, there is no mention of the collapse of the Bohemian forces at the White Mountain in November of 1620, and a publication dealing with an outbreak of war would surely have made some reference to such an action. Thus *Nicrina* was probably written in the summer or autumn of that same year. If Stansby was indeed the printer, the later emergence of the poem may account for the use of the different type face.

Despite the surreptitious nature of the imprint, the poem paradoxically offers us sure ground for its origin. Johnston's use of the eponymous nymph challenged his readers to uncover the link to the River Neckar in the Palatinate, and *Heidelbergae* was part of this enjoyable conceit. *Nicrina* herself bears more than a passing resemblance to James VI and I's daughter Elizabeth, Electress of the Palatinate and briefly Queen of Bohemia. The motto, the topic, the Ovidian style and the extensive use of classical allusion, would have allowed his audience to attribute *Nicrina*, and thus probably also the *Querelae*, to the author of the Eglisheim satire. John Leech, like Johnston a recent arrival in London to publish his epigrams, and seemingly a friend of Johnston, shows in those epigrams that the author of *Onopordus* had already been unmasked in some quarters; Johnston's satire against the Scottish doctor Eglisheim would have been of greatest interest to the Scots in London.

Composed in Ovidian couplets of hexameter and pentameter, *Nicrina* matches almost the entire corpus of Johnston's work. At the end of the poem he placed his

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., i, 80, 31-32. The soldier-scholar Decimius Magnus Ausonius was a teacher of rhetoric, poet, gastronome, Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, and Consul in the mid-fourth century after a campaign against the Alemanni. He retired to his estates rather than play a prominent role in the political moves surrounding the change of Emperors in 383-88 A.D. 'Ausonius' seems particularly appropriate as an indication of the Spanish general. Spain came within the remit of the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul. Roger P. H. Green, *Ausonius and Spain: A Reconsideration of the Evidence*, Actas del VIII Congreso Espanol de Estudios Clasicos (3 vols., Madrid, 1994), II, 679-83.

motto, *v. n. o.*, an acrostic of *Virtus nos ornat*, itself an anagram of *Artur Ionstonus* which had been appended to his *Consilium collegii* twelve months previously, betraying once again the humanist world's enjoyment of anagram. A clue to his shortening of the motto may lie in a small mock epitaph by Daniel Tilenus, entitled *Tumulus Onopordi* and attached to Johnston's *Onopordus* as a humorous rejoinder.¹⁰⁹ Johnston's satirical poem had clearly killed Eglisheam. At the centre of Tilenus's *Tumulus Onopordi* is a conceit of the thousand monsters bred in the heart of Eglisheam, and laid low by one flick of the tail of Arcturus (a Bear, but also Johnston as Arturus.):

Unius Ursinae caudae uno sternitur ictu,
Mille uno illo ictu monstra asinina cadunt.¹¹⁰
[By a single flick of one Bear's tail, a thousand asinine monsters fall at that one blow.]

When *Nicrina* appeared, shortly after the *Querelae* and *Onopordus*, Johnston appended *vno* to it, possibly in response to this Tilenusian wit. The trope, alternatively, may be grounded in a philosophical reference. Both Plato and Lucretius had found a place for *uno* in their writings, and Johnston, at other places in these Crisis poems, sets up resonances of Lucretius.¹¹¹

The poem opens with a sense of foreboding and even despairing resignation. *Nicrina* sees disaster on the road, and the poem is an impassioned plea for action on the part of her friends. She writes from behind constricting barriers – Scylla and Charybis, perhaps Spinola and Tilly – and her thoughts are unsure. She is caught between hope and fear:

Haeret in ambiguo mens inter spemque metumque,
Spem metus, expellit spes mihi saepe metum.¹¹²
[My thoughts remain unsure between hope and fear, fear driving out my hope and hope often my fear.]

¹⁰⁹ Haag and Haag, *La France Protestante*, IX, 385. Tilenus was in London, probably to deliver his *Paraenesis* to Stansby's press, recommended perhaps by Johnston, and perhaps also to be received by King James. Tilenus had just engaged Cameron in the *Amica collatio* on Divine Grace and man's free will, emerging from the Canons of Dort, in April of that year, which thus provides the earliest date for the arrival of Johnston.

¹¹⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 52, ll. 9-10.

¹¹¹ 'Uno' also emerged from the writings of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's syncretist *Tractatus de ente et uno* (1491). He had advanced notions of unity or reconciliation within Christianity, ideas which had attracted the ire of the Roman church. Johnston could be following this trope and may not entirely have put aside an irenical response to the Bohemian Crisis. George B. Parks, 'Pico Della Mirandola in Tudor Translation', in Edward P. Mahoney (ed.) *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oscar Kristeller* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 352-69. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, CA, 1966), p. 61.

¹¹² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 79, ll. 25-6.

She counsels against delay, appealing to ‘royal honour’, presumably that of James VI and I, and to ‘the heavenly power of the great God’, who stretches out his hand to the afflicted [‘afflictis [*sic*] porrigit ille manum’].¹¹³ A tension arises: will there be royal action, or perhaps new English heroes will arise to save her? Then Johnston’s *Nicrina* announces, with wordplay indicative of Ovid and contrasting with the epic register of much of the *Querelae*, that not only the eponymous *Nicrina*, but also Elizabeth Stuart will be safe, when I am safe, she says, and perish when I perish [‘manisset Elisa / sospite me sospes, me pereunte perit’].¹¹⁴ Ships are optimistically sighted by the eldest Prince of the Palatine from the *locus amoenus* of Heidelberg’s hill; Palatine ships, mistaken for the ships of his grandfather. Summer is the best season to travel; show no delay:

Suadet iter tempus, laetis dum messibus aestas
 Est gravis, et longi stant sine nube dies.¹¹⁵
 [The season encourages travel, while the summer is pregnant with copious
 harvest, and for a while the days are without cloud.]

Johnston conjures an arcadian picture of *Nicrina*’s homeland, from the reed pen (her shepherd’s pipe) which is the instrument of her decision-making difficulties:

Ducat, an abiiciat calamum *Nicrina*?¹¹⁶
 [Should we pick up, or lay aside the pen, *Nicrina*?]

to the *locus amoenus* of the gentle hill from which the eldest boy watches from the arrival of the British ships which will bring safety:

Non procul, adscensu facilis, Rhenumque measque
 Undique despectat collis amoenus aquas.¹¹⁷
 [Not far off, a pleasant hill of gentle slope gives a wide view over the Rhine and
 over my stream.]

It is a picture which echoes Virgil’s *Eclogue IX*, with its gentle slope and brook:

... qua se subducere colles
 incipiunt mollique iugum demittere clivo
 usque ad aquam¹¹⁸
 [where the hills begin to rise up, and where they descend in a gentle
 slope down to the water]

¹¹³ Ibid., i, 81, l. 56.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., i, 82, ll. 78-79.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., i, 83, ll. 101-02.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., i, 79, l. 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., i, 82, ll. 87-88.

¹¹⁸ Virgil, *Eclogues*, IX.7-9.

The gentle pleasures of this bucolic world are threatened. Johnston introduces the notion of crusade, in one of his rare statements in defence of the Protestant camp. The appeal is not just for Nicrina; it is for her God, the God of the Protestant League:

. . . superest spes una salutis;
Pro Iove bellandum, dux erit ille viae.¹¹⁹
[there remains one hope of escape; the fighting is for God, He will lead us on the way.]

Humanist Self-fashioning

Poetic Display by the Latinate Philosopher

In the 1632 *Parerga*, Johnston's intended audience was the community of Latin *cognoscenti* whose immersion in the antique world would enable them to enjoy his clever use of mythological references, couched in Ovid's elegiac couplets. In that publication, these Crisis poems appear in a much less prominent position than his satire about Eglisheim. In 1637, when the poems re-appeared in the *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum*, they had been re-promoted.¹²⁰ The omission of the revealing Hussite couplet from the 1632 and 1637 editions reveals an alteration in the balance of Johnston's aims. Alongside those changes which raised the anonymity of the central character in the Eglisheim satire, the Crisis poems became more 'belletristic' examples of his poetic skill, alongside the work of his fellow bards, rather than examples of political comment. At the same time he advanced his self-image within the *Respublica litterarum*.¹²¹ His inclusion of *Nicrina* in 1632 and 1637 suggests that he judged it possible also to wrest that partisan statement from the realm of topical political comment and display it as bucolic poetry. By 1632 the war in Europe was far advanced and Johnston was re-established as a citizen of Aberdeen, to where he had withdrawn from the political to the humanist stage. It was not until the Covenant Crisis of 1638 that he would once again put topical comment on a national, political question at the centre of his poetry.

In these poems as in others, Johnston's conspicuous display of Latin skill, at the centre of the formation of his identity, was layered in origin. His use of phrases like *Templa Diis*, noted probably in a commonplace book, could have conjured up for

¹¹⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 80, ll. 33-34.

¹²⁰ Johnston, *Parerga*, pp. 86-105. *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, i, 477-80. From their position near the end of the *Parerga*, the poems return to the opening of Johnston's writing in the *Delitiae*.

¹²¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).

his readers Ovid, Virgil or Cicero. The tropes of rivers returning to their sources, the mixing of elements, or the succession of the seasons effortlessly emerge from his knowledge of Ovid's *Tristia* or from Horace's *Odes*.¹²² The horrors of *Geryon* and other monsters, he ably contrasts with the admirable action of heroes skilled in the Muses and in warfare.¹²³ These classical *fontes* were reinforced by the reading of Renaissance works. Moryson's *Itinerary* may have informed his exposition of Imperial history; Dubravius, too, could have been available in Heidelberg for the topography of Bohemia. Buchanan's emulation of Horatian tropes also found its way into the *Querelae*, and Johnston's study in Scotland, Heidelberg, France and Italy, as well as his Protestant schooling in Scripture, could all have contributed to the literary reservoir. There is perhaps an echo of the Massacre of the Innocents, or, with the close association of 'senex' and 'puer', a hint of the Presentation in the Temple, in the boy, constrained to offer his throat to the sword ['praebere coactus est iugulum tremulo cum sene saepe puer'].¹²⁴ His audience would have been similarly schooled, many would have considered Latin to be their first language, and they would have grasped his sources.

Emerging most clearly from Johnston's performance in the Crisis poems, however, is his debt to Ovid, in metre, tropes and language. Ovid had composed a number of fictional letters – the *Heroides* – the outpourings of women in classical mythology, generally admirable, wronged or abandoned, and rightly roused by emotion. The roots of this trope are traceable back to traditions in Greek historiography where it had been customary to embellish the narrative with 'evidence' about the protagonists' state of mind and motives as expressed in putative speeches or reports. Ovid extends this technique through his analysis of myth in situations well established within the inherited mental world of his society.¹²⁵ The six letters which close the twenty-one *Heroides*, diverging in form from the others, are grouped in pairs, with the structure of a dialogue: a declaration of love by a lover and the response of his beloved.¹²⁶ The two poems of Johnston's *Querelae* follow this pattern

¹²² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 60, ll. 149-54. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, 1.6.1-6. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 72, ll. 217-18. Horace, *Odes and epodes*, iv.7.9-12.

¹²³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 67-74, ll. 83-112, 279-94.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 66, ll. 53-54.

¹²⁵ *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius*, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (Assen, 1988), pp. 150-54.

¹²⁶ Doubt surrounds the final six letters; they may have been written later, perhaps after the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid, *Heroides*, p. 4. Paul White has surveyed the sixteenth-century reception of the *Heroides*, the arguments about authorship and timing, and humanist replies to Ovid's letters. Paul

of emotional outburst and response, with the aim of enlivening the argument which he wished to project to his readers.

This process of combative exchange is reflective of Johnston's background in the academic world. His rhetorical training in philosophical sparring lent itself to the approach of these two poems. He looks to one of the earlier poems, *Heroides* V, for his contextual theme – the complaint of *Oenone*, the deserted first wife of Paris – and combines the emotional focus of the earlier Ovidian poem, where wronged *Oenone* issues a bitter outburst, with Ovid's later dialogue style in allowing the object of the complaint to respond. He transfers the complainant's role from wife to husband (*Saravicto*), and then allows the wife (*Biomea*) to reply. The world of the *Heroides* is thus turned upside down. *Saravicto* is the deserted party; *Biomea* is the perpetrator, not the victim. In the *Querelae*, therefore, it is the justly indignant Emperor to whom he first gives the floor, a decision which would have had considerable repercussion on how his political and religious comment was received.

Johnston's debt to *Heroides* V is clear from the opening word. Instead of the epistolary convention which letters of the *Heroides* themselves identify, Ovid and now Johnston, employed an abrupt question.¹²⁷ Johnston prefers 'Inspicis?' to Ovid's 'Perlegis?'. The mirroring continues through the couplet, with a subtext of threat; Ovid focuses upon the threat to Paris of his new wife and her Greek relations:

Perlegis? An coniunx prohibet nova? Perlege – non est
Ista Mycenaea littera facta manu!¹²⁸
[Are you reading through my letter? Or does your new wife prohibit it? Read it –
this is not a letter written by a Mycenaean hand.]

Johnston, in his turn, focuses upon the danger to Bohemia through her desertion of the Emperor, and the Elector Palatine's assumption of the Bohemian crown:

Inspicis? An coniunx prohibet novus? Inspice: non est,
Quam legis, hostili charta notata manu.¹²⁹
[Are you reading it? Or does your new husband forbid it? Read it: what you will
read is not a note written by an enemy's hand.]

The Ovidian link continues into the third poem of the Crisis. It is to another deserted wife from the *Heroides* that Johnston turns to underline his theme. Hypermnestra had

White, *Renaissance Postscripts: responding to Ovid's Heroides in sixteenth-century France* (Columbus, OH, 2009), pp. 191-9.

¹²⁷ Ovid, *Heroides*, iIV, XIII, XVI, XVIII and XIX. The customary heading for such a letter was some version of 'salutem (plurimam) mittitur.

¹²⁸ Ibid., V.1-2.

¹²⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 55, ll. 1-2.

been imprisoned for failing to carry out her father's order to murder her new husband.¹³⁰ She issued a plea in the name of love, a letter written for the benefit of her groom, Lynceus, and an appeal for rescue from her prison. *Nicrina* also makes an appeal for rescue from her prison, the city of Heidelberg, threatened by Imperial power.

Johnston's emphasis upon despair in these Crisis poems may have had some reflection in his own. The threat of European warfare had instilled a sense of unease – Sedan was linked by marriage, and was geographically close, to the Palatinate. He clearly preferred intellectual pursuits and peace of mind to the role of soldier-scholar. Horace's warning of the difficulties presented by public service and urban life, and his recommendation of a retreat to a *locus amoenus*, may have played their part in bringing about Johnston's departure from Sedan. Besides the obvious Ovidian context, therefore, Horace's writing also casts a shadow over the page as his characters give vent to a desire for a less fraught existence. Rustic calm would be restored, says *Saravicto*, if only *Biomea* would return to the fold:

Fecundus soli domino serviret agellus;
Et fugerent solos hoedus et agna lupos.¹³¹
[The land will be fruitful for its lord alone; and the goat and lamb will escape the
solitary wolves.]

The *topos* here is reminiscent of the landscape of Horace's *Epode* II and its longing for rural peace:

Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus
Vel haedus ereptus lupo.¹³²
[the lamb sacrificed at the feast of Terminal or the goat snatched from the wolf.]

This Epicurean longing to escape troubles shows Johnston's reaching for tropes beyond an Aristotelian world. It may, for example, have been the Lucretian list of horrors to which he turned:

Carcer, et horribilis de saxo iactus deorsum,
Verbera carnifices robur pix lammina taedae;¹³³
[Prison, and the horrific throwing down from the rock, beatings, executioners, the
condemned cell, pitch, red-hot plates, torches;]

¹³⁰ Ovid, *Heroides*, XIV.

¹³¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 61, ll. 189-90.

¹³² Horace, *Odes and epodes*, 2.59-60.

¹³³ Titus Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, eds. W. H. D. Rouse and Martin F. Smith (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 3.1016-17.

to colour *Biomea's* description of the pain inflicted by Austria upon the Hussites: 'Carnifices acuens in scelus omne malus',¹³⁴ or her despair over the behaviour of *Saravicto*:

Stulta superstitio, iactantia, probra, tyrannis,
Et furor, et fraudes,¹³⁵
[Dull superstition, boasting, reproaches, tyranny, and madness and errors,]

Nicrina's full measure of despair at the start of that poem, 'Inane', may be a commonplace, but its printing with a majuscule 'I' and repeated with that same appearance in later printings may imply a trope taken from Lucretian philosophy in the idea of the void.¹³⁶ It projects the complex notion of emptiness in natural philosophy, and here a lack of hope; it would be a reminder to his readers in the élite world of philosophy. The rustic setting for *Nicrina* may be Horace's *locus amoenus*, but all pleasure has departed.¹³⁷

In contrast to these hints of Epicurean retreat, historical opinion has detected instead a prevalence of neo-Stoicism in early seventeenth-century thought, fed by sixteenth-century translations of classical Stoic writings. Lipsius had provided Stoical advice for late sixteenth-century statesmen facing the disappointment which accompanied the execution of their duty. Tacitus and Seneca had equipped him with weapons to deal with the crises facing the Netherlands, divided by political and religious strife. He advanced the notion of steadfast duty and the need for *constantia* in the face of corruption. He had opposed all extremes of national feeling; as a disciple of Seneca, the Stoical man would recognise country and state, but would not put love of country 'on a par with the *virtus* of *pietas*, the love we owe to God and our parents'. He recognised the national community as subject to change and decay; political man instead should be cosmopolitan.¹³⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, to find a neo-Stoical strain in Johnston's poetry, and his retreat to Scotland raises questions about his own interpretation of the path of duty.¹³⁹ The *Querelae*, too, discusses political decay. Neo-stoic *constantia* was dynamic in its call to respond, in

¹³⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 66, l. 60.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 65, ll. 5-6.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 79, l. 4. Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, 1.329 ff.

¹³⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 82, ll. 87-88.

¹³⁸ Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 28-30.

¹³⁹ David Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton, 2000). Allen has teased a strong thread of neo-stoical attitudes from much of the writing of early seventeenth-century Scottish thinkers.

contrast to the ancient Stoic belief in the determination of Providence.¹⁴⁰ Johnston also comments upon a Crisis in which the virtuous man was called upon to act without delay.¹⁴¹

Experience of the war-torn Netherlands had encouraged Lipsius to modify this stance. He borrowed from Epicurus the idea of the use of the garden for recuperation from the exhaustion of the world – not as a place of self-indulgent hedonism, he argued in *De constantia*, but for self-improvement.¹⁴² Johnston would later write some ten poems commenting upon gardens or other places of withdrawal, at a time when he was also integrating himself dutifully into the academic world of Aberdeen. In 1637 he commented upon the travails of a remarkable courtier statesman and poet of Jacobean and Caroline Britain, Sir William Alexander, first earl of Stirling, who experienced the difficulties associated with combining these roles. Around the period of the Crisis poems, Johnston was striving to achieve the position of *Medicus Regius*, and he writes of ambivalence in his own courtly aims in a poem addressed to the earl of Pembroke as an experienced court player, but also acquainted with the Muses. He chose to place these two poetic tales of striving together in the *Parerga*.¹⁴³ Although stoical duty emerges strongly from the *Querelae*, the poems also consider motives of the European politics which point rather more persuasively towards ‘reason of state’, another strand of public involvement which Johnston may have taken from Lipsius’s *Politics*.¹⁴⁴

Heir to Buchanan

Besides all this Latinate display, Johnston makes very clear in the *Querelae* his intent to assume a public role. His writing goes beyond the boundaries of a literary or educational agenda, and he offers a contribution to the discussion surrounding the Bohemian Crisis. In *Nicrina* Johnston adopts a more direct voice, wrapped in a thin veil of allegory – the voice of the ‘earnest *vates* who instructs and admonishes the community’.¹⁴⁵ This role of poet as inspired priest or seer has roots in early Greek

¹⁴⁰ Justus Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi de constantia libri duo. Qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis. Iterata editio, melior & notis auctior* (London, 1586).

¹⁴¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 83, ll. 118-20.

¹⁴² Mark P. O. Morford, ‘Tacitean *Prudentia* and the Doctrines of Justus Lipsius’, in T. J. Luce and A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 1993). Mark P. O. Morford, ‘The Stoic Garden’, *Journal of Garden History*, 7/2 (1987), 151-75.

¹⁴³ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 215-24. Johnston, *Parerga*, pp. 57-62.

¹⁴⁴ Lipsius, *Politicorum*, IV.

¹⁴⁵ Green (ed.), *Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms*, p. 49.

literature. Lucretius set out to undermine what he regarded as the unnecessarily disturbing belief in the *vatum terriiloquis ... dictis*. Virgilian epic revived the term, enhancing the status of Augustus, and Horace emphasised the importance of the inspired poet as public spokesman. Ovid was less positive about the powers of the *vates* and Orpheus is a less successful representative of the genre.¹⁴⁶ Johnston in his *Consilium collegii* had presented Buchanan in that role – the *vates* assaulted by the uncultured Eglisheim.¹⁴⁷ In *Nicrina* Johnston moves into this role, in Buchanan's footsteps.

The influence of the writings of George Buchanan, educated in the *milieu* of sixteenth-century France, had provided a material cause for Johnston's defence in the Eglisheim satire, reflecting the place of Buchanan's writing in the humanist memory. Echoes of that *vates* of the previous generation can be found at the core of Johnston's self-fashioning in the Crisis poems. Johnston would have been nurtured on a diet of Buchanan – in Aberdeen and possibly in Sedan – as *poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps*, the humanist Prince of Poets, the profitable tag first coined in the initial 1556 publication of his Psalm Paraphrases by his proud French publishers, Henri and Robert Estienne. With Johnston's recent quashing of any aspirations to poetic fame which Eglisheim may have entertained, it is a reasonable assumption that Buchanan's sacred writing would have been in his mind as he composed the *Querelae*. Biomea opens her criticism of *Saravicto* with the *topos* of 'self-embroidered guilt' ['Hic tua tu propria crimina pinguis acu'], which could have been lifted from Buchanan's versification of Psalm 23.¹⁴⁸ *Nicrina*, too, expresses the hope that 'a way may be open' for rescue ['fors patefiet iter.'], borrowed perhaps from Buchanan's *Franciscanus*.¹⁴⁹ Buchanan had also employed an anti-imperial voice in some of his poetry, in defence of French interests, although without employing the trope of fictional speech.¹⁵⁰

Buchanan's humanist world was well acquainted with the poet's role in offering advice to the prince. Among the humanist élite of the late sixteenth-century Dutch Republic in particular (where, for a time Buchanan had been resident) the role of poet

¹⁴⁶ Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, 1.102-3. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII.41. Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, II.391-407. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X.12.

¹⁴⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 19, l. 37.

¹⁴⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 65, l. 4. Buchanan, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, XXIII.

¹⁴⁹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 79, l. 8. George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani ... Franciscanus et fratres. Elegiarum liber I. Silvarum liber I. Hendecasyllabon libri Ii. Epigrammaton libri III. De sphaera fragmentum* ([Geneva], 1584), p. 25.

¹⁵⁰ *George Buchanan: The Political Poetry*, eds. McGinnis and Williamson.

counsellor had been fulfilled in the persons of Jan van Does and Jan van Hout. Dousa, soldier-hero of the siege of Leiden, and Librarian in the newly created university, had expressed this role as both guardian and historian of the united Provinces. Georgius Benedictus, in a later versified dedication to Dousa and van Hout in the *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum* of 1618, neatly points to the lasting Dutch memory of this role assumed by the poets:

Dousiadem Hautenum duos tulit unica Vates
Leyda, illum Latii Carminis, hunc Batavi.
Janus uterque.¹⁵¹

[One Leiden supported two poet-seers, Dousa and van Hout, one sang in Latin, the other in Dutch. Both were Jan.]

Dorsten, in his study of late sixteenth-century Anglo-Dutch relations, viewed through the prism of Daniel Rogers' diary, identifies Anglo-Dutch links in the correspondence of such figures as Dousa, Rogers and Buchanan. In his letter to Buchanan of 1571, Rogers reminds Buchanan of a meeting the former had arranged with the Leiden humanists Dousa and Marnix, 'Quorum alterum cum Lutetiae commorareris ad te deduxi'.¹⁵² The 'prince of poets' was held in high esteem in Leiden.¹⁵³ Into this Leiden orbit came the circle around Philip Sidney and the links were strengthened by visits to each country.¹⁵⁴ Besides their shared espousal of poetry and scholarship, each group of poets, English and Dutch, shared a political and religious commitment (in Leiden, to the emergence of the Dutch Republic; in England the attachment of the Sidney circle to the Reformed Walsingham group in opposition to the latitudinarian policies of Burghley). Each group assumed the role of *vates* and proposed a special role for the poetic imagination of the political commentator and prophetic advisor. Daniel Rogers promoted the publication in London in 1580 of Buchanan's *De iure*, and dedicated an epigram to Dousa in his role as scholar/soldier in Leiden.¹⁵⁵ Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* in turn offers classical justification for the role by pointing to the poetic

¹⁵¹ *Delitiae c. poetarum belgicorum*, i, 527.

¹⁵² George Buchanan, *Epistolae*, ed. James Oliphant (London, 1711), p. 27.

¹⁵³ Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors*, p. 169. Dorsten presents a strong case for the mutual enrichment in this cultural exchange, and enlarges upon Buchanan's important position as a Latin writer in that world. An epigram of Dousa compares the Latin of Buchanan to that of Flaminio. Jan Dousa, *Iani Dousae ... Echo, sive Lusus imaginis iocosae quibus titulus Halcedonia. Alia quaedam* (The Hague, 1603), p. 17. Also noted in Green (ed.) *Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms*, p. 87.

¹⁵⁴ James E. Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 12/1 (1948), 23-55. Jennifer Richards, 'Gabriel Harvey, James VI, and the Politics of Reading Early Modern Poetry', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71/2 (2008), 303-21, at pp. 308-09.

¹⁵⁵ Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors*, p. 204. *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots*, eds. Mason and Smith, pp. xli-xlii.

judgements offered by the Delphic Oracle. So each group looked to offer advice to princes, and paid tribute to Buchanan as a poet from whom they could learn both poetic skills and also the skills of political advice. It was *via* the Pembroke group at Court, successors of the Sidney circle, that Johnston made his own approach.¹⁵⁶

In the Crisis poems Johnston comments upon political legitimacy, and upon the fragility of peace, both through the lawful dynasty of *Saravicto*, at the heart of the tradition of the *pax Europea*, and through *Biomea* as purveyor of the views of a persecuted people. The epic poetry of the Augustan age emerges from his use of ‘sceptrum’, ‘diadema’ and ‘purpura’; it was part of both the Augustan and the Habsburg programmes to establish peace.¹⁵⁷ Buchanan’s Psalms may be Johnston’s source for this concept of the legitimacy of *imperium*; in Buchanan’s case it was that of the Kings and Judges of Israel, in Johnston’s it was Imperial and Bohemian power. Buchanan attached his idea of *imperium* to an arresting term for God, emerging from a small syllabic change in his emulation of Horace’s use of ‘Iove’ in *Odes* 3.1.5, to whom classical kings were responsible for their *imperium*. Buchanan’s paraphrase of Psalm 82 borrows two lines from Horace:

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
 Reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis¹⁵⁸
 [The fearful power of kings over their people,
 that is the power of Jove over those very kings.]

and makes a small change into ‘Iovae’. Roger Green’s analysis of this emulation weaves together ideas of the Spanish Inquisition, of failing secular power, and of a vengeful Protestant God, and he argues for the importance of the change in theological terms.¹⁵⁹ Johnston himself employs a variety of designations for god(s), but instead of his customary ‘Iove’ or ‘numen’, or even the psalmodic ‘Dominus’, *Biomea* draws upon Buchanan’s *Jehova* or *Jahweh*, as ‘Iova’, the destroyer God, for

¹⁵⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 215-18. ‘Ad Illustrem Comitem de Pembroch, de Suo in Aulam Reditu.’

¹⁵⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 58, ll. 93.

¹⁵⁸ Horace, *Odes and epodes*, III.1.5.

¹⁵⁹ Buchanan, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, LXXXII. Green, ‘Davidic psalm and Horatian ode’, pp. 105-08. Roger P. H. Green, ‘Horace in the psalm paraphrases of George Buchanan’, in Stella Purce Revard, Fidel Radle, and Mario A. Di Cesare (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: Wolfenbuttel* (Binghamton, NY, 1988), pp. 71-9. ‘Iovae’ appears frequently in Castilio’s translation the Bible of 1551. This date is probably after Buchanan had begun work on the paraphrases, but he continued to develop and rewrite them over a lengthy period, so, as Green points out, imitation by Buchanan is certainly not ruled out. Since, however, Buchanan makes little use of versions other than the Vulgate, Green argues, this gender change may be Buchanan’s own independent and rather adventurous conceit.

her stance.¹⁶⁰ It is the vengeful, Old Testament God to whom she refers, in lamenting the horrors endured by her people. In his discussion of *imperium*, therefore, Johnston may consciously be paying tribute to the Protestant Buchanan in this unusual use of 'Iova'. Johnston's *Jahweh* looses a plague upon mankind – the plague of the Habsburgs and the Jesuits. A self-castigation exercises *Biomea*, as it had occupied Buchanan during his incarceration. A self-castigation had exercised the Protestant world at the unexpected death of Prince Arthur in 1612, just before the marriage of his sister Elizabeth to Frederick of the Palatinate – a punishment for the sins of Britain.¹⁶¹ Johnston himself had experienced troubles in the wake of the Synod of Dort. The Old Testament God was active.

Johnston's use of Ovid's epistle formula allowed him to re-establish a direct link between Scottish Letters and Dutch humanism. Hugo Grotius had issued a collection of poems in 1617, one of which was an Ovidian epistolary response to a poem by his mentor, Dousa.¹⁶² Dousa's *Batavia Hollandiaeque Annales* had been published in 1601 and it provided Dausa and then Grotius with an opportunity to place Dutch history into the frame of Ovid's psychological game.¹⁶³ The use of the versified epistle fits into the literary community of Lipsius, Scaliger, Junius, Gruterus, Heinsius, Barleus, and others, and the genre was appreciated beyond this group: Tycho Brahe produced such a piece and there are some Jesuit *Heroides Sacrae*, for example that of Andreas Alanus. This broad humanist practice swept aside national and confessional boundaries, but the geographical centre of the style was undoubtedly the Netherlands. In 1602 Meursius published a collection, and Grotius also completed his part of the Dousa/Grotius poetic dialogue with an epistolary reply.¹⁶⁴ The Dousa/Grotius offering remained in manuscript until Grotius arranged for the publication of his *Poemata* in 1617, where he included it as a statement of respect for

¹⁶⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 68, l. 108. Johnston's frequent use of 'numen' also has Augustan resonances. The poets introduced the idea of oaths in Augustus, even during his lifetime. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1963), iii, 55-56.

¹⁶¹ Lee Piepho, 'International Protestantism, Print and Commemorative Anthologies on the Death of Prince Henry', in Astrid Steiner-Weber and Alejandro Coroleu (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Uppsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 855-64.

¹⁶² Hugo Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii Poemata collecta olim a fratre ejus Guil. Grotio, & per eundem edita: accesserunt jam & alia nonnulla ejusdem autoris in unum volumen per R.H. redacta* (London, 1639), pp. 180-97.

¹⁶³ Johan Van Der Does, *Bataviae, Hollandiaeque Annales: a J. Dousa Filio concepti atque inchoati jam olim; nunc vero a Patre ejden cognomine ac superstite, ... recogniti, suppleti, novaqu octo librorum accessione ad integrae usque Decadis finen perducti et continuati ... Cum locupletissimo rerum indice* (Leiden, 1601).

¹⁶⁴ Eyffinger (ed.) *Poetry of Hugo Grotius*, pp. 151-58.

Dousa who had died in 1604. This versified exchange commented upon another threatening war, from early fifteenth-century Dutch history – the conflict of the *Hoekse* and the *Kabeljauwse*.¹⁶⁵ Grotius could thus comment upon Dutch history and religion, and also upon the tensions of 1617. At the same time he continued to fashion his own place in the world of Letters.

This is remarkably similar to the poetic process upon which Johnston embarked three years later, and Grotius's Ovidian dialogue may indeed have been the stimulus for Johnston's offering. Although there is no record of any correspondence between the two men, a scan of their respective outputs reveals the similarity of the poetic worlds in which they moved. Their *oeuvres* include the common categories of anniversary poems, Biblical paraphrases, birth poems, engravings, heroic epistles, military events, portraits, religious poems, tragedies and *epithalamia*. Grotius's self-fashioning within the Arminian movement, and his support for a return to the rationality of the Erasmian *Philosophia Christi* and the adoption of *adiaphora*, was close to Johnston's own outlook. Grotius had made his position clear in an early work, which only came to light in 1984, suppressed by Grotius himself because it carried suspicions of Socinianism, the object of vocal criticism by James VI and I.¹⁶⁶

Johnston's *Querelae* bears a strong resemblance to the Dousa/Grotius collaboration, in its accusations of pacts broken and the threats of war. Grotius's aim was to allude to a politico-religious quarrel through a consideration of the legal and political events which had preceded the crisis, and a complaint about the moral standards which had triggered it; this is closely matched by Johnston in the *Querelae*. The Dutch *incipit*, like those of both Ovid and Johnston, states an invitation to read, and an implied threat:

Inspicis? An tituli novitas vetat? Inspice: non haec

Mittitur a Tungris litera scripta tibi¹⁶⁷

[Are you reading it? Does the strangeness of the title prevent you? Read it: this is not a letter written to you by a Belgian.]

¹⁶⁵ Olga Van Marion, 'Heldinnenbrieven Ovidius' Heroides in Nederland' (unpublished University of Leiden Ph.D. thesis, 2005), p. 114.

¹⁶⁶ Hugo Grotius, *Meletius, sive, De iis quae inter Christianos conveniunt epistola*, ed. Guillaume. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1988), 1, 10-13, 134, 62. John M. Headley, 'Thomas More's horrific vision: the advent of constituted dissent', in John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor of the Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 347-58, at pp. 351-53. John Headley pursues the parallel between the writings and the thought of Salvian and Grotius. Grotius uses the work of the fifth-century priest Salvian of Marseilles, *De gubernatione Dei*, to advocate consensus on the basis of irenic acceptance of difference. Trevor-Roper, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution*, pp. 48-51.

¹⁶⁷ Grotius, *Poemata*, pp. 180-97.

It is tempting to find the origin of Johnston's use of 'inspicere' in this opening. The contextual parallels suggest that Johnston may have considered Grotius's *Poemata* of 1617 recently enough for him to have it in mind when fashioning his own offering – one humanist paying literary homage to another, particularly at a moment when Grotius, too, was incarcerated in the wake of the Synod of Dort through his Arminian stance and his close collaboration with Oldenbarneveld. Johnston's Muse may even have been encouraged by Tilenus, a friend and supporter of Grotius since the Synod of Dort, and an adherent of Arminian ideas.¹⁶⁸ Johnston's poem was thus more than his offering to those of influence in London; it could act as an open letter to the humanist community, expressing his sympathy for Grotius's plight. This link to Grotius may have given Johnston an irenic aura. Grotius's irenicism, after his escape from prison to Paris, led him to republish a collection of 'opinions of Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Caspar Hedio and others ... on the peace of the church', originally the work of Jean Hotmann and Pierre de L'Estoile, coupled with a proposal for church unity by the early sixteenth-century Catholic irenicist, George Cassander.¹⁶⁹ Johnston was thus inserting his views into the Leiden circle, and emphasising his own roots through clever referencing of *fontes* like Buchanan.

A Small Place at Court

In his Crisis poems Johnston took an optimistic step; from his defence of Scotland's place in the Republic of Letters he reached for the position of advisor to Scotland's and England's philosopher king. A great deal of writing emerged in London in 1619 and 1620 in support of the Bohemian cause, and particularly in support of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia; Johnston's *Nicrina* poem stands on the edge of that. It is tempting to characterise both the *Querelae* and *Nicrina* as a

¹⁶⁸ Jean Lévesque de Burigny, *The life of the truly eminent and learned Hugo Grotius ... together with a critical account of his works. Written originally in French. By M. de Burigny* (London, 1754), p. 137. After his visit to Britain Tilenus may have met Grotius, newly escaped from Loevestein Castle to Paris, in 1622-23. From 1618 until his death in 1633 Tilenus appears frequently in the correspondence of Grotius. Their friendship is expressed in a letter to Du Puis on 9 November 1633, in which he refers to the latter as his only friend after the departure of Rigaut and Salmasius, and the death of Tilenus. A letter of 14 January 1632 to Wtenbogaert indicates that Grotius was arranging for the publication of some works by Tilenus. Hugo Grotius, 'Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius 1597-1645', <<http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/years>> accessed 17 September, 2013.

¹⁶⁹ Thompson, 'The Long Reach of Reformation Irenicism', p. 129. The work was printed by Grotius under a pseudonym: Theodosius Irenaeus, *Syllabus aliquot synodorum et colloquiorum, quae ... super negotio religionis, ad controversias conciliandas, indicta sunt: doctorum item aliquot ac piorum virorum utriusque religionis ... libri & epistolae, vel ex iis excerpta* (Orléans, 1628). W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 149.

tripartite propaganda work in support of the Palatinate and Bohemia; such a move might accord with the inference of ‘surreptitious printing’, and a recent work has adopted this interpretation.¹⁷⁰ A consideration of the purpose of the *Querelae* which allows it to speak independently of *Nicrina*, however, suggests that Johnston’s aim is rather more complex.

An attempt to make the two poems of the *Querelae* fit into a propaganda mould faces the difficult challenge of reconciling the persuasive arguments of *Saravicto* in criticism of *Biomea*, and of accommodating the couplets which starkly declare that James VI and I would never be persuaded into offering aid to the Bohemian/Palatinate cause, for to do so would be to lend support to rebels. In a lyrical passage outlining some reversals of nature, a trope much favoured by Ovid,¹⁷¹ Johnston sets out the improbability of James’s lending support:

Ante meri laticem Iovis arbor, vinea glandes,
 Silva dabit pisces, unda marina feras;
 Ante ruet Boreas Arcto contrarius, ante
 Surget ab Hesperiiis Phoebus Eous aquis:
 Ante polo tellus, undae miscebitur ignis,
 Deque novo fiet, quod fuit ante, chaos,
 Iustitiae pacisque parens armare rebelles
 Quam velit, aut in te crimina tanta pati.¹⁷²
 [Sooner will Jove’s tree yield wine, or the vine acorns, the forest yield fish, or the
 sea yield wild beasts:
 The north wind blow back upon itself to the north, Phoebus the morning star arise
 from the Western seas:
 Earth mix with the heavens, fire mix with water, or chaos exist anew as it was
 before,
 Than will that parent of justice and peace arm rebels, as he has it, or suffer such a
 crime in you.]

A solution to this paradox is to suggest that Johnston is aiming to make *Saravicto* a figure of ridicule through his mis-statement of James’s intentions. To do so, however, would be to suggest that James would fight on the side of rebels.¹⁷³ The beauty of this passage, and its *aemulatio* of classical verse, belie the notion that it is a passage of ridicule. Johnston’s use of such allusion is clearly intended to evoke empathy. At the crux of the description lies a phrase which Johnston certainly could not have intended

¹⁷⁰ Dauvit Horsbroch, 'Wish You Were Here? Scottish reactions to 'Postcards' home from the Germane Warres', in Steve Murdoch (ed.) *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War: 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 245-69.

¹⁷¹ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, IV.6.46.

¹⁷² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 60, ll. 149-56.

¹⁷³ Horsbroch, 'Wish You Were Here?', p. 258.

to be regarded as a risible error on the part of *Saravicto*. James is presented as the ‘iustitiae pacisque parens’. Nowhere else does Johnston pervert such Ovidian lines to become an expression of ridicule – and he is skilled in employing ridicule. James was reluctant to become involved in the Bohemian question. He disliked religious radicalism, and did not favour association with Dutch republicanism. He attempted to restrict public discussion of the problem through censorship.¹⁷⁴ Johnston’s publisher suffered imprisonment for his involvement in the polemical print campaign of 1620-21. Ben Jonson found fault with campaigners who, with their news and indirect allusions, sought fame among ignorant citizens. Foreign policy was not to be a matter for discussion among ordinary people.¹⁷⁵ Johnston in the *Querelae* clearly intended to portray an accurate picture of James, but not one drawn for the common man. His poem should reflect the writing of the ancients; he could share his admiration for Ovid and other writers with his fellow élite in the Republic of Letters, and use it to work to persuasive effect.

The *Querelae* is not a simple, sectarian piece, but rather an *argumentum in utramque partem*, which leant upon an adversarial model in order to reach truth. The telling picture of James as *rex pacificus* was widespread at the time, and there were many reasons why it was unlikely that James would act. He was regarded, and saw himself, as a monarch of diplomacy not arms. Since ascending the English throne he had studiously courted the path of peace, made necessary in part by the pressure upon the English treasury from the lengthy war with Spain.¹⁷⁶ His attachment to peace sits comfortably with his belief as a philosopher in the power of argument. An emphasis upon peace embroiders his political writings. His speech to his first parliament in England in 1604 set out his aim of ‘peace abroad with all forreine neighbours’, and in August 1604 the Treaty of London was signed with Spain ending a long period of hostility.¹⁷⁷ James displayed a willingness to offer public comment upon political developments, often with a guarantee of support if an assailant failed to see the error of his ways. His unwillingness, or financial inability, to support diplomatic overtures with later military action was demonstrated during the threat to peace represented in the Cleves-Jülich incident of 1609-10, where his emphasis upon negotiation of a

¹⁷⁴ David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford, 2002), p. 200.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁷⁶ Sommerville (ed.) *King James VI and I*, pp. 196-7.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

peaceful solution allowed the Spanish and Dutch forces to retain the fortresses from which they had been called upon to withdraw.¹⁷⁸

The fragility of this policy was exacerbated by the confessional fault line of a Europe polarised between the Protestant Union and the Catholic League, set up in 1609. James was surrounded by networks of family connections in the Protestant camp involving Sweden, Brandenburg, Sedan, and Denmark, with the important marital link in 1612 between his daughter Elizabeth and Frederick V of the Palatinate, leader of the Protestant League. He seems, however, to have been aiming to preserve peace by establishing links also with the Catholic powers, and thus finding a balance between the two hostile camps. Prince Henry was proffered as a husband for the *Infanta* Anna in 1604, and later for the Princess Christina, younger daughter of Marie de Medicis (acting as Queen Regent for the young Louis XIII). These French negotiations were designed to prevent France falling into the camp of Catholic, Habsburg Spain. When Prince Henry died in 1612 Prince Charles was propelled into this role. These events increased James's tendency towards words rather than action.

In the *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, we find ambassadorial comment upon the complexity of James's policy. For Protestantism he would 'stake his kingdoms and his life', but in secular matters his greatest concern was the obedience of subjects: 'as God had created him a monarch, and absolute prince, the disobedience of subjects cannot please him'.¹⁷⁹ His criticism of Frederick in assuming the Crown of Bohemia lay in the latter's rather too prompt (in James's view) action in accepting the Bohemian offer, an offer which came from rebels.¹⁸⁰ Despite family involvement, James's response to the Crisis was delay; it was not until a meeting of the Council early in 1621, after the defeat of the Bohemian forces at the Battle of the White Mountain in November 1620 and the invasion of the Palatinate by forces of the Catholic League under the command of Spinola, that James displayed any resolve for action. It is clear that Johnston in the *Querelae* is not swimming against the tide of opinion in emphasising James's policy of not arming rebels; James would not rush to support the cause of Bohemia and the Palatinate.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Bonney, *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 185-86.

¹⁷⁹ *Calendar of state papers, Venice*, vol. 13, 1613-15. Noted in Roger Lockyer, *James VI and I* (London, 1998), p. 143.

¹⁸⁰ Wallace Notestein, Frances Helen Relf, and Hartley Simpson, *Commons debates, 1621* (7 vols., New Haven, CT, 1935), vi, 370. Noted in Lockyer, *James VI and I*, p. 147. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause', pp. 280-81.

Johnston's skills, in emulation of Ciceronian rhetorical argument, had been strengthened by his facility as *Praeses* in academic disputations. While expanding and refining the grasp which his fellow humanists might have of the points at issue, he was partaking in a dialectical exercise. Each participant in the *Querelae* is quick to point out any move to obfuscate rather than elucidate an understanding. *Biomea* points out her own grasp of the rules of letter writing and the tendency *Saravicto* is displaying to stretch the apportioning of adulterous guilt.¹⁸¹

In the *Querelae* Johnston's intention was to set out for his fellow members of the Republic of Letters, and for his philosopher king, his considerations on the political and religious associations in this crisis. He offered comment upon the threatening situation in Europe, and provided an opportunity for an historically informed judgement. The praise heaped upon James in the two poems leads to the reasonable conclusion that Johnston intended the work to pass before the eyes of the political élite in London, and perhaps be brought to the attention of James himself. The *vates* was performing his duty of offering advice to his prince; he was seeking a position at court among the royal doctors.

There was a danger inherent in the *Querelae*, however, that a readership favouring action in the Palatinate might look upon it as lacking in commitment to the Reformed cause. It could have been denounced as equivocation or even casuistry. Robert Tynley, in a sermon in 1608 to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot, attacked equivocation as 'an unnatural practice which robs words of their meanings'.¹⁸² Such a challenge had also been levelled famously at Robert Persons, the exiled English Jesuit in his discussion of the English succession.¹⁸³ Johnston would certainly have known something of Persons' writings since the latter's clash with King James in 1608 over the legality of the succession oath. He may also have found that the *Querelae* could be interpreted as equivocal, or misguided, or casuistical, both in its presentation of the Emperor's case, and also in allowing it to proceed before that of Bohemia.

Nicrina may have been Johnston's move to close off such an accusation of equivocation. He adopted the position of Protestant spokesman, and took a stance, in the wake of imperial troop movements, for intervention in the Palatinate. To that stance he appended his motto – an act of bravery perhaps, or foolhardiness. He could

¹⁸¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 65, ll. 7-20.

¹⁸² Robert Tynley, *Two learned sermons The one, of the mischievous subtiltie, and barbarous crueltie, the other of the false doctrines, and refined haeresis of the romish synagogue*. (London, 1609), p. 6.

¹⁸³ Persons, *Conference*.

have been interpreted as adding his voice to those who were willing publicly to state their disappointment with the lack of military action on the part of King James. An appeal is made to military honour, alongside the moral duty, and the previous exploits of the 'heroes of England' show the way. The poem masks its call to James personally to act; it points towards action by other English military commanders. Johnston embarks on an astrological metaphor, reveals how much he is in touch with current developments in London and with Protestant history. Aspiring English heroes are promised their reward, as Johnston conjures up past and present. Memories of the Dutch struggles against Spain in the Eighty Years' War are summoned – Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere, Robert Devereux, third earl of Essex, Sir Gerard Herbert, Sir Andrew Grey and Sir Charles Rich – all are heroes in the stories of English valour against the Spanish at the battle of Nieuwpoort (1600) and the siege of Ostend (1601-4). More importantly for his readership, however, these names also appear in the State Papers, and court and diplomatic whispering, as commanders to whom James might give commissions to lead troops to the aid of the Protestant cause. James had resisted calls to allow involvement, although Sir Andrew Gray was allowed to raise two thousand men in England and Scotland in February 1620, and in June Sir Horace Vere, Sir John Burlacy, the earls of Oxford, Essex, Gerard and Grey were mooted as leaders.¹⁸⁴ Johnston's poem records developments, and also contributes to the patriotic campaign encouraging involvement, renewing memory of battles of the Eighty Years' War, and summoning men once again to arms – 'for God and for his Gospel ... these popish kingdomes to withstand'.¹⁸⁵ The heroes, says *Nicrina*, will take their rightful place as constellations among the other astral mythological heroes like Orion or Pisces. Elizabeth Stuart is advanced as the focus of the campaign; she is the glory of the world, a goddess, descended from a king, taking up the allusion Johnston made in

¹⁸⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 81, 67-70. 'James I - volume 115: June 1620', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=51656>> accessed 20 September, 2013. 'Venice: June 1620, 16-30', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice: volume 16, 1619-1621*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88759>> accessed 20 September, 2013. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause', pp. 294-301.

¹⁸⁵ *EEBO* has several of these broadsheets: 'Gallants, to Bohemia. Or, let us to the Warres again: Shewing the forwardness of our English Souldiers, both in times past, and at this present', ([London], 1620). Others revived memories of previous battles: 'Lord Willoughby: Or, A true relation of a famous and bloody battel fought in Falnders, by the noble and valiant Lord Willoughby, with 1500 English, against forty thousand Spaniards, where the English obtained a notable victory, for the glory and renown of our Nation', ([London], 1620).

the *Propempticon* for Ludwig of the Palatinate. New English heroes are exhorted to act on her behalf and to act quickly. Troy was lost through inadequate haste:

Quamque timens, vobis, Heroas, mitto salutem,
Hanc mihi, ne peream, vos cito ferte, precor.¹⁸⁶
[Trembling, I send every greeting to you, Heroes, and pray that you will quickly return them to me, lest I perish.]

Johnston's *Nicrina* is dressed for a partisan purpose – clothed in a Calvinist suit of armour. We know little about any encouragement there may have been for him to write, but it was presumably aimed at a readership which would have shared this view on action, or at least been open to persuasion; he may have been commissioned to lend humanist respectability to that sphere. Such readers, versed as they would have been in the recent story of England, would have enjoyed the military allusions. As well as Johnston's Latin *Nicrina*, Robert Ayton contributed some Latin verse. His message was much more critical of James's lack of aid for Frederick's position – a just king, but a cruel father.¹⁸⁷

Johnston, seeking Pembroke's patronage, bemoaned to the earl the difficulty and danger associated with finding a place in the court.¹⁸⁸ Pembroke's own ambivalent position in a court lamenting the loss of a simpler Arcadia may have encouraged the approach Johnston initially made in the *Querelae*.¹⁸⁹ Pembroke was active in a Bohemian party at court by January 1620, along with Hamilton, Hay and Abbot.¹⁹⁰ In 1622 William Browne, another client of the earl of Pembroke, would suggest that poets be more forward, and 'raise our *Muse* again, / In this her *Crisis*'.¹⁹¹ Johnston pre-empted that call, and did so in 1620. The flood of news, written in English, and issuing from Stansby's press led to his arrest in 1621 – there is an absence of any entry by Stansby in the Stationers' Register between May and September of that year.¹⁹² Johnston's offerings in Latin were less dangerous than the English pamphlets and broadsides, nor did he adopt Ayton's line and openly criticise James, yet to recommend action was still unwelcome, and *Nicrina* may be a reason for Johnston's

¹⁸⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 83, ll. 119-20.

¹⁸⁷ *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, i, 70.

¹⁸⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 216, ll. 1-6.

¹⁸⁹ Michelle O' Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-25* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 90-91.

¹⁹⁰ Adams, 'The Protestant Cause', pp. 285-86.

¹⁹¹ Michael Drayton, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, eds. J. William Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson, and Bernard H. Newdigate (5 vols., Oxford, 1961), iv, 393, ll. 17-18. Also noted in Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 204.

¹⁹² Clegg, *Press Censorship*, p. 262.

departure from London. It is unclear where he went; perhaps he returned to Sedan, as seems likely, to continue with his academic duties. It is possible that he visited Aberdeen to prepare a path into that world.¹⁹³

Tilenus, also, did not stay long in London, perhaps unhappy that his alignment with the stance of James VI and I might emphasise the boundaries between himself and Huguenot policy. Those boundaries became evident again at La Rochelle in 1621 when that Assembly, in an atmosphere of growing Huguenot suspicion of French Catholic intent, proposed a move towards military opposition. Tilenus counselled caution and restraint in his *Advertissement*, but his plea that the Synod should turn aside from armed resistance was put aside, as was his judgment that the Huguenots' remedy was 'la patience et la prière à Dieux en la main duquel sont les coeurs des Roys, et qui est seul juge de ceux qu'il a établis juges des autres'. The theme of submission to royal authority is remarkably similar to the position which Johnston later adopted in his *De Foedere Nupero ad Scotos Paraenesis* in 1638.¹⁹⁴ It may be that Johnston once again passed through Paris, and through the world of Daniel Tilenus.

Conclusion

The precise moment at which Johnston decided to leave Sedan and return to Scotland with its perceived security remains difficult to establish, but evidence in the Bohemian Crisis Poems and in particular in the third poem indicates a shift in his outlook. The *Querelae* was a balanced work, designed to inform and persuade. Johnston combined Ciceronian rhetoric, enjoining the expression of the cases of both sides with an Ovidian trope of mythological correspondence, converted into political and historical comment on the template of Grotius and Dousa. Partisanship was present, but in the form of the familiar rhetorical tools. His poetic style in *Nicrina* is

¹⁹³ Perhaps at some stage he took with him for publication Tilenus's more moderate treatise, criticising the Scottish Presbyterians for their haste in adopting the Decrees of the Dutch Presbyterians. Daniel Tilenus, *De disciplina ecclesiastica brevis & modesta dissertatio ad Ecclesiam Scoticam. Autore Gallo quodam theologo, Verbi Divini ministro* (Aberdeen, 1622).

¹⁹⁴ Mellon, *L'Académie*, pp. p. 99-100. Daniel Tilenus, *Advertissement à l'Assemblée de la Rochelle* (Paris, 1621). The title page includes 'avec permission' and Emma Lorimer suggests that this was printed with the support of the duc de Bouillon. Emma Lorimer, 'Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622: 'Public Opinion', Pamphlets and Political Memory', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 30/1 (2008), 52-63, at p. 59. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, 252-53.

less analytical and more exhortatory, a change from his approach in the *Querelae*.¹⁹⁵ His purpose with *Nicrina* was to contribute to a polemical pamphlet campaign in London, supporting a growing call for involvement in the events in central Europe. It expresses Johnston's concern about the Palatinate and the security of the Stuart Electress, and possibly also hints at a concern for his own security. Even in this alteration of his approach, however, his purpose in writing the Latin *Nicrina* cannot fully be detached from a desire to comment on the world inhabited by the humanist élite, at whom the Eglisheim satire and the *Querelae* had also been directed.

The poems of the years 1618-20 are an indication of the variety of rhetorical strategies Johnston could skilfully employ, and perhaps also of his humanist vision 'inflected by the historical moment'.¹⁹⁶ Johnston announced the opening of his career as a printed poet with a resounding demonstration of his skills in satire, the work of an admirer of George Buchanan. Close on the heels of the Eglisheim display, the Crisis poems commented upon the complexities of the political world, and presented the view which would lead to 'the good'. Rhetorical theory required the author to establish *ethos* - a position of trustworthiness - in addition to *logos* and *pathos* to convince the audience. The elements of rhetorical technique were fulfilled in an admirable display of *decorum* in the three Crisis poems, even if that *decorum* were perhaps a little stretched in *Nicrina*. He had succeeded in a display of his Latin skills; he also successfully projected himself as 'Buchanan reborn'. There is no evidence, however, that by the end of 1620 his search for a place at court had been successful.

¹⁹⁵ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, pp. 174-76. Bradner also judged *Nicrina* to be a step forward, beyond the *Querelae*, from a literary point of view. In its 'humanizing of a great historical event, [it] shows Johnston at his best'.

¹⁹⁶ Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*, p. 21.

Chapter 8

Epilogue: The Supreme Court at Mechelen

It is difficult to trace evidence of Johnston's movements and his developing aims during 1621 and 1622, but evidence from a portrait of Johnston painted by Jamesone in 1621 indicates a move towards Scotland. The painting is not without difficulty: the faded inscription was recorded for Geddes by Mr John Hay around 1892 as '1621, Aetat 42'. Bulloch in his biography of Jamesone pronounced the flower which he is holding to be a rose. Closer inspection and reasoning, however, persuade us towards a peony. The peony is, after all, the sign of healing – Paeon was the student of Asclepius, son of Apollo the god of healing, and Johnston was returning to Aberdeen as a physician. It may also have marked his appointment as burghess of Aberdeen in 1622.¹ Geddes, in his *Memoir* of Johnston, argues convincingly, upon the evidence of a baptismal record, a court record, the Burgh records and the dating of this portrait of Johnston by George Jamesone, in favour of Johnston's return by 1622 at the latest.²

In 1623, however, Johnston again left Scotland for mainland Europe to pursue a matter which links him to the Supreme Court of the Spanish Netherlands in Mechelen, just outside Brussels. A challenge in that Court led him to focus his skills upon a series of six short poems dedicated to the Court, and to the two advocates who acted on his behalf. This group of poems remained in the form of dedicatory manuscripts, presumably sent or given to the dedicatees, until Johnston included them in his *Parerga* in 1632.³ They occupy a prominent position there and in the *Delitiae*; he clearly saw them as evidence of his poetic skill, or perhaps as a representation of an important moment in his career. Evidence has now emerged from the archive of the Spanish Netherlands which sheds some light on the developments of the years

¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xiii. John Bulloch, *George Jamesone, the Scottish Vandyck* (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. 123.

² *Ibid.*, ii, xxx-xxxi. Also, Thomas Dempster, who died in 1625, indicted in his *Historia*, published in 1627, that Johnston had already returned. Thomas Dempster, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1829), ii, 393.

³ Johnston, *Parerga*, pp. 75-84. *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 106-24.

1623-24.⁴ These events are beyond the time frame of this study, but a brief consideration of one of the poems will support the picture of Johnston which has emerged from the body of the thesis.

Sometime during the early months of 1624 Johnston completed the six poems, confirming for us some details of his life, and of his outlook since his return to Aberdeen. Four of the poems are addressed to the two ‘Counsellors’ of the Court who were most closely involved with the legal contest which had brought him to their bench. Others address the Supreme Court itself.⁵ A brief consideration of one particular poem will confirm previous judgments about his physical movements and about his developing thoughts. Put beside the extended record of the legal proceedings in Mechelen they also provide a picture of the early seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands, and details of the socio-economic and legal relations Johnston experienced with those around him.

Poetic Plea to the Supreme Court

The longest poem, *Ad senatum mechliniensem*, is the richest source of information about Johnston’s moves during the period and his views on the events which were bedevilling his life.⁶ The reference is to the Supreme Court itself, the body of lawyers in whose collective hands lay the duty to judge his case as plaintiff. Johnston had left Aberdeen and embarked upon this legal suit centering upon the non-payment of a debt owed to him by Florent Hampteau, Deputy Governor of the fortress of Bouillon, and thus a servant of the Prince Bishop of Liège. Recovery of this sum – an inheritance of two thousand *livres* stemming from some property in the Spanish Netherlands – occupied Johnston until March of 1624. Events in the courts of Ivoix and then Luxembourg suggest that he left Aberdeen towards the end of 1622 or during the early months of 1623 and returned to Sedan. From there he conducted a case for the recovery of the money which he considered to be rightfully his. Hampteau, the object of Johnston’s pursuit, refused payment, and then used every

⁴ *Sentences Extendues*, fols. 93-99v.

⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 108-24. The poems are entitled: *Ad senatum mechliniensem*; *Elegia ad reverendum & amplissimum virum D. Nicol. Du Fief, consiliarium in suprema curia mechliniensi, cum sententia esset ferenda*; *Ad eundem de litis prorogatione*; *Elegia ad reverendissimum & amplissimum virum D. Phillipum Ionart consiliarium in curia mechlinensi*; *Ad curiam mechliniensem Ευχαριστικὸν*; *Ad reverendissimos viros D. Nic. Du Fief, & D. Philip Ionart, consiliarios curiae mechliniensis amplissimos*.

⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 108-12.

opportunity for appeal open to him to escape the condemnation of the two inferior courts. In 1624 he raised a final appeal to the Supreme Court. Johnston's preference may have been for non-aggression, but he pursued this legal challenge with persistence.

This poem resounds with a broad plea for justice, resonating with the failure of the lower courts, through which Johnston's case had passed, to do just that:

Iustitiae devota cohors, spes unica nobis
Quae superes, prohibe, quod potes una, nefas.⁷
[Oh bench devoted to justice, the only hope which remains to us, end this injustice, which you alone can do.]

Other poems from the group, such as that addressed to the Counsellor Nicolas Du Fief, in contrast, offer a much more personal appeal, expressing Johnston's dependence:

Dexter ades, Clariae decus et tutela cohortis,
Huius pars ego sum quantulacunque gregis.⁸
[You are my right hand man, the glory and the guardian of Apollo's cohort, of whose flock I am but a tiny part.]

The poems could have been delivered personally by Johnston if he were present in Mechelen during the period of the case.⁹ The internal poetic evidence supports the view that he was present in the city, or perhaps not far off in Sedan, for some of the case at least. The record is not without difficulty of interpretation, but in the final summing up of the extended record, at that moment where the language moves into the legal formulae for the nominal involvement of the sovereign in the dispensing of justice, the scribe indicates that Johnston made submission 'tant en persone que par ses procur[eur]s et solliciteurs par plusie[urs] et diverses foys en n[ost]re Grand Conseil'.¹⁰ Although this phraseology also rings with a sense of formula, and although it is possible that his representation could have been delivered by his *Procurator*, Johnston's grasp of French, nurtured in the social life and weekly sermons of Sedan, would certainly have enabled him to deliver 'en persone' his own expression of faith in the right thinking of the Council.

⁷ Ibid., i, 110, ll. 79-80.

⁸ Ibid., i, 117, ll. 39-40.

⁹ Dirk Leyder, *Les Archives du Grand Conseil des Pays-Bas à Malines* (Bruxelles, 2010), p. 50. Leyder has suggested that the appeal procedure did not compel the attendance of the plaintiff at such appeals.

¹⁰ *Sentences Extendues*, fol. 98.

The formal or informal nature of the poems must remain a matter for conjecture, as no dossier exists in the *Archives du Royaume* in Brussels which could assist. That dossier containing Johnston's submissions was returned to Degrouillier, his *Procurator*, the day following the delivery of the verdict, and we have to presume that eventually the dossier made its way back to Johnston himself, according to custom.¹¹ It is unconvincing, however, to interpret these poems as private expressions of his own feelings, to be shared only with the nominated Counsellors. More likely, they should be seen as another public offering of an emerging poet, the first since his decision to move to Aberdeen. It is reasonable to assume that his comments to the lawyers of Mechelen were designed to be read by them, and eventually to be read by others in Sedan and perhaps in Aberdeen or London.

The non-legal content of his opening poem to the members of the Court – a racy and highly descriptive narrative, and his *historia calamitatum* – argues for an intended audience wider than the dedicated legal body of the title, *Ad senatum mechliniensem*. The poem begins with an appeal to the Court for justice, since other courts have failed in that task:

Sacra cohors, late populis quae iura ministras,
Arbitrio librans fasque nefasque tuo:
De tribus una mihi superes: tibi nuncupo vota
Cernuus: afflicto, quam potes, affer opem.¹²

[Sacred Bench, you who openly administer law to the people, balancing in your judgment right and wrong:

Out of three [courts], you alone remain for me: as a suppliant, I offer up a prayer to you: bring all the help you can to one who is suffering.]

Johnston's poetic account is clearly designed to entertain, and to win our sympathies for his plight. It is an epic tale of daring, and of his hard fought struggle for justice. It involves a narrow escape, the cut and thrust of legal argument, the damning of his opponent, and the symbolic summoning of a number of witnesses to support his case, from his wife to King James, both of whom were seeking his return. What the poetic tale offers us in entertainment, however, it lacks in forensic accuracy. A great deal of poetic license is taken, and that will suggest again something of Johnston's purpose in composing the poem, and of the literary milieu in which he was writing.

His career, he says, has been that of a scholar:

¹¹ *Procès 1622-1645*, fol. 25. The marginal note accompanying the short verdict records: '16 dudict mois [d'avril] rendu a degrouillier le sacq de Ioncxten'.

¹² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 108, ll. 1-4.

Hactenus indulsi studiis, dum fata faverent,
 Ingenio sensi quae magis apta meo.
 Cura mihi, nec vana, fuit, medicamina morbis
 Quaerere, quae priscus, quae novus orbis habet.¹³
 [Hitherto, while the fates have been favourable, I have been inclined to study; I
 have employed the ability which is better suited to me.
 It was my concern, and not without success, to study the remedies for diseases
 both of the ancient and of the new world.]

He is a physician, skilled in the healing arts, and as the years have passed he has also become a poet. Thus he is a man of the Apollonian arts, not a man of business, nor even a man of the world of civic duty, 'nec fora carpebant nec mihi praetor opes'.¹⁴ Is this perhaps a statement that he has even left behind the struggle to join the royal court in London?

With a series of mythological references, mostly denoting challenge and struggle – Cynthia, the Tyrrhenian Sea and, hidden in rather more obscure form, Sisyphus and Ixion all appear within the first ten lines of this poem – Johnston was setting out in these lines the signature classical poetic style for which he had become known, and all composed throughout in elegiac couplets. The references would have been familiar to the Latin élite, and he was thus placing this poem securely into the world of those whose classical training and interests would enable them to appreciate his skill. While addressing formally the bench of the Great Council at Mechelen, therefore, he was clearly intending to offer at least this opening poem to a wider audience, to an audience in the *Respublica litterarum*.

The information contained in the legal record, however, is couched in rather more nuanced language than the excitement of the poetry. In the latter tale, Johnston is understandably and consistently drawn as the injured party, legally in the right, as verdicts are repeatedly awarded against Hampteau, the representative of an uncivilised world. In the extended verdict, on the other hand, that picture of Goliath and David rings less true. The court record gradually unravels a complicated tale of the means by which commerce was financed in the Ardennes. Johnston's submission to the court at Ivoix opens with details of kinship ties and a debt of two thousand *livres* owed to Johnston by Hampteau, because of a contract between the latter and the merchant Jaques de Caignoucle (sic), father of Johnston's wife Marie, and her joint inheritance with her brother (also Jaques) of the estate of the late father; an

¹³ Ibid., i, 108, ll. 11-14.

¹⁴ Ibid., i, 108, l. 20.

assignation by the brother in favour of Marie and her husband sealed Johnston's claim.¹⁵

Hampteau's *Request* having been entered into the Court record on 19 March 1624, and his additional submissions accepted on 26 March, the record of the Great Council moved to judgment, and verdict was delivered against Hampteau and sealed on 26 March. As in the previous courts he was judged to have presented a 'frivol appel'. The verdicts of the inferior courts were upheld and Hampteau was held responsible for the costs.¹⁶ Verdict was recorded on 15 April 1624 and the next day the court ordered that Johnston's 'sacq', containing his Requests and submissions should be returned to him;¹⁷ Hampteau had thus at last accepted the verdict and surrendered his right to revision of the decision of the Great Council.

After his initial poetic tale of persecution by this soldier/administrator who has no respect for justice and courts, Johnston's poetic tale continues in a rather different vein. In doing so he offers us some idea of his location and of his employment during the time of the Court hearing. Written, presumably, before any substantive indication that the Court would uphold without reservation the decisions of the previous courts, the optimistic suggestion of Johnston's account is that Hampteau's case will lose its impulsion, confronted as it is by the moral pressure exerted by Johnston's supporters, whose appeal to such wise Counsellors cannot but have a positive effect. In prophetic vein Johnston introduces a popular nautical trope which he will later find effective as a vehicle for conveying his meaning in the other Mechelen poems. Hampteau, in the guise of a soldier from an outdated world, appears as a sailor struggling in the waters, fighting to delay the inevitable:

Sic vitam in mediis exspirans naufragus undis,

Certa licet mors sit, pugnat, et obstat aquis¹⁸

[As a sailor exhales his life-breath in the midst of the waves, although death is certain, he fights and struggles against the waters.]

Johnston's patients, sluggish with disease, shuffle onto the stage as a chorus pleading for the return of their physician – 'hoc languida morbis / Turba rogat'.¹⁹ The poem had opened with a lengthy declaration of his medical work. There, however, it had placed emphasis upon study over practice:

¹⁵ *Sentences Extendues*, fol. 93.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 98.

¹⁷ *Procès*, fol. 25.

¹⁸ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 110, ll. 85-86.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 111, ll. 93-94.

Cura mihi, nec vana, fuit, medicamina morbis

Quaerere, quae priscus, quae novus orbis habet.²⁰

[It was my care, and not without success, to study the remedies for disease, both of the ancient and of the new world.]

The origin of this chorus of patients is unclear, but their existence does suggest that the balance of Johnston's medical life has shifted from the academic role of Professor at Sedan to that of a practising physician. He may have had patients in Sedan, but now they take on a more prominent role in his life. There is in contrast no mention of the ducal court in Sedan, or of the Académie, and throughout the court case he is nominated as 'médecin du Roy de la Grande Bretagne'.²¹ The fulcrum of his professional life has shifted. Geddes in his own *Memoir* in the second volume of the *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* favoured the view that he was among the royal doctors of Charles I, but less certainly of James VI and I.²² It should be remembered, of course, that while Eglishem also claimed the role of *Medicus Regius* to James I, and was clearly around the London court at the time of James's death, there is similarly no evidence in the records of his ever having received any such appointment.

Closely tied to this matter of his medical role is that of his location. His loyalty is made quite clear in that the King of Great Britain is 'Domino meo', even if he plays a 'trifling part in the medical band'.²³ He pleads that the Court may recognise his duties as good reason for them to execute justice speedily. James, he says, is complaining of the troubles which delay his attendance upon him.²⁴ If he is indeed 'médecin' of King James then he surely has become at least a small part of the royal circle. Geddes reassessed the traditional date of Johnston's return to Aberdeen of 1632, and confidently placed it instead in 1622.²⁵ Ernest Henry pointed to records of Johnston occupying the chair of Philosophy from 1606 until 1623.²⁶ Even if he had continued in his post until 1623, however, it would still have been possible for him, when not tied to his academic duties, to travel to London, to Aberdeen, and of course

²⁰ Ibid., i, 108, ll. 13-14.

²¹ *Sentences Extendues*, fol. 93. *Dicta*, Du xxvi mars 1624. *Procès*, fol. 25.

²² *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xv. Geddes refers to Gordon's claim in his *Survey of Aberdeen* that Johnston was royal doctor to both James and Charles.

²³ S. T. Bindoff, 'A Bogus envoy from James I', *History*, xxvii (1942), 15-37. Bindoff provides a timeline for the change from the use by James of titles. He indicates the dangers of making any claims to royal connection which were bogus.

²⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 111, ll. 103-22.

²⁵ Ibid., ii, xxx-xxxi.

²⁶ Ernest Henry, *Notes Biographiques*, p. 32.

to Ivoix, Luxembourg and Mechelen to put his affairs in order and perhaps to open a new chapter in his life.

He appeals to the sympathies of the Court as a husband separated from his wife and a father separated from his children. If he is indeed now one of the royal doctors, and if the civic records of Aberdeen correctly place him in that city in 1622, then questions arise about his family. In the poem he introduces an appeal by his wife Marie for the safe return of her husband for the sake of her home and household gods. She is 'beyond the fourth milestone from here', which could place her still in the city of Sedan:

Per patriam rogat illa suam, patriosque penates,

Quos dirimit vestra quartus ab urbe lapis.²⁷

[She begs this for the sake of her home, and the gods of her hearth, which the fourth milestone separates from your city.]

The reference is to Martial and a country villa set in a grove sacred to the Muses, four (Roman) miles from the neighbouring town.²⁸ His wife may have travelled with him as the likelihood of the move to London became more certain; it is also possible that he left his family in Sedan when he set out to prepare his new life. If his post at Sedan did not officially end until 1623 it appears that he was leaving options open.

Since it is clear that he is on the point of moving from Sedan, financial matters would have been a priority. His stipend at Sedan, as Paul Mellon has calculated, was probably less than 800 *livres*.²⁹ If he is aiming to re-establish his life on his family lands, his pursuit of the repayment of the two thousand *livres* to which he has fallen heir through his wife appears a reasonable path to pursue.³⁰ Since the matter of the loan involves his wife's family, even if she and the children have accompanied him on the return to England and Scotland, it may have been sensible for her to support and accompany him on his return to Sedan for the confrontation with Hampteau. His attempt in 1623 in Bouillon, and eventually in Mechelen, to retrieve the money to which he considered himself due as his wife's inheritance, took longer than expected – until April 1624 – and by that time the prospect of Aberdeen may have become more promising than the machinations of the London court.

²⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 111, ll. 101-02.

²⁸ Martial, *Epigrams*, 1.12.4.

²⁹ Mellon, *L'Académie*, p. 64.

³⁰ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, 123, ll. 9-10.

While addressing the bench of the Great Council at Mechelen, therefore, Johnston was clearly intending to offer at least this opening poem to a much wider audience and with a wider message. Military developments were making this corner of Europe a dangerous area. Nearby, the Calvinist Palatinate had suffered retribution at the hands of Catholic League soldiers. The rule of law and the civilised world of the humanists were under threat. Johnston's poems reveals that he was involved in an attempt to block one uncouth military man's illegal attack upon the values of civilised Europe. In writing the poem he could reinforce the values of the *Respublica literarum* in the face of increasing threat and violence. His poetry, even after his return to Aberdeen, would remain focused upon his concerns about the world of scholarly virtue.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This study has sought to uncover details of Johnston's intellectual life during his residence on the continent of Europe between the years 1599 and 1622. It has tried to draw out of his poems of those years details of the changing worlds into which he launched them. At times they appeared indicative primarily of Johnston's thoughts on local events in the Academy of Sedan, put into poetic form. At other times they revealed a complex interaction with the intellectual *milieu* into which he had intruded: medical procedures in the anatomy theatre of Padua, Protestant politics surrounding the electoral family of the Palatinate, concern about philosophical argument in the Reformed theological world.

His initial goal was familiar to many students of his *natio* – he set out to study theology. Very quickly, however, he moved into the world of philosophy, and then extended it in 1615 into the realm of medicine. The role of physician seems to have become the core of his life thereafter. Theology continued to intrude into his life, however, and he experienced the repercussions of the firming of boundaries within the Reformed world at the Synod of Dort in 1618. He wrote in language and themes which suggest an irenic foundation to his character, and his poems indicate regret at those boundaries. His approach seemed to be in touch with the irenic strand which Erasmus had projected into the word of Renaissance humanism.

Thereafter, Johnston's poems between 1619 and 1622 became grander, commenting upon matters of interest and concern to the international Republic of the Learned, where he was keen to defend the Scottish seam of writers. His writing also served as a means to advance his own position in that world, in the guise of Buchanan's successor. During these years, he continued to pursue his academic work in the Principality of Sedan, increasingly threatened by political tension and military activity in the wake of Frederick V's acceptance of his election to the throne of Bohemia. Johnston chose eventually to move himself and his family from Sedan, and he travelled to London in the summers of 1619 and 1620 to build a path into a new medical life.

In London, Johnston approached the royal court and eventually achieved some small place there. By 1622, however, he had begun a further retreat to Aberdeen; as a physician he celebrated his arrival and his promotion to the city Council. During his long stay in Sedan, Johnston had faced the question of how to respond to developing heterodoxy among the community of scholars, and particularly his own friends. He had offered his view in a series of poetic responses which were directed towards those friends. His effort to respond to the disturbances in the intellectual life of the scholars of the Protestant world, and the repercussions for his own career, are at the centre of this thesis.

As an irenic who clearly disliked the developments surrounding Dort and the Bohemian Crisis, he moved to London to find a new position – a Paduan physician and a poet in the international Republic of Letters, keen to defend Buchanan as an example of the interconnectedness of Scottish and European Letters in the Republic of the Learned. There was some success in London, but in a form which is not yet fully clear. The Court in Mechelen did not doubt that he was a doctor of King James, yet this servant of King James was shortly to be found in Aberdeen. Johnston had argued in Sedan against an emphasis upon religious boundaries, but the irenicism of Erasmus was a philosophy for peaceful times. In troubled times, as Trevor-Roper indicated in his essay ‘The Religious Origins of the Enlightenment’, Calvinism could provide the suit of armour for those of irenic preference.¹ Johnston donned that suit in 1618, and then displayed an attachment to the Protestant politics surrounding the Bohemian Revolt. London, however, as he remarked to Pembroke, was a challenging place of contest, and so he retreated further to Aberdeen, where he could return to his irenic outlook and write against the strictures of Calvinist Sabbatarianism.

The marvels of the medical world of the early seventeenth century, laid open to Johnston during his stay in Padua, also had immense influence upon his life, and the works of Galen, Avicenna and Aristotle provided him with a path which led back to Aberdeen. Throughout all these developments in his career, however, the greatest influence in his life may have remained Ovid, the other exile whose example inspired him to develop his poetic skills.

¹ John Robertson, 'Hugh Trevor-Roper, Intellectual History and 'The Religious Origins of the Enlightenment'', *English Historical Review*, 124/511 (2009), 1389-421, at p. p. 1393. Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change, and Other Essays* (London, 1967), pp. 232-6.

Appendix

Problems surrounding the dating of the Paduan visit

A. Confusion in the Scottish Sources

The widely-expressed assumption in the secondary literature, from the first memoirs of Johnston composed in the eighteenth century, is that Johnston graduated in medicine from Padua University in 1610. A challenge to this broadly accepted view was issued by Principal Geddes in 1892, when Padua University pronounced that no reference to Johnston could be found in the records of the University and that his poetic claim to witness the anatomical demonstration must therefore remain unsubstantiated.¹ It is likely that Geddes placed emphasis upon the year 1610 in his correspondence of 1889 with Padua – he accepted 1610 as the year of graduation from William Benson in the latter's *'Vita'* of Johnston, appended to his 1741 edition of Johnston's Latin, metrical version of the Book of Psalms. Lauder in his *Musae Sacrae* of 1739 predated this and also stated the year to be 1610. Geddes had accepted this, too, in his 'Memoir' in the second volume of the *Musa*.²

Benson's and Lauder's foundation for their judgment, they each tell us, is an autograph poem in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh; it may be each other, of course. This view penetrated literary opinion and reappeared regularly, for example in Alexander Johnston's *Genealogical Account of the Family of Johnston* in 1832, and other nineteenth-century volumes such as Chambers' *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen*, Bruce's *Eminent men of Aberdeen*, Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers* and Sir Charles Farquhar Shand's *Funerals*. Geddes also makes reference to a 'more recent one' by 'Al. Gordon (of Manchester) in the National Biography'.³ The view was resuscitated

¹ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xix, fn. 2. Ioannes Paulus Vlacovius expressed his regret that they could confirm no reference to Johnston in their records: 'Docti viri qui et Municipii et Univ. Bibliothecarum monumenta diligenter inquisiverunt, Arcturi Ionstoni nomen nusquam reperire potuerunt'.

² *Ibid.*, i, xxi, and ii, xviii-xix. *Arturi Jonstoni Psalmi Davidici interpretatione, argumentis, notisque illustrati: in usum Serenissimi Principis.*, p. vi. Lauder, *Musae Sacrae*, p. xxxi.

³ Alexander Johnston, *Genealogical Account of the Family of Johnston of that Ilk, formerly of Caskieben, in the Shire of Aberdeen, and of its principal branches* (Edinburgh, 1832). Robert Chambers, *A biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1853). James Bruce, *Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1841). David Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1839). *The Funeral Sermons, orations, epitaphs, and other pieces, on the death of Patrick*

in 1892 with Geddes' repetition of Benson's view that corroboration lies in Johnston's own writing, based upon 'a manuscript poem, preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh'.⁴

It is conceivable that the poem in question, in which Johnston is supposed to have provided evidence that he graduated in medicine at Padua in 1610, may be the autobiographical poem dedicated to Wedderburn. In this, Johnston mentions his travel to Italy, and his poetic contribution to the humanist and academic world, but there is no mention in the poem of any Italian cities, only of his having seen the Tiber and the Po rivers. Indeed, such a journey to Rome is supported by no other evidence, and Johnston here offers us nothing beyond a mention of the Alps and the rivers, in one neat couplet. The poem mentions no year.

Geddes raises the matters of geography and chronology for a second time in volume two of the *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* in his own *Memoir* of Johnston. This work is the product of a rather more searching investigation among the sources. Here he confesses his reliance upon the Abbé Boulliot and his 'very careful' *Biographie Ardennaise*, as well as the memoir provided by Lauder in the *Musae Sacrae* of 1739.⁵ He grounds the assertion of Johnston's graduation date at Padua again upon the reference in Lauder. The latter pins down the event, Geddes tells us, to 'III. Id. Iun., or 11 June 1610'.⁶ For Lauder, the evidence seems to hang on the link between Johnston and George Sibbald. There is a conjunction of the careers of Johnston and Sibbald in Padua, which began with their matriculation, separated only by a matter of a few days.⁷ Lauder is also at pains to associate both Johnston and Sibbald with Giulio Casserio.⁸ Lauder explains that Sibbald paid Johnston the honour of writing an epigram, and Johnston later paid him the same honour when he was declared doctor.⁹

Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen, ed. Charles Farquhar Shand (Edinburgh, 1845). *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xxvi.

⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, i, xxi. Geddes gives no detailed reference.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, xviii-xix. Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Boulliot, *Biographie ardennaise, ou Histoire des Ardennais qui sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs vertus ou leurs erreurs*, par M. l'abbé Boulliot (2 vols., Paris, 1830).

⁶ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xix, n. 1. Lauder, *Musae Sacrae*, p. xxxv.

⁷ Lauder, *Musae Sacrae*, p. xxxv. Lauder announces that Johnston looked upon Sibbald as a close friend, and claims that he had seen Johnston's signature on Sibbald's graduation diploma.

⁸ *Ibid.* 'Medicis quoque seculi sui celeberrimis perquam familiariter usus est: Iulio scilicet Casserio Placentino, Equite, Anatomiae administratore et Chirurgiae professore ordinario in illustri Universitate Patavina.'

⁹ *Ibid.* 'Medicis quoque seculi sui celeberrimis perquam familiariter usus est: ... eodem Georgio Sibbaldio ... qui, laudata profecto consuetudine, Jonstono laurea Appolinari Patavii quoque paulo ante decorato haud ineleganti epigrammato gratulatus est, quo vicissim honore Sibbaldium post adeptum statim Doctoratum, Jonstonus profectus est.'

Lauder includes Sibbald's epigram to Johnston in his *Musae Sacrae*.¹⁰ Sibbald, according to Lauder, graduated on the ninth ('die nono') of June 1614, and Lauder implies Johnston would have to have graduated before that (assuming a chronological order in the laudatory verses).

The only mention of George Sibbald in the *Acta Graduum* is in 27 June 1616 when he was a witness in the graduation of Leonardo Gamba of Verona.¹¹ Clearly, according to the attribution made to him in the *Acta*, Sibbald had graduated at Padua by that date. The year of 1614 emphasised by Lauder for the graduation of Sibbald, however, has to be challenged.¹² The source for his claim is Sibbald's diploma, which Lauder has seen *oculis meis*. On this diploma is the signature of Casserio and, we are told by Lauder, even of Johnston among the 'testes atque consiliarios'. Although 'testes' do appear on each graduation, 'consiliarios' is an unusual, and indeed rare appellation. If, in addition, Sibbald had graduated in 1614 it seems unlikely that he would still be present in Padua two years later to be a witness to the graduation of Gamba in 1616, and indeed to matriculate in 1615. Lauder, or another writer, has probably mis-transcribed Sibbald's diploma date of 1616 as 1614. It is also Lauder, of course, who first makes the claim that Johnston graduated in 1610, referring to a statement in 'a source'.¹³ Overall, therefore, we have to attribute to Lauder the responsibility for a considerable degree of chronological confusion. Johnston and Sibbald graduated in the summer of 1616, in the year following their matriculation into the Ultramontane *natio* in 1615, and as indicated in the Acts of the German nation.

B. Confusion in the French sources

Some French secondary sources used by Geddes add to our difficulties of chronology in Johnston's academic path, and the erroneous graduation date of 1610. Reliant upon Abbé Boulliot's *Biographie*, Geddes recognises Johnston's academic

¹⁰ Ibid., lxiv.

¹¹ *Acta Graduum*, 1606-20, (Padua [In preparation]), no. 955. 27.6.1616 ... Testes: ... et phil. et med. doct. Georgius Sibaldus Scottus.

¹² Lauder, *Musae Sacrae*, p. xxxv. 'in diplomate, quo in virum praestantissimum D. Georgium Sibbaldium Scotum Rankilorum, ... Patavii Doctoratus gradus conferebatur *ante centum quinque ac viginti annos, nimirum* Junii die nono, anno 1614, exarat.' (My emphasis.)

¹³ This may be a volume bought for the Advocates' Library when much of the library of Sir Robert Sibbald, nephew to George, was sold in 1723. I have not so far found any source with such a reference. Lauder's own career has been at the centre of much interest. Tradition attributes to him a lack of care in his handling of literary data, after his very public attribution of plagiarism to Milton.

advance from ‘Logic and Metaphysic’ to ‘Physic’, grounding the former title upon the evidence of a dedication in 1605 on a thesis by Johan Bogusz, and adding Boulliot’s supporting evidence of a thesis by Abraham Rambour of 1608.¹⁴ For Johnston’s appointment to the latter post, Geddes refers to a statement by Boulliot that Johnston was appointed on 15 October 1610 to the chair of ‘Physique’ which Walter Donaldson had recently vacated on his appointment as Principal of the Academy. Geddes associates this appointment with Johnston’s graduation as Doctor of Medicine; it is that graduation which ‘explains’ his appointment to the ‘Chair of Physic’ at Sedan, because it also ‘synchronises with’ it.¹⁵ According to Boulliot, Johnston had been appointed, as a consequence of his interests and study, to fill Donaldson’s chair of Physics after the latter’s elevation to succeed Samuel Neran in the Principalship at the Academy.¹⁶

Ernest Henry’s study of the Académie aimed to bring clarity to the dates of the movement of the professors through research undertaken by Mons. Brincourt, whose good offices Geddes also seems to have used.¹⁷ Johnston first appears in Henry’s lists of the staff of the Académie in 1603. Henry’s (and thus probably Brincourt’s) sources, or perhaps a careless transcription of them, originally drawn probably from the Chronicle of Père Norbert,¹⁸ offer an insecure chronology of Johnston’s offices:

- 1603-04 – Regent of the Second [*sic*: i.e. the Third] Class (p. 38)
- 1604-08 – Regent of the Second Class (p. 35)
- 1603-24 – Chair of Logic and Metaphysics (p. 59)
- 1606-23 – Chair of [Moral] Philosophy (p. 56)
- 1608 – Chair of Physics (p. 59)

The appointment of Johnston to the Regentship of the Third Class (erroneously ‘Second’ in Henry) along with the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in 1603 would seem to accord with all other sources, and represents an inducement for him to come from Heidelberg to Sedan. According to Henry, he was still drawing a salary from this Chair (or possibly another) in 1611 of 125 *livres* per term.¹⁹ Johnston’s laying

¹⁴ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xviii. Boulliot, *Biographie ardennaise*, ii, 60.

¹⁵ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, xix.

¹⁶ Boulliot, *Biographie ardennaise*, ii, 61.

¹⁷ *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, ii, appendix II, xxxii-xxxiv. Ernest Henry, *Notes biographiques sur les membres de l'Académie protestante et les pasteurs de l'Église réformée de Sedan [réunies par Jean-Baptiste Brincourt et] publiées par E. Henry* (Sedan, 1896).

¹⁸ An abridged version of this *Chronicle* was published in 1867 at Paris, containing some information relevant to the Académie.

¹⁹ Ernest Henry, *Notes Biographiques*, p. 32.

aside of that professorial post in 1623 is in accord with other evidence concerning his departure from Sedan. His move from Third to Second Class Regent in 1604 was occasioned by the departure of John Cameron, Professor of [Moral] Philosophy since 1602, who had previously taught at the Collège de Bergerac and who returned to Bordeaux to be minister there.²⁰ Upon this promotion, Johnston's successor in the Third Class was Pierre Erondelle, who is recorded as relinquishing that post on 14 July 1608, to follow once again in the footsteps of Johnston into the role of Regent of the Second Class.²¹ Johnston's elevation to of the Chair of Physics, i.e. Natural Philosophy, accords with contemporary understanding that a Professor of Physics was superior to the status of Professor of Moral Philosophy and to that of Professor of Logic and Metaphysics.²² The dating of this move by Henry as 1608, however, like a number of his proposed datings, does not accord with the notion of being appointed to that role to replace the recently promoted Donaldson, who assumed the Principalship in January 1611.²³ The appointment, instead, of Donaldson to the post of Physics in 1608 is more persuasive (and on Henry's page is directly above the erroneous, and identical, date of appointment of Johnston).

It seems unlikely that Johnston would be absent from Sedan in Padua for a year on another career move just as he is promoted to the Chair of Physics for which he had been working for a number of years according to Boulliot. It is perhaps just conceivable, however, that with an inclination to move into the area of medicine, he had set off for Padua during 1610. He was then perhaps recalled to the new Physics position before he had had the opportunity to indulge in any significant medical study – or indeed to matriculate. Johnston's own confusing reference to crossing the Alps 'twice' might support that view, as would Donaldson's delayed assumption of the Principalship in January of 1611.

Even if he did visit in 1610, however, that does not explain the long-standing claim that on that occasion he graduated. It is possible to speculate that the source of the erroneous 1610 date may be confusion in Thomas Urquhart's *The Jewel*.²⁴ In his tale,

²⁰ Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (16 vols., Paris, 1820), iv, 377-78.

²¹ Henry, *Notes biographiques*, pp. 36-38. Confusingly, Henry claims that Erondelle completed this latter role, instead of commencing it, in 1608.

²² Schmitt, 'Aristotle among the Physicians', pp. 4-5. Schmitt sets out the order of status.

²³ Henry records that Walter Donaldson (another alumnus of Aberdeen, and with whom Johnston had moved from Heidelberg) was appointed Professor of Physics in 1608 (p. 59), and then Principal of the Academy on 8 January 1611, until 3 Aug 1619 (p. 32). He was older than Arthur.

²⁴ Urquhart, *The Jewel*, p. 200.

there is a laureation of Johnston around the age of twenty-three (i.e. c. 1610, according to previously accepted views about the date of his birth), but in Paris, and not in medicine. Johnston's matriculation must be placed in 1615, however, incontrovertibly proved by his own signature in the Register of the Ultramontane *natio*, followed by a graduation in the following year – a path widely imitated by other students in the *Acta Graduum* of the University.

Bibliography

Manuscript and Archival Sources

- Archivio Antico dell'Università di Padova, *Epistolario della nazione artisti 1565-1647*, 476-77: Epistolari Tedesci.
- Archivio Antico dell'Università di Padova, *Matricula Nationis Germanicae Artistarum in Gymnasio Patavino*.
- Archivio di Stato, Padua, *Archivio notarile*.
- National Archives of Scotland, Forbes, J., *Diary, or Spirituall Exercises*, CH12/18/6.
- National Library of Scotland, *Scotstarvet papers*, Adv. MS. 17.1.9.
- Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, *Régistres aux sentences 1624-25 Sentences Extendues*.
- Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, *Dicta 1622-25*.
- Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, *Procès 1622-1645*.

Printed Primary Sources

- Roll of Alumni in Arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1596-1860*, ed. Peter John Anderson (Aberdeen, 1900).
- Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1601 ad annum 1605*, ed. Francesca Zen Benetti (Padua, 1987).
- Acta Graduum, 1606-20* (Padua [In preparation]).
- Acta nationis Germanicae artistarum, 1616-1636*, ed. Lucia Rossetti (Padua, 1967).
- Andrich, Giovanni L., *De natione Anglica et Scota iuristarum universitatis Patavinae ab a. MCCXXII ... usque ad a. MDCCXXXVIII* (Padua, 1892).
- Aristotle, *De anima*, ed. W. S. Hett, (Cambridge, MA, 1935).
- Aristotle, *Aristotle Poetics*, eds. W. Hamilton Fyfe, et al. (Cambridge, MA, 1995).
- Aristotle, *Aristotle On Rhetoric: a Theory of Civic Discourse*, ed. George A. Kennedy (Oxford, 1991).
- Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution; The Eudemian Ethics; On Virtues and Vices*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA, 1961).
- Aristotle, *Generation of animals*, ed. A. L. Peck (Cambridge, MA, 1963).
- Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, ed. H. Tredennick (Cambridge MA, 1933).
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA, 1934).
- Aristotle, *Poetics*, eds. S. Halliwell, et al. (Cambridge, MA, 1995).
- Aristotle, *Topica*, ed. E. S. Forster (Cambridge, MA, 1960).
- Arturi Jonstoni Psalmi Davidici interpretatione, argumentis, notisque illustrati: in usum Serenissimi Principis* ed. William Benson (London, 1741).
- Atti della Nazione Germanica Artista nello Studio di Padova*, ed. Antonio Favaro (2 vols., Venice, 1911-12).
- Avianus, Flavius, *The Fables of Avianus. Edited, with Prolegomena, Critical Apparatus, Commentary, Excursus, and Index*, by Robinson Ellis (Oxford, 1887).
- Barclay, William, *Guil: Barclayi amoeniorum artium, & medicinae doctoris, iudicium, de certamine G. Eglisemmii cum G. Buchanano, pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi CIIII. Non violandi manes. Adjecta sunt, Eglisemmii ipsum iudicium, ut editum fuit Londini, typis Eduardi Aldaei, ann. Dom. 1619: et in gratiam studiosae iuventutis, ejusdem Psalmi elegans paraphrasis Thomae Rhaedi* (London, 1620).

- Bayle, Pierre, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (16 vols., Paris, 1820).
- Benson, William, *A Prefatory Discourse to a New Edition of the Psalms of David. Translated into Latin verse by Dr. Arthur Johnston, etc.* (London, 1741).
- Berengario Da Carpi, Jacopo, *Commentaria cum amplissimus additionibus super Anatomia Mundini* (Bologna, 1521).
- Blaeu, Willem Jansz, *Appendix Theatri A. Ortelii et Atlantis G. Mercatoris, continens Tabulas geographica diversarum orbis nunc primum editas...* (Amsterdam, 1631).
- Bodin, Jean, *Universae naturae theatrum in quo rerum omnium effectrices causae & fines contemplantur, & continua series quinque libris discutiuntur* (Lyon, 1596).
- Bogusz Baron De Ziemlic, Joannes, *Metaphysica de vnitae ... Praes. Arthur Johnston* (Sedan, 1605).
- Borrichius, Olaus, *Dissertationes de Poetis in regio Hafniensi Lyceo habitae* (Frankfurt, 1681).
- Botero, Giovanni, *The reason of state* (London, 1956).
- Bouillon, Henri De La Tour d'Auvergne, *Mémoires de Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, depuis duc de Bouillon, adressées à son fils le prince de Sedan* ([Paris], 1836).
- Brown, Horatio F., *Inglese e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova dall'anno 1618 sine al 1765* (Venice, 1921).
- Brown, Rawdon, et al. (eds.), *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy* (38 vols., London, 1864-67).
- Buchanan, George, *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica, nunc primum edita* ([Geneva], 1565).
- Buchanan, George, *De iure regni apud Scotos: dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano Scoto* (Edinburgh, 1579).
- Buchanan, George, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica, multo quam antehac castigatior; auctore Georgio Buchanano* (London, 1580).
- Buchanan, George, *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (Edinburgh, 1582).
- Buchanan, George, *Georgii Buchanani ... Franciscanus et fratres. Elegiarum liber I. Siluarum liber I. Hendecasyllabon libri II. Epigrammaton libri III. De sphaera fragmentum* ([Geneva], 1584).
- Buchanan, George, *Georgii Buchanani Scoti, poemata omnia innumeris pene locis, ex ipsius autographo castigata et aucta. Addito insuper ex eodem, miscellaneorum libro, nunc primum in lucem edito* (Edinburgh, 1615).
- Buchanan, George, *Epistolae*, ed. James Oliphant (London, 1711).
- Buchanan, George, *Georgii Buchanani ... Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica. Cum Alexandri Julii ... ecphrasi: et notis integris ... Thomae Ruddimanni, & Petri Burmanni: selectisque Nathanis Chytraei scholiis: quibus suas quoque adnotationes adjecerunt editores* (Edinburgh, 1737).
- George Buchanan: *The Political Poetry*, eds. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson (Edinburgh, 1995).
- Buchanan, George, *Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms of David (Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica)*, ed. Roger P. H. Green (Geneva, 2011).
- Burigny, Jean Lévesque de, *The life of the truly eminent and learned Hugo Grotius ... together with a critical account of his works. Written originally in French. By M. de Burigny* (London, 1754).
- Burton, Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (3 vols., London, 1932).

- Calendar of state papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, ed. Allen B. Hinds (London, 1907).
- Calvin, Jean, *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (4vols., Paris, 1859).
- Castelli, Bartolomeo, *Lexicon medicum Graecolatinum ... Ex Hippocrate et Galeno desumptum* (Venice, 1607).
- Castelli, Bartolomeo, *Lexicon medicum Graeco-Latinum* (Rotterdam, 1665).
- Celsus, *De medicina*, ed. Walter G. Spencer (Cambridge MA, 1936).
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De inventione; De optimo genere oratorum; Topica*, ed. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA, 1949).
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De officiis*, eds. Miriam T. Griffin and E. Margaret Atkins, (Cambridge, 1991).
- Coryate, Thomas, *Coryat's crudities* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1905).
- Cremonini, Cesare, *Apologia dictorum Aristotelis de origine et principatu membrorum adversus Galenum* (Venice, 1627).
- De Zerbi, Gabrielle, *Liber Anathomie corporis Humani et singulorum Membrorum illius* (Venice, 1502).
- Delitiae c. poetarum belgicorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, ed. Janus Gruterus (4 vols., Frankfurt, 1614).
- Delitiae c. poetarum Gallorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium, collectore Ranutio Ghero*, ed. Janus Gruterus (3 vols., Frankfurt, 1609).
- Delitiae poetarum Germanorum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, ed. Janus Gruterus (6 vols., Frankfurt, 1612).
- Delitiae poetarum Hungaricorum, exhibitae a J.P. Pareo*, ed. Johannes P. Pareus (Frankfurt, 1619).
- Delitiae CC. Italorum poetarum: huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, ed. Janus Gruterus (2 vols., Frankfurt, 1608).
- Delitiae poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi illustrium*, eds. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet and Arthur Johnston (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1637).
- Dempster, Thomas, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1829).
- A dialogue on the law of kingship among the Scots: a critical edition and translation of George Buchanan's De iure regni apud Scotos dialogus*, eds. Roger A. Mason and Martin A. Smith (Aldershot, 2004).
- Die Matrikel Der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, ed. Gustav Toepke (Heidelberg, 1886).
- Disputatio de loco ... praeside Arturo Ionstono ... propugnare conabitur Iohannes Brazyus* (Sedan, 1605).
- Disputatio de Natura metaphysicae cuius theses ... praeside Arturo Ionstono ... examinandas proponet Iohannes Brazyus* (Sedan, 1605).
- Disputatio metaphisica de Ente in genere, cuius theses ... praeside Arturo ionstono ... propugnabat Phimees Moravatus* (Sedan, 1605).
- Does, Johan Van Der, *Bataviae, Hollandiaeque Annales: a J. Dousa Filio concepti atque inchoati jam olim; nunc vero a Patre ejden cognomine ac superstite, ... recogniti, suppleti, novaqu octo librorum accessione ad integrae usque Decadis finen perducti et continuati ... Cum locupletissimo rerum indice* (Leiden, 1601).
- Does, Johan Van Der, *Iani Dousae ... Echo, sive Lusus imaginis iocosae quibus titulus Halcedonia. Alia quaedam* (The Hague, 1603).
- Drayton, Michael, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, eds. J. William Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson, and Bernard H. Newdigate (5 vols., Oxford, 1961).

- Du Laurens, André, *A discourse of the preseruauon of the sight: of melancholike diseases; of rheumes, and of old age. Composed by M. Andreas Laurentius, ordinarie phisition to the King, and publike professor of phisicke in the Vniuersitie of Mompelier. Translated out of French into English, according to the last edition, by Richard Surphlet, practitioner in phisicke* (London, 1599).
- Du Peyrat, Guillaume, *Le Dauphin, ou l'image d'un grand roy, tirée des propriétés du Dauphin du ciel et de la mer* (Paris, 1605).
- Dubravius, Janus, *Historiae regni Boemiae, de rebus memoria dignis, in illa gestis. Libri xxxiii* ([Bratislava?], 1552).
- Eglissham [sic], George, *Hypocrisis apologetica orationis Vorstianae; cum secunda provocatione ad C. Vorstium missa* (Delft, 1612).
- Eglisshem, George, *Duellum poeticum. Contendentibus, Georgio Eglisemmio medico regio, & Georgio Buchanano regio praeceptore. Pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi centisimi quarti. Adiectis prophylacticis aduersus Andrae Meluini Cauillum in aram Regiam, aliisq[ue]; epigrammatis* (London, 1618).
- Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, Hieronymus, *De visione, voce, auditu* (Venice, 1600).
- Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, Hieronymus, *De venarum ostiolis* (Padua, 1603).
- Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, Hieronymus, *De venarum ostiolis 1603 of Hieronymus Fabricus of Aquapendente (1533?-1619)*, trans. Kenneth J. Franklin (Springfield, IL, 1933).
- Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, Hieronymus, *The Embryological Treatises of Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente: The formation of the egg and of the chick, De formatione ovi et pulli, [and] The formed fetus, De formato foetu*, ed. Howard B. Adelman (2 vols., Ithaca, NY, 1967).
- Fabricius Ab Aquapendente, Hieronymus, *Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente... De motu locali animalium secundum totum* (Padua, 1618).
- Facciolati, Jacopo, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini, J. F. studio atque opera collecti* (2 vols., Padua, 1757).
- Galen, *On the Affected Parts*, ed. Rudolph E. Siegel (Basle, 1976).
- Galen, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Karl G. Kuhn (Leipzig, 1821).
- Galen, *On the usefulness of the parts of the body: De usu partium*, ed. Margaret T. May (Ithaca, NY, 1968).
- 'Gallants, to Bohemia. Or, let us to the Warres again: Shewing the forwardness of our English Souldiers, both in times past, and at this present' ([London], 1620).
- Grotius, Hugo, *Hugonis Grotii Poemata collecta olim a fratre ejus Guil. Grotio, & per eundem edita: accesserunt jam & alia nonnulla ejusdem autoris in unum volumen per R.H. redacta* (London, 1639).
- Grotius, Hugo, *Meletius, sive, De iis quae inter Christianos conveniunt epistola*, ed. Guillaume H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1988).
- Gunter, Edmund and Tapp, John, *A canon of triangles: or A table of artificiall sines, tangents, and secants, drawne from the logarithmes of the lord of Merchistone: Whereby all sphericall triangles are most easily resolved by addition and subtraction onely* (London, 1620).
- Harvey, William, *Exercitationes de generatione animalium: Quibus accedunt quaedam de partu: de membranis ac humeribus uteri: & de conceptione* (London, 1651).
- Heinsius, Daniel (ed.), *Illustriss.viri Iosephi Scaligeri, Iulii Caes. a Burden f. Epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt* (Leiden, 1627).
- Heseler, Baldasar, *Andreas Vesalius' First Public Anatomy at Bologna, 1540: an Eyewitness Report*, ed. Ruben Eriksson (Uppsala, 1959).

- Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Cambridge, MA, 2006).
- Hippocrates, *Opera Omnia*, eds. William H. S. Jones, *et al.* (Cambridge, MA, 1923).
- Hippocrates, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, ed. Wesley D Smith (Leiden, 1990).
- Homer, *Iliad*, eds. A. T. Murray and William F. Wyatt (Cambridge, MA, 1999).
- Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. Niall Rudd (Cambridge, MA, 2004).
- Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA, 1929).
- Irenaeus, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus haereses ...* ed. William W. Harvey (Cambridge, 1857).
- Irenaeus, *Syllabus aliquot synodorum et colloquiorum, quae ... super negotio religionis, ad controversias conciliandas, indicta sunt: doctorum item aliquot ac piorum virorum utriusque religionis ... libri & epistolae, vel ex iis excerpta* (Orléans, 1628).
- James, Serenissimi et potentissimi Principis Iacobi, Dei gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Francia, et Hiberniae Regis, fidei defensoris, *opera, edita ab Iacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, & sacelli regij decano* (London, 1619).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Consilium collegii medici Parisiensis de mania G. Eglisheimii, quam prodidit scripto cui titulus: Duellum poeticum pro dignitate paraphraseos Psalmi CIIII decertantibus G. Eglisheimio Medico, Buchanano Paedonomo regio, quod Parisiensis Academiae iudicio submisit* (Paris [London?] and Edinburgh, 1619).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Onopordus Furens. Autoribus Philologis Parisiensibus* (Paris [London?], 1620).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Querelae Saravictonis & Biomeae* ([London?], 1620).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Nicrina ad Heroas Anglos* (Heidelberg [London?], 1620).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Parerga Arturi Ionstoni Scoti, medici Regii* (Aberdeen, 1632).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Epigrammata* (Aberdeen, 1632).
- Johnston, Arthur, *Paraphrasis poetica psalmorum Davidis* (London, 1637).
- Julius, Alexander, *Ecphrasis paraphraseos Georgii Buchanani in Psalmos Davidis: ab Alexandro Iulio Edinburgo, in adolescentiae studiosae gratiam elaborata* (London, 1620).
- Juvenal and Persius*, ed. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA, 2004).
- Keckermann, Bartolomäus, *Praecognitorum logicorum tractatus III* (Hanover, 1599).
- Keckermann, Bartolomäus, *Systema logicae, tribus libris adornatum* (Hanover, 1602).
- Lauder, William, *Poetarum Scotorum Musae Sacrae: sive Arcturi Jonstoni ... Psalmorum Davidicorum, Cantici Solomonis, & Canticorum Evangelicorum paraphrasis poetica. Joannis Kerri Cantici Solomonis paraphrasis gemina. Roberti Bodii ... ad Christum Servatorem Hecatombae. Summo quaeque studio ... recensuit ... Gulielmus Lauderus* (Edinburgh, 1739).
- Leech, John, *Ioannis Leochaei Scoti, Musae priores, siue Poematum pars prior* (London, 1620).
- The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith (2 vols., Oxford, 1907).
- Lipsius, Justus, *Iusti Lipsi de constantia libri duo. Qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis. Iterata editio, melior & notis auctior* (London, 1586).
- Lipsius, Justus, *Iusti Lipsii Admiranda, siue, De magnitudine romana libri quattuor. Editio vltima* (Antwerp, 1617).
- Lipsius, Justus, *Iusti Lipsi Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex: Qui ad principatum maximè spectant* (Leiden, 1590).

- 'Lord Willoughby: Or, A true relation of a famous and bloody battel fought in Flanders, by the noble and valiant Lord Willoughby, with 1500 English, against forty thousand Spaniards, where the English obtained a notable victory, for the glory and renown of our Nation'* ([London], 1620).
- Lucretius, Titus, *De rerum natura*, eds. W. H. D. Rouse and Martin F. Smith (Cambridge, MA, 2006).
- Manilius, Marcus, *M. Manili Astronomicon libri quinque* (Paris, 1579).
- Martial, *Epigrams*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (3 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1993).
- Melanchthon, Philipp, *Commentarius de anima* (Wittenberg, 1540).
- Melville, Andrew and Adamson, Patrick, *Viri clarissimi A. Meluini Musae, et P. Adamsoni vita et palindomia [sic] et Celsae commissionis ceu delegatae potestatis regiae in causis ecclesiasticis ... descriptio* ([Edinburgh?], 1620).
- Moryson, Fynes, *An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Diuided into III parts* (London, 1617).
- Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, eds. William D. Geddes and W. Keith Leask (3 vols., Aberdeen, 1892-5).
- Naeranus, Samuel, *Samuelis Naerani Batavi Poemata* (Dordrecht, 1611).
- Nifo, Agostino, *Aristotelis Stragiritae Topica inuentio in octo secta libros* (Paris, 1540).
- Ovid, *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, eds. J. H. Mozley and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1985).
- Ovid, *Fasti*, ed. James G. Frazer (London, 1931).
- Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, eds. Grant Showerman and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1977).
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, eds. Frank J. Miller and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1977).
- Ovid, *Tristia; Ex Ponto*, eds. Arthur Leslie Wheeler and G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA, 1996).
- Persons, Robert, *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland divided into two partes ... Published by R. Doleman* ([Antwerp], 1594).
- Plato, *Euthyphro; Apology; Crito; Phaedo; Phaedrus*, ed. Harold N. Fowler (Cambridge, MA, 1990).
- Plato, *The Republic*, ed. Paul Shorey (Cambridge, MA, 1978).
- Prudentius, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis, Viri Consularis, Psychomachia. Cathemerinon. Peristephanon. Apotheosis. Hamartigenia. Contra Symmachum ... libri duo* (Basel, 1527).
- Quick, John, *Synodicon in Gallia reformata, or, The acts, decisions, decrees, and canons of those famous national councils of the reformed churches in France ... the whole collected and composed out of original manuscript acts of those renowned synods* (2 vols., London, 1692).
- Ruddiman, Thomas, *A Vindication of Mr. G. Buchanan's Paraphrase of the book of Psalms from the objections rais'd by W. Benson ... in the supplement and conclusion he has annex'd to his prefatory discourse to his new edition of Dr. A. Johnston's Version of that sacred book. In which also, upon a comparison of the performances of those two poets, the superiority is demonstrated to belong to Buchanan, etc. Copious MS. notes* (Edinburgh, 1745).
- Scaliger, Julius Caesar, *J. C. Scaligeri ... Poetices libri septem ... Editio secunda* ([Heidelberg], 1586).

- Statius, Papinius, *Silvae*, ed. David R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, MA, 2003).
Statuta almae universitatis d. artistarum et medicorum patavini gymnasii (Padua, 1545).
- Statuta almae Universitatis DD. Philosophorum, et medicorum, cognomento artistarum Patavini Gymnasii. Denuo correcta & emendata, & nonnullis apostiilis ... aucta* (Padua, 1607).
- Taurellus, Nicolaus, D. *Nicolai Taurelli ... Ouranologia: hoc est. physicarum & metaphysicarum discussionum: de coelo lib.ii adversus Franciscum Piccolomineum* (Hamburg, 1603).
- Theses ethicae, politicae et oeconomicae ex singulis philosophi ethicorum, politicorum et oeconomorum libris desumptae: quae praesidente Arturo Ionstono ... defendere conabitur Ionnes Casimirus Gernandus* (Heidelberg, 1602).
- Tilenus, Daniel, *Consideratio sententiae Jacobi Arminii de praedestinatione, gratia Dei, et libero arbitrio hominis: apud ordd. Hollandiae & Westfrisiae ab eodem declaratae* (Frankfurt, 1612).
- Tilenus, Daniel, *Paraenesis ad Scotos, Genevensis disciplinae zelotas* (St Andrews (?) and London, 1620).
- Tilenus, Daniel, *Advertissement à l'Assemblée de la Rochelle* (Paris, 1621).
- Tilenus, Daniel, *De disciplina ecclesiastica brevis & modesta dissertatio ad Ecclesiam Scoticam. Autore Gallo quodam theologo, Verbi Divini ministro* (Aberdeen, 1622).
- Tomasini, Giacomo F., *Gymnasium Patavinum* (Udine, 1654).
- Tragurinus, Matthaeus Andronicus, *Epithalamium in nuptias Vladislai Pannoniarum ac Boemiae regis et Annae Candaliae Reginae* ([n.p.], 1502).
- Tynley, Robert, *Two learned sermons The one, of the mischievous subtiltie, and barbarous crueltie, the other of the false doctrines, and refined haeresis of the romish synagogue* (London, 1609).
- Urquhart, Thomas, *Ekskybalaaron: or, The discovery of a most exquisite Jewel, more precious then diamonds inched in gold, the like whereof was never seen in any age; found in the kennel of Worcester-streets, the day after the fight, ..., to frontal a vindication of the honour of Scotland ...* (London, 1652).
- Vesalius, Andreas, '*Andreae Vesalii ... de humani corporis fabrica libri septem*', (Basle, 1543).
- Viret, Pierre, *Satyres chrestienes de la cuisine papale* ([Geneva], 1560).
- Virgil, *Eclogues and Aeneid*, eds. G. P. Goold and H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA, 1999).
- Vorstius, Conradus, *Tractatus theologicus de Deo, sive de natura et attributis Dei, omnia fere ad hanc materiam pertinentia... decem disputationibus... comprehendens. Accesserunt... Annotationes... quae in thesibus... explicata esse videbantur, auctore Conrado Vorstio* (Steinfurt, 1610).
- Zabarella, Jacopo, *Iacobi Zabarellae Patauini, De rebus naturalibus libri xxx: Quibus quaestiones, quae ab Aristotelis interpretibus hodie tractari solent, accuratè discutiuntur. ... Cum triplici indice, vno librorum, altero capitum omnium librorum, tertio rerum omnium notatu dignarum, quae toto volumine continentur* (Venice, 1590).
- Zabarella, Jacopo, *Opera logica* (Cologne, 1597).
- Zabarella, Jacopo, *Commentarii Iac. Zabarellae ... in III. Aristot. libros De anima Nunc demum à mendis quamplyrimis typographicis quae priore editione irrepserant, summo labore purgati, & in Germania commodioribus & distinctioribus typis in studiosorum vtilitatem editi* (Frankfurt, 1606).

Zuccolo, Lodovico, 'Della Ragione di Stato', in Benedetto Croce and Santino Caramella (eds.), *Politici e Moralisti del Seicento* (Bari, 1930).

Printed Secondary Works

- Aldis, Harry G., *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700: including those printed furth of the realm for Scottish booksellers with brief notes on the printers and stationers, 1st ed. reprinted with additions including entries for books published in 1700* (Edinburgh, 1970).
- Allan, David, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton, 2000).
- Armstrong, Gail E., 'Sacrificial Iconography: Creating History, Making Myth, and Negotiating Ideology on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*', *Religion and Theology*, 15/3-4 (2008), 340-56.
- Bamforth, Stephen, 'Melons and wine: Montaigne and joie de vivre in Renaissance France', in Susan Harrow and Timothy A. Unwin (eds.), *"Joie de vivre" in French Literature and Culture: Essays in Honour of Michael Freeman* (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 99-128.
- Beer, Susanna De, Enenkel, Karl A. E., and Rijser, David (eds.), *The Neo-Latin Epigram: a Learned and Witty Genre* (Leuven, 2009).
- Bireley, Robert, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Blair, Ann M., 'Tradition and innovation in early modern natural philosophy: Jean Bodin and Jean-Cecile Frey', *Perspectives on Science*, 2/4 (1994), 428-54.
- Bland, Mark, 'Invisible Dangers': Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 90/2 (1996), 151-79.
- Bland, Mark. 'Stansby, William (bap. 1572, d. 1638)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Blom, Hans W., 'Styles of Heterodoxy and Intellectual Achievement: Grotius and Arminianism', in Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (eds.), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600-1750* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 47-73.
- Bonney, Richard, *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660* (Oxford, 1991).
- Boulliot, Jean-Baptiste-Joseph, *Biographie ardennaise, ou Histoire des Ardennais qui sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs vertus ou leurs erreurs, par M. l'abbé Boulliot* (2 vols., Paris, 1830).
- Bourchenin, Pierre-Daniel, *Etude sur les Académies Protestantes en France aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles* (Paris, 1882).
- Bradner, Leicester, *Musae Anglicanae: a History of Anglo-Latin poetry, 1500-1925* (New York, 1940).
- Brain, Peter, *Galen on Bloodletting: a Study of the Origins, Development and Validity of his Opinions, with a Translation of the Three Works* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Brink, Gordon O., *Horace on Poetry* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1963).
- Brown, Horatio F., *Studies in the History of Venice* (2 vols., London, 1907).
- Bruce, James, *Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1841).
- Brugi, Biagio, 'Uno discrizone dello Studio di Padova in un ms del secolo XVI nel Museo Britannico', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 15/6 (1907).
- Bulloch, John, *George Jamesone, the Scottish Vandyck* (Edinburgh, 1885).

- Burnett, Amy N., 'Contributors to the Reformed tradition', in David M. Whitford (ed.), *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: a Guide to Research* (Kirkville, MO, 2008), pp. 25-56.
- Bylebyl, Jerome, 'Padua and Humanistic Medicine', in Charles Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 335-70.
- Bylebyl, Jerome J., 'Interpreting the Fasciolo Anatomy Scene', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 45/3 (1990), 285-316.
- Callisen, Christian Thorsten, 'Georg Calixtus, Isaac Casaubon, and the Consensus of Antiquity', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73/1 (2012), 1-23.
- Cameron, James K., 'Some Aberdeen Students on the Continent in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in P. Dukes (ed.), *The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe* (Aberdeen, 1995), pp. 57-78.
- Carlino, Andrea, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning* (Chicago, 1999).
- Chakravarti, Paromita, 'Natural fools and the historiography of Renaissance folly', *Renaissance Studies*, 25/2 (2011), 208-27.
- Chambers, Robert, *A biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (Glasgow, 1853).
- Clegg, Cyndia S., *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Cogswell, Thomas, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Congar, Pierre, *Sedan et le pays sedanais* (Paris, 1969).
- Conley, Thomas M., 'No Way to Pick a Fight: A Note on J. C. Scaliger's *First Oratio contra Erasmus*', *Rhetorica*, 26/3 (2008), 255-65.
- Crawford, Robert, *Apollos of the North: Selected Poems of George Buchanan and Arthur Johnston* (Edinburgh, 2006).
- Cunningham, Andrew, *The Anatomical Renaissance: the Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (Aldershot, 1997).
- Cunningham, Andrew, 'The Bartholins, the Platters and Laurentius Gryllus: the peregrinatio medica in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe 1500-1789* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 3-16.
- Cunningham, Andrew, 'Fabricius and the "Aristotle Project" in Anatomical Teaching and Research at Padua', in Andrew Wear, Roger K. French, and Iain M. Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 195-222.
- Davidson, Peter, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester, 2007).
- Davies, Jonathan, 'Violence and Italian universities during the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, 27/4 (2013), 504-16.
- Davies, Norman, *God's Playground: a History of Poland* (2 vols., Oxford, 1981).
- Deer Richardson, Linda, 'The generation of disease: occult causes and diseases of the total substance', in Andrew Wear, Roger K. French, and Iain M. Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 175-94.
- Dolari, Simona, 'Riscoperta e fortuna dei rilievi dell'Ara Pacis nell'eta della Rinascita', *Engramma*, 75 (2009).
- Dols, Michael W., *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford, 1992).
- Dorsten, Jan Adrianus Van, *Poets, Patrons and Professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden, 1962).

- Dupuigrenet Desroussiller, François, 'L'Università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento', in Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (eds.), *Storia della Cultura veneta* (3/2, Vicenza, 1980), pp. 640-47.
- Durkan, John, 'The French Connection in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1250-1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 19-44.
- Eijnatten, Jan Van, *Lodestars of latitude: Gerard Brandt's Peacable Christian (c.1664), irenicism and religious dissent* (Amsterdam, 1999).
- Eire, Carlos M. N., *War against the idols : the reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Elmer, Peter, 'Medicine, Religion and the Puritan Revolution', in Roger K. French and Andrew Wear (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 10-45.
- Elwood, Christopher, *The Body Broken: the Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York, 1999).
- Eyffinger, Arthur (ed.), *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius* (Assen, 1988).
- Favaro, Giuseppe, 'Contributi alla Biografia di Girolamo Fabrici D'Acquapendente', *Monografie storiche sullo Studio di Padova, contributo del r. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti alla celebrazione del VII centenario della Università* (Padua, 1922), pp. 248-348.
- Feldherr, Andrew, *Playing Gods: Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Politics of Fiction* (Princeton, NJ, 2010).
- Foster, Herbert D., 'Liberal Calvinism; The Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort in 1618', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 16/1 (1923), 1-37.
- Frame, William V., 'Philip Melancthon and the Idea of Christian Civility', *The Cresset*, 69/1 (2005), 6-10.
- Freedman, Joseph S., 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 141/3 (1997), 305-64.
- Freedman, Joseph S., 'Philosophy instruction within the institutional framework of central European schools and universities during the Reformation era', *History of Universities*, 5 (1985), 117-66.
- French, Roger K., *Ancients and Moderns in the Medical Sciences: from Hippocrates to Harvey* (Aldershot, 2000).
- French, Roger K., 'Berengario da Carpi and the Use of Commentary in Anatomical Teaching', in Andrew Wear, Roger K. French, and Iain M. Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 42-74.
- Goldgar, Anne, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven, CT, 1995).
- Grafton, Anthony and Jardine, Lisa, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Europe* (London, 1986).
- Green, Roger, P. H., 'Ausonius and Spain: A Reconsideration of the Evidence', *Actas del VIII Congreso Espanol de Estudios Clasicos* (3 vols., Madrid, 1994).
- Green, Roger P. H., 'Davidic psalm and Horatian ode: five poems of George Buchanan', *Renaissance Studies*, 14/1 (2000), 91-111.
- Green, Roger P. H., 'George Buchanan, Arthur Johnston, and William Laud', *Scottish Literary Review*, 2/1 (2010), 5-21.
- Green, Roger P. H., 'Horace in the psalm paraphrases of George Buchanan', in Stella Purce Revard, Fidel Radle, and Mario A. Di Cesare (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-*

- Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: Wolfenbuttel* (Binghamton, NY, 1988), pp. 71-9.
- Green, Roger P. H., 'On not being Buchanan: Arthur Johnston's magnum opus', in Alejandro Coroleu and Domenico Defilippis (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 443-454.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL, 1980).
- Greg, W. W., *A Companion to Arber: being a calendar of documents in Edward Arber's "Transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640" with text and calendar of supplementary documents* (Oxford, 1967).
- Grell, Ole P., Cunningham, Andrew, and Arrizabalaga, Jon (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe 1500-1789* (Farnham, 2010).
- Grell, Ole Peter and Cunningham, Andrew, *Medicine and the Reformation* (London, 1993).
- Grendler, Paul F., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2002).
- Grendler, Paul F., 'The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57/1 (2004), 1-42.
- Gui, Francesco, *I Gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema* (Milan, 1989).
- Haag, Eugène and Haag, Emile, *La France Protestante: Vies des Protestants Français* (9 vols., Paris, 1846-59).
- Hardie, Philip R., *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Headley, John M., 'Thomas More's horrific vision: the advent of constituted dissent', in John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor of the Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 347-58.
- Hedrich Hirsch, David A., 'Donne's Atomies and Anatomies: Deconstructed Bodies and the Resurrection of Atomic Theory', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 31/1 (1991), 69-94.
- Helander, Hans, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 76/1 (2001), 5-102.
- Henderson, George D., *The Founding of Marischal College, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1947).
- Henry, Ernest, *Notes biographiques sur les membres de l'Académie protestante et les pasteurs de l'Église réformée de Sedan [réunies par Jean-Baptiste Brincourt et] publiées par E. Henry* (Sedan, 1896).
- Henry, John, 'The matter of souls: medical theory and theology in seventeenth-century England', in Roger K. French and Andrew Wear (eds.), *Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 87-113.
- Holliday, Peter J., 'Time, History, and Ritual on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*', *The Art Bulletin*, 72/4 (1990), 542-57.
- Holloway, Ernest R., *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545-1622* (Leiden, 2011).
- Horsbroch, Dauvit, 'Wish You Were Here? Scottish reactions to 'Postcards' home from the Germane Warres', in Steve Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War: 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 245-69.
- Hotson, Howard, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588-1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform* (Oxford, 2000).
- Hotson, Howard, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht, 2001).

- Hotson, Howard, *Commonplace learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630* (Oxford, 2007).
- Houlston, Victor, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Hsia, Florence C., *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago, IL, 2009).
- Hughes, Charles, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century* (New York, 1967).
- Irving, David, *Lives of Scottish Writers* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1839).
- Irving, David, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan* (Edinburgh, 1807).
- Jackson, Mark (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine* (Oxford, 2011).
- Jansen, Johannes, 'The Microcosmos of the Baroque Epigram: John Owen and Julien Waudré', in Susanna De Beer, Karl A. E. Enenkel, and David Rijser (eds.), *The Neo-Latin Epigram: a Learned and Witty Genre* (Leuven, 2009), pp. 276-96.
- Jardine, Nicholas, 'Keeping Order in the School of Padua: Jacopo Zabarella and Francesco Piccolomini on the Offices of Philosophy', in Eckhard Kessler, Charlotte Methuen, and Daniel A. Di Liscia (eds.), *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 183-210.
- Jardine, Nicholas, 'Problems of Knowledge and Action: Epistemology of the Sciences', in B. Charles Schmitt, et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 685-711.
- Jensen, Minna Skafté, 'Interpretations of Neo-Latin Poetry: Some Questions', in Alejandro Coroleu and Domenico Defilippis (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 1005-13.
- Johnston, Alexander, *Genealogical Account of the Family of Johnston of that Ilk, formerly of Caskieben, in the Shire of Aberdeen, and of its principal branches* (Edinburgh, 1832).
- Kallendorf, Craig, 'Commentaries, Commonplaces, and Neo-Latin Studies', in Alejandro Coroleu and Domenico Defilippis (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 535-46.
- Kearney, H. F., 'Puritanism and Science: Problems of Definition', *Past & Present*, 31 (1965), 104-10.
- Kibre, Pearl, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, MA, 1948).
- King, Stephen, 'Your Best and Maist Faithfull subjects: Andrew and James Melville as James VI and I's "Loyal Opposition"', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 24/3 (2000), 17-30.
- Klestinec, Cynthia, 'A History of Anatomy Theaters in Sixteenth-Century Padua', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 59/3 (2004), 375-412.
- Klestinec, Cynthia, 'Civility, Comportment, and the Anatomy Theater: Girolamo Fabrici and his Medical Students in Renaissance Padua', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60/2 (2007), 434-63.
- Kornell, M., 'Vesalius's method of articulating the skeleton and a drawing in the Wellcome Library', *Medical History*, 44 (2000), 97-110.
- Kristeller, Paul O., 'Renaissance Aristotelianism', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 6/2 (1965), 157-74.

- Kristeller, Paul O., *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, CA, 1966).
- Lausberg, Marion, *Das Einzeldistichon: Studien zum antiken Epigramm* (Munich, 1982).
- Leyder, Dirk, *Les Archives du Grand Conseil des Pays-Bas à Malines* (Bruxelles, 2010).
- Lo Presti, Roberto, 'Anatomy as Epistemology: The Body of Man and the Body of Medicine in Vesalius and his Ancient sources (Celsus, Galen)', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 33/3 (2010), 27-72.
- Lockyer, Charles W., Jr., 'Horace's "Propempticon" and Vergil's Voyage', *The Classical World*, 61/2 (1967), 42-45.
- Lockyer, Roger, *James VI and I* (London, 1998).
- Logan, Oliver, *Culture and Society in Venice, 1470-1790: the Renaissance and its Heritage* (London, 1972).
- Lohr, Charles H., 'Latin Aristotelianism and the Seventeenth-Century Theory of Scientific Method', in Eckhard Kessler, Charlotte Methuen, and Daniel A. Di Liscia (eds.), *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 369-80.
- Lorimer, Emma, 'Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622: 'Public Opinion', Pamphlets and Political Memory', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 30/1 (2008), 52-63.
- Maag, Karin, 'The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future', in Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 139-56.
- Maclean, Ian, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: the Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Malcolm, Noel, *Reason of State, Propaganda, and the Thirty Years' War: an unknown translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford, 2007).
- Marshall, Peter, 'Angels around the Death Bed', in Alexandra Walsham and Peter Marshall (eds.), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 83-103.
- McCrie, Thomas, *Life of Andrew Melville* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1856).
- McKerrow, R. B., 'Edward Allde as a typical trade printer', *The Library*, 4th ser., 10 (1929-30), 121-62.
- McKerrow, R. B., *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London, 1913).
- Mcfarlane, Ian D., *Buchanan* (London, 1981).
- Mcfarlane, Ian D., 'The Renaissance Epitaph', *The Modern Language Review*, 81/4 (1986), xxv-xxxv.
- Mcfarlane, Ian D., *Renaissance Latin Poetry* (Manchester, 1980).
- Mellon, Paul, *L'Académie de Sedan, centre d'influence française, à propos d'un manuscrit du XVIIe siècle. Silhouettes et croquis* (Paris, 1913).
- Mikkeli, Heikki, *An Aristotelian Response to Renaissance Humanism: Jacopo Zabarella on the Nature of Arts and Sciences* (Helsinki, 1992).
- Mikkeli, Heikki, 'Jacopo Zabarella (1533-1598): The Structure and Method of Scientific Knowledge', in Paul R. Blum (ed.), *Philosophers of the Renaissance* (Washington DC, 2010), pp. 181-91.
- Millar, A. H. and Hutchins, Rev. Roger, 'Wedderburn, Sir John (1599–1679)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

- Miller, John F., 'Ovid's "Fasti" and the Neo-Latin Christian Calendar Poem', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 10/2 (2003), 173-86.
- Miller, Perry, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth century* (Cambridge, MA, 1954).
- Miller, Peter N., *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT, 2000).
- Molland, George, 'Scottish-Continental Intellectual Relations as Mirrored in the Career of Duncan Liddel (1561-1613)', in P. Dukes (ed.), *The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe* ([Aberdeen], 1995), pp. 79-101.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo, 'The Peace of the *Ara Pacis*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 228-31.
- Moore, Margaret F., 'The Education of a Scottish Nobleman's Sons in the Seventeenth Century: I. Study in Holland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 31/111 (1952), 1-15.
- Moore, Margaret F., 'The Education of a Scottish Nobleman's Sons in the Seventeenth Century: II. Study in France', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 31/112 (1952), 101-15.
- Moore, Olin H., 'The Infernal Council', *Modern Philology*, 16/4 (1918), 169-93.
- Morford, Mark P. O., 'The Stoic Garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 7/2 (1987), 151-75.
- Morford, Mark P. O., 'Tacitean Prudentia and the Doctrines of Justus Lipsius', in T. J. Luce and A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 1993).
- Morgan, John, 'Puritanism and Science: A Re-interpretation', *Historical Journal*, 22/3 (1979), 535-60.
- Moriarty, Michael, *Disguised Vices: Theories of Virtue in Early Modern French Thought* (Oxford, 2011).
- Mortimer, Ruth, *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts: Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA, 1964).
- Mortimer, Sarah and Robertson, John (eds.), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600-1750* (Leiden, 2012).
- Moss, Ann, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996).
- Murdoch, Steve, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War: 1618-1648* (Leiden, 2001).
- Nehring, Holger, 'Civility in History: some observations on the history of the concept', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, 18/3 (2011), 313-33.
- Norbrook, David, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford, 2002).
- Notestein, Wallace, Relf, Frances Helen, and Simpson, Hartley (eds.), *Commons debates, 1621*, (7 vols., New Haven, CT, 1935).
- Nutton, Vivian, 'The Anatomy of the Soul in Early Renaissance Medicine', in Gordon R. Dunstan (ed.), *The Human embryo: Aristotle and the Arabic and European traditions* (Exeter, 1990), pp. 136-57.
- Nutton, Vivian, 'Wittenberg Anatomy', in Ole P. Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Medicine and the Reformation* (London, 1993), pp. 11-32.
- O'Callaghan, Michelle, *The 'Shepherd's Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-25* (Oxford, 2000).
- Oestreich, Gerhard, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge, 1982).
- Palmer, Richard, *The "Studio" of Venice and its Graduates in the Sixteenth Century* (Padua, 1983).

- Parks, George B., 'Pico Della Mirandola in Tudor Translation', in Edward P. Mahoney (ed.), *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oscar Kristeller* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 352-69.
- Patterson, W. B., 'James I and the Huguenot Synod of Tonneins of 1614', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 65/2 (1972), 241-70.
- Patterson, W. B., *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Persels, Jeff and Ganim, Russell, *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology* (Aldershot, 2004).
- Peyran, Charles, *Histoire de l'Ancienne Académie Réformée de Sedan: thèse présentée à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante* (Strasbourg, 1846).
- Phillips, James E., 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 12/1 (1948), 23-55.
- Piepho, Lee, 'International Protestantism, Print and Commemorative Anthologies on the Death of Prince Henry', in Astrid Steiner-Weber and Alejandro Coroleu (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Uppsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, (Leiden, 2012), pp. 855-64.
- Piovan, Francesco, 'Autonomy by imposition. The birth of the natio Scoti in the law faculty of the University of Padua (1534)', *Renaissance Studies*, 27/4 (2013), 549-59.
- Pocock, John G. A., *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 2003).
- Pollard, Alfred W. and Redgrave, G. R., *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640, 2nd ed. rev. & enl. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer* (3 vols., London, 1976-91).
- Pomata, Gianna and Siraisi, Nancy G. (eds.), *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2005).
- Pregnon, Abbé, *Histoire du Pays et de la Ville de Sedan depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (3 vols., Charleville, 1856).
- Premuda, Loris and Ottaviani, Gaetano, *Storia dell'Iconografia Anatomica* (Milan, 1957).
- Quinn, Kenneth, *Latin Explorations. Critical Studies in Roman Literature* (London, 1963).
- Randall, John H., Jr, *The School of Padua: and the Emergence of Modern Science* (Padua, 1961).
- Reid, Henry M. B., *The Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow, 1545-1654* (Glasgow, 1917).
- Reid, Steven J., 'Early Polemics by Andrew Melville: The Carmen Mosis (1574) and the St Bartholomew's Day Massacres', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30/4 (2007), 63-81.
- Richards, Jennifer, 'Gabriel Harvey, James VI, and the Politics of Reading Early Modern Poetry', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71/2 (2008), 303-21.
- De Ridder-Symoens, Hilde, 'The Mobility of Medical Students from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries: The Institutional Context', in Ole P. Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe 1500-1789* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 47-89.

- Rippa Bonati, Maurizio, 'Le tradizioni relative al teatro anatomico dell'Università di Padova con particolare riguardo al progetto attribuito a fra' Paolo Sarpi', *Acta Medicae Historicae Patavina*, 35-36 (1988-90), 145-68.
- Riva, Alessandro, et al., 'Iulius Casserius (1552-1616): The self-made anatomist of Padua's golden age', *The Anatomical Record*, 265/4 (2001), 168-75.
- Robb, T. D., 'Arthur Johnston in His Poems', *Scottish Historical Review*, 10/39 (1913), 287-98.
- Robertson, John, 'Hugh Trevor-Roper, Intellectual History and 'The Religious Origins of the Enlightenment'', *English Historical Review*, 124/511 (2009), 1389-421.
- Rossetti, Lucia, 'Nel quarto centenario della nascita di William Harvey', *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 9-10 (Padua, 1977).
- Rossetti, Lucia (ed.), *Gli stemmi dello Studio di Padova* (Trieste, 1983).
- Rossetti, Lucia, *The University of Padua: An Outline of its History* (Trieste, 1983).
- Royan, Nicola, 'Johnston, Arthur (c. 1579-1641)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Ruler, Han Van, 'The Philosophia Christi, its Echoes and its Repercussions on Virtue and Nobility', in A. A. Macdonald, et al. (eds.), *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 235-41.
- Rummel, Erika, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford, 2000).
- Samuel, Irene, 'Milton on Comedy and Satire', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35/2 (1972), 107-30.
- Schmitt, Charles B., 'Aristotle among the Physicians', in Andrew Wear, Roger K. French, and Iain M. Lonie (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 1-15.
- Schofield, Malcolm, 'Republican Virtues', in Ryan K. Balot (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought* (Malden, MA, 2009), pp. 199-213.
- Semenzato, Camillo, Dal Piaz, Vittorio, and Rippa Bonati, Maurizio, *Il Teatro Anatomico* (Padua, 1994).
- Shand, Charles Farquhar (ed.), *The Funeral Sermons, orations, epitaphs, and other pieces, on the death of Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen* (Edinburgh, 1845).
- Shriver, Frederick, 'Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius Affair', *The English Historical Review*, 85/3 (1970), 449-74.
- Siraisi, Nancy G., *Taddeo Alderotti and his Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, NJ, 1981).
- Siraisi, Nancy G., *Avicenna: in Renaissance Italy: the Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton, NJ, 1987).
- Siraisi, Nancy G., 'Vesalius and the Reading of Galen's Teleology', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50/1 (1997), 1-37.
- Skinner, Quentin, *The foundations of modern political thought* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1978).
- Smedley, Edward, *History of the Reformed Religion in France* (London, 1832).
- Smet, Ingrid De, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters 1581-1655* (Geneva, 1996).
- Sommerville, Johann P. (ed.), *King James VI and I: the Political writings* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Sorabji, Richard, *The Philosophy of the Commentators, 200-600 AD: a Sourcebook*, (3 vols., London, 2004).
- Spicer, Andrew, 'Continental Calvinism and its churches - an overview', *The Aberdeen University Review*, 58/4 (2000), 301-08.

- Stauffer, Richard, 'Calvinism and the Universities', in Leif Grane (ed.), *University and Reformation: Lectures from the University of Copenhagen Symposium* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 76-98.
- Steggle, Matthew. 'Barclay, William (b. c. 1570, d. in or after 1627)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Stella, A., 'Tentativi controriformistici nell'Università di Padova e il rettorato di Andrea Gostynski', in Comitato Per La Storia Dell'università Di Padova (ed.), *Relazioni tra Padova e la Polonia: Studi in onore dell'Università di Cracovia nel VI centenario della sua fondazione* (Padua, 1964).
- Sterzi, Giuseppe, 'Giulio Casserio, Anatomico e Chirurgo (c. 1552-1616)', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* Ser. 3, 18-19 (1909-10), 206-78, 25-111, 238-40.
- Steuart, A. Francis, 'The Scottish 'Nation' at the University of Padua', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 3 (1905), 53-62.
- Stevenson, David, *King's College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641: from Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1990).
- Taylor, W. Caird, 'Scottish Students in Heidelberg, 1386-1662', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 5/17 (1907), 67-75.
- Temkin, Owsei, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY, 1973).
- Thomas, Andrew L., *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550-1650* (Leiden, 2010).
- Thompson, Nicholas, 'The Long Reach of Reformation Irenicism: the "Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae" of William Forbes (1585-1634)', in Ian Breward (ed.), *Reforming the Reformation: Essays in Honour of Principal Peter Matheson* (Melbourne, 2005), pp. 124-47.
- Thomson, D. F. S., 'The Latin Epigram in Scotland: The Sixteenth Century', *Phoenix*, 11/2 (1957), 63-78.
- Thorndike, Lynn and Kibre, Pearl, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, rev. edn (London, 1963).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh R., *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change, and Other Essays* (London, 1967).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh R., *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London, 1992).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh R., *Europe's Physician: the Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven, CT, 2006).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh R., *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven, CT, 2008).
- Tuck, Richard, *Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Turchetti, Mario, 'Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22/1 (1991), 15-25.
- Upton, Christopher A., 'National Internationalism: Scottish Literature and the European Audience in the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26/1 (1991), 218-25.
- Urbánek, Vladimír, 'The Comet of 1618: Eschatological Expectations and Political Prognostications during the Bohemian Revolt', in J. R. Christianson (ed.), *Tycho Brahe and Prague: Crossroads of European Science: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the History of Science in the Rudolphine Period, Prague, 22-25 October 2001 1. Aufl. edn* (Frankfurt, 2002), pp. 282-91.
- Vian, Alsager and Bakewell, Sarah, 'Eglissham [sic], George (fl. 1601-1642)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

- Vickers, Brian, 'Leisure and idleness in the Renaissance: the ambivalence of otium', *Renaissance Studies*, 4/1 (1990), 1-37.
- Vickers, Brian, 'Leisure and idleness in the Renaissance: the ambivalence of otium', *Renaissance Studies*, 4/2 (1990), 107-54.
- Visser, Arnoud, 'Escaping the Reformation in the Republic of Letters: Confessional Silence in Latin Emblem Books', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88/2 (2008), 139-67.
- Walker, Daniel P., 'The Astral Body in Renaissance Medicine', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21/1 (1958), 119-33.
- Walker, Daniel P., 'Medical spirits in theology and philosophy from Ficino to Newton', in *Arts du spectacle et histoire des idées: recueil offert en hommage à Jean Jacquot* (Tours, 1984), pp. 287-300.
- Wallace, William A., 'Natural Philosophy: Traditional Natural Philosophy', in Charles B. Schmitt, et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 201-35.
- Wear, Andrew, French, Roger K., and Lonie, Iain M. (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Wellex, René, *Essays on Czech Literature* (The Hague, 1963).
- White, Paul, *Renaissance Postscripts: responding to Ovid's Heroides in sixteenth-century France* (Columbus, OH, 2009).
- Whitrow, G. J., *Time in History: the Evolution of our General Awareness of Time and Temporal Perspective* (Oxford, 1988).
- Wilson, Richard, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester, 2004).
- Wodrow, Robert, *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1834).
- Woodard, Roger D., *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Woodfield, Denis B., *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York, 1973).
- Woolfson, Jonathan, 'Padua and English students revisited', *Renaissance Studies*, 27/4 (2013), 572-87.
- Woolfson, Jonathan, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Toronto, 1998).
- Wyrick, Deborah Baker, 'The Ass Motif in The Comedy of Errors and A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 33/4 (1982), 432-48.
- Yates, Frances A., *Astraea: The Imperial theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1993).

Unpublished Theses

- Adams, S. L., 'The Protestant Cause: religious alliance with the West European Calvinist communities as a political issue in England, 1585-1630' (unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1973).
- Ghazvinian, John H., 'A certain tickling humour: English Travellers, 1560-1660' (unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 2003).
- Hodson, Simon D., 'Sovereigns and subjects: the princes of Sedan and dukes of Bouillon in early modern France, c. 1450-1652' (unpublished Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1999)

McCaskey, John P., 'Regula Socratis: The Rediscovery of Ancient Induction in Early Modern England' (unpublished Stanford University Ph.D. thesis, 2006).
 Marion, Olga Van, 'Heldinnenbrieffen Ovidius' Heroides in Nederland' (unpublished University of Leiden Ph.D. thesis, 2005).
 O'Brien-Moore, Ainsworth, 'Madness in Ancient Literature' (unpublished Princeton University Ph.D. thesis, 1924).

Web Resources

'Bridging the Continental Divide', < <http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/project/>>
Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I 1619-23, < <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=468>>
Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, volume 16 – 1619-1621, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=1015>>
Early English Books Online, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>.
Early Stuart Libels, 'The Common Peoples Apollegie to the Queen of Bohemia. 1623', <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/spanish_match_section/Nii5.html>
Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Rome, 1978), <<http://www.treccani.it/biografie>>
 Grotius, Hugo, 'Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius 1597-1645', <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/groo001brie17_01/groo001brie17_01_0001.php>
Lives of the Fellows, Munk's Roll, < <http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/>>
 Nesholm, Erika J, 'The House as Moral Battlefield in Cicero's *De domo sua*' (2002) <<http://www.apaclassics.org/AnnualMeeting/02mtg/abstracts/NESHOLM.html>>
The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>>
 Sutton, Dana F., 'John Leech', in *The Philological Museum*, <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/bibliography/>>
 Sutton, Dana F., 'John Dunbar (d. 1926)', in *The Philological Museum*, <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/bibliography/>>