JOHN BELLENDEN'S *CHRONICLES OF SCOTLAND*:

TRANSLATION AND CIRCULATION

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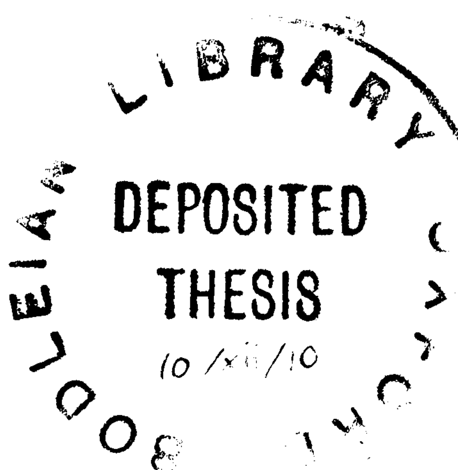

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ABSTRACT

'John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*: Translation and Circulation'

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John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland* (1531-*c.* 1537) is a humanist Scots translation of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* (1527). As the first full-scale printed national history in the vernacular, the *Chronicles* assumed a pivotal role in sixteenth-century Scottish literary culture. Despite its contemporary importance, however, relatively little critical attention has been paid to Bellenden's work itself, primarily due to the misconception that it is a neutral translation of the *Scotorum Historia.* However, as Bellenden successively revised his text in several stages with stylistical, ideological and material alterations, the *Chronicles* needs to be evaluated as an individual literary work. The *Chronicles* reveals much about translation practice, cultural attitudes and book history in early modern Scotland.

This thesis situates John Bellenden as a leading vernacular humanist whose concern to heighten the quality of vernacular Scots gave major impetus to the vernacular tradition in Scottish historiography. Chapter 1 shows how Bellenden's overall translation policy is indebted to humanist literary precepts and shows how its embodiment evolves through the course of his revision work. The following three chapters, which deal with Books 1, 12 and 16 of the *Chronicles* respectively, demonstrate the changing nature of Bellenden's translation and revision practice. A comparative analysis of the first manuscript version, three intermediary manuscript versions and the final printed version exhibits how Bellenden's attitude towards the *Chronicles* is affected by his ultimate respect for humanistic quality, and his consideration of his patrons and his audience. Chapter 5 examines the contemporary reception of the *Chronicles.* The conclusion seeks to reevaluate the congruity of the *Chronicles* with the contemporary cultural milieu and its influence on subsequent historiography and literature within and outwith early modern Scotland.

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I am deeply indebted to Professor Michael Winterbottom of Oxford University, who provided invaluable assistance and advice in my understanding and translating Boece's Latin. I must thank, above all, Dr Sally Mapstone, my supervisor, from whom I have learned the richness and attractiveness of Older Scots literature. Although she has been extremely busy, she has been unfailingly generous with her time,

expertise and sympathy, and has been patient with my inadequacies. It is no exaggeration to say that this thesis would never have been completed without her. I owe an enormous amount to the Momiji Trust, who sponsored my study in Oxford for two years. I am also grateful to St Hilda's College for the Dame Helen Gardner Graduate Scholarship and the Harrison Graduate Scholarship. Grants from the English Faculty Maxwell and Meyerstein Funds, the J and S Smith Research Fund and the Nielsen Research Fund have also enabled me to attend a conference and to travel to various libraries for research. There are many friends who have shared their knowledge with me, and given me help and encouragement, and I owe much to them. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unstinting support over many years: my parents, my sisters and brother, and my husband, Jun, to whom this thesis is affectionately dedicated.

PREFATORY NOTE

In this thesis *The Chronicles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, *c.* 1537; *STC* 3203) is abbreviated as the *Chronicles*, and as it refers to a book title, it is followed by a singular verb. Quotations from the printed edition of the *Chronicles* are from Hector Boethius, *Chronicle of Scotland*, trans. by John Bellenden, The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile, 851 (Amsterdam: Theatrum, 1977). As foliation is only given for the main text, there is no foliation for the pages preceding the history. For convenience sake, folio numbers with '*' will be used for the preliminary pages. Fol. 1* starts on the title page. Quotations from the first manuscript version are from MS M. 527, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. In order to follow the scribe's intention, the original punctuation and capitalisation are retained. As there is no pagination for the pages preceding the body, lower-case roman is used for the preliminary pages. Page i starts on 'The Tabill of this Buke'. All abbreviations in quotations from the *Chronicles* are expanded and indicated by italics. References to the *Chronicles* are usually given by book and chapter, and all the chapter numbers mentioned correspond to those in MS M. 527.

All citations from Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* are taken from Hector Boece, *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine libri xvii* (Paris, [1527]), and all abbreviations are silently expanded. All the translations of quotations from the *Scotorum Historia* were originally made with the assistance of Professor Michael Winterbottom of Oxford University.

Quotations from the final version of Bellenden's translation of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* are from *Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books*, trans. by John Bellenden, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 1st ser., 47, 51 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1901, 1903), and its abbreviations, punctuations and capitalisations are retained. All abbreviations in other works are expanded and indicated by italics.

Unless otherwise indicated, all folio numbers refer to the recto pages. The style adopted in this thesis is *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2002). When a volume number is given within reference to multi-volume work, 'p./pp.' is omitted unless the page number(s) are also in roman numerals.

List of Abbreviations

ADCP	*Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554: Selections from the 'Acta Dominorum Concilii'*, ed. by Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1932)
APS	*The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 12 vols, ed. by Cosmo Innes and Archibald Anderson ([n.p.]: Printed by Command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, 1844-1875)
DSL	*Dictionary of the Scots Language* < http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl/>
ER	*Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum: The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. by John Stuart and others, 23 vols (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1878-1908)
IR	*Innes Review*
MED	*Middle English Dictionary* < http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
NIMEV	Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: The British Library, 2005)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* < http://www.oxforddnb.com/index.jsp>
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* < http://dictionary.oed.com/>
RMS	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, ed. by J. M. Thompson and others, 11 vols (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1882-1914)
RPC	*The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. by John Hill Burton and David Masson, 14 vols (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877-1898),
RSS	*Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, ed. by M. Livingstone and others, 8 vols (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1908-1982)
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
SHS	Scottish History Society
SLJ	*Scottish Literary Journal*
SP	*The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of That Kingdom*, ed. by Sir James Balfour Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904-1914)
SRS	Scottish Record Society
STC	A. 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 edn, rev. by W. A. Jackson and others, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991)
STS	Scottish Text Society
TA	*Compota Thesaurariorum Regem Scotorum: Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. by Thomas Dickson and Sir James Balfour Paul, 13 vols (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877-1978)
Wing	*Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700: Compiled by Donald Wing of the Yale University Library*, 2nd edn, rev. and ed. by John J. Morrison and others, 4 vols (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1982-1998)

Introduction

In the preface to 'The Testament and Complaynt of Papyngo' (1530), Sir David Lyndsay exalts his fellow vernacular poets. Among the deceased poets, Lyndsay gives the highest praise to Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (*c.* 1476-1522), for his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'And, speciallye, the trew Translatioun | Off Uirgill, quhilk bene consolatioun | To cunnyng men, to knaw his gret Ingyne, | Als weill in Naturall Science as Deuyne.'[1] Among contemporary poets, John Bellenden (*c.* 1495-1548) receives particular mention: 'Bot, now, of lait, is starte vpe, haistelie, | One cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie, | One plant of Poetis, callit Ballentyne, | Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne: | Gett he in to the courte auctoritie, | He wyll precell Quintyng and Kennetie.' (lines 49-54) What is commonly shared by these two poets is vernacular humanism.[2] Although their works are imbued with humanistic ideas, neither of them was precisely a humanist. Both of them wrote in vernacular Scots, not in Latin, and their works were mainly targeted at lay readers, not scholars or clerics. Nonetheless, they were engaged in translation, the most humanist-inspired business, and they introduced the riches of Latin works to those who were not conversant with the language. They sought, above all, to heighten the quality of the vernacular in order to reproduce the copiousness of Latin.

That Lyndsay gives highest praise to Douglas and Bellenden suggests that vernacular humanism was engrained in the literary culture of sixteenth-century Scotland, and that its cultural value was well appreciated. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, humanism was making a noticeable cultural impact across Europe. Humanistic education, which was designed to provide the practical skills for participation in politics and public affairs, met the needs of the elite from noble and gentry families who sought to hold active careers in public service.[3] Its practical value was seriously admired, and it soon penetrated into the curriculum of educational institutions, and nurtured the new 'common culture and

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[1] *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555*, ed. by Douglas Hamer, 4 vols, STS 3rd ser., 1-2, 6, 8 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1931, 1931, 1934, 1936), I: *Text of the Poems*, p. 57, lines 33-36.
[2] For a detailed account of Gavin Douglas as a vernacular humanist, see Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), p. 36.
[3] Charles G. Nauert Jr., *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 183-84.

social qualification' for a ruling elite.[4] Significantly, however, the influence of humanism on culture and society was not limited to the elite who were conversant with Latin. As Carol Edington argues, humanism touched 'the lives of men who may not have possessed expertise in classical scholarship but who were clearly – sometimes profoundly – influenced by the social and cultural values it promoted'.[5] Many grammar schools played a leading role in introducing humanistic educational practice to the curriculum.[6] Sons of the gentry or wealthy merchants, who studied in these schools to equip themselves with the necessary preparation for the secular careers, were imbued with a humanist ethos. Humanist concepts also permeated vernacular literature, bringing about changes in both its style and content.[7] As vernacular translations of ancient Greek and Latin works were made and printed in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of classical literature spread widely among those readers who lacked Latin or had difficulty with the language; and Scotland was no exception.[8]

Gavin Douglas's *Eneados* (1513) is one of the earliest 'indications of the existence and importance of humanistic studies in Scotland'.[9] It is the first full vernacular translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in Britain, in which Douglas successfully reproduces the original quality, especially its vividness, or *enargeia*.[10] In doing so, he introduced the value of Virgil to new lay readers. When Bellenden worked on his own translations of two Latin texts, by Hector Boece and by Livy, Douglas's translation must have provided him with a model. Indeed, his translations expressively reflect the influence of Douglas's works, and Bellenden even

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[4] Nauert, p. 189.
[5] Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994; East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995), p. 45.
[6] Nauert, pp. 106-08.
[7] Nauert, pp. 176-78.
[8] Roger A. Mason shows how the influence of humanism emerged in the political culture of early Renaissance Scotland. See Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 104-38.
[9] John MacQueen, 'Aspects of Humanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Literature', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by John MacQueen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 10-31 (p. 11).
[10] William Caxton printed and published his translation, *Eneydos* (*STC* 24796), in 1490. Caxton did not, however, directly translate from the original Latin but from *Livre des Eneydes* (1483), a French version of the *Aeneid*, and he inserted and deleted a significant amount of material. Douglas was offended by this, and criticised Caxton for offering his readers 'not a version but a perversion of the *Aeneid*'. See Bawcutt, pp. 79-81 (p. 81). For a detailed description of Douglas's emphasis on the visual imagery of Virgil in his translation, see Douglas Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e": Douglas's Treatment of Vergil's Imagery', in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen and others (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), pp. 95-123.

seems to have situated himself as 'Douglas's literary successor'.[11]

Bellenden must have known Gavin Douglas personally, as the Bellenden family was, from its beginning, closely related to the Angus Douglases.[12] John Bellenden's mother, Marion, was from the Douglas family.[13] Marion and her husband, Patrick, were granted sasine of the lands of Horshope in Berwickshire by Archibald Douglas, the fifth Earl of Angus in 1493.[14] They also acquired a charter of the lands of Auchnoull from John Douglas, the second Earl of Morton in 1499.[15] In 1538, John Bellenden was granted the life-rent of the facilities in the barony of Roberton by the Earl of Morton:

> Preceptum Carte Confirmationis M. Johannis Bannatyne—super carta vitalis redditus sibi facta per Jacobum Comitem de Mortoun de molendino granorum et duabus mercatis terrarum de Robertoun, cum sequelis, multuris, ortis edificationibus et suis pertinentiis, quas quondam Constantinus Inglis in assedatione habuit, jacen. in baronia de Robertoun, regalitate de Dalkeith et vic. De Lanark; tenend. de dicto comite, etc. [. . .].[16]
>
> (The precept of the charter of confirmation of Master John Bannatyne relating to the charter of life-rent made to him by James Earl of Morton concerning a grain mill and two markets in the territory of Roberton, together with the appurtenances, mulcts, gardens, buildings and their dependencies, which Constantine Inglis once rented, lying in the barony of Roberton, the regality of Dalkeith and the town of Lanark, to be held of the said Earl [. . .].)

The Earls of Morton were thus 'the superiors of the family of Bellenden of Auchnoull'.[17] In addition, Thomas, brother of the translator, was 'one of the scribes' of the Lambeth MS of Gavin Douglas's *Eneados* (MS 117).[18]

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[11] See Thomas Rutledge, 'Gavin Douglas and John Bellenden: Poetic Relations and Political Affiliations', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. by Nicola Royan, Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 93-116 (p. 102), and Bawcutt, pp. 194-95.

[12] For a detailed account of the Bellendens of Auchnoull, see E. A. Sheppard, 'Studies in the Language of Bellenden's Boece' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1937), pp. 20-22.

[13] *SP*, II (1905), 62.

[14] *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, ed. by Gordon Donaldson, SRS, 140, 142-43, 146, 151, 154, 157, 160 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by J. Skinner, 1941-1952), p. 131.

[15] *RMS*, III: *A.D. 1513-1546* (1883), p. 420. In May 1506, the Earl of Morton claimed a reversion to himself from Patrick and Marion 'on the lands of Auchnownishill' in exchange for 330 merks for 'the redemption of these lands with a tack threof for five years after their redemption'. Patrick and Marion agreed to fulfill the reversion, but they refused to receive the money. See *Protocol Book of James Young*, pp. 367-68.

[16] *RSS*, II: *A.D. 1529-1542* (1921), p. 402.

[17] Sheppard, p. 21.

[18] Bawcutt, p. 25, and Sheppard, p. 22. The Bellendens seem to have been a literary family, and they were connected with such bookish families as the Sinclairs and the Bannatynes. John Bellenden's sister,

John Bellenden was born in about 1495.[19] He was matriculated at St Andrews University in 1508 and acquired his licentiate in 1512.[20] He served as a clerk of expenses in the King's household 'for the preparation of the digest of the various household accounts' from August 1515 to August 1522.[21] The latter date coincides with the return of the Duke of Albany to Scotland from France, and so it has been inferred that Bellenden, a supporter of the Douglases, lost his job in 'the struggle between powerful factions'.[22] It is likely that, having lost his job, Bellenden went to Paris to get the degree of Doctor of Theology at the Sorbonne. On 14 September 1528, Bellenden was granted the position of canon of Ross, which James Douglas had resigned in favour of Bellenden.[23] In the same year, he appears in parliament as a secretary of the Earl of Angus, and he defended Angus, his brother, George Douglas of Pittendreich, and his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, who were charged with treason against James V.[24] Obviously, Bellenden suffered a penalty for his involvement, but he acquired a precept of remission in April 1529.[25] In 1530 he was commissioned by James V to translate Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, and completed and dedicated his first version of the *Chronicles* to the king in 1531.[26] Bellenden successively revised the *Chronicles* until it was printed and published about 1537, and, in parallel with the revision work,

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Katherine married Oliver Sinclair, a brother of Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and John Sinclair, both of whom were bibliophiles. Henry Sinclair owned a copy of the *Chronicles*, and he gave it to Giovanni Ferreri, who republished Boece's *Scotorum Historia* with a continuation left by Boece in 1574. For a detailed description of the Sinclair family and the copy of the *Chronicles* owned by Henry Sinclair, see Chapter 5, pp. 164-66. The Bellendens were 'looked upon or even acted as a kind of patron family to the Bannatynes', and they had a 'shared interest in various tracts of land'. Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, ed. by A. A. MacDonald and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 183-225 (p. 191). Noticeably, James Bannatyne was a joint searcher of foreign ships with Thomas Davidson, the printer of the *Chronicles*. See below p. 14. Van Heijnsbergen also suggests a possible connection between the Bellendens and the Maitlands, another literary family.

[19] For a detailed account of Bellenden's life, see Sheppard, pp. 24-52, and Nicola Royan, 'John Bellenden', in *ODNB*.

[20] *Early Records of the University of St Andrews: The Graduation Roll 1413-1579 and the Matriculation Roll 1473-1579*, ed. by James Maitland Anderson, SHS, 3rd ser., 8 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the SHS, 1926), pp. 100 and 201.

[21] *ER*, XIV: *A.D. 1513-1522* (1893), pp. 119, 228, 321 and 466; XV: *A.D. 1523-1529* (1895), pp. 88 and 99. To be engaged in the royal service was a family tradition of the Bellendens. Patrick Bellenden, father of the translator, was a steward to Margaret Tudor, and Marion, his wife, was a nurse to James V.

[22] Sheppard, p. 29.

[23] Sheppard, p. 30.

[24] *APS*, II, 321-26. Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542*, ed. by Norman Macdougall (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 11-17.

[25] *RSS*, II, 7.

[26] Bellenden received payments from the royal court for the translation. *TA*, V, 434 and VI, 37 and 97. Also see Sheppard, pp. 55-59.

he also translated the first five books of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* in *c.* 1533.[27] By August 1533, James Douglas had resigned the position of archdeacon of Moray in favour of Bellenden, and Bellenden held the position until he became precentor of Glasgow by an exchange of benefices with Archibald Dunbar about the end of 1538.[28] Bellenden was elected Rector of Glasgow University in 1542 and was reelected to the office in 1543 and 1544.[29] The Rector of Glasgow University was 'the head of the university', who 'supervised its administration'.[30] The Rector 'must summon university congregations by prior notice', and he behaved as a 'constitutional ruler'; in all the congregations 'he must have with him the statutes and books of conclusions or act book' as well as the 'Rector's court book', and he was expected to read the statutes in general congregation at least once a year.[31] The Rector also had to hold council meetings with the deputies privately in the Rector's chamber. The first council meeting was held on the day following the Rector's election, where the statutes and the future of the university were discussed, and then meetings took place 'monthly as need arose'.[32] Although the authority of the Rector was not unlimited, he was indeed delegated significant power in the university. In order to hold the office of the Rector, he had to be 'designated' for it either by nomination by an authority, presentation by a patron or election by a collective body.[33] Sheppard speculates that Bellenden was elected to the office because of his 'literary reputation'.[34] On 1 June 1542, Robert Kincaid, 'apparently a "successor" appointed by James Douglas', resigned the office of rector of Lumlair in favour of Bellenden.[35] It is likely that Bellenden left Scotland for Rome in 1545, and died there sometime before 10 November 1548, when the rectory of Lumlair was presented to John Kincaid, Bellenden's nephew by his sister, Margaret.[36]

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[27] *TA*, VI, 97, 98, 206.

[28] Sheppard, pp. 35-37, 171-76. See also *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray, rev. edn, SRS, new ser., 25 (Edinburgh: SRS, 2003), p. 206.

[29] *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its Foundation till 1727*, 4 vols, Maitland Club, 72 (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1854), II: *Statutes and Annals*, pp. 166-67. Sheppard, pp. 46-47. Election of the Rector took place annually on the feast of Sts Crispin and Crispinian (25 October). John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), p. 44.

[30] Durkan and Kirk, p. 44, and Sheppard, pp. 46-47. The Rector had to be a cleric because clerics were under his rule. (Durkan and Kirk, p. 44)

[31] Durkan and Kirk, pp. 48-49.

[32] Durkan and Kirk, p. 49.

[33] Durkan and Kirk, p. 44.

[34] Sheppard, p. 47.

[35] Sheppard, p. 30.

[36] *RSS*, III: *A.D. 1542-1548* (1936), pp. 428 and 477-78, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae: The Antiquities Ecclesiastical*

It is obvious that James Douglas, who resigned the offices of canon of Ross and archdeacon of Moray to Bellenden, was an 'immediate patron' of the latter.[37] Although little is known about James Douglas except that he was legitimated in 1512 and died in 1546, it is certain that he was a 'kinsman of the house of Angus'.[38] A charter concerning the lands of Kirriemuir issued by the fifth Earl of Angus in 1511 was witnessed by 'Mr. James Douglas, rector of Lymlare'.[39] In 1518 James Douglas requested, 'in name of the erle of Angus', a notarial instrument accusing the Earl of Arran of approving the forfeiture of David Hume.[40] It was also 'Master James Douglas' who kept the great seal when Angus was Chancellor.[41] In addition to his service to the Earl of Angus, James Douglas served as procurator for David Douglas of Pittendreich (d. 1528x1535).[42] The Douglases of Pittendreich were an influential family around Elgin and Banff. Elizabeth Douglas, only daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendreich, married Sir George Douglas, Master of Angus (*c.* 1490-1552). Through this marriage, the Master of Angus obtained the lands of 'Pittendriech, Levingshauch, Darcle, Caldcoits, the half of Surestoun, and the third of Duffus, all situated in that county', and was thereafter called George Douglas of Pittendreich.[43] George Douglas of Pittendreich had two sons by Elizabeth, David Douglas, the seventh Earl of Angus (*c.* 1515-1557), and James Douglas, the fourth Earl of Morton (*c.* 1516-1581). The former was born in Cockburnspath, in Berwickshire, and he was known as David Douglas of Colbrandspath not as the Earl of Angus for almost his whole life.[44] In fact, he became Earl of Angus only six months before his death in 1557, and so 'he is never so designated in any legal document'.[45] He held a degree of MA and was referred to as Mr. David Douglas when he inherited the lands of Cockburnspath and others from his father.[46] The second son of George Douglas of Pittendreich, James,

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and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland, 2 vols in 3 parts, Bannatyne Club, 96, 103, 110 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1850-1855), II (1855), 481, and Sheppard, pp. 49-52. Margaret Bellenden married John Kincaid of Warriston. See *SP*, II, 63.

[37] Sheppard, p. 114.

[38] See, *RSS*, I: *A.D. 1488-1529* (1908), p. 366, *RSS*, III, 248, and Sheppard, pp. 113-14 (p. 114).

[39] *Calendar of the Laing Charters A.D. 854-1837: Belonging to the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by John Anderson (Edinburgh: [James Thin], 1899), pp. 71-72.

[40] *ADCP*, p. 113.

[41] *ADCP*, p. 361.

[42] Sheppard, p. 114.

[43] William Fraser, ed., *The Douglas Book*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1885), II: *Angus Memoirs*, p. 140.

[44] *The Douglas Book*, II, 295-96.

[45] *The Douglas Book*, II, 296.

[46] *SP*, VI (1909), 193.

married Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of the third Earl of Morton, in 1543, and became the fourth Earl of Morton after the death of his father-in-law.

James Douglas, Bellenden's patron, also had relationships with the Douglases of Glenbervie. William Douglas of Glenbervie was the brother of Gavin Douglas and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie. When William was killed at Flodden, his son, Archibald, the second Earl of Glenbervie (d. 1570), was still very young. In 1520 Elizabeth Auchinleck, widow of William, made a contract with Gavin Douglas, and appointed Gavin a tutor to his son, and transferred all her rights to Gavin, 'except that she should have control over the marriage of her son'.[47] In October 1528, Archibald was granted permission from the king to stay out of the Tantallon siege, because he was 'of tender age'.[48] In a letter of obligation dated 6 November 1528, it is recorded that Archibald was still 'under the charge of curators', and James Douglas, Bellenden's patron, was one of these 'curators'.[49] It seems that the Glenbervies and the Pittendreiches, and thus the Mortons, were closely associated with each other. David Hume of Godscroft relates that after the sixth Earl of Angus and other family members were banished by the king, the fourth Earl of Morton had shelter on the estate of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie.[50]

Considering the fact that James Douglas had strong connections with the Douglases of Angus, Pittendreich, Morton and Glenbervie, it seems possible that he was James Douglas, a servitor of William Douglas of Whittingham II. William Douglas of Whittingham II was a grandson of James Douglas of Dalkeith (d. 1441). James Douglas married firstly Elizabeth, a daughter of Robert III. He had three sons by her, the second of whom, James, succeeded to Dalkeith as third Lord of Dalkeith, and was father of James, the fourth Lord of Dalkeith (d. 1493).[51] James Douglas married secondly Janet Borthwick, by whom he had one son, William I.[52] William I inherited from his father the lands of Whittingham and Morton. In 1474, however, William I was forced to resign his rights over Morton in favour of his nephew,

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[47] *The Douglas Book*, II, 115, and III: *Charters*, pp. 218-21. Note that one of the witnesses of this contract is Thomas Bellenden, brother of the translator.
[48] *The Douglas Book*, II, 115, and III, 228.
[49] Sheppard, pp. 113-14.
[50] See *David Hume of Godscroft's 'The History of the House of Angus'*, ed. by David Reid, 2 vols, STS, 5th ser., 4, 5 (Edinburgh: STS, 2005), I, 132. David Hume states that there is no indication that David Douglas, seventh Earl of Angus, also hid himself.
[51] *SP*, VI, 348-50 and 354.
[52] *SP*, VI, 352.

James, the fourth Lord of Dalkeith, who had married Lady Johanna Stewart, the third daughter of James I.[53] Consequently, the fourth Lord of Dalkeith became the first Earl of Morton.[54] By his wife, Eufamia, William I had a son, William II, who succeeded him.[55] In 1512 William II married Jonet Matheson, by whom he had a son, William III (d. *c.* 1557).[56] William III succeeded his father and married Elizabeth Lauder, a daughter of Sir Robert Lauder of Bass in 1537.[57] Through his grandfather, James Dalkeith, and the Mortons, William Douglas of Whittingham II was closely associated with the Anguses and the Pittendreiches. In 1543 George Douglas of Pittendreich and the third Earl of Morton arranged a marriage between their children, James and Elizabeth. On 18 March a charter was issued in which George Douglas of Pittendreich and the third Earl of Morton made an agreement on the succession of the earldom of Morton; the earldom comes into the possession of James and Elizabeth, and then to their lawful heirs-male. Should this fail, it comes into the possession of the seventh Earl of Angus, and then to George Douglas of Pittendreich, to the sixth Earl of Angus, to Richard Douglas, brother of the third Earl of Morton, to Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, to Patrick Douglas of Corhead and lastly to William Douglas of Whittingham II.[58]

Consequently, when Angus and his brother and uncle were charged with treason, William Douglas of Whittingham II also seems to have suffered a penalty. On 7 April 1529 William Douglas II received a precept of remission together with his servitor, James Douglas: 'Preceptum remissionis Willelmi Douglas de Quhittinghame et Jacobi Douglas sui servitoris [. . .].'[59] On the same day, Sir Robert Lauder of Bass, William Douglas of Whittingham III's father in law, also received a precept of remission.[60] Noticeably, it

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[53] Johanna Stewart (*c.* 1428-*c.* 1486), who was later known as the dumb lady, was betrothed to James, the third Earl of Angus in 1440. The marriage was not realised, however, because of the death of the Earl. She married James Douglas, the forth Lord of Dalkeith, in 1459. See *Douglas Book*, II, 42-44, and *RMS*, II: *A.D. 1424-1513* (1882), pp. 149-50.

[54] *SP*, VI, 352, Percy W. L. Adams, *A History of the Douglas Family of Morton in Nithsdale (Dumfriesshire) and Fingland (Kirkcudbrightshire) & their Descendants* (Bedford: Sidney, 1921), pp. 7-8.

[55] *RMS*, I: *A.D. 1306-1424* (1912), p. 130.

[56] *RMS*, II, 808. Adams, p. 766, no. 7 and p. 769, no. 38. William III's son, William IV married Elizabeth Maitland, a daughter of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, in about 1555. See *SP*, V (1908), 298.

[57] *RMS*, III, 369, and Adams, p. 805, no. 258. Apparently Sir Robert Lauder of Bass had a close association with William Douglas of Whittingham. A charter issued in 1529, which confirmed that Alexander Stewart sold the lands of Lochend to Sir Robert Lauder, was witnessed by William Douglas of Whittingham together with William Sinclair of Roslin. See *RMS*, III, 158.

[58] *RMS*, III, 679-80, and *Douglas Book*, II, 166-67.

[59] *RSS*, II, 4.

[60] *RSS*, II, 4.

was only nineteen days later, on 26 April 1529, that John Bellenden and his servitor, William Fleming, received a precept of remission.[61] It is highly likely that both Sir Robert Lauder and Bellenden owed the precepts to their connection with William Douglas of Whittingham II.

The *Scotorum Historia* (1527) was the first humanist Scottish history, written by Hector Boece during the last few years of the minority of James V.[62] As it was written in Latin and was printed and published by Badius Ascensius in Paris, it is clear that the work was aimed at an intellectual audience throughout Europe. James V commissioned Bellenden to translate the *Scotorum Historia* into Scots, after the king assumed his personal rule in 1528. In order to strengthen his kingship, it was necessary for James V to 'enhance the king's prestige in the eyes of his subjects'.[63] James used the ostentatious display of material constructions with Renaissance features in order to demonstrate a kingly splendour which could be compared to those of other European Renaissance monarchs.[64] Hence when James commissioned the translation of the *Scotorum Historia*, there must have been an intentional purpose on his part to promote his status as a patron of culture. Moreover, his choice of the *Scotorum Historia*, a national history based on the sequence of kings, must have accorded with his awareness that Scotland was a 'nation-state', and the king had 'ful Jurisdictioune *and* fre Impire within his Realme'.[65] The *Chronicles* was, therefore, national propaganda promoted by the newly independent and self-assertive king.[66] By translating the *Scotorum*

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[61] *RSS*, II, 7.
[62] John Mair's *Historia Majoris Britanniae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae* had been printed and published by Badius Ascensius in Paris in 1521. Mair, who was a scholastic theologian, made a 'logical approach to his material' in the *Historia*. This is contrastive to Boece's humanistic approach to historiography where he 'dramatises and describes'. See Nicola Royan with Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c. 850-1707', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Ian Brown, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), I: *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy (to 1314) and Murray Pittock (1314-1707), pp. 168-83 (pp. 177-78).
[63] Cameron, p. 263.
[64] Martin Kemp, with the assistance of Clare Farrow, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts, *c.* 1530-*c.* 1630', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by John MacQueen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 32-47 (pp. 32-36), Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 55-89, and Mason, pp. 126-37.
[65] Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625*, The New History of Scotland, 4 (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 3, and *APS*, II, 95.
[66] Alastair J. Mann claims: 'In early modern Scotland providing employment and commissions for printers, making appointments to the royal press, and retaining the good will of the book trade were loosely defined parts of government policy.' *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland: An Historiographical Survey of the Early Modern Book in Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), p. 231.

Historia into 'vulgar prose', the language of the Scottish nation, and having it printed by Thomas Davidson, Bellenden produced the first full-scale printed national history in the vernacular.[67] Of course it was not the first vernacular history of Scotland. Andrew of Wyntoun had made the *Original Chronicle*, a full Scots verse chronicle, during the 1420s.[68] Yet its circulation was limited as it was available only in manuscript. With the combination of the vernacular and printing, the *Chronicles of Scotland* disseminated a uniform national history more widely than ever, and assumed a pivotal role in shaping the national identity of sixteenth-century Scots.

Despite its contemporary importance, however, a fully comprehensive analytical study of the *Chronicles of Scotland* as the first printed vernacular Scottish history written by a vernacular humanist author has not yet been attempted. This is mainly due to the misconception that the *Chronicles of Scotland* was a mere translation of, and thus subordinate to, the *Scotorum Historia*; it had been accepted as an 'accurate translation and thus interchangeable with its original' until 1998 when this misconception was challenged by Sally Mapstone and Nicola Royan.[69] As a result, the *Chronicles* has often been examined and quoted in discussion of Boece's historical narrative or his historiographical or political ideas in the *Scotorum Historia*.[70] This matters greatly, because Bellenden's translation is far from identical with Boece's original Latin in terms of its contents, organisation and historiographical and political views. What is more, as Bellenden revised his text in several stages, the *Chronicles* survives in several distinctive versions, not in a definitive one.

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[67] Hector Boethius, *Chronicle of Scotland*, trans. by John Bellenden, The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile, 851 (Amsterdam: Theatrum, 1977; *STC* 3203), fol. 34*.

[68] John Barbour and Blind Harry wrote historiographical romances dealing with the Wars of Independence, *The Bruce* (1376) and *The Wallace* (*c.* 1477).

[69] Nicola Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece: A Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), p. 311. See also Sally Mapstone, 'Shakespeare and Scottish Kingship: A Case History', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 158-89 (p. 161). Accordingly, when the *Chronicles of Scotland* is referred to, the entry is almost invariably, from seventeenth-century sales catalogue to the library catalogues at the present time, under the heading of Boece, not Bellenden.

[70] Early examples are William Harrison and David Hume of Gosdcroft, both of whom mention Boece as a source for their works, the 'History of Scotland' in *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577, 1587) and *The History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*, published posthumously in 1644, though, in fact, they were mainly dependent on Bellenden. Harrison's example is, rather ironically, followed by Geoffrey Bullough, who quoted Bellenden's translation in his discussion of Boece. See *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957-1975), VII: *Major Tragedies* (1973), pp. 436-38. One of the recent examples is Mason, pp. 94, 96-97.

The *Chronicles* survives in an unusual quantity of witnesses for a Scots literary text of this period: at least eleven MSS, and at least thirty-four copies of the printed edition. Out of the eleven manuscripts, five of them date from *c.* 1531 onwards: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 527 (M-1; hereafter MS M), London, University College, MS Angl.1 (MS-2; hereafter MS A), Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.21 (M-3; hereafter MS C), Bath, Longleat House MS (M-4; hereafter MS B) and Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, MS RH 13/10 (M-5; hereafter MS R).[71] The other six extant manuscripts were made either in the late sixteenth or the seventeenth century, and most of them are based on either the early MSS or the printed version. Edinburgh University, MS Laing III.205 (M-6) is a transcription of MS M, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 33.4.15 (M-7) is a transcription of MS A. Three manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland, MS 2766 (M-9), MS 3146 (M-10) and MS 21244 (M-11) are transcribed from the printed version. National Library of Scotland, MS 5288 (M-8) includes a continuation from Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (1570s), and thus it reflects the later reception of the *Chronicles* rather than the author's revision work.[72]

MS M is the manuscript which Bellenden dedicated to James V in 1531. The text is written by 'Maister Dauid Douglas notare public Seruitoure / To Maister James douglas archidene of Murraye', who was a 'priest, of the diocese of Moray, and notary public by apostolic authority'.[73] This manuscript includes a fine heraldic frontispiece between the table of contents and the preface (p. xxv).[74] The coat of arms drawn on this page is that of Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin. Sheppard speculates that this was originally the royal arms of Scotland only, and was repainted 'in honour of Mary's marriage in 1558'.[75]

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[71] See the table of extant copies of the *Chronicles* in Apendix II. The number which follows each copy corresponds with that in the table.

[72] For the description of the reign of James II between 1436 and 1460, Pitscottie simply translates books 18 and 19 of the second edition of the *Scotorum Historia* (1574/75). Thereafter he continued history himself down to 1576. Pitscottie seems to have owned the printed edition of Bellenden's *Chronicles.* See *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland: From the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir: Written and Collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*, ed. by Æ. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols, STS, 1st ser., 42, 43, 60 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1899-1911), I (1899), p. cxlvi, and Royan with Broun, p. 179.

[73] MS M, p. 586, and Sheppard, pp. 114-16 (p. 114).

[74] Ten pages of MS M were reproduced in *Ten Facsimiles from the Manuscript of Bellenden's Translation of the 'Chronicles of Scotland' by Hector Boece Formerly in the Possession of King James V and Now Belonging to J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq., by Whom They Are Presented to Members of the Scottish Text Society* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1938). The heraldic frontispiece is reproduced in colour. (p. 2)

[75] Sheppard, p. 110.

In addition to this, the opening pages of the preface, Book 8, Book 12 and the 'ballad' are fully decorated with illuminated borders or marginal panels (pp. xxvii, 203, 397 and 587).[76] Each book and chapter usually starts with ornamented initials of about eight lines in height and of about four lines in height respectively. It appears that two illuminators were responsible for these illuminations.[77] One illuminator, presumably the major one, follows the style which was popular in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Scotland. The illuminated initial letters bear a close similarity in terms of letter shape, design and colour of illumination with those in Scottish Catholic Archives, MS Dep.221/5, Oxford, the Bodleian Library, MS Arch.Selden.B.24 and British Library, MS Royal 17 D.xx.f.I.[78] It seems that this illuminator was responsible for the illuminations of the heraldic frontispiece and the preface, and those from Book 1 to Book 7 chapter 5, from Book 8 chapter 5 to Book 11 chapter 13, and after Book 12 chapter 7. The illuminations by the other illuminator have a distinctive character; many of them are done in dark colours and are accompanied with grotesques such as a human face and a dragon. This illuminator was responsible for illuminations from Book 7 chapter 6 to Book 8 chapter 4, and from Book 11 chapter 14 to Book 12 chapter 6. It should be noted that both of the Books whose opening pages have border illuminations are in the charge of this illuminator.[79] Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about these illuminators.[80]

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[76] See *Ten Facsimiles*, pp. 8, 4, 1 and 9 respectively.

[77] Duncan Macmillan claims that David Douglas, the scribe, was responsible for the illuminations, but this does not seem plausible. Macmillan, *Scottish Art: 1460-2000* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), pp. 34-35 (p. 34).

[78] MS Dep.221/5 is called Andrew Lundy's Primer after its owner. It was made at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Several pages of the manuscript are reproduced in William James Anderson, 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', *IR*, 11 (1960), 39-51. MS Arch.Selden.B.24 is a manuscript made for Henry, Lord Sinclair, in the late fifteenth century. It includes several works by Chaucer as well as *The Kingis Quair*. There is a facsimile of this manuscript: *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and 'The Kingis Quair': A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch.Selden.B.24*, introd. by Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997). MS Royal 17 D.xx.f.I is a manuscript of Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, which was made towards the end of the fifteenth century. The first leaf of the manuscript is reproduced in C. E. Wright, *English Heraldic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Published for the British Library Board by British Museum, 1973), plate 15. Note that the styles of the initial A in these manuscripts are close to each other.

[79] It is not certain which illuminator was responsible for the illumination of the opening page of the 'ballad' on p. 587.

[80] It is not certain this manuscript was illuminated in Scotland, but Macmillan argues that 'there were artists in Scotland capable of producing professional work, even if not to the standard of the best Flemish and French ateliers'. Macmillan, p. 29. For instance, Sir John Kilgour (Gilgour) (fl. 1527-1541), who was chiefly 'engaged on heraldic work', and Sir Thomas Galbraith (fl. 1491-1512), who illuminated 'books and documents for the king' were active in the early sixteenth century. See *Painters in Scotland*

None of the other manuscripts has decorated pages or illuminated initials as in MS M.[81] MSS A, C, B and R are held to have been made in the 1530s, but the texts of these manuscripts are not identical to each other. Nor do they accord with the text of the printed edition, the apparently final formulation. It must be the case that some of the discrepancies between them are derived from Bellenden's revision work. Nevertheless, the possibility of some level of scribal intervention in the text cannot be wholly refuted. Furthermore, the precise nature of Boece's involvement in the revision work has been an enigma.[82] In the printed edition Davidson states that Boece was responsible for the revision work: 'compilit and newly correckit be the reuerend and noble clerke maister Hector Boece.' (fol. 36*v) Moreover, one passage in MS C demonstrates that Bellenden and Boece had contact with each other over the translation of the 'cosmography and description of Scotland': 'now we haiff shawin all thingis sa far as thay ar co*m*mon amang the allianis and becauss the remanent cosmographe Is no*ch*t sufficiently correckit be the first co*m*pilar / we will at his desyre continew the remanent quhill efter that It may w*ith* bett*er* cognosance past to licht.'[83] These statements prompt us to surmise that Boece and Bellenden were in communication during the revision work, though it is not certain to what extent Boece was involved in it. In general, however, it is possible to distinguish Bellenden's revision work from those of others, as there are some characteristics and recurrent patterns in the way Bellenden revises his text. In fact, a significant amount of the alterations of the text from MS M to the printed version can safely be attributed to Bellenden, although it is sometimes not easy to trace the sequence of the revision work. Having said that, there are a few cases where the intervention of Boece or scribes can be detected or suspected.

The full picture of the printed edition also remains to be elucidated. The large folio volume with nearly 300 leaves was printed in Edinburgh by Thomas Davidson, the first king's printer in Scotland.[84]

1301-1700: A Biographical Dictionary, ed. by Michael R. Apted and Susan Hannabuss, SRS, new ser., 7 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Office Printing Services, 1978), pp. 40-41, 57 and 120-21, and Macmillan, pp. 30-31.

[81] For a detailed description of the other manuscripts, see Sheppard, pp. 117-39.

[82] For a detailed discussion on Boece's involvement in the revision work, see R. W. Chambers and Walter W. Seton, 'Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece', *SHR*, 17 (1919), 5-15, Sheppard, pp. 62-66, and Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', pp. 164-68.

[83] MS C, fol. 24v. In MS C the 'description of Scotland' is not included in the 'cosmography and description of Albion'. (Boece employs the word 'Albion' to refer to the whole island. See Chambers and Seton (1919), p. 8) The printed version includes the 'descriptions of Scotland'.

[84] In the colophon of the *Chronicles*, Davidson designates himself as 'Thomas Dauidson, prenter to the kyngis nobyll grace' (fol. 250), while in that of the *Actis of Parliament*, he claims 'Thomae Dauidson regii

However, as Davidson did not include a publication date in the preliminary or end matter, we are not certain about the precise date of publication, whether there was more than one edition, or how many copies were printed in total. Davidson was probably an Aberdonian, who was 'originally associated with the book-trade in Louvain'.[85] In addition to the *Chronicles*, Davidson is known to have printed at least three works: a Latin poem 'Ad Serenissimum Scotorum Regem Iacobum Quintum [. . .] Strena' (1535-1540?; *STC* 14435), which celebrates James V's assuming of personal rule; *The New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament* (1542; *STC* 21878.5); and Gavin Douglas's 'The Palyce of Honour' (*c.* 1535; *STC* 7072.8).[86] He seems to have started his business sometime in 1530s, and received payments from the crown in 1535, 1536 and 1538.[87] In October 1541 Davidson was appointed, together with James Bannatyne, as searchers of foreign ships, and in December he was granted 'the kyngis grace licence and privilege' to print the *Actis of Parliament*.[88] In March 1542 the king granted Davidson and his wife, Margaret Harlaw the same tavern and booth that were formerly granted to Walter Chepman, the first

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impressoris' (fol. 27v). Habakkuk Bisset, a son of Queen Mary's caterer, states that Davidson was 'admittit his hienes prenttare' in 1532. *Habakkuk Bisset's Rolment of Courtis*, ed. by Philip J. Hamilton-Grierson, 3 vols, STS, new ser., 10, 13, 18 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1920, 1922, 1926), I (1920), 71. Although no official document is left that appoints Davidson to this honourable office, it can be speculated that he had 'some authority for using the title' further than the licence of printing the *Actis of Parliament.* Davidson was the first Scottish printer who used the phrase 'cum privilegio' in the colophon. See Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing: From the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1890; repr. Bristol: Thoemmes; Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1996), p. 135.

[85] Paul B. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland with an Introductory Survey of the Scottish Book Trade' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), p. 19. Habakkuk Bisset states that Thomas Davidson was 'ane northland man borne, on the wattirsyde of die, in scotland'. *Habakkuk Bisset's Rolment of Courtis*, I, 71.

[86] Dickson and Edmond, pp. 104-35, William Beattie, 'Fragments of "The Palyce of Honour" of Gawin Douglas Printed by Thomas Davidson at Edinburgh c. 1540', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 3 (1948-1955), 31-46. John Durkan suggests the possibility that one lost work entitled *The Trompet of Honour* was also printed by Thomas Davidson around 1537. See Durkan, '*The Trompet of Honour* (Edinburgh? 1537)', *Bibliotheck*, 11 (1982), 1-2. In the colophon of the *Actis of Parliament*, Davidson gives the publication date as February in 1541 according to the contemporary calendar. Thus, according to the modern calendar with the new year beginning in January, the publication date of the *Actis of Parliament* would be 1542.

[87] See *ER*, XVI: *A.D. 1529-1536* (1897), pp. lii, 398 and 480K, and *ER*, XVII: *A.D. 1537-1542* (1897), p. 171. Davidson was also bestowed the dues of the benefices of John Duncanson, a priest of the diocese of Glasgow. Duncanson was forfeited by the king on a charge of impetrating for several benefices without the king's grant, one of which was the archdeaconry of Moray. Despite the fact that James Douglas was in the lawful possession of archdeacon of Moray, Duncanson attempted to purchase it in the court of Rome. Duncanson's forfeitures were bestowed on several people including Bellenden, the translator, and Davidson. See *RSS*, II, 318, 353 and 378, and Sheppard, pp. 38-41.

[88] *RSS*, II, 644-45, and 653-54. Davidson attaches the copy of the grant on fol. 1v of the *Actis of Parliament.*

printer in Scotland.[89]

Davidson seems to have relied on continental supplies for printing types, ornaments and paper. In his works he predominantly employed a textura quadrata type, which was fashionable at that time; in the *Chronicles*, the main text is set in English-bodied French Textura, and some captions are set in Two-line Great Primer Textura.[90] Presumably, the former was acquired in Northern France, and the latter set was either a Flemish or a Dutch copy of a French original.[91] Davidson employed, for the first time in Scotland, Roman and Italic types; the chapter summaries in the *Chronicles* are set in English Roman. This reveals the fact that Davidson was attentive to the growing 'trend towards a humanistic typographic style'.[92] Paul B. Watry argues that Davidson acquired the set of English Roman on the Continent.[93] It is also likely that the majority of the woodcut initials of French design were obtained in the Low Countries.[94] Davidson acquired some of his ornaments from the Low Countries. At least four woodcuts are derived from the Antwerp printer, Jan van Doesborch; the woodcut on fol. 39 of the *Chronicles* is used in *Die historie van den stercken Hercules* (1521) printed by van Doesborch; the woodcut on fol. 1 of the 'Palyce of Honour' is also found in *Die historie van den stercken Hercules* and the other woodcut on fol. 3ᵛ is found in *Den oorspronck onser salicheyt* (1517) and other works; one of the woodcuts on fol. 12 of the *Actis of Parliament* also occurs in *Den oorspronck onser salicheyt*.[95] The border woodcut on the title page of the 'Strena' was acquired from Peter Treveris, a printer in Southwark.[96] Nevertheless, there is no greater connection

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[89] *RMS*, III, 601.
[90] Watry, pp. 71, 81, 84 and 86. See also *English & Scottish Printing Types: 1501-35, 1508-41*, collected and annotated by Frank Isaac, Facsimiles and Illustrations, 2 ([Oxford]: Oxford University Press, 1930), pp. 95-96.
[91] Watry, pp. 84-85.
[92] Watry, p. 71.
[93] Watry, p. 71.
[94] Watry argues that Davidson obtained the alphabet initial woodcuts, 10, 15 and 28 in his category, from the Low Countries. (p. 72) In the *Actis of Parliament*, he uses the same woodcut initials that are used in the *Chronicles*. However, the initial W on fol. 11 of the *Actis of Parliament* is far inferior in quality to the other initials employed in the work. This is probably because Davidson lacked an initial W, which is not needed for Latin texts, and had to have it newly cut in Scotland.
[95] Beattie, pp. 34-44. Jan van Doesborch, following his predecessor Gheraert Leeu, attempted to satisfy the demand for poplular literature. He printed small cheap English books which were 'almost entirely confined to the four classes of romances, grammars, almanacks and service-books'. See Robert Proctor, *Jan van Doesborgh, Printer at Antwerp: An Essay in Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1894), p. 4.
[96] R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 12, no. 14.

between these two printers as far as we know.[97] Some woodcut engravings, including his printer's device and the Scottish coat of arms employed on the title page of the *Chronicles*, were commissioned by Davidson from the Low Countries.[98] The paper used for the *Chronicles* seems to have been acquired from various places on the Continent.[99] At least 19 types of watermarks are found in the paper used in the *Chronicles*. Among them, at least five watermarks are identifiable: Briquet, 'Main' III, 11344 (1531), 11345 (1537), 11355 (1533), 11395 (1536) and 11397 (1531).[100] Briquet 11344 originates in Harcourt, France, 11345 in Lisieux, France, 11355 in Sassenberg, Germany, 11395 in Le Theil, France and 11397 in Lubeck, Germany.[101]

That Bellenden's translation deviates from Boece's original Latin text was noted by Thomas Maitland, the editor of the 1821 reprint edition of the printed version of the *Chronicles*: 'Bellenden's Chronicle, which closes with the death of James the First, is rather a free version than a literal translation of Boece; and possesses in several respects the character of an original work.'[102] Maitland also noticed that the text of

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[97] It used to be held that Davidson had a strong connection with Treveris. This was due to Dickson and Edmond, who claimed that the woodcut on fol. 12 of the *Actis of Parliament* is identical with that on fol. 316v of the *Polycronicon* (1527) printed by Treveris. Notoriously, however, they reproduced, in the *Annals of Scottish Printing*, the woodcut of Treveris, not that of Davidson. (p. 115) As Beattie argues, these woodcuts are not entirely identical to each other. (p. 34)

[98] Watry, p. 20. James Moran suggested that in his choice of a wodewose (savage figure) device Davidson was influenced by Treveris. Moran, *Heraldic Influence on Early Printers' Devices* (Leeds: Elmete, 1978), p. 72. However, Frederick C. Avis argues that Davidson was influenced by his predecessor, Walter Chepman, not Treveris, as 'there are virtually no points of contact'. Avis, 'The Wodewose Device in Early British Printing', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1971 (1971), 116-21 (p. 120). Chepman's wodewose device is in the style of Philippe Pigouchet of Paris, and probably it was made by the same woodcutter. (Avis, p. 117) It should be noted that Davidson's device follows that of Pigouchet in that both of them favour pine cones.

[99] Watry claims that 'judging from the watermark of a hand surmounted by a star [Briquet Group II]', Davidson purchased 'a large amount of fine paper from Northern France'. (p. 20) However, his examination of the watermark found in the paper used by Davidson is rudimentary and too simple. As will be shown below, there are numerous variations in the watermark of a hand surmounted by a star, and other types of watermarks are also found in the *Chronicles*.

[100] C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier: A Facsimile of the 1907 Edition with Supplementary Material Contributed by a Number of Scholars*, ed. by Allan Stevenson, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), IV: *Watermark Illustrations Nos. 7878-16112*.

[101] Besides these, the following watermarks have close resemblances in Briquet: a hand with figure 3 and a fleur de lis surmounted by a star is very close to 'Main' III, 11370 (1545; Dordrecht, Netherlands); several pots with minute variations bear close resemblances to 'Pot à une anse', 12660 (1534; Wasseige, Belgium), 12661 (1537; Alihermont, France) and 12667 (1536; Rouen, France); coat of arms with a fleur de lis is close to either 'Armoiries, fleur de lis', 1763 (1533; La Haye-du-Puits, France) or 1765 (1555; Falaise, France).

[102] *The History and Chronicles of Scotland: Written in Latin by Hector Boece, Canon of Aberdeen; and Translated by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, and Canon of Ross*, 2 vols, (Edinburgh: reprinted for W. and C. Tait, 1821), I, p. xlvi.

MS A, the only manuscript known to him, does not accord with that of the printed edition.[103] His claim was more or less shared by later scholars such as T. F. Henderson and Hume Brown.[104] Nevertheless, it was not until the early twentieth century that the necessity for the examination of Bellenden's text in its own right was fully recognised and articulated. In 1919 R. W. Chambers and Walter W. Seton compared the texts of MS A and the printed edition and suggested that they were two distinctive versions of the *Chronicles*. Admitting positively the possibility that Boece was involved in the revision work, they attributed some revisions to Bellenden.[105] Their survey instigated the study of the *Chronicles* as an individual text.[106] In their following article in 1922, Chambers and Seton reported that as many as nine manuscripts were found to exist.[107] By comparing, although to an extremely limited extent, the texts of the four sixteenth-century manuscripts, MSS M, A, B and R, they concluded that MS M is the 'best text and the one nearest to the Latin original'.[108] They loosely categorised the extant witnesses into three groups according to the verbal variants between them: MS M, which possesses 'certain quite characteristic features'; MSS B, R and A, which are 'closely allied' to each other; the printed version, whose text 'represents a fresh recension'.[109]

This initiative by Chambers and Seton was considerably advanced by E. A. Sheppard, who made a substantial contribution to our understanding of Bellenden and his works. In the introduction and appendices to her thesis, which deals with Bellenden's language in MS M, Sheppard gave a detailed account of Bellenden's life as well as the *Chronicles*, and showed that Bellenden deserves a full analysis as a literary figure.[110] All the subsequent scholarship concerning Bellenden and the *Chronicles* is profoundly

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[103] *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, I, p. viii.
[104] T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature: A Succinct History*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Grant, 1910), pp. 304-05. (The first edition was published in 1898.) Henderson states that the *Chronicles* was printed in three editions in '1536, 1541, and in another unknown year'. P. Hume Brown, 'Reformation and Renascence in Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, 15 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902-1927), III: *Renascence and Reformation* (1909), pp. 138-65 (p. 156).
[105] Chambers and Seton (1919), p. 14.
[106] Their request for a modern edition of the *Chronicles* bore fruit as the STS edition: Hector Boece, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. by John Bellenden, ed. by R. W. Chambers, Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands, 2 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 10, 15 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1938, 1941).
[107] Chambers and Seton, 'Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece', *SHR*, 19 (1922), 196-201. This is reprinted in the preface to the STS edition of the *Chronicles*.
[108] Chambers and Seton (1922), p. 200.
[109] Chambers and Seton (1922), p. 201.
[110] Sheppard, pp. 1-198. The introduction is reprinted as an Appendix in the STS edition of the *Chronicles*.

indebted to her study. She dated each extant manuscript from its internal evidence, and suggested that five early manuscripts, MSS M, C, R, A and B, demonstrate the process of Bellenden's translation and revision work up to the printed version; MS M was 'no doubt made from a fair copy written by a scribe' and 'represents the translator's first version'; MS C is nearer to MS M than the rest of the MSS, and represents 'an early, the earliest extant, "corrected" version'; MSS R and A, which are 'closely allied', approach most closely to the printed version and 'show a further stage in the revision'; MS B, which is a 'fairly late' MS, is similar to MSS R and A, but derived from 'an intermediate copy taken at a slightly earlier stage of the revision' than represented by them.[111] She further claims that there must have been a further stage of revision before the final printed version was made, but 'no ms. copies seem to have been made, or at least none survive'.[112] Hence at least four stages of revision were claimed. Sheppard, however, hesitates to state that Boece was actively involved in these revisions. She introduces evidence that there was personal communication between Boece and Bellenden, and thus admits the possibility that Bellenden's translation in manuscript was 'submitted portion by portion to Boece, for his approval'.[113] Nevertheless, she cautiously concludes that it is hard to decide whether 'Boece's share in the revision went beyond that of Latin-consult'.[114]

Sheppard also discussed the major problems concerning the publication of the printed edition: the date of publication and the number of editions. In 1890 Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond asserted that Davidson printed only one edition of the *Chronicles*, and speculated that the possible date of publication was 1542.[115] Harry G. Aldis, on the other hand, claimed that the printed edition was published 'at least as early as 1540, as the copy in Innerpeffray Library has an inscription of that year'.[116] Sheppard further shortened the range of the possible date to between 1533 and 1538, and denied the possibility that more than one edition was published.[117]

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[111] Sheppard, pp. 142-43.
[112] Sheppard, p. 143.
[113] Sheppard, pp. 62-68 (p. 63).
[114] Sheppard, p. 68.
[115] Dickson and Edmond, p. 131.
[116] 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* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904; repr. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1970), p. 112.
[117] Sheppard, pp. 68-73. She claims that the date of publication of the *Chronicles* will belong to 'any of the

It was Nicola Royan and Sally Mapstone who, utilising the information provided by Sheppard, gave an analytical survey of Bellenden as an individual literary writer. Royan maintains, from internal as well as external evidence, that Boece's involvement in the revision work was, if any, negligible, and attributed most of the revisions to Bellenden.[118] She demonstrates how Bellenden altered the original Latin text of Boece according to his own political perspective, personal standpoint and anticipated readership, and gave a particular interpretation to his own text. She concludes: '[Bellenden] is not the reliable and neutral translator he is sometimes presented as being, but a writer with his own political perspective which he is intent on communicating.'[119] Royan's investigation of Bellenden as a creative translator is amalgamated in Mapstone's case study of Bellenden's translation and revision work. Mapstone, after due consideration of the arguments by Sheppard and Royan, infers that Boece had 'access to Bellenden's translation during the process of its making and provided corrections to it', but 'Bellenden's share in this process must also have been a substantial one as he reconsidered and refined his original work'.[120] She scrutinised the transmission of the scene of the dialogue between Malcolm and Macduff in Book 12 from Boece through MSS M and A to the printed edition with reference to other Scottish works. This demonstrates that Bellenden actively revises his text in several stages and sometimes makes political or ideological alterations of material, 'often on the basis of consultation of a range of Scottish source material'.[121] Furthermore, Mapstone calls for some qualification of the relationship between the five early manuscripts suggested by Sheppard. She claims that MS A is often closer to the printed edition than MS R.[122]

Based on these preceding studies, this thesis seeks to analyse Bellenden's translation and revision

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years between August 1533, when Bellenden received his last payment for translating the *Chronicles*, and the end of 1538, when he was preferred to Glasgow' from Archdeacon of Moray. (p. 73) Sheppard collated the texts of several printed copies and found 'small discrepancies' among them. (p. 70) As they are minor variants, she attributed them to 'changes made during the "slow process of printing"' rather than to the existence of different editions. (p. 70)

118 She admits that 'Boece may have contributed to the corrections of factual error for the printed version of Bellenden's text', but claims that 'other revisions of the translation are not in character with the Latin text or its author'. She also argues that as Bellenden does not seem to have had access to 'the two, further, unprinted, books of the *Scotorum Historia*, which Boece left incomplete on his death in 1536', it is unlikely that Boece and Bellenden were 'in regular contact over translation'. Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in Mapstone and Wood, pp. 136-57 (p. 137), and 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 308-10.

119 Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', p. 152.

120 Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', p. 165.

121 Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', p. 168.

122 Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', p. 184. She also identified two more manuscripts of the *Chronicles*.

practice as a humanist author, and what cultural impact the *Chronicles*, the first printed national history in the vernacular, had on sixteenth-century Scotland. After elucidating Bellenden's overall translation policy, I will examine how this policy is reflected in the actual translation and revision work, and how Bellenden altered the original Latin text according to his own political perspective, personal standpoint or expected readership. For this analysis, three books are chosen: Book 1, the first book in the *Chronicles* which relates the origin of the Scots; Book 12, which deals with events in the eleventh century, when hereditary kingship was established in the reign of David I, and the Stewart family was established; Book 16, the last full-scale book in the *Chronicles*, which relates events only about 150 years before Bellenden's time. The texts of these three chosen books in MS M, the first manuscript version, MS C, an early intermediary version, MS A, a later intermediary version, and the final printed version will be closely compared in order to elucidate the process of revision work. MS R, an imperfect manuscript, seems to be closer to MS C than to MS A, and so it will be occasionally consulted as an early intermediary manuscript. During the course of discussion, it is hoped that some more light will be shed on the relationship between these manuscript versions. Sheppard claims that MS B represents an earlier revision stage than is represented by MSS R and A. However, my limited research shows that MS B is more often than not closely allied with MS A, and so it is not certain that MS B represents another revision stage. Thus MS B is not examined here. Nevertheless, it is hoped that a detailed examination of this manuscript will be conducted by scholars in the next generation so that the exact nature of it will be illuminated. The investigation of the process by which the first vernacular printed national history was created will be matched with that of the reception of it. By examining evidence of ownership and readership left in each extant manuscript and printed copy, I will discuss who owned each copy of the *Chronicles* and how the owners approached the copy and reacted to the text. This will make a contribution to our understanding of how deeply vernacular humanism penetrated into early modern Scottish literary and political culture.

Before pursuing these themes, several preliminary points have to be made here. That the textual alterations made from MS M to the printed edition are dominantly Bellenden's, not the reflections of scribal practice, is clear from an examination of Bellenden's revision practice in his translation of Livy. Some fragments of the translation are preserved in British Library, MS Add. 36678, and they are evidently

Bellenden's early working drafts – the surviving materials include drafts by Bellenden, fair copies by his amanuensis, and then revisions by Bellenden to those copies. Thus they show Bellenden's authentic translation and revision practice. Significantly, a comparison of these two translation works by Bellenden reveals that there is much in common in his revision practice; they share a common pattern of altering vocabulary for stylistic as well as for ideological reasons. It is reasonable, therefore, to surmise that Bellenden was responsible for the textual alterations found in the *Chronicles*. The analytical survey of Bellenden's translation of Livy and its relationship with that of the *Chronicles* will be given in Appendix I.

Judging from the bibliographical evidence I have collected, it seems that there was only one edition of the printed version, and it was printed after 1537.[123] The distribution of watermarks in each copy is quite similar to each other, suggesting that these copies were printed at one time using the same paper stock.[124] Davidson does not seem to have been scrupulous about the accuracy of the text, as few textual corrections were made. Even when a unique watermark appears in one particular copy, this does not seem to be a result of textual corrections; the setting of the types on the page looks the same as those in other copies and no textual alteration is found.[125] Although there are some variants of signatures and folio numbers, as Sheppard argues, they all seem to be results of stop-press corrections not of multiple editions.[126] Furthermore, the evidence of the watermarks gives us some clues to the publication date of the *Chronicles*. The watermark Briquet 11345, a hand with a flower on the palm surmounted by a star,

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[123] I have examined all the extant manuscripts as well as all the extant printed copies in the UK, the copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and the copy in the Takamiya collection in Japan. The bibliographical information of the rest of the copies in the USA were provided by the librarians of each library.

[124] In almost all the copies, for example, the watermark Briquet 11395 appears somewhere between fols 107-10, 122-25 and 51-56. See also the conjugate fols 91 and 96 in each copy. The same unique watermark, a hand surmounted by a flame (?), almost invariably appears on either of these folios. This watermark is not identifiable in Briquet, and it never appears in other places in the *Chronicles*.

[125] See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Scot. 126 (P-2), fol. 100. There is a unique appearance of a watermark on the page, a quadruped animal with a flower on its back. This watermark does not appear in any other copies of the *Chronicles*, nor is it identifiable in Briquet. The text on fols 97 and 100 is, however, identical with those of other copies, and thus, this was not caused by textual corrections.

[126] Sheppard, pp. 69-70. For instance, in some copies signatures Fii, Kiii, Nnii and Vviii are wrongly signed as Fiii, Iiii, Nni and Tviii. It should be noted that the signature Xxiiii is always wrongly signed as Xxiii except in the copy of Manchester, Chetham's Library, Mun.7.B.3.8 (P-21). Presumably, this was corrected at a very late stage of printing. Similarly, folio number 180 is wrongly given as fol. L.lxxix except in five copies: Oxford, Magdalen College, Arch.B.III.3.13 (P-5), Cambridge, St John's College, A.1.16 (P-9), Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll Bn6-d.17 (P-16), Aberdeen, King's College, pi f9 (41) Boe 6 (P-18) and Drummond Castle I.6-7 (P-22).

appears in many copies.[127] As this was produced in 1537, it is certain that the *Chronicles* was not printed until 1537. Considering the fact that Davidson received the final payment from the crown in 1538, and that Bellenden was preferred to precentor of Glasgow from archdeacon of Moray by the end of 1538, the most plausible date of publication of the *Chronicles* will be sometime between 1537 and 1538.[128]

It is still not certain how many copies of the *Chronicles* Davidson printed. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, in general, books were printed in 'editions of 1,000 to 1,500 copies', and there were 'economic reasons for printing no more than about 2,000 copies' as well as 'for printing at least 500'.[129] In 1560 Christophe Plantin's print runs consisted of 1250 copies for ordinary editions, and '538 copies of Gilbert Crab's *Notica* ('Notis de Crap')' were still left even after 'most of the print run had been distributed'.[130] On the other hand, Royan speculates that the print run of the *Scotorum Historia*, which was printed in Paris, might have been smaller than 1,000.[131] As the circulation of the *Chronicles* was limited to the market within Scotland, the print run must have been smaller than that of the *Scotorum Historia*. Presumably, potential purchasers of the *Chronicles* in Davidson's mind included major religious houses, University colleges, collegiate churches and heads of clans.[132] In sixteenth-century Scotland there were about 71 religious houses under eleven dioceses, about 30 collegiate churches and about six University colleges.[133] The number of major clans was about 85.[134] Assuming that each institution and the head of each clan would acquire one copy of the *Chronicles*, Davidson could expect, at the minimum number, the sales of 200 copies. In addition to this, there were individual prospects; as the *Chronicles* was in the

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127 See, for example, fol. 244 in the copies of National Library of Scotland, H33.b.6 (P-12), National Library of Scotland, H33.b.7 (P-13), Aberdeen, King's College, Boyndlie 16.40 (P-20), Cambridge, University Library Sel.3.174 (P-7), Cambridge, University Library SSS.41.10 (P-8) and the Takamiya collection (P-25).
128 See above p. 5.
129 Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 160-63 (p. 161).
130 Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 160, and Watry, p. 14.
131 Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 306.
132 Mark Dilworth argues that monks had 'at least a reasonable level of literacy in both Latin and the vernacular', and Scottish monasteries had large libraries which were as large as those in English houses. In order to build up their own libraries, monks not only copied manuscripts, including the vernacular works such as Barbour's *Bruce* and Harry's *Wallace*, but also purchased printed books. See Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 63-65 (p. 64).
133 This figure is based on the information provided in *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt and N. F. Shead, SRS, new ser., 24 (Edinburgh: SRS, 2001), and *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*.
134 This figure is based on the information provided in *SP*.

vernacular, they included not only the religious or university men but also lay readers such as merchants and burgesses.[135] To sum up, therefore, Davidson's print run can be estimated as about 400 or 500.

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135 The scale of the Scottish book trade was greater than generally assumed. There was such an extent of demand for books that 'the small domestic press was unable to satisfy'. See Jonquil Bevan, 'Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-), IV: *1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (2002), pp. 687-700 (p. 698).

CHAPTER 1: BELLENDEN'S TRANSLATION THEORY

John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland* (1531-*c.* 1537) is a translation into Older Scots of the *Scotorum Historia* written by Hector Boece in Latin in 1527.[1] Bellenden dedicated the first version of his translation to James V in manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 527; M-1) in about 1531.[2] After several revisions, the apparently final version of the translation was printed and published in Edinburgh by Thomas Davidson *c.* 1537. Comparison between MS M and the final printed version shows that Bellenden revised his translation so meticulously and thoroughly that there is a great difference in content between these two texts. Indeed, this led R. W. Chambers and Walter Seton to claim that it 'would be no exaggeration to say that the printed text is a version in which almost every sentence has been rewritten'.[3] In the printed version, Bellenden corrected mistranslations or false renditions found in MS M and restored passages he had missed out from Boece's original Latin text. But additionally he also revised faithful and correct renditions by altering words, clauses, or even whole passages.

From MS M to the printed version, Bellenden's translation is fundamentally faithful to Boece; although he felt to a certain extent free to make deletions from and additions to Boece's original text, he never deviates significantly. Characteristically, however, MS M tends to be lengthy and elaborate, while the printed version is shorter and more concise. This stylistic difference seems to be a result of the evolution of Bellenden's translation policy. Throughout his translation work, Bellenden's main policy is to keep to the spirit or the tenor of Boece's original text. As Nicola Royan claims, Boece's history is famous for its 'narrative style — humanist, dramatic and exemplary', which 'evidently appealed to a Scottish audience'.[4]

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[1] The *Scotorum Historia* was printed and published in Paris in 1527 by Badius Ascensius at the author's expense. Boece dedicated it to James V. See Nicola Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece: A Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), p. 11.

[2] For a detailed description of the period of composition of the *Chronicles*, see above Introduction, pp. 4 and 21-22.

[3] Chambers and Seton, 'Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece', *SHR*, 19 (1922), 196-201 (p. 199). This is reprinted in Hector Boece, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. by John Bellenden, and ed. by R. W. Chambers, Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands, 2 vols, STS 3rd ser., 10, 15 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1938, 1941), I, pp. vii-xiii (p. x).

[4] Royan with Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c. 850-1707', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Ian Brown, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), I: *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy (to 1314) and Murray Pittock (1314-1707), pp. 168-83 (pp. 178-79). Royan, who gives a detailed survey of Boece's style, argues that both Boece's historiography and language are influenced by classical authors such as Livy and Cicero, and thus defines

This is what Bellenden preserved, or tried to preserve, in his translation. That does not mean that Bellenden employs the same rhetorical devices as Boece uses, but that he reproduces the humanistic and dramatic narrative mode in his vernacular work. As he seeks to reproduce the 'narrative vigour' of Boece, Bellenden finds that a compressed style serves his purpose better.[5] In his revision work, he makes his text more concise and shorter. Thus, the printed version has more broad renderings in a compressed style than MS M, which, more often than not, gives literally close renderings of Boece.

Bellenden's meticulous revision of his text, whether it is at the level of words and phrasing or manipulation of significant amounts of text, reveals the fact that Bellenden was attentive to the quality of his work. This may have been due to the anticipation that his translation would be printed and reach a wider readership. As David R. Carlson has shown, after dedicating their writings in deluxe presentation manuscripts, many humanists in early Tudor England had their works published in print. Humanists, who lived on their writings, needed the support of patrons. They used the cost-efficient route of print publication in order to reach a wider audience including peer humanists as well as potential patrons. Carlson claims:

> Although individual patrons could pay writers directly, a writer's peers could pay too, albeit indirectly, by their praises, out of which a profitable reputation might be built. Humanists also needed audiences larger than the patronal one, in other words; and for reaching them, they used other, more cost-efficient means of publication. These were chiefly two: ephemeral manuscript copies, made at home and circulated informally; and printed copies, the manufacture and distribution of which the humanists themselves did not control.[6]

Bellenden must have realised the importance of being published in print, and that is why he was attentive

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Boece's style as 'humanistit Latin'. See, Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 116-67 and 315. See also below, p. 40.

[5] R. J. Lyall, who compares Bellenden's translation with the so-called 'Mar Lodge' version, argues that Bellenden's compressed style better conveys 'the narrative vigour' of Boece than the close rendition by the Mar Lodge translator: 'The compression which Boece manages through the structure of the Latin is matched by Bellenden only through the omission of detail; by following the argument of the original more closely, the Mar Lodge translator becomes diffuse.' See Lyall, 'Vernacular Prose before the Reformation', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Cairns Craig, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987-1988), I: *Origins to 1660*, ed. by R. D. S. Jack (1988), pp. 163-82 (p. 174). Royan demonstrates how Bellenden abbreviates Boece's text even at the earliest stage of his translation. See Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 136-57 (pp. 145-48).

[6] David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 12. See also pp. 75-77.

to the quality of the printed version. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to illuminate Bellenden's overall policy in translation. Before examining Bellenden's translation policy, however, contemporary attitudes to translation need first to be overviewed.

TRANSLATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

As Massimiliano Morini claims, the status of translation in sixteenth-century England (and in Scotland as well) was so complicated that it is far from easy to formulate a clear definition of it.[7] This is mainly caused by the coexistence of seemingly contradictory translation practices: medieval and early modern. Although both approaches are originally based on the same precepts from classical authors, notably Cicero and Horace, the adoptions, or adaptations, of them are very different from each other. In the *Ars poetica*, Horace declares one should not imitate the model 'word for word like a slavish translator' (*nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus interpres*), while, in *De optimo genere oratorum*, Cicero claims that he translates Greek texts as 'an orator' not 'an interpreter' (*nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator*).[8] Both of them seek to preserve the 'force and figures of the language and the general *sententiae*' of the original by the force of *inventio*.[9] As Rita Copeland demonstrates, for Roman authors in general, 'the impulse to displace Greek literary culture is felt as strongly as the impulse to mediate and preserve its values'.[10] They sought to 'erase the cultural gap' from the source text by 'displacing the source and substituting [the translation] itself'.[11] The purpose of translation was to produce a 'difference with the source, and the act of translating is comparable to the act of inventing one's own argument out of available topics'.[12] Thus, these impulses led the Roman authors to put a premium on the force of *inventio* and to disdain 'word for word' translation.

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[7] Morini summarises the surveys hitherto done: 'Those few pronouncements that go some way towards attempting a definition have been formulated in mainly negative terms, by suggesting that the only rule that can be extracted from sixteenth-century translation is the lack of any fixed rules, or that the period is ridden through by different, and indeed contradictory, tendencies.' See Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 3.

[8] *Ars poetica*, lines 133-34. See *Horace: 'Satires', 'Epistles' and 'Ars poetica'*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (London: William Heinemann, 1970), pp. 460-61. *De optimo genere oratorum*, 5. 14. See Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, trans. by H. M. Hubbell (London, William Heinemann, 1976) pp. 364-65.

[9] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 33.

[10] Copeland, p. 29.

[11] Copeland, p. 30.

[12] Copeland, p. 30.

In employing this classical theory of translation, on the other hand, medieval translators developed a seemingly similar but totally different translation theory. They gave the classical rhetorical *inventio* an empowered force as an *exegesis*, which can be applied to 'discursive production'.[13] Medieval translators regarded their secular works as supplements to textual authority, which 'actually work to challenge and appropriate that textual authority'.[14] By employing stories found in source texts, they created new works of their own.[15] Thus, medieval secular translations assumed an aspect of, what Morini calls, 'a big storehouse of more or less memorable stories, to be picked up and reworked at will'.[16]

Early modern translation theory, however, shows a return towards the classical model. This is understandable considering the fact that early modern translation theory was influenced and developed by the humanists. The rudimentary versions of the modern translation theory were formulated by such early humanists as Coluccio Salutati and Manuel Chrysoloras in the late fourteenth century.[17] Theirs were developed by Leonardo Bruni who produced the first formal modern translation treatise, *De Interpretatione Recta* (*c.* 1426) stimulated by the rediscovery of Cicero's *De Oratore*, *Brutus* and *Orator* in 1421.[18] Many other humanist translation theorists were also influenced by these classical precepts, and formulated 'modernized versions of classical ideas on translation and imitation'.[19] What they sought in translation was to preserve the value of the source text. They believed that mere superficial imitations of the model were 'servile ways that will betray the model'.[20] As Cicero states in *Brutus*, translators have to 'capture the

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[13] Copeland, p. 175.
[14] Copeland, p. 177. Copeland calls this type of translation 'primary translation', and differentiates it from 'secondary translation' where translators gave 'precedence to rhetorical motives' and considered translation as 'independent productive acts'. In contrast to this, in translations of sacred texts, word for word translation was emphasised. Copeland claims: '[St. Jerome] advocated the strictest literalism so as not to violate the sacred mystery immanent in the very words of Scripture.' See Copeland, pp. 42-55 (p. 51).
[15] For a detailed discussion how medieval translators of historical writings adapted and transformed their source texts, see Thea Summerfield with Rosamund Allen, 'Chronicles and Historical Narratives', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, ed. by Peter France and Stuart Gillespie, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005-), I: *To 1550*, ed. by Roger Ellis (2008), pp. 332-63. They claim that the nature of histories and that of translations were differently perceived in the Middle Ages: '[M]edieval historians habitually followed authoritative sources, and medieval translators tended to add or excise material at will.' (p. 332)
[16] Morini, p. 6.
[17] Glyn P. Norton, 'Humanist Foundations of Translation Theory (1400-1450): A Study in the Dynamics of Word', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 8 (1981), 173-203 (pp. 179-85), and *The Ideology and Language of Translation: In Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva: Droz, 1984), pp. 25-54.
[18] Norton, 'Humanist Foundations', p. 185.
[19] Morini, p. 10.
[20] Yehudi Lindeman, 'Translation in the Renaissance: A Context and a Map', *Canadian Review of*

model's essence, i.e., not only the bones but also the blood (*utinam imitarentur, nec ossa solum sed etiam sanguinem*)'.[21] Thus, the most faithful translator is one 'who uses all his intellectual faculties to explore the relative resources of the source and target languages, and then to *transform* the resources of the one into the expressive fabric of the other'.[22] The value of the original text was emphasised, and the source texts once again regained the power which they lost in the medieval translations.[23]

BELLENDEN'S TRANSLATION POLICY

Bellenden produced his translations in a cultural environment where medieval and early modern translation practice co-existed. Characteristically, however, Bellenden, who himself was an acclaimed vernacular humanist, is a modern translator. One of the most conspicuous and consistent features of Bellenden's translation is his great attentiveness and faithfulness towards Boece's original text.[24] He respects the value or quality of the original and never deviates from it substantially in MS M. Besides that, in later revisions, he scrupulously searches out and corrects or restores those sentences which are misrendered or missed out from the original. Nevertheless, it is also true that Bellenden's style of translation changes from MS M to the printed version. The former tends to be literally close to Boece; it frequently bears similitude or kinship with Boece's text in terms of grammatical structures, phrases and words. In addition, MS M is inclined to be lengthy. This is mainly because Bellenden sometimes finds it insufficient just to follow the original Latin literally and puts in additional explanatory phrases to make sentences clearer. On the other hand, the printed version is much more concise and is shorter. In this way,

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Comparative Literature, 8 (1981), 204-16 (p. 211).

[21] Lindeman, p. 211. *Brutus*, 17. 68. See Cicero, *Brutus*, trans. by G. L. Hendrickson, and *Orator*, trans. by H. M. Hubbell (London, William Heinemann, 1962), pp. 64-65.

[22] Norton, 'Humanist Foundations', p. 189.

[23] Morini asserts that this tendency of respecting the authority of source texts was concomitant with the introduction of printing: 'The introduction of the printing press at the beginning of the last quarter of the fifteenth century had helped bring about a new attitude to textual integrity and authorial rights.' (p. 7) But this balance between the source texts and the target texts would be tipped again in favour of the latter in the seventeenth century. See Morini, pp. 24-29.

[24] Summerfield and Allen compare Bellenden's translation practice with that of William Stewart, another translator of the *Scotorum Historia*, and argue that they are contrastive to each other: 'The two translations illustrate how, in the early sixteenth century, several options were open to translators: Bellenden's moderate adaptation and repeated revisions, possibly with Boece's own involvement, signal a clear respect for textual integrity, while Stewart operates as a medieval metrical chronicler, using a source text as a basis for an almost independent work with a strong, personal imprint.' (p. 356)

Bellenden gives broader renditions in later versions than in MS M. Although the printed version still conveys the meaning of the source text, its style is not so directly influenced by the original structure, phrasings and expressions in Boece as in MS M.

This stylistic variation between MS M and the printed version, however, does not denote that Bellenden had changed his translation policy in the course of revision. What changed was his way of embodying the same policy. The translation in MS M shows the rudimentary stage of his approach to translation and that in the printed version shows an advanced one. This was not an unusual process for translators in this period to pursue, as the example of Erasmus's changing translation style reveals. Erasmus often refers to his policy on translation in his dedicatory letters. Although he consistently upholds classical translation theory, what he actually does in the beginning of his career is to follow the source text literally. In a letter to Nicholas Ruistre in 1503, Erasmus states: 'I have followed Cicero's old rule: in translating I thought it my duty to weigh the meaning, not count the words. However, as an apprentice-translator I have preferred to err on the side of accuracy rather than of boldness.'[25] Similarly, in a letter to William Warham in 1506, Erasmus calls himself a 'novice', and claims that he prefers to be literally close to the original rather than to be widely different from it:

> I had deliberately added considerably to the other difficulties by my scrupulous accuracy in translation, attempting as far as possible to reproduce the shape and, as it were, the contours of the Greek poems, striving to render verse for verse and almost word for word, and everywhere trying zealously to adapt the force and effect of the meaning to Latin ears, with all fidelity. This I did, perhaps because I do not fully share the freedom in translating authors that Cicero both allows others and (I should almost say excessively) practises himself, or perhaps because as a novice in translation I preferred to err in seeming to keep too close rather than to be too free.[26]

Intriguingly, however, Erasmus shows much more confidence in his ability as a translator in a letter to William Warham in 1507. Here the balance is tipped in favour of the classical, and thus humanistic, way of transforming the source text to preserve its value. Erasmus declares:

> All the same, I have decided to relax my former strictness somewhat in order to avoid failure to do justice to the theme in this respect as well. Accordingly I have translated the *Iphigenia* a

[25] Douglas Robinson, *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997), pp. 63-64 (p. 63). Unless otherwise mentioned, all citations from Erasmus are not the original Latin but in English translation.
[26] Robinson, pp. 64-65 (p. 64).

> little more freely and also a little more expansively, but again in such a way as in no degree to fall short of a translator's duty to convey the meaning. In one respect I have dared in both plays to depart from my author's practice.[27]

These letters reveal the fact that Erasmus gradually acquired more confidence in his ability as a translator, and accordingly he obtained more freedom to transform the source text.

It seems highly probable that Bellenden also underwent a similar development as a translator, as he shows a different attitude towards his translation from MS M to the printed version. In the preface to the former, he grieves over his lack of confidence as a translator. He apologetically addresses king James V:

> I that bene þi native and humyll s*er*uito*ur* sen thi first Jnfance be Jmpulsioun of luff / and vehement affeccioun / quhilk I bere vnto the samyn / has translatit / The history of Scotland / sen þe first begynnyng þ*er*of in wlgair Langage / And þocht the charge was Importabill throw Tedious Laboure / and feire of this huge volume / quhilk has Impeschitt my febill Ingyne / havand na crafty witt Nor pregnant eloquence to decoir the samyn / 3ite I am constranit / for schort tyme / To bring this my translatioun to Licht Nakit of perfectioun / and Rethory / siklike As Implvme birdis to flicht / Nochþeles I Lawlie Beseik thi magnificence / to Accept my Labouris with sik beneuolus wult / As thai bene dedicatt to thi grace / In quhilkis ar contenit / nocht only the nobill feetis / of thi wail3eannt anticessouris / bot als be quhat Industry and wisedome this Realme bene gouernit / thir xviij[c] *and* lx 3eris / quhilk was nevir subdewitt to vncouth empire / bot onlye to þe native princis thairof. (pp. xxvii-xxviii)[28]

Morini claims that this kind of preface or epistle in apologetic tone was often seen at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the vernacular, especially English, was still discredited as an inferior language to Latin and Greek, and sometimes even French and Italian.[29] What Bellenden expresses here is the same notion of vernacular translation being inferior to the original Latin text, and this inferiority derives from,

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[27] Robinson, p. 65.

[28] Although Bellenden's preface is partly based on Boece's own preface, this part is of Bellenden's own writing. Note that Bellenden here calls his work 'this my translacioun'. In chapter 10 of Book 6 in MS M, he again employs the same term: 'I devise this my Translacioun mair for Lawit men / þan ony Curious Clerkis.' (p. 163) According to Morini, this expression, which was sometimes employed by his contemporaries, is characteristically medieval, revealing the writer's notion of being an original writer. (pp. 23-24)

[29] Morini, pp. 26-27. For instance, the author of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (*c.* 1550), probably Mr Robert Wedderburn, shows the notion that Scots is inferior to Latin in his 'Prolog to the Reder'. He claims: '[T]her for it is necessair at sum tyme, til myxt oure langage vitht part of termis dreuyn fra lateen be rason that oure scottis to*ng* is nocht sa cope*us* as is the lateen to*ng*.' *The Complaynt of Scotland (c. 1550) by Mr Robert Wedderburn*, ed. and introd. by A. M. Stewart, STS, 4th ser., 11 (Edinburgh: STS, 1979), p. 13. Note that when he discusses the quality of his vernacular work, he uses the word 'cope*us*'. The word was frequently used by many writers in this period, who explored the capacity of vernacular language. The peculiar sense of the '*copia*' in the Renaissance period will be discussed below pp. 32-33.

Bellenden claims, his lack of 'eloquence'.[30] Intriguingly enough, however, the apologetic statement about the lack of his eloquence in MS M is expunged in the printed version. In fact, the printed version has no preface in it. What was called a preface in MS M, and precedes the entire history, is greatly revised and put after the entire history with a different name, 'epistil', in the printed version.[31] The corresponding part in the printed version reads:

> J þ*at* hes bene ȝour humyl seruitour sen ȝour first infa*n*ce, hes tra*n*slatit þe history of scotland sen þe first begynnyng thairof in ȝour vulgar langage. þat ȝour hienes may knaw þe vailȝeant *and* nobyl dedis done be ȝour progenitouris. And haue cognasance how this realme hes bene gouernit thir xviii .C. ȝeris bygane. quhilk was neuir subdewit to vncouth empire, bot only to þe natiue princis þairof. (fol. 249)

Here Bellenden does not show any sense of inferiority. The apologetic statement is removed, as Bellenden is now confident with his role as a translator as well as what he produces as a translator. In MS A, however, Bellenden still retains the apologetic statement. This means that Bellenden seems to have started to foreground his skill as a translator gradually in the course of his revision work.[32]

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30 Bellenden's remark that he worked on the translation only 'for schort tyme' is also notable. As E. A. Sheppard mentions, Bellenden's poem, 'Ballat apone þe Translatione', attached to the *Chronicles* shows that he spent a year on his translation. See Sheppard, 'Studies in the Language of Bellenden's Boece' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1937), p. 56. Judging from the length of the work, it must have been a 'schort tyme' for the translator and he had to work rather in haste. That may be one of the reasons why Bellenden was not satisfied with the quality of his first rendition. Interestingly, according to Carlson, Erasmus also gives a similar explanation when he produces a revised version of his work such as *Adagiorum collectanea*: 'In considerable detail, he explained that friends had hurried him to publish, prematurely; that printers had pressured him to provide new or revised copy; that his knowledge had grown, so obligating him to issue corrections of work that he had issued previously; and so on.' See Carlson, p. 83.

31 That the preface directed to the king is put after the main body in the printed version probably suggests that Bellenden does not regard the king as a major reader in the printed version. See below Chapter 3, p. 98.

32 See MS A, fol. 23. Bellenden's intention to foreground his role as a translator can also be seen from the arrangement of the work. It was not only the placing of the preface that Bellenden changed from MS M to the printed version. The poem written by Bellenden also changed its place. It was originally called 'Ballat apone þe Translatione' and was inserted after the whole history in MS M, whereas, in such later versions as MSS C and A, it is inserted amongst the preliminary matter preceding the history. And, in the printed version, the poem, now entitled 'The proheme of the history', replaces the preface, which is relegated to an epistle at the very end of the work. What is more, Bellenden inserts another of his own poems into the printed version. This poem is entitled 'The proheme of the cosmographe', and is prefixed to the 'cosmographe and description of Albion'. According to Carlson, this practice of publishing several works in collections was not uncommon in early Tudor England. Such humanists as Erasmus and Bernard André published their old poems accompanied with other works of their own in collections. Carlson states: 'Collections of work served the same authorial interest, in asserting a persistence of success. In addition, collecting writings together has the effect of shifting interest, away from the particular pieces of writing themselves towards the author of the writings, from their qualities to his skills.' (p. 68) For detailed accounts of this practice by André and Erasmus, see Carlson, pp. 60-81, and pp. 82-101 respectively. The *Chronicles*, which contains two poems by Bellenden in addition to the main text, assumes an aspect of a

The phrase 'pregnant eloquence' in the preface is of great significance, for it indicates that what concerned Bellenden was not just the eloquence but the '*copia*' of the translation.[33] Although the word *copia* was often used by the classical and later authors, it was not 'a fully technical term' until Erasmus theorised it in *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (1512).[34] This is an elementary textbook on 'how to write copiously in Latin' and, according to Terence Cave, Erasmus's precepts on the *copia* were 'disseminated among a whole generation of European students precisely at a moment when the potentialities of the vernacular were being vigorously defended and explored'.[35] What underlies his precepts is his belief that *res* is already embedded in *verba*. Unlike their classical and medieval predecessors who believed in the duality of *res* and *verba*, Erasmus and other humanist theorists thought these two elements were undetachable. In order to acquire the *copia dicendi*, *verba* has to be accompanied with *res*. Inversely, the 'verbal *copia*' without *res* is 'pernicious'.[36] Thus, as Cave aptly suggests, the word *copia* provides 'a unifying frame which overrides the duality of words and things, while avoiding the sense of classifying method evoked by the term "rhetoric"'.[37] What is important here is that, however, the *copia* does not necessarily connote the amplification or extension of texts. It rather connotes the richness of texts, or inventive power of texts, produced by opulent combination of *res* and *verba*.[38] Erasmus clarifies this point at an

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collection of Bellenden's works. Bellenden's intention of emphasising his literary skill is self-evident here.

[33] Cave states that as the *copia* denotes 'a rich, many faceted discourse springing from a fertile mind and powerfully affecting its recipient', it was often regarded as a synonym for eloquence: 'The phrase *copia dicendi*, or even *copia* alone, is a ubiquitous synonym for eloquence.' See Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 5.

[34] The publication of *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (hereafter *De Copia*) is a problematic issue. Erasmus's early ideas on *copia* are already in *Brevis de copia praeceptio* written in 1499. He did not get this published and the manuscript of the work came into the possession of Augustin Vincent. Vincent incorporated the work into the *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, which was published without the consent of Erasmus in 1518. After coming to England, Erasmus wrote *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*, a shorter version of *De Copia*, as an elementary text book at the request of John Colet. It was published by Badius Ascensius, the (later) printer of the *Scotorum Historia*, in 1512 in Paris. Erasmus kept revising his work and versions were published in 1514, 1526 and 1534. Betty I. Knott gives a more detailed explanation on this matter in her introductory notes to the University of Toronto edition. See, *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia / De Ratione Studii*, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, trans. and annotated by Betty I. Knott, Collected Works of Erasmus, 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), XXIIII: *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo / Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*, pp. 280-83.

[35] Cave, p. 9. Knott also states: 'On its first publication the work was received with great acclaim, not only in England but on the Continent, and coming soon after the phenomenal success of the *Adagiorum chiliades* of 1508, it established Erasmus as a leading humanist scholar and educationalist.' (*Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia*, p. 282)

[36] Cave, p. 20.

[37] Cave, p. 21.

[38] This is the decisive difference from the definition of the *copia* in classical time. For the classical authors, who separated *res* from *verba*, *copia*, an opposite of *brevitas*, simply denoted amplification of texts. See the

early stage in *De Copia*: '[T]he compressed style and the abundant style depend on the same basic principles. [. . .] the craftsman in words who will be best at narrowing down his speech and compressing it will be the one who is skilled in expanding and enriching it with ornament of every kind.'[39] What matters is the *res* of the text, not its length. Thus writers can choose either 'to include the essential in the fewest possible words that nothing is lacking', 'to enlarge and enrich your expression of it that even so nothing is redundant' or to take 'intermediate style'.[40] Therefore, that the printed version of the *Chronicles* is made shorter and more concise than MS M does not mean that Bellenden's emphasis on *copia* weakened. When Bellenden acquired the 'pregnant eloquence' in the printed version after the long process of revision work, he chose to adopt a compressed style in order to reproduce the narrative vigour of the original Latin text better.[41]

Furthermore, at least once in the *Chronicles*, both Boece and Bellenden actually identify *copia* with 'eloquence'. Boece uses the word *copia* in his statement on the importance of erudition and virtue in Book 16: 'Quantum vero haec nostra aetas ab illa frigeat: cui mortalium tanta est eloquentiae vis, aut tanta rerum verborumrum [*sic*: presumably 'verborumque'] copia, vt verbis consequi aut satis deplorare valeatur.' (fol. 355) (But how much this age of ours falls short compared with that one, when mortal men had such force of eloquence, such copiousness of content and words, that I can scarcely express it in words, or sufficiently deplore the present situation.) Here, 'eloquentiae vis' is equated with 'rerum verborum[que] copia'. Bellenden's translation is more suggestive in this point: 'Bot allace how far is now oure tyme different fra þai dayis. For J beleue nane hes sic eloquence nor fouth of langage, þ*at* may sufficiently deplore þe gret displesouris þat fallis to ws for laik of letteris *and* virtew in our princis.' (fol. 241[v]) This sense for sense rendering of the passage 'eloquentiae vis, aut tanta rerum verborum[que] copia' evidently reveals Bellenden's notion that copiousness of both content and words is the force of language, that is,

definition of the *copia* in Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, trans. by Matthew T. Bliss and others, ed. by David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 635-36.

[39] *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia*, p. 300.

[40] *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia*, p. 301.

[41] Bellenden's comment on his style in the 'Ballat apone þe Translatione' in MS M is suggestive here. He claims that the *Chronicles*, which is written with 'mony grave and prignant orisone', is but 'wourdis wayst or ȝit superfluus' (p. 590). This may mean that Bellenden valued a compressed style from the first in MS M. See also Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', pp. 145-47.

eloquence.[42]

Equally worthy of note here is that Bellenden deliberately inserts the passage 'þe gret displesouris þat fallis to ws for laik of letteris *and* virtew in our princis'. That Bellenden refers to his patron's lack of learning seems something unusual. Nevertheless, it is not the only case where James V's lack of learning is mentioned in works dedicated to him. As Sarah Carpenter argues, in the Scottish court where '[r]elative informality was a recognized and even prized characteristic', there was 'a tradition of humorously insulting poetry directly addressed to both James IV and his son'.[43] One of the most well-known comments is found in Sir David Lyndsay's 'The Complaynt of Schir Dauid Lindesay' (1530). Lyndsay says that James V was withdrawn from school where he could have learned 'vertew and science': 'Imprudentlie, lyk wytles fullis, | Thay tuke that ȝoung Prince frome the sculis, | Quhare he, vnder Obedience, | Was lernand vertew and science, | And haistelie plat in his hand | The gouernance of all Scotland.'[44] Similarly, William Stewart, in *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (1531-1535), his metrical verse translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, comments on James V's lack of proficiency in Latin: 'The kingis grace I knaw is nocht perfite | In Latyn toung, and namelie in sic dyte | It wilbe tedious, that dar I tak on hand, | To reid the thing he can nocht vnderstand.'[45] None of these comments criticises James V's inadequacy in learning scathingly. Cumulatively, however, these comments seem to reveal these poets' feelings of frustration with James V, who lacked the necessary literary learning, and thus, deep interest in their works. James V was

[42] That Bellenden employs the term 'fouth of langage' here is also noticeable. Gavin Douglas, in the prologue to his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, also uses this term. After praising the great poet, Virgil, who is equipped with great eloquence, Douglas deplores his lack of 'force of language': 'Nocht for our tong is in *th*e selwyn skant | Bot for *th*at I *th*e fowth of langage want | Quhar as *th*e cullo*ur* of his prope*r*te | To kepe *th*e sentens *th*arto constrenyt me, | Or *th*an to mak my sayng schort sum tyme, | Mair co*m*pendyus, or to lykly my ryme.' *Virgil's 'Aeneid': Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, 4 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1964), II: *Text* (1957), p. 6, lines 119-24. Priscilla Bawcutt suggests that Douglas's desire for the 'fowth of langage' may have been inspired by his reading of Cicero. See Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), p. 34. Taking Bellenden's positive emulation of Douglas into consideration, it is indisputable that Bellenden's idea of eloquence was influenced by Gavin Douglas. For further discussion on Douglas's influence on Bellenden, see footnote 73.

[43] Carpenter, 'David Lindsay and James V: Court Literature as Current Event', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*, ed. by Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell, Studies in European Cultural Transition, 6 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 135-52 (p. 138).

[44] *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555*, ed. by Douglas Hamer, 4 vols, STS 3rd ser., 1-2, 6, 8 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1931, 1931, 1934, 1936), I: *Text of the Poems*, p. 43, lines 131-36.

[45] *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart,* ed. by William B. Turnbull, 3 vols, The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, 6 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), I, 4, lines 112-15.

more interested in chivalric pursuits than literary learning. He loved 'riding, shooting, archery, sword play', and he was keen to 'ride out into the countryside on a regular basis'.[46] On the other hand, he does not seem to have been active in his role as a literary patron. As Janet Hadley Williams shows, in James V's court, literary patronage was, to some extent, established, and many literary works were offered to the king.[47] Nevertheless, as Carol Edington suggests, it was extremely rare that literary composition received 'specific pecuniary reward', and so, the payments 'Bellenden received for his translations of Boece and Livy were something of the exception'.[48] In contrast to the case of Boece and Bellenden, for example, John Mair does not seem to have received any payment for his dedication of *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (1521) to James.[49] Thus, it may be surmised that what Bellenden implies by 'þe gret displesouris þat fallis to ws for laik of letteris *and* virtew in our princis' is insufficient royal literary patronage.

It is not certain whether Bellenden actually read *De Copia.* Nevertheless, as we have seen above, the work was disseminated quickly and widely immediately after its first publication.[50] As Scotland had a strong connection with France in this period, many books were imported directly from France.[51] Also, many students went to France to study, including Boece and Bellenden himself, and brought back books with them. Hence, it seems quite reasonable to surmise that Bellenden was familiar with Erasmus's views when he was working on the *Chronicles*.[52] Over and above this, there is the important fact that Boece and

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46 Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 127-28.
47 See Hadley Williams, 'James V of Scots as Literary Patron', in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, ed. by Martin Gosman and others, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2003), I, 173-98 (pp. 180-98).
48 See Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994; East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995), p. 94. As A. A. MacDonald shows, William Stewart once complained in his poem, 'First lerges', that he received 'the paltry two shillings from the King', though he 'clearly believed that he was entitled to better treatment'. See 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), pp. 179-200 (pp. 196-97).
49 Mair's patrons were probably Archbishop James Beaton and his nephew, David Beaton, rather than James V. See Thomas, p. 132.
50 See, *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia*, p. 11, and below footnote 52.
51 See J. B. Trapp, 'The Humanist Book', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-), III: *1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (1999), pp. 285-315 (p. 291).
52 Elisabeth Leedham-Green gives us thought-provoking information on the circulation of Erasmus's books in England and Scotland. She shows that many elementary textbooks by Erasmus, including *De Copia*, were purchased in England in the first half of the sixteenth century. See, Leedham-Green, 'University Libraries and Book-sellers', in Hellinga and Trapp, pp. 316-53 (pp. 343-47). Regrettably, her

Erasmus were close friends. He attended lectures by Erasmus when he was studying at Montaigu College, University of Paris. Even after Boece's return to Scotland, they maintained their friendship. They corresponded with each other, and Erasmus dedicated his *Carmen de Casa Natalitia Jesu* (1495) to Boece.[53] Bellenden cannot have been ignorant of their intimacy. Furthermore, it is obvious that Bellenden had a positive interest in Erasmus's precepts from his reference to Erasmus in his preface. Bellenden actually begins his preface with his name: 'Erasmus Roterodamus Schawis (Maist Nobill prince).' (p. xxvii)[54] What is more intriguing is the fact that, later in the printed version, Bellenden even mentions the title of a book by Erasmus. The epistle begins: 'Erasmus Roterodamus in his buke namit the institutioun of cristin kyngis, schawis (maist nobyl prince).' (fol. 249)[55] This shows that at least one work by Erasmus was available to Bellenden, and that he positively appreciated Erasmus's ideas.

As Nancy S. Struever suggests, the idea of eloquence was also emphasised by humanists in the field of history. The humanists claimed that historians had to 'endow human endeavor with glory and perpetual fame' and to 'immortalize' the human achievement.[56] In so doing, words are the best means, because they are 'imperishable', and by means of eloquence, which is 'the vehicle of the spirit', historians can

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information on the situation in Scotland is significantly small. She only mentions such book owners as Henry Sinclair, Archibald Crawford, John Grierson and James Crichton. For Scottish book ownership, Durkan and Ross's catalogue of Scottish book ownership gives us much more conclusive information. Although there is no entry for *De Copia*, it shows that a number of Erasmus's books circulated in Scotland. See, John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: John S. Burns and Sons, 1961), and also Durkan's supplements in *Bibliotheck*, 9 (1978), 13-20, *Bibliotheck*, 10 (1981), 87-98, *Bibliotheck*, 11 (1982), 29-37, *Bibliotheck*, 11 (1982), 57-58 and *Bibliotheck*, 12 (1985), 85-90. This view can be endorsed by Margaret Lane Ford's discussion on private ownership of printed books. She claims that out of 'a sample of over 4,300 printed books which bear clear evidence of having been in private ownership in Britain before 1557', Erasmus is 'the most frequently owned author in Scotland'. See Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', in Hellinga and Trapp, pp. 205-28 (pp. 205 and 222).

[53] See, *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1 to 141: 1484 to 1500*, trans. by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, annotated by Wallace K. Ferguson, Collected Works of Erasmus, 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 94-97. For the only extant epistle from Boece to Erasmus, see Alexander Souter, 'A Presumed Holograph Letter from Hector Boece to Erasmus', *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*, 7 (1930), 299-302. For a detailed description of their friendship, see W. Douglas Simpson, 'Hector Boece', in *University of Aberdeen: Quatercentenary of the Death of Hector Boece, First Principal of University* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1937), pp. 7-29 (p. 26) and Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 9-10.

[54] Boece never mentions Erasmus's name in his preface, and so this reference is attributable to Bellenden.

[55] In the epistle, Bellenden even incorporates a significant quantity of sentences from Erasmus's *Institutio principis christiani*, *The Institution of the Christian Prince* (1517). This clearly shows that the copy was available to Bellenden, although there is no entry for the book in Durkan's catalogue. For a detailed argument about Bellenden's employment of Erasmus's precepts, see Ryoko Nakano, '"I that been thy native and humbll servitor": John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland* and the "Advice to Princes" Tradition', *Journal of Arts and Letters (Geibun-Kenkyu)*, 90 (2006), 1-17.

[56] Nancy S. Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 40-63 (p. 62).

'immortalize' the glorious past.[57] They believed that only eloquence can rescue mortals from the destruction caused by time, and that was why Roman history was much better preserved and known to the humanists than the history of recent years. Myron P. Gilmore claims: 'The fact that the remote past was so much better known than recent years was primarily due to its having been illuminated by literary genius. History and eloquence could therefore prevent the destruction by time of the great deeds of the present.'[58] Therefore, eloquence is 'an essential, not accidental, part of history.'[59] And eloquence here also has the same connotation as *copia.* As Struever aptly reveals, for humanists, history is closely related to, and actually based on, their 'pursuit of classical antiquity':

> The humanist availed himself of rhetorical analysis to determine his priorities in historical narration; at the same time purely formal motives of rhetoric appear as historical moments in his pursuit of the meaning of classical antiquity. Rhetoric mediates on two levels: to make judgments on the past as well as to transmit these values to posterity.[60]

Humanists thought it was their duty to respect the classical authors' decorum as 'part of their character and style', because history is a matter of 'individual confrontation', where 'the reader is assumed to make judgments on the basis of his own literary expertise'.[61] History was also regarded as having a didactic function.[62] As the classical age appeared to them, in some respects, better than their own age, they believed that Roman history could provide them 'a basis for moral criticism'.[63] Gilmore states: 'Insofar as the examples of virtue and vice furnished by the past could be imitated and actively realized in the present, history was philosophy teaching by example.'[64] And if Roman history is the best moral example, they had to learn and convey what the Roman authors tell accurately.

Here we can find the overlap of humanistic translation theory and humanistic historical theory. Both appreciate classical authors as the best model or example and seek to preserve their intrinsic value. Struever summarises this: 'When the Humanists focus on the aesthetically convincing they raise the

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[57] Struever, p. 62.

[58] Myron P. Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists: Six Studies in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 101.

[59] Struever, p. 63.

[60] Struever, p. 67.

[61] Struever, pp. 68-69.

[62] For a detailed description of an instructional function of history, see below Chapter 4, pp. 105-06.

[63] Gilmore, p. 14.

[64] Gilmore, p. 14. This view reveals that the early modern theory of history was 'reactionary'. History tended to reflect 'the desire of political and clerical officialdom to maintain the *status quo*', and so history was 'a conservative force'. See Dean, pp. 15-16.

argument to a plane where only the reader's judgment and the author's insight count.'[65] These two theories took the same direction. They sought to conjure up vivid images in the mind. Humanists, following the classical authors, believed that history must be accompanied with trustworthiness. In his historical work, the *Life of Jerome* (1516), Erasmus shows his belief that history must be accompanied with truthfulness by stating that 'truth has its own power matched by no artifice'.[66] He believed that a historian should 'combine learning and veracity with literary skill' because 'confidence in the integrity of an author adds a greater plausibility' to the history and 'the genius of a really learned writer may make what is obscure illustrious and what is humble noteworthy'.[67] In order to show the veracity of historical works, the humanist sought to transform them into visible actions in the mind. The readers see, not read, in their minds what happened in the past, and that individual experiences give the history verisimilitude. This rhetorical art employed by the humanists is called 'illusionism' or '*enargeia*'.[68] Norton claims that this rhetorical art was also employed in translation theory: 'Both disciplines, historiography and translation, relay in Humanist thought a similar intuition: a confidence in the illusionism of textual transference.'[69] Similarly, Lindeman also discusses how *enargeia*, which represents action vividly in one's mind, was believed to be the best way to preserve the value of the source text by the Renaissance translators.[70] Gavin Douglas's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* is a good example. As Bawcutt argues, when Douglas tries to

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[65] Struever, p. 77.
[66] See, *Patristic Scholarship: The Edition of 'St Jerome'*, ed., trans. and annotated by James F. Brady and John C. Olin, Collected Works of Erasmus, 61 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 23. The *Life of Jerome* was written as an introduction to the edition of Jerome's works, which was first published by Froben in 1516.
[67] Gilmore, p. 91. John C. Olin also suggests that the *Life of Jerome* reveals Erasmus's belief that the historian has to be equipped with eloquence (*eloquentia*), learning (*eruditio*) and trustworthiness (*fides*). Olin, '*Eloquentia, Eruditio, Fides*: Erasmus's *Life of Jerome*', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: St Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed. by I. D. McFarlane, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 38 (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), pp. 269-74.
[68] Struever, pp. 75-78. The word '*enargeia*' is originally a Greek word which has no equivalent in English. It was Quintilian who first rendered the Greek word into Latin as '*evidentia*'. He defined *evidentia* as 'the vividly detailed depiction of a broadly conceived whole object through the enumeration of observable details'. See Lausberg, pp. 359-66 (p. 359). Cave suggests that this word has an implication of 'the presence or "evidence" of *res* in a verbal surface'. Furthermore, he suggests the possibility that '*copia* in the form of *enargeia* overrides the distinction between "true" and "false" representation'. See Cave, pp. 27-31 (pp. 29-30).
[69] Norton, 'Humanist Foundations', p. 189.
[70] Lindeman, pp. 211-15.

preserve and convey the spirit of Virgil, he chooses to transmit the 'vitality present in Virgil's words'.[71] In so doing, Douglas does not employ the very same devices or style as Virgil does. On the contrary, he recreates Virgil's visual qualities 'in terms of his own language, poetic traditions, and experience of the world around him'.[72] Furthermore, that Bellenden was attentive towards vividness of text can be observed in his introduction to the translation of Livy. He praises Livy's visual quality in a way which closely recalls 'Douglas's celebration of the visual immediacy of Virgil's poetry in the opening prologue of the *Eneados*'.[73] Bellenden reads: 'Of awfull batallis þe crafty gouernance, | The wise array, þe manlie Ieoperdie, | 3e may fynd here, *with* mony doutsum chance, | Als quyk as þai war led afore ȝour Ee. | 3e may also be mony stories see | Quhat besynes may proffitt or avance | 3oure princely state with ferme continuance.' (lines 1-7)[74] Obviously, Bellenden, who is greatly influenced by Douglas, puts a premium on *enargeia* of his translation.

Furthermore, in *De Copia*, Erasmus refers to *enargeia* as a major factor in the *copia*. He introduces this art as a method to enrich texts and gives full-length illustrations of how to employ the technique. Writers employ *enargeia*, Erasmus states, 'for the sake of amplifying or decorating our passage, or giving pleasure to our readers, instead of setting out the subject in bare simplicity, we fill in the colours and set it up like a picture to look at, so that we seem to have painted the scene rather than described it, and the reader seems to have seen rather than read'.[75] In order to acquire *enargeia* of text, Erasmus claims, it is useful to employ

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[71] Bawcutt, pp. 128-63 (p. 131). In the prologue to his translation of *Aeneid*, Douglas praises Virgil for the visual quality in his work: 'Sa quyk, lusty and maist sentencyus, | Plesand, perfyte and feilabill in all degre, | As quha *the* mater beheld tofor *th*ar e.' (*Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, II, 3, lines 12-14). Douglas Gray argues that Douglas's treatment of Virgil's imagery was 'conscious and deliberate', and 'much of Vergil's skill in the art of imagery is directly mediated to the reader' through Douglas's translation. See '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e": Douglas's Treatment of Vergil's Imagery', in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen and others (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), pp. 95-123 (pp. 95 and 97).

[72] Bawcutt, p. 163.

[73] See Thomas Rutledge, 'Gavin Douglas and John Bellenden: Poetic Relations and Political Affiliations', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. by Nicola Royan, Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 93-116 (p. 103). It has been often suggested that Bellenden's writings reflect the influence of Douglas's works. Bawcutt, for example, claims that 'Bellenden clearly imitated the *Palice of Honour*' in the 'Proheme of the Cosmographe'. (pp. 194-95) Moreover, Rutledge argues that there is a 'consistent pattern of allusion to Douglas's writing' in Bellenden's 'Proheme of the Cosmographe', in which Bellenden 'carefully signals his indebtedness to Douglas expressly to situate himself as Douglas's literary successor'. See Rutledge, pp. 95-96.

[74] *Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books*, trans. by John Bellenden, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 1st ser., 47, 51 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1901, 1903), I, 4.

[75] *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia*, p. 577.

various kinds of rhetoric:

> I think I should remind you that descriptions of this sort [*evidentia*] consist mainly in the exposition of circumstantial details, especially those which make the incident particularly vivid, and give the narrative distinctiveness. Not a little is contributed to such descriptions by the adducing of parallels, the introduction of similes and contrasts, by comparison, metaphor, allegory, and by any other figures of speech that will light up a topic.[76]

It seems to have been this *enargeia*, or vividness of narrative, that Bellenden found in Boece and tried to preserve in his translation, because emotional and dramatic scenes are essential elements in the *Scotorum Historia.* After showing how Boece creates dramatic scenes by controlling the emphases put on each episode and depiction of emotion, Royan claims: 'Like the content of the story, these emotions are unlikely to have been derived from any source, yet they make sense within the narrative and create a dynamic within it designed to provide interest. Their accuracy matters less than the weight of drama, of message, of excitement which they carry.'[77] Although Royan admits Boece's indebtedness to Livy, she claims that his style was greatly influenced, directly or indirectly, by Cicero's precepts on historiography.[78] In addition, Boece's dramatic style of narrative can be, she states, attributable to Cicero's statements in *De oratore.*[79] She summarises what Boece can have received from Cicero's precepts: 'This implies not concocting a story to change a character, for better or for worse, not omitting an account which might alter perceptions of the matter under discussion, but heightening the inherent drama in an episode, providing speech to illustrate the characters of the actors, making the event come alive.'[80] Although she does not mention the word *enargeia*, what she means here is a very similar idea of it.

CONCLUSION

Bellenden is greatly concerned about the quality of his vernacular text, and he seeks to heighten this throughout his translation and revision work. Bellenden's translation policy is characteristically early

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[76] *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia*, p. 579.
[77] Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 143.
[78] Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 116-67 (p. 143).
[79] 'It is unlikely that Cicero's opinions were novel to his original audience; the probability was that, much as the purpose of history has repeatedly been held to be the teaching of moral lessons, so the desire for exciting, well-written history was common in Cicero's milieu as in many others through time.' See, Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 137.
[80] Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 137-38.

modern, and is significantly influenced by humanist literary theories, especially as expressed by Erasmus and Gavin Douglas, which put a high value on the *copia* of texts. What he aimed at in his translation was to procure the *copia* of his text and preserve the value of the original, especially its vividness or *enargeia*. He retained this purpose from the first, MS M, to the last, the printed version. The difference between these two versions is attributable to a difference in the way in which Bellenden's intentions are embodied. When Bellenden was working on MS M, he was not confident in his role as a translator nor in the quality of vernacular Scots, and so, as Erasmus first did, he paid more attention to accuracy than to rhetorical transformation; he followed Boece's text literally and this caused his translation to be lengthy. As he revised the text, he acquired more confidence as a vernacular translator and hence more freedom to tailor the text according to his own perspective or even preference. In the printed version, therefore, Bellenden could put more emphasis on the rhetorical transformation of the source text; his text becomes shorter and more concise in order to reproduce the original spirit and dynamism. The intermediary manuscripts, as we will see shortly, demonstrate the process of this rhetorical transformation. It was not only this translation policy, however, that motivated Bellenden to revise the *Chronicles* so attentively and extensively. The alteration of the medium from manuscript to print meant the alteration of the manner of its reception. Bellenden must have been fully aware of this, and his revision work reflects it. Bellenden's attitude towards history also varies according to the content of the historical narrative. How these multiple factors affect Bellenden's translation and revision work will be discussed in detail in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER 2: BELLENDEN'S TRANSLATION AND REVISION PRACTICE IN BOOK 1

Book 1 is a crucial book narrating the whole account of the origin of the Scots.[1] A Greek named Gathelos goes to Egypt and gets married to Scota, Pharaoh's daughter. The couple later settle in Spain, where they build a town called Brigance and rule over it. Gathelos names the people under his rule 'Scottish' after his wife, Scota. Many Scottish people later settle in Ireland with Hemecus, a son of Gathelos and Scota, and are governed by several rulers including Simon Brek. Finally they come to Albion and settle down there, and the Picts also come to Albion. Then occurs the first war among the Scots, the Picts and the Britons. In order to help the Scots, Fergus, a son of king Ferquhard in Ireland, comes to Albion, and he becomes the first king of Scotland.

The most striking fact concerning Bellenden's translation and revision practice in Book 1 is that the book is subjected to thorough revision and alteration from the first manuscript version to the final printed version. Few identical passages can be found between these two versions, and, what is more, almost all the chapter divisions are changed from MS M to the printed version. This may mean that Bellenden initially approached his revision work with great enthusiasm, which he could not sustain for the later books; on the other hand, it could mean that Bellenden's translation policy was not fully established in Book 1 of the first manuscript version and so that book later required much emendation. It is more probable, however, that Bellenden's overall translation policy did not change during his revision work. What caused such thorough revision was changes to the perspective he had on the narration of history as well as to the style he employed.

As Book 1 forms the foundation of the history, providing the Scottish people with important information concerning their national identity, Bellenden must have been attentive towards the narration

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[1] Nicola Royan claims that the important description of the origin myth of the Scots is completed in Book 1 in Boece: 'For Boece, the description of the origin of the Scots is complete with the death of Fergus I, at the end of the first book, because there the Scots have arrived in their permanent home, and their first action in the subsequent book is to choose the means by which they were to be governed.' Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece: A Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), p. 122. Bellenden also follows Boece in this regard. He states at the end of the book: 'And sa endis þe first buke of thir Cornikillis / In þe quhilkis we haif sene how þe scottis first begouth / and how fergus was þair first King / bringand Justice and lawis amang thame. Now we will schew þe residew of þe King*is* succeding eftir him.' (MS M, p. 21)

of it. He kept revising the book meticulously; besides stylistic alterations, Bellenden shifted the focus of the historical narration from MS M to the printed version. In general, in MS M, Bellenden's narration of history is based on that of Boece. By the printed version, however, Bellenden has acquired his own perspective on how to present the narrative of the history; while Boece narrates history from the angle of the Scottish people, Bellenden shifts the emphasis to the Scottish nation. As a result, although Bellenden generally follows Boece's narrative and conveys its substance, the original text is transformed according to the newly introduced perspective, together with a reorganisation of the overall structure of the *Chronicles*.

BELLENDEN'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE NARRATION OF HISTORY

That Bellenden's focus on the narration of history changes from MS M to the printed version is notably represented by chapter divisions. As Nicola Royan claims, because there are no chapter divisions in Boece, it is Bellenden's own choice to divide the narrative within one book into chapters for the sake of readers:

> One of the features that makes the *Scotorum Historia* so very awkward to read is that it has no division within it smaller than the book, neither chapters nor paragraphs. [. . .] Bellenden was presumably making an appropriate and acceptable decision on behalf of his audience in his divisions of the *Scotorum Historia*.[2]

It should be noted, however, that Bellenden's way of dividing the history in MS M is not identical with that in the printed version. In MS M, Bellenden does not seem to have any consistent subject or criterion to follow when he divides the history into smaller sections. In the printed version, on the other hand, he acquires his own criterion according to which he prioritises the history. He gives precedence to, although it sounds pleonastic, the history of Scotland. He emphasises the flow of the history of the Scottish nation, not the Scottish people. As Royan suggests, Boece's history is, as the title reveals, focussed on the Scottish

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[2] Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 136-57 (p. 139). It should be noted that this practice of dividing large-scale works into books was found in earlier vernacular writers such as John Ireland, William Caxton, John Lydgate and Gavin Douglas. Lydgate and Douglas even put chapter headings at the beginning of each chapter. See Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), pp. 105-06. Bawcutt argues, however, that Douglas's chapters impose 'hard and definite divisions upon the different books of the *Aeneid*, thus weakening their continuous and unified effect' (p. 106). The same argument will be applied to the *Chronicles*. Royan claims that Boece seems to have set his mind against divisions in favour of the unity of his work. By imposing chapter divisions, Bellenden effaces the connection between each event found in Boece, and thus fails to 'reproduce exactly the organisation' of the original Latin. See Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', pp. 139-40 (p. 140), and 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 308.

people.[3] Bellenden changes the title into the *Chronicles of Scotland*, and thus shifts the focus to the nation itself. Consequently, events concerning the Scottish nation, or its ancestral body, are prioritised in Book 1 over any other events.

Bellenden's concern about chapter divisions is particularly evident in Book 1. Here, Bellenden increases the number of chapter divisions from MS M to the printed version from 9 to 12, and he also changes where they occur.[4] Bellenden divides chapter 3 of MS M, which deals with matters in Ireland, into two sections in the printed version; one is on the reign of Simon Brek, and the other is on the reign of his offspring.[5] In fact, from the first, Bellenden saw a certain break between these two sections in MS M, probably due to the change of kings, because he inserts between them the phrase 'Bot now I will Return agane to my first mater. (p. 7)' And he did divide these two sections later in the printed version probably with the aim of providing readers with the course of events more smoothly. Moreover, in the printed version, Bellenden does not follow the next chapter division between chapters 3 and 4 of MS M. In MS M, the division between chapters 3 and 4 corresponds to the break between events in Ireland and the events concerning the Picts. Bellenden's chapter division in MS M, that is, is based on racial or geographical difference, and the matter of the Picts is given an equal significance to that of the Scots. Yet, in the printed version, Bellenden does not make the division here. He makes the division later, in the place where the hostile attitude the Britons assumed towards the alliance between the Scots and the Picts is described. The treatment of the Picts, who take the side of the Scots, is thus integrated into the description of the Scots in Ireland.

Similarly, chapter 2 of MS M is divided into three sections in the printed version. The first division, which is made at Gathelos's installation of the marble chair, is not a chapter division. It is a small division which is made to highlight this episode.[6] The marble chair has a significant meaning in Scottish history.

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[3] Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 120, footnote 12, and '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', p. 138.

[4] All the chapter divisions in MSS C, R and A correspond to those in the printed version. That means that Bellenden acquired his own perspective on the narration of history, according to which the whole structure of Book 1 was reorganised, at an early stage of the revision process. See also a table of chapter divisions in Appendix III.

[5] Unless otherwise mentioned, the chapter numbers referred to in this chapter are taken from Book 1.

[6] Although the division is made in the same way as the other chapter divisions in the printed version with a capital letter, this division is not counted as a chapter division. That might mean that this division can be

After king Fergus, every Scottish king is crowned in the chair, on which it is inscribed that wherever the chair is, the place should belong to the Scots. Boece mentions the inscription on the chair in hexametric verse in a prose setting: 'Suprascriptio lapidi longa post secula (vti res ipsa indicat) haec est insculpta. Ni fallat fatum Scoti quocumque locatum. Inuenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem.' (fol. 2v) (This inscription was engraved on the stone very much later (as the facts show): 'Unless fate deceives, the Scots are bound to reign wherever they find the stone placed.') Bellenden, on the other hand, gives more emphasis to this crucial episode, and shows a certain critical juncture in the history. He separates the verse from the prose sentences before and after, and makes a new, though small, division here.[7] The second division is made between the description about Hiber in Spain and that concerning Hemecus in Ireland. By starting a new chapter with the events in Ireland, Bellenden gives focus on it as the main subject. Inversely, he puts the description about Spain at the end of the preceding chapter, and reduces focus on it.

Chapters 6 and 7 also show a similar approach to chapter division. In MS M, Bellenden's division is based on racial difference: chapter 6 deals with the Scots, and chapter 7 the Picts. In the printed version, however, he divides chapter 6 by the enthronement of Fergus. Thus the new chapter begins with the start of Fergus's reign. This chapter continues without any breaks until the oration by Fergus in the middle of chapter 7 in MS M. Hence the material about the Picts, to which chapter 7 is allocated in MS M, is embedded between the early reign of Fergus and his oration. In doing this, Bellenden decreases the impact of the Picts, while he gives more emphasis to the episode concerning Fergus, the Scottish king. Obviously Bellenden makes these revisions with a belief that events concerning Scotland should be emphasised as the main subject. Moreover, these new divisions in the printed version frequently

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attributed to Davidson, not Bellenden. Nevertheless, considering the fact that both MSS C and A also bear similar divisions to emphasise the episode, it was probably made by Bellenden. Notably, MS A counts it as a chapter division.

[7] MS M reads: 'This Chaire of m*er*bell had sik fortoun *and* weird þat quhair It was fundin In ony land The samyn Land sall pertene as natyve to Scottis as þer versis schewis The Scottis sall Ioyss and brouke the Landis haill | Quhair þai fynd It bot gif weirdis faill.' (p. 3) In the printed version, Bellenden makes some revisions to this: 'This chiar of merbyl had sic weird, þ*at* it maid euery land (quhair it wes found) natiue to Scottis, as thir versis schawis. The Scottis sall bruke that realme, as natyue ground. | (Geif vveirdis fayll nocht) quhair euir this chiar is found.' (fol. 2) The verse on the marble chair put at the end of this section is originally located in a different place in Boece. Bellenden changes its location, and puts additional sentences in the place where the verse used to be in Boece. Notably, in the printed edition, Thomas Davidson puts manicules (pointing fingers) at the beginning as well as the end of these additional sentences in order to emphasise them. For a detailed account of the symbolism of manicule, see below Chapter 5, p. 151.

correspond with changes of rulers or kings. That is not surprising considering the fact that, as Royan and Broun claim, kings are 'vitally important to medieval and modern historiography'.[8] Besides the advantage of 'being familiar to every audience', many 'king-list[s]' or 'origin-legend-plus-king-list[s]', contribute to the national identity of the Scots, namely 'indomitability and tradition'.[9] They were of particular use in offering an image of the wholeness or unity of the nation, as the actions of kings bind and influence the entire realm.[10] This is closely connected with Bellenden's alteration of the emphasis in the title from the Scottish people to the Scottish nation. As Royan argues, Bellenden's title implies that 'the king of Scots had power over the whole of Scotland from the beginning, rather than being king of a people who inhabited only a part'.[11] When Bellenden puts more focus on the kings by associating them with divisions in history, the image of the Scottish nation united under the rule of the Scottish kings is all the more intensified.

BELLENDEN'S TRANSLATION IN PRACTICE: STYLISTIC CHANGES

In Book 1, Bellenden does not make any significant additions to the original text.[12] No major additional passages can be found in MS M. Moreover, in almost all the cases where text is added from MS M to the printed version, these are not Bellenden's own insertions but constitute passages simply missed out from Boece in the first translation. For instance, some mistakes of number in MS M are scrupulously searched out and rectified in the printed version. The date when the Picts came to Albion given in chapter 4 is a good example. Boece gives this date: '[F]uit annus ille quo Picti in Albionem venere, septimus ab orbe condito et Sexagesimus supra octingentesimum et quater millesimum.' (fol. 5) (That was the year when the Picts came to Albion; four thousand eight hundred and sixty seventh from the beginning of the world.) In MS M, however, this date is wrongly given: 'Sone eftir þair cu*m*ing In Albion (quhilk was fra þe begy*n*nyng

[8] Nicola Royan with Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c. 850-1707', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Ian Brown, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), I: *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy (to 1314) and Murray Pittock (1314-1707), pp. 168-83 (p. 168).
[9] Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 314, and Royan with Broun, pp. 168-71.
[10] Royan with Broun, pp. 179-83. They argue that it was this image of the wholeness of the nation offered in the works of Boece and Bellenden that was an 'essential aspect of their appeal'. (p. 179)
[11] Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', p. 138.
[12] In this regard, Book 1 is contrastive to Book 16, where Bellenden inserts a significant amount of material into the printed version. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

of þe warld) iiij^m viij^c / *and* lx ȝeris.' (p. 8)[13] The word 'septimus' in Boece is not translated here. Probably Bellenden overlooked it because of the phrase 'ab orbe condito', which is embedded between 'septimus' and the rest of the figures. This small mistake is not corrected either in MSS C, R or A.[14] But later Bellenden notices this mistake and gives a correct date in the printed version: 'Sone efter thair cumyng in Albion, quhilk wes fra the begynnyng of the warld .iiii.M.viii.C.lxvii. ȝeris.' (fol. 4^v)

This kind of revision is made at several levels. For example, in the scene where the Scots and the Picts form an alliance against the Britons in chapter 7, Bellenden restores some passages he omits first. Boece writes:

> [P]rimum sopitis extinctisque veteris odii causis, ita vt nullum dissidii incendium in futurum viderentur resumpturae: veteri foederi nouae leges sunt additae, vt extremum bellum alteri populorum illatum vtrique haberetur commune: vbi cum Britonibus praeliandum foret vterque cum altero descenderet in certamen: foedera alia aliis facta sunt legibus. Secundum haec vtrinque domum est concessum. (fol. 9)
>
> (Firstly, the causes of the old hatred were put to sleep and extinguished in such a way that they looked as though they would take up no fire of disagreement again in future. New clauses are added to the old treaty that major war brought against one of the nations should be held as common to both; when there had to be a battle with the Britons, each side was to join the other in coming down to fight. Other treaties were made with other conditions. After this both sides went off home.)

Bellenden, who regards 'veteris odii causis' as their struggle for lands, renders this in MS M:

> [The scottis and Pichtis war aggreitt on all debaittis] eftir þe tenno*ur* of the auld band with þir new conditiouns / That Jlkane of þir two pepill leiff content of þair awne Rowmez Supporting vther als wele in hono*ur* as proffitt / quhen hie and difficill chargis occurris aganis þair Inimeis / And all Iniuris done to ony of þame suld be Reputt as done to thame baith. (p. 15)

Note that the last two clauses are not translated. They are, however, restored later in the printed version:

> [The Scottis and Pichtis war agreit on al debatis,] efter the tenour of þe auld band, with thir new conditionis. Jlk ane of thir two pepyl sal leif content of thair awin rowmes, supportyng othir als weill in honour as in profit, quhen hie and difficil chargis occurris aganis thair ennymes. The iniuris done to ony ane of thaym sal be reput commoun to thaym baith. And

[13] To be fair, this mistake might be ascribed to the scribe, who was apparently careless in transcribing the part; he missed out 'fra' and 'iiii^m'. Noticing the mistake, he squeezed 'fra' into space between 'was' and 'þe', whereas he wrote 'iiii^m' in the margin with an insertion mark. Also note that the parentheses are inserted wrongly.

[14] See MS C, fol. 33^v, MS R, fol. 2 and MS A, fol. 30^v.

> quhen it wes necessar to thaym to fecht aganis thair ennymes, baith the pepyll sall conuene togidder vnder ane mynd *and* ordina*n*ce. The peace beand roborat in this maner, baith the kyngis returnit hame. (fol. 7v)

Although this restoration is already made in MSS C, R and A, only MSS C and R, which are supposed to be early intermediary manuscripts, show the remains of MS M. MS C reads:

> [The scottis and pichtis war aggreit on all debatis] efter the teno*ur* of the auld band with thir new conditionis that Ilk ane of thir two peple sall leiff content of þair awin rowmys supporting vþ*er* alsweill in hono*ur* as in in [*sic.*] p*ro*ffitt / quhe*n* hie and difficill chargis occurris aganis þair e*n*nymes. all Iniuris done to ony ane of þai*m* to be reput as done to thame baith and quhen It wes necessar to thame to fecht aganis thair e*n*nymes baith the peple sall convene togidder vnder ane mynd *and* ordinance the peace beand roborat in this maner baith the kingis returnit to þair realmes. (fol. 37v)[15]

Note the phrase 'as done to thame baith' is still retained here. This is changed into 'commoun to thaym baith' in MS A, a later intermediary manuscript. Although Bellenden restored the omitted passages in an early stage of revision, he kept further revising small points in its later stages.

Although Bellenden is attentive to Boece at each stage of his translation and revision, his practice in rendition changes from MS M to the printed version. As has already been stated, MS M is characteristically lengthy and the printed version is more concise. The intermediary manuscripts come in between in this respect. One example can be found in the scene in chapter 2, where the Spanish start a battle against Gathelos. Boece writes how Gathelos responded to it: 'Ad cuius belli initium Gathelus in aciem copias educit. Aliquandiu dubio Marte pugnatum est, victoria tandem Scotos sequuta.' (fol. 2) (At the commencement of this war, Gathelus led out his forces to battle. For some time they fought on equal terms, and finally victory fell to the Scots.) Bellenden renders this in MS M: 'Gathelus nocht vnknawing thair ordinance brocht furth his pepill arrayit In batall / and set on his Innimeis / Thro*ch*t quhilk was ane scharp bergane cruelly fochtin. No*ch*ttheles, þe victory succedit to þe Scottis.' (p. 3) He adds such phrases as 'nocht vnknawing thair ordinance', 'set on his innimeis', 'scharp' and 'cruelly' in order to make the scene vivid to the readers by showing the course of events in detail. Consequently, the text is nearly twice as long as the corresponding part of Boece. If we examine the revisions Bellenden makes after this, it will become clear that Bellenden puts more emphasis on the promptness and bravery of the Scots. In the

[15] See MS R, fol. 4v and MS A, fol. 35v.

intermediary manuscripts, this rendition is revised with deletions and additions. Although its full length is not so different from MS M, the description of the battle scene is elaborated. MS A reads: '[G]athelus no*ch*t knawand [*sic.*] þair ordinance bro*ch*t furth his peple arrait in batall /And set one his enimess w*ith* sic audacite / and spreit þat þai war discomfist howbeit þe victorie succedit.' (fol. 27)[16] Here Bellenden still retains 'nocht vnknawing thair ordinance', his addition in MS M, and expands the description of sharp battle in order to conjure up the image of it. In the printed version, this is further revised. Bellenden again makes the rendition much more concise, but it conveys the meaning in Boece: 'Gathelus knawyng weil thair ordinance, brocht furth his pepyl arrayit in battel. Than followit ane richt dangerus *and* doutsum battell. Bot at last the vyctory succedit to Scottis.' (fol. 2) Bellenden still retains his additional information that Gathelos knew the battle-array of his enemy. Furthermore, although the battle scene is greatly abbreviated, the doubling of 'dangerus *and* doutsum' describes it very well. Bellenden digests the spirit of Boece and recreates it in his vernacular text. This process of revision is noticeable in that it reveals Bellenden's great concern about the *copia* of his text.

Similarly, a part of king Fergus's oration after the victory against the Britons in chapter 8 shows a process of making a concise as well as an effective rendition. Bellenden's rendition in MS M is rather long with additional words and phrases. But it is again made shorter in the printed version. Boece writes: 'Pacem suppliciter eam petentibus concessimus, nulla post confectum praelium vsi in victos violentia, nostram vicimus iram innatamque ferociam.' (fol. 10) (When they asked for peace as suppliants, we granted it to them. Using no violence against the conquered after the end of the battle, we conquered our own anger and inborn fierceness.) In MS M, Bellenden tries to convey the original meaning with some explanatory and supplementary phrases: 'Attoure eftir oure Triumphant victory we haif nocht schawin ws to Cruell Bot be onlie Compassioun of thair sorowfull miserie / gevand þame peace / To schaw that wee ar na less dantour*is* of oure Jnnative ferocite, and Ire / Than victouris of oure aduersaris.' (p. 17) He adds such phrases as 'be onlie Compassioun' or 'Than victouris of oure aduersaris' probably with the aim of making the situation more comprehensible and imaginable. The additional phrase 'Than victouris of our

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[16] MS C has nearly the same reading, except that it reads 'not vnknawing' for 'not knawand' in MS A. Probably 'not knawand' in the latter is a scribal mistake. See MS C, fol. 31.

aduersaris' shows that Bellenden finds, in Boece, a contrast between conquering enemy and conquering anger. Thus, his rendition in MS M is made to highlight this contrast. In the intermediary manuscripts, this is slightly changed and shortened. MS A reads: 'Now we haue vsit our victory but ony regour or cruelteiss to schaw vs dantour*is* of our Ire *and* Innative fersnes be wisdome.' (fol. 37)[17] Furthermore, in the printed version, it is made surprisingly concise: 'We haue vsit our victory but ony crueltei s. We haue vincust our Jre.' (fol. 9) Even though Bellenden gives shorter renditions in the intermediary manuscripts, the printed version shows drastic concision here. But it still conveys Boece's original sense. This example also shows Bellenden's endeavour to describe events effectively. After some trials, he reached his concise, but effective, rendition.

Bellenden's concern about the vivid description, or *enargeia*, in his translation can also be found in chapter 5, where an old man makes a speech in front of the Scots. He states that he can understand how eagerly the Scottish people want to revenge the wicked deeds of the Picts. Boece writes: 'Tum quidam maximus natu, Scio (inquit) contribules contumeliam hanc vobis animos ira adeo incendisse, vt ab vltione modo res nostrae paterentur, nec vnum quidem diem foret temperandum.' (fol. 6) (Then, a certain old man said, 'I know, fellow-tribesmen, that this injury has so fired to your feelings with anger that, so long as our circumstances allow, there should be no abstaining from revenge even for one day'.) Bellenden renders this in MS M: 'Than sayid ane aigit man of grete autorite in this maner / I knaw wele (my hartlie freyndis) This Jniure of pichtis Js sa Jmportabill, and odious / That we suld but ony tary Revenge þe samyn.' (p. 10) This is more or less literally close to Boece, though he ignores the phrase 'modo res nostrae paterentur'. In the intermediary manuscripts, this rendition is nearly retained. MS A reads: 'In þe mentyme ane agit man of gret autorite said i*n* þis maner / I knaw weill (my hertly frendis) þis Iniure of pychtis Is sa Intollerable and odiouss þat we suld but any tary co*n*cur to revenge þe same.' (fol. 32ᵛ)[18] Here Bellenden replaces the word 'Jmportabill' with 'Intollerable' and newly adds the phrase 'co*n*cur to' into MS A.[19] This seems to

[17] MSS C and R have the same readings here. See, fols 38ᵛ and 5 respectively.
[18] MS C has the same reading here. See, fol. 35. Noticeably, in MS R, 'Jmportable' is not replaced with 'Intollerable' yet. See fol. 3.
[19] Bellenden also changes the transition here. Although 'then' in MS M is a closer rendition of 'tum' in Boece, he replaces it with 'in þe mentyme' in the intermediary manuscripts. Royan suggests that Bellenden often uses this transition in order to show an episode is 'slightly divorced from what is happening elsewhere'. See Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', pp. 139-40 (p. 140). As Bellenden

suggest that Bellenden wanted to emphasise the fury of the Scots against the iniquities of the Picts, and looked for a good expression for it. And in the printed version, Bellenden came to a solution. He revises it stylistically and succeeds in conjuring up a vivid image: 'Jn the mene tyme rais vp ane agit man, and sayd in this maner. J knaw weill (my hartly frendis) this iniure of Pichtis is sa intollerabyll *and* odius, that we suld rusche haistely to harnes to reuenge þe same.' (fol. 5v) The dynamic phrases 'rais vp' and 'rusche haistely to harnes' are newly employed here. With them, Bellenden's history obtains new *enargeia* and dynamism.

Bellenden's Translation in Practice: Changes of Perspective on History

There are several cases where Bellenden makes revisions according to the change of focus caused by his newly introduced perspective on the narration of history. As has been mentioned, Boece's work is the history of the Scottish people, and thus focus is put on the people. On the other hand, Bellenden's is focussed on the nation itself, and the nation is more often than not represented by its ruler, or, in many cases, the king. In chapter 2, for instance, Bellenden makes a subtle but deliberate change caused by this shift of focus. After conquering Ireland, Hiber designates his brother, Hemecus, as a governor of the island and goes back to Spain. Boece writes this scene: '[Hiber] fratremque Hemecum populo praefecit, vtque ei audientes sint iussit.' (fol. 2v) ([Hiber] placed his brother, Hemecus, in authority over the people and commanded them to be obedient to him.) In MS M, Bellenden renders this in a very similar way: '[Hiber] left his bruther hemecus abone þe pepill Co*m*mandand thame to be obedient to hyme.' (p. 4) In the printed version, however, although conveying the original meaning, Bellenden transfers the focus of this sentence from the people who obey Hemecus to Hemecus who governs the people. In doing so, Bellenden deliberately brings the governor to the foreground, and the people to the background. The printed version reads: '[Hiber] left his broder to gouerne thaym be his autorite and Justice.' (fol. 2v)[20] Although this is a small change, it is not the only instance of this kind of alteration.

In chapter 6, Bellenden makes a similar revision in the scene where Fergus asks the Scots whether they want only one governor or several. The Scots choose to have only one governor. Boece writes: 'Haec

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persistently employs 'in þe mentyme' here, it seems that he intends to detach the episode from the preceding narrative and to emphasise it.

[20] MSS C, R and A have the same readings as the printed version. See fols 31v, 1 and 27v respectively.

aut similia vbi populus Fergusium audiuerat orantem, ne multos reges sibi viderentur creare summam rerum, aut optimatibus, aut ipsi multitudini permittere aspernabantur. Et ne instantis iam belli motus populum sine capite, exercitum sine duce repente adoriretur, omnes regem volebant.' (fol. 6v) (When people heard Fergus speak in this or a similar way, so as not to seem to create many kings for themselves, they rejected the idea of giving the supreme command to the aristocrats or the multitude itself. And for fear that the disturbance of the now imminent war should suddenly attack the people without a head or the army without a leader, they all desired [one] king.) Bellenden renders this with some elaboration in MS M: 'Quhen endit was this orison*n* of fergus / The counsale thocht pluralite of Capitanis wes vnproffitable / And condiscendit with ane consent / To haif Ane King / quhilk sall haif autorite / abone thame all / To govern thame / In this present troubill.' (p. 11) Here, as with the original Latin, the event is narrated from the perspective of the people. In the printed version, on the other hand, Bellenden reduces the focus on the people and makes their right to claim a king weaker and vaguer. Inversely, the authority of the king is given more focus. Note that 'To haif Ane King' is replaced with 'to be gouernit be empire of ane kyng': 'The counsel (efter this orison of fergus) thocht pluralyte of capitanis vnproffitabill, and thairfor be degest consultatioun condiscendit to be gouernit be empire of ane kyng, *and* this kyng to haue empire on thame als weill in peace as in euery trubyl appering aganis thair ennymes.' (fol. 6) Significantly, as he emphasises the authority of the king, Bellenden accompanies this with the word 'empire'. While Bellenden does not employ the word 'empire' in MS M, he uses the word twice in the printed version.

Bellenden frequently uses the words 'empire' and 'emperor' throughout the history, and this tendency becomes more conspicuous in the printed version than in MS M. If we examine the corresponding parts in MSS C and A, it can be revealed that Bellenden is determined to employ this word, and that he keeps revising this passage and adds the word at several stages. MS C reads: 'the consall eft*er* this orisoun of fergus / tho*ch*t pluralite of capitanis vnproffitable and þairfore be degest consultatioun condisce*n*dit to be gou*er*nit be empyre of ane king / and this king to haue autorite to gyde thame in peace as in eu*er*y truble appering aganis þair e*n*nymes.' (fol. 35v)[21] Here, Bellenden makes substantial alterations and the overall rendition becomes closer to that in the printed version rather than to that of MS M. He

[21] MS R has the same reading. See fols 3-3v.

newly employs the word 'empire' when he changes the passage 'To haif Ane King' in MS M into 'to be gou*er*nit by empyre of ane king'. The last half of the passage is altered with some expansion, and Bellenden's revision of this part in MS A rewards further scrutiny. MS A reads: 'þe counsall (efter þis orisone of Fergus) tho*ch*t pluralite of capitanis vnproffitable / and þairfor be degest consultacioun condiscendit to be governit be empire of ane king and þis king to haue autorite to governe þame baith in weir and peace / þat þai my*ch*t þairthrow þe better resist all truble appering be þair enimeiss.' (fol. 33) Note that, despite his revision in MS C, Bellenden restores the word 'governe', and the last half of the passage is further expanded. Intriguingly, as has been shown above, in his final revision in the printed version, together with his insertion of the word 'empire', Bellenden further revises this part back to something very similar to his reading in MS C. This is one peculiar characteristic of Bellenden's revision practice; it sometimes happens that, after revising his translation meticulously at several stages, Bellenden eventually adopts his earlier renderings.[22]

IMPERIAL IDEAS IN BOOK 1

That Bellenden replaces 'authorite' with 'empire' in the printed version is of particular significance. The word 'empire', or *imperium*, is originally derived from *Imperium romanum*. In medieval and early modern Europe, as David Armitage argues, the Roman legacy of the word 'empire' was threefold: 'It [imperium] denoted independent authority; it described a territorial unit; and it offered an historical foundation for claims to both the authority and the territory ruled by the Roman emperors.'[23] In the first case, although, originally, the word 'empire' described the 'sphere of executive authority possessed by the Roman magistrates', it later lost its limitation and meant 'unlimited authority in any sphere'.[24] Each ruler claimed 'the same powers within his own domain as the emperors had asserted over the *Imperium Romanum*', as the

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[22] This practice of adopting earlier renderings after revision work is one of the things that can make it difficult to establish the precise textual relationship of extant manuscripts of the *Chronicles* on occasion. This practice can also be found in his revision work of *Livy*. See Appendix I, p. 215.

[23] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 30.

[24] Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 12, and Armitage, p. 30.

often repeated phrase by the French jurist shows: *rex imperator in regno suo*.[25] As this independence of authority denoted that sovereignty could not be 'divided within the polity' nor 'overridden from without', late medieval and early modern rulers frequently employed the word 'empire' in order to claim 'both independence from external interference and ascendancy over internal competitors'.[26] In the second case, after the model of *Imperium Romanum*, which was composed of 'distinct provinces bound to the Empire by the emperor himself', 'empire' was regarded as 'a compound of territories'.[27] Many early modern monarchies thus claimed that they were 'emperors' because they 'possessed a number of distinct territories which were united only under their headship'.[28] Thirdly, this imperial idea derived from *Imperium Romanum* provided early modern rulers with 'the resources for the legitimation of their independence'.[29] As the root sense of the word *imperium* is 'order' or 'command', 'emperor' was originally regarded as someone who makes an order. As Anthony Pagden argues, the Roman emperors were not always generals, but they also became judges; emperors became 'the existence of a supreme legislative authority', which was beyond the confines of being mere kings.[30] Hence, 'empire' also denotes the domain 'composed of a number of different states in which the legislative will of a single ruler was unquestioned, one where not only was the prince "legibus solutus", but the laws were the expression of the prince's will'.[31] Out of these three senses of 'empire', the first category seems to be relevant to Book 1, where Bellenden employs the word 'empire' as a synonym for 'authority'. As we have seen above, Book 1 is a book where the founding of the Scottish nation is narrated. Bellenden's employment of the word 'empire' in this book is, therefore, very suggestive. He seeks to show the invincible independence of the

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[25] Armitage, p. 30.
[26] Armitage, pp. 30-31. In late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Scotland, for instance, many ecclesiastical buildings were built with arched imperial crowns. Roger A. Mason, following David McRoberts's argument, claims that these imperial crowns on ecclesiastical architecture are linked to the pursuit by the Stewart monarchy of authority over the national Church. See Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 130-31, and Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland Is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's 'Scotichronicon'*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), pp. 73-91 (pp. 77-80).
[27] Armitage, p. 33.
[28] Armitage, p. 33.
[29] Armitage, p. 34.
[30] Pagden, p. 15.
[31] Pagden, p. 16.

Scottish king within the Scottish nation, from its foundation.

This surmise can be endorsed by another example of Bellenden's employment of the word 'empire' in chapter 5. This is the scene which we have explored above, where an old man makes a speech to urge his fellows to revenge the Picts immediately. The old man suggests to the Scots that they should choose one leader from amongst them. Here Bellenden changes the location where the word 'empire' is employed from MS M to the printed version. Boece writes: 'Inde quia ducum multitudo frequentius seditionem pariat, iubebimus vnum cuius potestati et arbitrio omnia permittentur, eo duce copiis rite instructis hostem adoriemur decertaturi pro vita, pro libertate.' (fol. 6) (Because a multitude of leaders quite often produces sedition, we will order [the selection of] one to whose power and judgement everything should be handed over. With him as leader, when the forces are duly drawn up, we shall attack the enemy, intending to fight it out for our life and liberty.) Bellenden renders this using the word 'empire' for Boece's 'potestati' in MS M: 'And becaus multitude of Capitanis Is sedicious / Best Is to cheiss Ane of ws / To haiff Autorite / Abone The Laiff / Vnder quhais counsale And Impire wee schall fecht / for oure Lyvis and Liberteis.' (p. 10) In the printed version, on the other hand, the word 'empire' replaces the word 'Autorite' in MS M: 'Forther sen pluralite of capitanis (as oft occurris) rasis seditioun, best is to chese ane amang ws to haue empire aboue the laif. Under quhais counsel we sall fecht for our lyuis *and* liberteis.' (fol. 5v)[32] Although Bellenden changes the place where the word 'empire' is employed from MS M to the printed version, what he meant by 'empire' in both versions is the authority of the Scottish king. By employing the word 'empire' in the scene where the Scottish king is selected, Bellenden shows that the Scottish king is, from the beginning, a ruler, who has the non-subordinate power in the Scottish empire. In the printed version, where Bellenden shifts the focus from the people to the nation, he foregrounds the kings who rule over the Scottish nation; the king of the Scots is now the symbol of the Scottish nation.

This idea of Scotland as an empire is closely related to another recurrent word in Bellenden's translation: 'commonweal'. As Roger A. Mason argues, imperial ideas were often employed by Stewart kings in order to show that Scotland was an independent nation which matched other contemporary

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[32] MSS R, C and A have the same readings as MS M. This means that this revision was made at a very late stage. See MS R, fol. 3, MS C, fol. 35 and MS A, fol. 32v.

imperial monarchies of Europe.[33] Hence they were closely related to the idea of defending the country. In order to keep its status as an empire, it has to be defended from external powers. In Bellenden's translation, we can see how passages concerning this social responsibility to defend the nation change with an increasing awareness of Scotland as an 'empire'. Mason claims that, in the sixteenth century, 'the idea of the *bonum commune* – the "common profit" or "common good" of the realm as a whole – played a highly significant role' in political discourse.[34] Accordingly, the chivalric code, the vocabulary of social responsibility of defending the nation, also changed from the medieval private one, which pursues 'singular profit' to the new Renaissance one, which pursues 'common profit'.[35] The defence of the nation became a civic responsibility, which not only the king but the people are supposed to engage in:

> It is, after all, the humanist educational programme – the classically orientated *studia humanitatis* – which is generally credited with promoting civic ideals among Europe's militarised elites and paving the way for their transformation from knights in the service of Christendom into gentlemen in the service of the crown and the commonwealth.[36]

That Bellenden's translation, especially his employment of the word 'commonweal', shows the early stage of this process has been discussed by Mason. He demonstrates that Bellenden, who equates defence of the nation with military action, often connects the word 'commonweal' with chivalric terms.[37] For instance, in chapter 4, in the scene where the Scottish people decide to form a league with the Picts because their national power is not great enough, the word 'commonweal' is employed only in the printed version. Boece reads: '[V]t auctis viribus: hostium vires prohiberent facilius: in eam conuenere sententiam.' (fol. 5) (In order that, having increased their own strength, they might more easily keep at bay the strength of the enemy, they came to this joint decision.) Bellenden renders 'viribus' in Boece as 'strenthis' in MS M: 'heirfor to augment thair strenthis aganis þe britons / þai war p*ro*foundly Resoluit / to haif alliance with þe pichis.' (p. 8) The printed version, on the other hand, replaces the word 'strenthis' with 'commoun

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[33] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, pp. 104-38 (p. 134). For a detailed description of Bellenden's employment of imperial ideas in terms of defending the country from foreign enemies, see below Chapter 3, pp. 92-94.
[34] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 91.
[35] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 91.
[36] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 92. Mason adds, however, that even before the advent of the new learning, 'the idea of public service – of duty to the *bonum commune* – was already a highly significant touchstone of political behaviour'.
[37] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, pp. 97-98.

weill': 'Heirfor to augment thair co*m*moun weill, and to maik thaym the more stra*n*g aganis þe Britonis, thay wer profoundly resoluit to haue aliance with þe Pichtis.' (fol. 4v) As this revision is already made in the intermediary manuscripts, it can be inferred that Bellenden had this notion of national defence as a civic responsibility from a relatively early stage.[38] And this tendency can also be found in his treatment of another concept relating to the civic responsibility, 'counsel'.

The concept of 'counsel' was closely related to the idea of kingship, and thus with that of defence of the realm: 'If the administration of justice and defence of the realm represented the twin pillars of good kingship, they were strongly supported by the notion of good counsel.'[39] People had to protect their nation from the arbitrary rule of the king, and so counsel was 'the most frequently offered corrective to the abuse of power in Scotland during this period'.[40] Bellenden employs this important idea of 'consultation' or 'counsel' by the nobles more frequently in the printed version than in MS M. For example, in the scene where the Picts receive a message from the Britons in chapter 5, Bellenden deliberately makes an addition only to the printed version, claiming that their answer was given after a long consultation. Boece originally writes: 'Legatis responsum sese necessitate potius cum Scotis iniunxisse affinitatem quam beneuolentia.' (fol. 5v) (They replied to the ambassadors that they had formed the union with the Scots out of necessity rather than of benevolence.) This is rendered in MS M: 'At last þe picht*is* gaif Ansuere / sayand Thai co*n*trakit affinite w*ith* þe scottis / mair of necessite / Than ony hartlie frendschip.' (pp. 9-10) In the printed version, Bellenden changes this with the additional phrase, 'be lang consultatioun': 'At last the Pichtis be lang consultatioun answerit, thay contrackit affinite with the Scottis mair of necessyte than ony hartly frendschyp.' (fol. 5) Intriguingly enough, this insertion is not yet made in MSS C or R, wheareas MS A has the same reading as the printed version. MS C reads: 'at last the pichtis gaiff answeir, saying thay contrackit affinite w*ith* the scottis mair of necessite / þan ony hartlie frendschip.' (fol. 34v)[41] MS A, on the other hand, reads: 'At last þe pychtis be lang consultacioun ansuerit, þat þai co*n*trakkit affinite with þe scottis / mair of necessite þane ony hartlie frendschyp.' (fol. 31v) In MS A and the printed version, the

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[38] See MS C, fol. 34, MS R, fol. 2v and MS A fol. 30v.
[39] Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994; East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995), p. 84.
[40] Edington, p. 85.
[41] For the corresponding part in MS R, see fol. 2v.

idea that the Picts hold a consultation before they decide their military plan is newly introduced. Bellenden's intentional emphasis on the idea of counsel can be sensed. Similarly, as we have seen above, in the scene where Fergus is made king of the Scots, the phrase 'be degest consultatioun' is newly inserted in the printed version, showing that people hold a consultation before they decide to have an empire under one king.[42]

Furthermore, in the scene where Fergus suggests to the Pictish king that they should form a league in chapter 7, the answer the Pictish king gives is also changed in similar way. Boece writes: '[A]d quae Pictorum rex, verbis non praecogitatis respondit (Enimuero iam ad pacem inclinauerat animum) Summa autem orationis erat, vt diceret non esse agentis magistratum in sua gente, quae publica sancita fuerant authoritate, priuata dirimere: bellum hoc publico non priuato consilio indictum.' (fol. 7ᵛ) (To this, the king of the Picts answered with unpremeditated words. (For he had by now inclined his mind to peace.) But the gist of his oration was to say that in his nation it was not the job of one acting as magistrate to settle privately things that had been sanctioned by public authority. This war had been declared by public council, not private one.) Bellenden deletes the last sentence including translation of word 'consilio' in MS M, probably because he was not yet so attentive towards the idea of counsel at this time: 'The king of pichtis ansuerit that he mycht no*ch*t be his priuatt Autorite dissolue the thing*is* done be public c*on*sale of his baronis.' (p. 13)[43] In the printed version, however, Bellenden restores it again: 'The king of Pichtis a*n*swerit to thir wordis of Fergus, that he mycht nocht be his priuate autorite dissolue thi*n*gis done be publyk counsell of his nobyllis. This battall that he mouit wes decernit be publyk *and* nocht be priuate counsell.' (fol. 7) The contrast between 'publyk' and 'priuate' reveals Bellenden's attentive sense of the defence of the nation as a civic responsibility. The king is obliged to defend the nation, but he is not supposed to determine the fate of the nation for himself. The increasing emphasis on the role of 'counsel' in the printed version reveals Bellenden's growing awareness of this notion of the counsel as a 'corrective to the abuse of power' by the king. It is public responsibility to avert the king from tyranny and to protect the 'commonweal' of the nation. The Scottish empire owes its stability and prosperity to the Scottish

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42 See above, p. 52.

43 In MSS C, R and A, it is almost retained except that 'baronis' is replaced with 'nobyllis'. See fols 36ᵛ, 4 and 34ᵛ.

people no less than to the king.

Conclusion

In his translation, Bellenden invariably seeks to reproduce the *copia* of the original Latin text of Boece. It is arduous work, however, to make his text both vigorous and effective. His attempts to convey the dramatic narrative of Boece without omissions often make his text lengthy. Thus, throughout the several stages of his revision work, Bellenden pursues, simultaneously, both the dramatic quality of his text and the concision of it. His attentiveness towards Boece's original text is constantly evident during this meticulous revision work, and Bellenden frequently recurs to Boece even at a very late stage of revision. At the same time as he revises his text, however, Bellenden acquires his own perspective on the narration of history, according to which he reorganises and transforms the original historical narrative of Boece. Bellenden's foremost purpose in the *Chronicles* is to demonstrate the wholeness of the Scottish nation. He employs imperial ideas in order to foreground the king as a unifying authority within the Scottish kingdom. This powerful image of the king is, however, delicately balanced by ideas of 'commonweal' and 'counsel', which indicate the inseparable relationship between the nation and its people. Scotland owes its independence from foreign overlordship and its 'commonweal' not only to its king but also to its people. They have to defend their own nation from foreign enemies. To be Scots it is not enough just to have an independent kingdom ruled over by a king. They have to protect the 'commonweal' of their nation. The political and social stability of the nation requires a powerful king. But the king's rule should be a righteous not an arbitrary one. The Scots are responsible for deterring a king from corruption and for protecting the nation from arbitrary rule by a king. The national identity of Scotland, which emerges from Bellenden's *Chronicles*, especially the printed version, is of a unified nation under the rule of the king in cooperation with his people.

CHAPTER 3: BELLENDEN'S TRANSLATION AND REVISION PRACTICE IN BOOK 12

In Book 12 Bellenden adheres to the same translation policy as in Book 1; he emphasises the importance of the *copia* of his work in order to embody the original quality of Boece's Latin. The lengthy and literal translation of MS M is replaced by the more concise and broad rendition of the printed version. Notably, however, Bellenden's handling of the text in Book 12 is different from that in Book 1. Differently from Book 1, where the gist of narrative is rarely altered, in Book 12 there are several cases where Bellenden makes alterations to the narrative by changing, deleting and adding significant amounts of material. Apart from this, the alterations made in Book 12 are mainly at the level of vocabulary. He alters expressions, but the gist of the narrative is rarely changed. However, unlike Book 1, where thorough revision is made, there is variation in the extent to which Bellenden revises the text throughout this book; some parts are subjected to much more extensive revisions than others. The chapter divisions in MS M are almost all retained in the printed version except that one chapter is added to the latter in order to accommodate newly inserted material.

That Book 12 is subjected to less revision than Book 1 may simply mean that Bellenden found his translation of Book 12 in MS M more satisfactory than that of Book 1. By the time Bellenden worked on Book 12, after working on the preceding 11 books, he must have had a clearer idea of his translation policy as well as his perspective towards the narration of history. That saved him from such an extensive scale of emendation as in Book 1. One may speculate that this confidence in his skill further led Bellenden to make alterations to the narrative in Book 12. He may have spent more time on narrative revisions by investigating other source materials. It is true that some of the passages added by Bellenden during the course of his revision work are indebted to sources other than Boece; he employs, at least in one place, John Mair's *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (1521).[1] Nevertheless, they rather seem opportunistic insertions based on availability, not on purposive consultation. It is more probable that the alterations to the narrative were mainly prompted by the very content of the history narrated in Book 12.

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[1] See Chapter 4, p. 115, footnote 34, and p. 117. Bellenden's employment of source materials other than Boece is discussed in detail in terms of Book 16. See Chapter 4, pp. 114-26.

Book 12 deals with events which concerned sixteenth-century Scotland in terms of social and political ideas. It starts with the coronation of Duncan in 1040. His weak government suffers from several rebellions within the nation as well as attacks by the Danes. With the support of Macbeth and Banquo, Duncan succeeds in first suppressing the rebels and then expelling the Danes. Soon after that, Macbeth, who is given a prophecy that he will become king, murders Duncan and usurps the crown. Macbeth governs the realm with justice for ten years, and then becomes a tyrant. He kills Banquo, but Banquo's son, Fleance, narrowly escapes from Macbeth. Fleance goes to Wales, where he fathers a son, Walter, on a daughter of the prince of Wales. This Walter is the progenitor of the Stewart family. Macbeth is killed by Macduff, and Malcolm, son to Duncan, succeeds to the throne. Malcolm marries Margaret, who comes from England with her family and Walter. With the assistance of Walter, Malcolm represses rebellions in the Isles and Galloway, and rules over the realm in peace. Queen Margaret's virtuous life leads Malcolm to follow her, and the couple devote their lives to the Christian faith. After Malcolm's death, the crown is not taken by his son but by Donald, his brother, and then by Duncan, the illegitimate son of Malcolm. Both of them are tyrannical and are killed. After them, Alexander, fifth son to Malcolm, succeeds to the throne and rules over the nation with justice. As Alexander dies without issue, David, sixth son to Malcolm, succeeds him. With this succession by David, hereditary kingship is established in Scotland.

Bellenden cannot have been indifferent to the political importance of this book in contemporary Scotland, which frequently faced the problem of the juvenile succession of the Stewart monarchs; from 1406 every Stewart monarch 'came to the throne as a child', and between 1460 and 1625 'some 60 years were years of minority'.[2] When minority kingship caused weak authority of the crown, 'the outlook was indeed grim'.[3] Accordingly, the validity of hereditary kingship was frequently challenged. Indeed, Bellenden himself experienced the minority kingship of James V, who succeeded to the throne at the age of one. Bellenden's revision work from MS M to the printed version reveals that he saw connections between events in Book 12 and the political or social situation in his own period. Bellenden's textual revision is more focussed on those parts concerning the Stewart family, hereditary kingship and royal

[2] Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625*, The New History of Scotland, 4 (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 13.
[3] Wormald, p. 13.

authority both within and outwith the nation than on other parts of the book. He makes meticulous revisions in these parts, with the contemporary situation in mind. Correlatively, the links between the book and his own period are given more emphasis in later recensions.[4]

In this chapter, I will examine the mechanics of Bellenden's translation and revision work in Book 12; what kind of revisions Bellenden makes to the style and narrative of his translation; how these alterations reflect his translation policy as well as his attitude towards contemporary political issues. Bellenden's political outlook, especially that on kingship, is neither simple nor consistent throughout his work. It is rather complicated and variable from one version to another. This is probably because Bellenden anticipated a different constituency for each version. He tailored the *Chronicles* to fit not only his own purpose but also the demands of his audience.

BELLENDEN'S REVISION WORK (I): CORRECTIONS

Bellenden's overall policy to be accurate and faithful to Boece can be seen throughout Book 12. Almost all the factual, and sometimes very minor, errors, such as names and dates, found in MS M are later scrupulously found out and corrected in the later recensions. For example, the date when Malcolm is crowned at Scone in chapter 9 is presented as 'vigesimo quinto die Aprilis' (fol. 264^{v}) (April 25th) in Boece.[5] In MS M, although it is not clear whether this is a scribal mistake or a mistranslation by Bellenden, the figure is wrongly given as 'þe xv day of Aprile' (p. 414). In the printed version, it is corrected into 'þe .xxv. day of aprile' (fol. 178). That MSS C, R and A also have the correct figure means that this correction was made at an early stage of revision work.[6] On the other hand, there are cases where

[4] This exemplifies Bellenden's notion that history should be not only 'pleasurable' but also 'profitable' to the audience. By connecting past events with the contemporary situation, Bellenden seeks to arouse readers' interest and to encourage them to learn or gain something from the *Chronicles*. For a detailed discussion of Bellenden's idea concerning the role of history and his purpose in providing the *Chronicles*, see Chapter 4, pp. 108-14 and Chapter 5, pp. 140-44 respectively.

[5] Unless otherwise mentioned, the chapter numbers referred to in this chapter are taken from Book 12.

[6] See MS C, fol. 264^{v}, MS R, fol. 128 and MS A, fol. 245^{v}. There is one case where a correct figure in MS M is changed into a wrong one in the printed version. The date of king Edgar's burial is indicated '.i.M. and .ix. ȝeris' in the printed version (fol. 183), while it is given in Boece as 'millesimo centesimo nono' (fol. 271^{v}). Noticeably, in MS M, the date is wrongly given as in the printed version, but a correction, 'j^{c}' is inserted above the line by the scribe. (p. 425) This is also true of MS A, where a correction is inserted above the line. (fol. 251) On the other hand, MS C has a wrong figure without any correction inserted (fol. 259^{v}), whereas MS R has the correct figure (fol. 132). How and why the mistake in MS M is persistently reflected in the later recensions except MS R is difficult to explain. Probably, it is attributable to the

mistranslations in MS M are rectified only in the printed version. For instance, in chapter 12, when Boece explains that Malcolm repealed a law formerly made by Ewan III, he says that a similar law was used in a town near Louvain: 'Nec dissimile est quod haud longe a Louanio in pago fit quodam.' (fols 268^{v}-69) (Nor is it very different what happens in a village not far from Louvain.) Bellenden's translation of this passage in MS M is somewhat inaccurate: 'quhilk law was no*ch*t vnlyke to þe thing þat wes vsit in lovane.' (p. 420) Here the place where a similar law was used is Louvain itself not a village near Louvain. And this rendition is retained in MSS C, R and A.[7] It is, however, emended in the printed version: 'This law wes nocht vnlik to the thing that wes vsit in ane town nocht far fra Louane.' (fol. 181) This exemplifies that even at a later stage of his revision work, Bellenden recurs to Boece's original Latin text.

Moreover, even when Bellenden's rendering in MS M is not really erroneous, he revises it in the printed version to make it closer to Boece's text. When Boece narrates the encounter of Macbeth and Banquo with the weird sisters in chapter 3, he starts: 'Accidit autem haud ita multo post res noua atque admiranda.' (fol. 257^{v}) (Not very long after that, a strange and wonderful thing happened.) This is interpreted in MS M: 'The samyn tyme happy*n*nit ane wounderfull thing.' (p. 402) The transition of time as well as 'res nova atque admiranda' in Boece are given quite roughly. In the printed version, on the other hand, it is more faithfully rendered: 'Nocht lang eftir hap*n*nit ane vncouth and wounderfull thyng.' (fol. 173) The corresponding passages in the intermediary manuscripts show more about Bellenden's way of revising this passage. MS C reads: 'The samyn tyme happinit ane vncouth and wounderfull thing.' (fol. 246^{v})[8] Interestingly enough, although the latter half is already revised into 'vncouth and wounderfull thing', the description of the transition of time is left untouched. That means that although Bellenden noticed at an early stage that his translation 'ane wounderfull thing' for 'res nova atque admiranda' in MS M was not an entirely faithful one, he was not attentive to the misrendering of the transition of time until a very late stage.

In some cases where Bellenden's rendition in MS M shows a discrepancy from Boece's original, the reason seems to be that he was not sure of the meanings of certain Latin words used by Boece. For

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carefulness /carelessness of the scribe in each version.

[7] See MS C, fol. 257, MS R, fol. 130^{v} and MS A, fol. 249.

[8] MSS R and A have the same readings. See, fols 124^{v} and 240 respectively.

example, in chapter 16, Boece describes the scene where Steven, Earl of Boulogne, comes to England to usurp the crown: 'Primum velut per cuniculos regnum inuadens, administrationem modo Angliae postulat, quoad matura regio puero aetas adueniret.' (fol. 273^{v}) (First, invading the throne as though by tunnels, he asked to administer England only till the royal child grew up.) In MS M Bellenden translates this: 'Sone eftir his cu*m*ing send his ambassatouris Desiring þe gou*er*nance of the realme quhil hary [Henry] iust heritour þ*er*of war of lauchfull Aige.' (p. 430) Note that the passage 'send his ambassatouris' is newly introduced here, as there is no equivalent to it in Boece's Latin. In the printed version, however, Bellenden removes the passage: 'And first (as he war to vndermynd þe cuntre be his slichtis) he desirit þe croun to be geuyn to him, quhil prince Hary war of lauchful age to succeid.' (fol. 186) By replacing 'Sone eftir his cuming' with 'And first', and 'send his ambassatouris' with 'as he war to vndermynd þe cuntre be his slichtis', Bellenden gives a closer rendition to Boece's Latin. Although the exact reason why Bellenden introduces ambassadors in MS M cannot be unraveled, the Latin word 'cuniculos' seems to be a clue. This word originates in Spanish, meaning 'rabbit', 'burrow', 'tunnel' or 'mine'. None of them seemingly fits to the sentence form Boece gives, where the meaning is 'by secret device' using 'through a tunnel' or 'through a mine' figuratively.[9] Bellenden was probably not familiar with the word 'cuniculos', and had great difficulty in understanding what Boece meant by the passage 'per cuniculos'. Arguably, what Bellenden did in MS M was to assume 'per cuniculos' as 'through ambassadors', as a result of which he made the translation, 'send ambassatouris'. The corresponding parts of the intermediary manuscripts further show the process of this revision. MS C reads: '[stevin erle of bollony come in Ingland] desyring the crown / quhill the prince hary was on lauchfull age to succeid.' (fol. 262^{v})[10] Bellenden removes the passage about the 'ambassatouris', but he does not give any corresponding phrasing to 'per cuniculos'. Accordingly, the passage is much shorter than the corresponding part in MS M or in the printed version. Presumably, Bellenden realised, at this stage, that his rendition 'per cuniculos' as 'through ambassadors' was wrong, but still did not know the meaning of it. As the same rendition is found in MSS R and A, it was not until Bellenden was revising it for the printed version that he learned the correct rendition.

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[9] See *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879).

[10] MSS R and A have the same readings. See, fols 133^{v} and 253^{v} respectively.

This kind of revision tempts us to think that Boece was also involved in the revision work in one way or another, and indicated this mis-rendering to the translator.[11] If this is the case, Sally Mapstone's surmise that Boece's corrections were put into Bellenden's manuscript version rather than to his own work seems to be most plausible:

> Boece had access to Bellenden's translation during the process of its making and provided corrections to it, and it is possible to envisage a large-scale version of this process taking place when the completed translation was revised once more for printing.[12]

It is still debatable, however, at exactly which stage of revision work Boece's correcting took place. Considering the fact that the printed version was printed in or after 1537, it is quite possible that Bellenden was still revising his text for printing after Boece's death in 1536.[13] Thus, it is possible to speculate that Boece's extensive corrections to the whole translation work by Bellenden took place, if there occurred any at all, at an earlier stage. Boece may have been involved in later revision work, but it is unlikely that he engaged himself in the final revision work actively and deeply.

Bellenden's removal of passages concerning Bishop Elphinstone in chapter 16 is suggestive here. After narrating that king David established many religious houses, Boece states that the Aberdeen diocese was also created by David. Then he writes some laudatory passages concerning Bishop Elphinstone: 'Quintum ex Murthlacensi fecit Abberdonensem: Quot vero et qui episcopatus munus illic gessere, quum ad Iacobum quartum deuentum fuerit in Vvilhelmi Elphinscoun gratiam praeclarissimi inter eos qui sedem illam tenuere, exponemus.' (fols 273-73^{v}) (The fifth bishopric he [David] transferred from Mortlach to Aberdeen. We shall explain (later) how many and who were those who took on the task of being bishop there when we come to James IV in order to please William Elphinstone, the most distinguished among those who held that see.) Boece had a high regard for Bishop Elphinstone, who founded the University of Aberdeen in 1495, and appointed Boece to be the first principal of King's College in the University.[14]

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[11] For a detailed discussion on Boece's involvement in the revision work, see Introduction, pp. 13 and 18-21.

[12] Sally Mapstone, 'Shakespeare and Scottish Kingship: A Case History', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland,* ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 158-89 (p. 165).

[13] For a detailed discussion on the publication date of the *Chronicles*, see above Introduction, pp. 21-22.

[14] W. Douglas Simpson, 'Hector Boece', in *University of Aberdeen: Quatercentenary of the Death of Hector Boece, First Principal of the University* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1937), pp. 7-29 (pp. 15-17). For a detailed description of the life of William Elphinstone, see Leslie J. Macfarlane, 'William Elphinstone', in *ODNB*.

Boece's *Vitae episcoporum Aberdonensium et Murthlacensium*, which was published by Badius Ascensius in Paris in 1522, is primarily 'a biography of Bishop Elphinstone'.[15] Thus the above laudatory passages concerning Elphinstone must have been of importance to Boece. Nevertheless, Bellenden, who does not share Boece's personal 'devotion to his patron', removes the passages in MS M.[16] Notably, however, in the later recensions, Bellenden restores the passages except the reference to Elphinstone. The printed version reads: 'King Dauid translatit þe sait of Murthlak to Aberdene, quhare mony nobil bishopp*is* hes bene, as we sall efter schaw.' (fol. 185v) The same passages can be found in all the intermediary manuscripts.[17] It is not certain whether the restoration of the passages concerning the Aberdeen diocese is indebted to Boece's intervention.[18] Yet, it is clear that the restoration of Elphinstone's name was not requested by Boece. It may mean that Boece's involvement in the revision work at a later stage was not an extensive one, and was limited to corrections to mistakes, mistranslations and misunderstandings. Or it may simply mean that Boece did not have access to these later recensions.[19]

Another significant point to bear in mind is that some of the revisions Bellenden makes in the printed version are indebted to source materials other than Boece's; he replaces Boece's accounts with those in other sources. Although these changes are relatively minute and they do not alter the overall gist of the narrative, it is noteworthy that Bellenden does not hesitate to alter accounts by Boece in favour of other materials. In general Bellenden's indebtedness to other source materials is not as conspicuous in

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For a description of the foundation of the Aberdeen University by Elphinstone, see Henry Cowan, 'Bishop William Elphinstone', in *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen: A Quatercentenary Tribute Paid by Certain of her Professors & of her Devoted Sons*, ed. by P. J. Anderson (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1906), pp. 1-20, and Robert Sangster Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History* (Aberdeen: James Gordon Bisset, 1895), pp. 1-53. For a description of Hector Boece's principalship in King's College, see J. Marshall Lang, 'Hector Boece and the Principals', in *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen*, ed. by Anderson, pp. 21-56 (pp. 21-31).

[15] Nicola Royan, 'Hector Boece', in *ODNB*.

[16] Nicola Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in Mapstone and Wood, pp. 136-57 (p. 144).

[17] See MS C, fol. 262, MS R, fol. 133v and MS A, fol. 253v.

[18] In the Latin text Boece states that he intends to give a detailed account on Bishop Elphinstone in a later book which deals with the reign of James IV. It is possible, therefore, that Bellenden found that the passage did not fit into the text here.

[19] It should be noted that when Nicola Royan denies the possibility that Boece was involved in the revision work, she only compares the text of MS M with that of the printed version. See Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece: A Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), pp. 308-10. Hence there is a possibility that a different verdict would be brought in, if the text of the intermediary manuscripts were taken into her analysis.

Book 12 as in Book 16, where Bower's *Scotichronicon* (1440s) is extensively employed as a source.[20] This is presumably because, for the historical events in Book 12, there were not so many materials available to Bellenden. However, some revisions Bellenden makes to passages concerning events in England suggest the possibility that Bellenden consulted other materials in addition to Boece at least for accounts of events in England.[21] And, intriguingly, these alterations are made only in the printed version. For example, Bellenden makes a minute change in a passage concerning two sons of Henry Beauclerc and Matilda in chapter 14 from MS M to the printed version. Boece reads: 'Caeterum ex Matildis et Henrico quatuor liberi prognati sunt. Vvilhelmus, Richardus, Eufemia, et Matilde.' (fol. 271) (Now Matilda and Henry had four children: William, Richard, Eufemia and Matilda.) In MS M, the four children are enumerated in the same order as in Boece: 'King hary beuclere gat twa so*nn*is Namytt Williame and Richard *and* twa dochteris Namyt eufame *and* mald.' (p. 425)[22] In the printed version, however, Richard is mentioned first: 'Þis Hary bewcleir gat on Mald first sister to king Edgar two sonnis namit Richard *and* Willia*m*, *and* two douchteris namit Effem *and* Mald.' (fol. 183) This might be simply a mistake either by Bellenden or by a compositor. Nevertheless, it seems more probable that Bellenden makes the alteration on purpose. This is not the only case where Bellenden changes the order of a reference in the printed version, and, in most cases, these are deliberate alterations on the part of Bellenden.[23] Probably, Bellenden found a passage dealing with this material, in another source, where Richard is mentioned first.

Another example is seen in the description of Harold II's cruelty to a daughter of William, Duke of Normandy, in chapter 9. Bellenden's revision to the printed version makes his text more discrepant from the original Latin text of Boece. Boece reads: 'Sponsam suam turpissime agasonibus suis prostituit, ac naso, auribusque percisis foedissime violatam piscatoria naue in Normaniam remisit.' (fol. 266) (He [Harold II] prostituted his own wife most shamefully to his grooms. He sent her, dreadfully violated by

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[20] See Chapter 4, pp. 124-26.

[21] As Steve Boardman claims, 'British' or 'English' material was often employed in medieval Scottish historical writings both in Latin and the vernacular. Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain', in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, ed. by Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp.47-72 (p. 59). At least one passage concerning the death of the Earl of Mar in chapter 5, which is inserted only in the printed version, is known to have been directly copied by an English source material. See below footnote 57.

[22] MSS C, R and A have the same readings. See fols 259^{v}, 251 and 132.

[23] One notable example is Bellenden's account on Walter, son to Robert II in chapter 1 of Book 16. See below Chapter 4, pp. 132-35.

having her nose and ears cut off, back to Normandy in a fisherman's boat.) In MS M, Bellenden renders this: 'And In þair [Normans] Jnsufferabill contempcioun causit his vicious rebald*is* to fulȝe his new quene / And ȝite he was no*ch*t saciatt with þis cruelte bott cuttit hir neyss and Eeris / And send hir agane with ane fischar baitt in Normandy.' (p. 416)[24] Bellenden emphasises the cruelty of Harold II with such phrases as 'In þair Jnsufferabill contempcioun' and 'And ȝite he was no*ch*t saciatt with þis cruelte'. Yet, in general, his rendition is close to Boece's original. In the printed version, however, this is somewhat altered: '[And] nocht satifyit of this iniure, he [Harold II] causit h*is* vnhappy li*m*maris to defoule his lady. And eft*er* þ*at* he had causit þame to cut hir er*is*, he send hir agane i*n* ane fischer bait in Norma*n*dy.' (fol. 179) Note that here it is only the ears of the queen that are cut off by Harold II. This is again a very minute alteration, and the possibility that it is just a mistake cannot be denied. Nonetheless, it seems quite probable that this revision is deliberately made by employing source material other than Boece's.[25] A few lines below this, further additional passages are inserted in the intermediary MSS and in the printed version, which Bellenden must have inherited from other material than Boece. The additional passages describe the Duke of Normandy's invasion in England. MS C reads: 'and eft*er* his cu*m*ing brynt all his schippis that his folkis my*ch*t haiff na esperance bot oþ*er* to do vailȝeantly with thair handis or ellis schamefully to de / finally he faucht with herald at townis brig / and slew him (as sum auto*uris* writis) with his awin handis.' (fol. 254v)[26] Note that Bellenden mentions 'sum auto*uris*'. Boece's subsequent passage is suggestive here. Immediately after the passages concerning Harold II's cruelty to his wife, Boece states:

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[24] MSS C, R and A have the same readings. See fols 254, 129 and 246v respectively.

[25] Obviously, there prevailed several different versions of accounts of Harold II's cruelty to his wife. For instance, in the *Scotichronicon*, Walter Bower states that Harold blinded her and cut off her hair: 'Secondly that Harold promised to marry William's daughter who was then under-age, but, as some say, he blinded her and cut off her hair, and sent her back to her father in disgrace, having rejected and dishonoured her in this way.' *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press (vols 8, 2, 5, 6); Edinburgh: Mercat Press (vols 1, 4, 3, 7, 9), 1987-98), III: *Books V and VI*, ed. by John and Winifred MacQueen and D. E. R. Watt (1995), pp. 42-43. Significantly, Bower also quotes a few lines of verse which he found in a 'chronicle': 'The duke did not enter the kingdom in order to rule, | but rather seeking a way to kill Harold. | He sent back the said count's very own sister, | who had been betrothed to him, meanly abandoned. | For he caused her hair to be cropt above her ears. | The count judged this as an insult to him. | Hence the grim count entered the kingdom, which he pillaged | from Harold, who reigned fearfully because illegally.' (pp. 42-45)

[26] MSS R and A have the same readings. See fols 129 and 246v respectively. In the printed version, it is slightly changed: '[And] efter his cuming brint al his schippis þ*at* his folkis micht haue na esperance of flicht, bot outhir do vailȝeantly with þair ha*n*dis, or ellis schamfully to de. Finaly he faucht with Herald at Townis brig, *and* spulȝeit hym baith of his life *and* kingdome atanis.' (fol. 179) The passage 'as sum auto*uris* writis' is deleted here.

'Idque authoribus Anglicis ac nostratibus historiae scriptoribus veteribus refero.' (fol. 266) (I owe this to English authors and old historians of our own nation.) It is not impossible to speculate, therefore, that this statement prompted Bellenden to examine some other materials available to him. These alterations made to the accounts of English events are, after all, very small. Nevertheless, considering the fact that even minor mistakes are meticulously corrected in the later stage of revision work, they cannot be simply dismissed as mistakes. Unless Boece himself made these alterations, which seems highly unlikely, these alterations are deliberately made by Bellenden. Again Boece's involvement in the very last stage of revision work is less plausible. Or, possibly, Bellenden made these alterations after Boece's death.

BELLENDEN'S REVISION WORK (II): STYLISTICAL ALTERATIONS

Bellenden's revision to the style of his work is found throughout the book. In general, although not as strikingly contrastive as in Book 1, MS M is lengthy and the printed version is more concise. One example is found in chapter 6 where Macduff takes flight from Macbeth to England. Boece reads: 'Thanus autem Fifae vt tyranni cruentas effugeret manus, fugam in Angliam ad Malcolmum Canmoir in Scotiam reuocandum, parabat.' (fol. 261) (The thane of Fife, in order to escape from the bloody hands of the tyrant, prepared to take flight to England in order to bring back Malcolm to Scotland.) This is rendered in MS M: 'Makduff effrayit of his Lyfe / be sindry aduertesing / tuke purpos / to pas In Jngland / to bring malcolme Cammore In scotland.' (p. 408) In order to emphasise the critical and hopeless situation of Macduff, Bellenden interprets 'vt tyranni cruentas effugeret manus' as 'effrayit of his lyfe be sindry aduertesing'.[27] In the printed version, Bellenden makes this more concise without any significant change of meaning: 'At last Makduf disparit of his lyfe, tuk purpos to pas in Jngland, þ*at* he mycht bring Malcolme Ca*m*more in scotland.' (fol. 176) However, the corresponding parts in the intermediary manuscripts reveal the fact that Bellenden's revision process was far more complex than it seems. MS C reads: 'makduffe banist in this maner / fled in Ingland to macolme ca*m*more.' (fol. 250)[28] Bellenden's

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[27] It is difficult to explain why Bellenden inserts 'be sindry aduertesing' in his translation. Presumably, Bellenden glosses the passage here: 'Macduff tried to escape from the tyrant because he had good reason to be afraid for his own life at his hands.'

[28] MSS R and A have the same readings. See fols 126^{v} and 243 respectively.

intention to make his translation more concise is self-evident. At the same time, however, his rendition here deviates from the original Latin far more than MS M or the printed version. Thus, what Bellenden does in his revision work in the printed version is to make his rendition not only more concise than MS M but also closer to the original Latin than the intermediary MSS.

Sometimes condensing of text in the printed version is made on a larger scale. In chapter 15, Alexander I, after having had his life saved by a hermit at Inchcolm, builds an abbey in honour of St Columba. Boece states that Alexander built the abbey not long after he vowed to do so: 'Itaque eo periculo defunctus D. Columbae aedem vouit. Nec diu voto damnatus fuit, coenobio paulo post regularium, ordinis D. Augustini extructo, agrisque atque redditibus ad sumptus eorum collatis.' (fol. 272) (So, having got over his danger, he [Alexander] vowed a church to St Columba. But he was not long held to his vow, for shortly afterwards there was built a monastery of Regulars of the order of St Augustine, and lands and rents were contributed for their expense.) Bellenden renders this in MS M: 'And becaus his lyfe was sauffitt be þis herymyte / he maid ane vow to big ane abbay Jn þe honoure of Sanct Columbe / and was no*ch*t Lang frustraitt of his voitt / bot biggit ane Abbay of cha*n*nons Regular And dedicaitt Jt In þe honoure of Sanct columbe with sindry landis and Rentis / to sustene þe Abbot and convent þairof.' (p. 427) His rendition is rather lengthy with several explanatory elements such as 'Jn þe honoure of', 'In þe honoure of Sanct columbe' and 'þe Abbot and convent þairof'. Yet it does not greatly deviate from the original Latin. In the printed version, on the other hand, Bellenden gives an abbreviated rendition: 'Finaly kyng Alexander (becaus his life was saiffit be this heremit) biggit ane abbay of channonis regular in the honour of sanct Colme, and dotat it with sindry landis and rentis to sustene the abbot and conuent thairof.' (fol. 183^{v}) He completely removes the passages concerning Alexander's vow to build the abbey. This was presumably because Bellenden found his rendition in MS M too lengthy and redundant; he requires passages nearly twice the length of the Latin for 'D. Columbae aedem vouit' and 'Nec diu voto damnatus fuit' in Boece. Thus, in order to restore the briskness in the original Latin, Bellenden removes the phrasing and makes a less complex version of the episode. The corresponding parts of the intermediary MSS indicate that this alteration was made in a middle stage of the revision work; MS C has

the same reading as MS M, whereas MSS R and A have almost identical readings to the printed version.[29] MS A reads: 'and becaus his live wes savit be þis heremyte he biggit ane Abbay of cha*n*nons regular in þe hono*ur* of sanct columbe and dotat it w*ith* sindry Landis and rentis to sustene þe Abbot and convent þairof.' (fol. 252)[30]

Bellenden's assiduous exertions to reproduce the dynamic or dramatic quality of Boece's Latin are often found in his descriptions of battle scenes. For example, the single combat scene between Canute and Edmund in chapter 2 is meticulously revised in several stages. Boece describes the fighting scene: 'Itaque vbi vterque in aciem processerat, equo admisso infestis hastis concurrunt, ac dubio Marte aliquandiu manus magna vi nec arte minori, conserunt: egregium vtrisque exercitibus spectaculum: quumque prope fessis equis aliquantulo segnius capesserent pugnam, Canutus Edmunde, inquit [. . .].' (fol. 256) (So, when both had gone into battle, letting their horses go, they run together with hostile spears. With uncertain fortune of war, they fight hand to hand for some time with mighty power and no less skill. It was an excellent spectacle for each army. And when, their horses nearly worn out, they fought somewhat more slackly, Canute said: Edmund [. . .].) In MS M, and in MS C as well, this is rendered: 'Jncontinent þai come fra þair Armyis / on þair bairditt cursouris / And Ruschit with strang *and* mychty speris to giddir / At last quhen þai had fochtin lang with vncertane victory / þair steedis / ouresett and wery / Canutte sayid O edmonnd [. . .].' (p. 399)[31] By rendering 'equo' as 'bairditt cursouris', Bellenden succeeds in producing visual effects.[32] Although 'magna vi nec arte minori' is removed, the doubling of 'strang *and* mychty' shows the powerfulness of the two men well enough. Presumably, it is the powerfulness and vigorousness of the two men that Bellenden seeks to emphasise most, hence the deletion of 'aliquantulo segnius capesserent pugnam'. Bellenden's concern about the fierceness of the battle between the two strong men is further seen in his revision work in the printed version: 'Jnco*n*tinent þai come fra þair armyis on þair bardit coursouris, *and* ran with scharp *and* groundin speris ilk ane aganis

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[29] See MS C, fol. 260v.

[30] MS R has the same reading. See fol. 132v. This may suggest that MS R represents a later stage of the revision work than MS C.

[31] See MS C, fol. 245.

[32] It is worthy of note that Gavin Douglas also employs the phrase 'bardit curser' in *The Palice of Honour* (*c.* 1501). It reads: 'Vpon a bardit Curser, stout and bald, | Mars, God of strife, enarmit in birneist geir.' (lines 551-52) *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, ed. by by Priscilla J. Bawcutt, 2nd edn, STS, 5th ser., 2 (Edinburgh: STS, 2003), p. 41.

othir to the deith. At last quhen thay had fouchtin lang with vncertane victory, thair steidis ouirset *and* wery. Canut said. O Edmond [. . .].' (fol. 172) He replaces 'strang *and* mychty speris' with 'scharp *and* groundin speris', and newly inserts 'to the deith'. It is certain that Bellenden found the combination of 'scharp *and* groundin' more appropriate to the description of spears than that of 'strang *and* mychty'. The adjective 'groundin' was employed mostly for the description of weapons. Robert Henryson uses the expression 'groundin speir' in his *Testament of Cresseid* (*c.* 1480; line 181), Gavin Douglas, in his translation of *Aeneid*, has 'grondyn dart' (I, 2, 49) 'grondyn lance' (II, 9, 41) and 'grundyn dart*is*' (IV, 4, 41).[33] It was sometimes accompanied by the adjective 'scharp'. Blind Hary, in his *Wallace* (1470s; VIII, 266), uses the expression 'scharp ground*yn* glaiff', and *King Hart* (*c.* 1500; 108), has a line 'The grundin dairtis, scharp and bricht to se'.[34] Above all, Bellenden himself employs the combination of 'groundin' and 'scharp' for a description of swords in his translation of Livy: 'The twa princes afore namyt tretis w*ith* þir sex brethir to fecht aganis vthir w*ith* scharpe & grundin swerdis to þe deith, for defence of þar*e* nacioun*is* and pepill'.[35] Note that the phrase 'to þe deith' is employed together with 'sharpe & grundin swerdis'. As there is no equivalent to these phrases in Livy's original Latin, they are all Bellenden's own insertion.[36] Obviously, they are his stock phrases for descriptions of fighting.

The corresponding parts in MSS R and A reveal that the revision did not take place at one time, but step by step. MS R reads: 'Jnco*n*tinent þai come fra þair armyis on þair bardit courso*ur**is* and ruschit togidder w*ith* groundin speir*is* At last quhen þai had fouchtin lang w*ith* vncertane victory þair stedis oursett and wery / canute said o edmond [. . .].' (fol. 123v) Although the adjective 'groundin' is employed for the description of the spears, it is not accompanied by 'scharp', nor is the phrase 'to the deith' yet

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[33] See *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. by Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 117, and *Virgil's 'Aeneid': Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, 4 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1951, 1953, 1954, 1964), II: *Text* (1957), pp. 25, 92 and 163.

[34] *Hary's 'Wallace': Vita Nobilissimi Defensoris Scotie Wililmi Wallace Militis*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid, 2 vols, STS, 4th ser., 4, 5 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1968, 1969), I, 185, and *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, p. 144.

[35] *Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books*, trans. by John Bellenden, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 1st ser., 47, 51 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1901, 1903), I, 54.

[36] The corresponding part in Livy reads: 'Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore unde victoria fuerit.' (To these young men the kings proposed a combat in which each should fight for his own city, the dominion to belong with that side where the victory should rest.) *Livy: With an English Translation in Fourteen Volumes*, trans. by B. O. Foster, 14 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1919-1959), I: *Books I and II*, pp. 82-83.

inserted. Note that the location of the phrase 'togidder' is changed, and it is put between 'ruschit' and '*With* groundin speir*is*'. Obviously, Bellenden has difficulty in fitting the phrase into his translation. He changes its location again in MS A, and eventually it is removed in the printed version. MS A reads: 'Jn co*n*tinent þai come fra þair armyis one þair bardit coursouris and ruschit *with* groundin speir*is* to gidder / At Last quhen þai had fouchtin Lang *with* vncertane victorie / þair steidis ourset and wery canute / said o edmond [. . .].' (fol. 238v)

Another significant aspect of Bellenden's pursuit of the *copia*, or dramatisation, of text is his effective use of speech. This is an important rhetorical technique employed by Boece in order to 'move and manipulate' readers.[37] Boece inherits this technique from the Roman authors such as Livy and Tacitus, who appreciated effective uses of speech. What underlies Boece's use of speech is his belief in the humanist historiographical idea that vivid and dramatic description makes history 'credible' and 'persuasive'.[38] This is the very same idea that Bellenden adhered to as a translator of history; he puts a premium on the *enargeia* of his text to give it 'dramatic intensity'.[39] The effective use of speech makes text vivid and dramatic, because it enables narrators to 'reveal character without the interference of a narrative voice' as well as to 'move the narrative speedily' without giving a lengthy dull account of actions.[40] Indeed, Bellenden's employment of speech more often than not serves the purpose of revealing character in a dramatic way. An example is found in chapter 9. This is the scene where a conspiracy against Malcolm is made. Knowing that the conspirators wait to ambush him, Malcolm goes hunting in the woods. Malcolm meets the ringleader in the woods and tells him to fight against him in single combat. The conspirator begs Malcolm for mercy, and Malcolm pardons him. Boece reads:

> Paulo post rex insidiis per coniuratos petitus, sed cum eas praescisset, venatum abiens, vbi eum obtruncare inter coniuratos conuenerat, principem coniurationis seuocat solum, in vallem vndequaque syluis septam, ibique increpitum, quod in se conspirasset quem

[37] Nicola Royan, 'The Uses of Speech in Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia*', in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen and others (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), pp. 75-93 (p. 77).

[38] Royan, 'Uses of Speech', p. 78. This idea is most famously articulated by Cicero. For a detailed discussion on Cicero's influence on Boece, see Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 133-45.

[39] Leonard F. Dean, *Tudor Theories of History Writing*, The University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, 1 ([Ann Arbor]: University of Michigan Press, 1947), p. 4. See above Chapter 1, pp. 39-40.

[40] Royan, 'Uses of Speech', pp. 79 and 82. Dean claims that set speech 'may serve as dramatic vehicles for the historian's exposition of his characters' motives, or, indirectly, for his judgment and opinions'. Thus set speech is a useful rhetorical device to manipulate material for instructional purposes. Dean, p. 4.

maximo ob beneficia amore prosequi debebat, ad singulare prouocat certamen: vbi non ex insidiis res ageretur, sed vter virtute maior esset, is euaderet superior. Quod vbi audiuit, in genua prosiliens supplex veniam delicti petiuit: facileque vt a miti impetrauit ingenio, ea lege ne deinceps talium affinis consiliorum fieret. (fols 265-65^{v})

(Shortly after, the king Malcolm was targeted by conspirators. Nevertheless, when the king learned of it beforehand, he went hunting where the conspirators had arranged to kill him. He summoned the leader of the conspiracy alone to a valley which was on all sides enclosed with wood, where the king scolded him that he had conspired against him to whom he should have shown great love in return for the favours (he had received). The king challenged the conspirator to single combat, where it would not be a matter of underhand means, but whichever of the two was superior in courage would come out on top. When the conspirator heard it, he humbly kneeled down and implored pardon for his crime. Because of the mild nature of the king, he easily had his request granted, on the condition that thereafter he would not be involved in such plans in future.)

In MS M, by giving speech to Malcolm, Bellenden describes the scene vividly:

> Eftir þis King macolme wes adu*er*teist of ane conspiracioun maid aganis him / Nochtþeles went w*ith* pert curage / and spreitt to þe hunting / quhair þe conspiratouris devisit to slay hi*m* / and drew þe principale movar þ*er*of In co*m*monyng / quhill þai wer baith severaitt fra eu*ery* cunpany / And Incontinent pullit oute his swerde / saying þou has devisit my slauchter / now Is best tyme debaitt þi self / And slay me gif þou doov This man (quhilk was conspiritt aganis him) knawing his singular manhede / fell on kneis / and desyritt grace / quhilk wes grantit / vnder þir co*n*dicionis / that he attempt na sik tresonabill besynes in tymes cu*m*ing. (pp. 414-15)[41]

Bellenden's insertion of 'w*ith* pert curage and spreitt', 'Incontinent pullit oute his swerde' and 'knawing his singular manhede' indicates his intention to emphasise the majestic dignity of Malcolm. Malcolm's speech produces a combined effect; by giving a voice only to Malcolm, Bellenden shows that the king is in control of the situation. In the printed version, Bellenden further pursues this purpose. He elaborates the last part by introducing another direct speech:

> Not lang efter king Malcolme was aduertist þ*at* syndry his noblis war co*n*spirit aganis hym *and* deuisit his slaucht*er*. Jncontinent but ony feir or dredour he went perily to þe hu*n*ting quhare his slauchter was deuisit, *and* drew þe principal mouar þair of in co*m*moning, quhil þai war baith seuerit fra al cu*m*pany. and inco*n*tinent he pullit out his swerd *and* said. Tratour thow hes deuisit my deith, now is best tyme. debait thy self, *and* sla me now, gif thow dow. Þis man þat was co*n*spirit aganis him, knawing h*is* singular ma*n*heid fel on his kneis, *and* desirit grace. Þe king seand hym penite*n*t said, J remit thy offence sa thow

[41] MSS C, R and A have the same readings. See fols 253^{v}, 128^{v} and 246.

attempt na sic treassonabyl dedis in tymes cumyng. (fol. 178v)

The phrase 'but ony feir or dredour' with the additional word 'perily' demonstrates Malcolm's boldness and valiantness far better than '*with* pert curage and spreitt'.[42] As Malcolm is given another direct speech, more focus and more dignity are put on his character.

BELLENDEN'S REVISION WORK (III): INSERTION OF ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

In Book 12, there are several places where Bellenden inserts significant amounts of additional material into the text. These insertions are telling in that they reveal Bellenden's own political ideas on certain matters, his perspective towards the narration of history, or even his personal interests. In particular, the insertion of two origin myths, that of Holyrood abbey in chapter 16 and that of the Stewart family in chapter 5, are of interest.[43] In chapter 16 in the printed version, Bellenden inserts an episode indicating that king David built Holyrood abbey after he was saved from a big hart by a holy cross.[44] This episode is inserted as a substitute for the original account of the foundation of Holyrood abbey provided by Boece in chapter 10. Boece's version is short and blunt. When Edgar, son to Edward, king of England, came to Scotland, he was accompanied by his family and many nobles. These nobles brought Scotland plentiful gold and silver as well as many holy relics, among which was a black cross. The cross was very precious and King David built Holyrood abbey in honour of it: '[I]nter quas preciosissima illa crux nigra, quam postea rex Dauid coenobio suis impansis [*sic*: impensis] in Laudonia aedificato donauit. Vnde et nomen sanctae crucis obtinet.' (fol. 266v) (Among which is the very valuable black cross which King David later gave to the monastery built at his own expense in Lothian. From this it gets the name Holyrood.) Bellenden retains this episode in MSS M, C, R and A. MS M reads: 'ama*n*g quhom was þe blak croce / ane precious Relike In hono*ur* of þe quhilk wes biggit eftir ane abbaye In Lowtheane be King dauid / quhilk

[42] The meaning of the word 'perily' is uncertain as there is no entry of the word in *DSL*, *OED* or *MED*. Presumably, what Bellenden means by 'he went perily to þe hu*n*ting' is that Malcolm went hunting at the risk of his life.

[43] It is well known that Bellenden inserts additional critical comment on David I's foundations of religious houses. See Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', pp. 150-51, and 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 308-09. Bellenden's additions to the dialogue scene between Malcolm and Macduff in chapter 7 reveal much about Bellenden's idea of kingship. For a detailed discussion of this, see Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', pp. 163-64, 171-77.

[44] This episode is nearly two and a half columns long in the printed version, which caused Bellenden to divide chapter 16 into two parts. Thus the number of chapter divisions in Book 12 is increased from 17 in MS M to 18 in the printed version.

Is now callit þe abbaye of halycroce.' (p. 417)[45] In the printed version, however, he deletes the episode, and, instead of it, inserts a different and longer version of the origin myth in chapter 16. The reason for this large-scale alteration is obvious; Bellenden acquired another version of the origin myth of Holyrood abbey, and he found the new version more credible and preferable to the original one provided by Boece.

The Bellenden family was closely connected with Holyrood abbey. From 1484 to 1500, Robert Bellenden was an Abbot of Holyrood.[46] The exact relationship between the Abbot and the family of our translator is not clear. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the Abbot was 'a near relation' of John Bellenden, grandfather of the translator.[47] The surmise seems plausible, because the translator had significant amounts of knowledge about Robert Bellenden. He inserts long laudatory comments concerning the Abbot immediately after the legend of Holyrood abbey in the printed version:

> [Holyrood Abbey] was laitly in gouerna*n*ce of ane gud man den [*sic.*] Robert Bellenden abbot .xvi. ȝer*is*. He delt ylk owlk iiii. bowis of quheit *and* .xl.s. of syluer ama*n*g pure houshaldaris *and* indege*n*t pepyl. He brocht hame þe gret bellis, the gret brasyn fount .xxiiii. capis of gold *and* sylk. He maid ane chalice of fyne gold, ane eucharist with sindry challicis of siluer. He theikkit þe kirk with leid. He biggit ane brig of leith ane othir ouir Clide, with mony othir gud werkis, quhilkis war ouir prolixt to schaw. Nochtheles he was sa inuijt be sindry othir prelatis, becaus he was not geuyn to lust *and* insolence efter þair maner, þ*at* he left the abbay, *and* deit ane chartour monk. (fol. 185)[48]

Besides Robert Bellenden, Walter Bellenden, uncle of the translator, was a canon of Holyrood abbey until his death in 1490. In 1486, Robert Bellenden bestowed the office of parish clerk of Holyrood on Patrick Bellenden, father of the translator.[49] He held the office until his death in late 1514 or early 1515.[50] The

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[45] For the corresponding parts in MSS C, R and A, see fols 255, 129^{v} and 247 respectively.

[46] *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt and N. F. Shead, SRS, new ser., 24 (Edinburgh: SRS, 2001), p. 96, and *SP*, II (1905), 61. While Robert Bellenden was Abbot, Adam Bellenden was a canon and prior of the Holyrood monastery. See *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, ed. by Gordon Donaldson, SRS, 140, 142-43, 146, 151, 154, 157, 160 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by J. Skinner, 1941-1952), pp. 22, 44 and 53. Robert Bellenden was also a prior of St Mary's Isle 1481-1484. See *The Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 194.

[47] *SP*, I, 61.

[48] Sheppard claims that the translator was a 'kinsman of the Abbot': 'This notice of the Abbot would scarcely have been inserted by anyone not either a monk of the Abbey or a relative: the particulars are too minute to have been preserved over a period of thirty years, unless by personal knowledge, or family, or monastic, tradition.' (p. 24)

[49] See *Protocol Book of James Young*, p. 12, and *Calendar of the Laing Charters A.D. 854-1837: Belonging to the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by John Anderson (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1899), p. 50. Patrick Bellenden was a parish clerk of St Andrews when he was appointed to the office. James Young states that Patrick was 'son of the deceased John Bellantyne' (p. 12), and 'brother and heir of the deceased *dene* Walter Bellantyne, canon of Holyrood' (p. 86). John Bellenden, the translator, is believed to be the second son of Patrick. *SP*,

armorial seals of the Bellendens further indicate their devotion to Holyrood abbey. Robert Bellenden's seal carries a device of 'A stag head couped', and that of Patrick Bellenden carries a device of 'A stag head couped between three cross crosslets fitchée'.[51] Undoubtedly, these seals are derived from the origin myth of Holyrood abbey where king David is attacked by a hart, but a cross, which suddenly appears in his hand, drives it away. This origin myth is supposed to have been adapted from legend of St Eustace or that of St Hubert.[52] In fact, the origin myth was relatively a new product; it was not until the reign of James I that the myth was connected to Holyrood abbey. The earliest written version of the legend is found in a manuscript book called the Holyrood Ordinale, which was produced around 1450.[53] This is about thirty years before the members of the Bellendens became active in the abbey. It is likely, therefore, that our translator had an access to the Holyrood Ordinale through family members, and acquired the knowledge about the legend from it. Indeed, Bellenden's version of the legend in the *Chronicles* bears a close similarity with the version in the Holyrood Ordinale, and so it is highly probable that the former is an abridged version of the latter.[54] Bellenden may have found the new version of the origin myth, which is directly derived from the abbey, more authoritative than Boece's original short account. However, the insertion of the legend seems to have been mainly prompted by his personal devotion to the legend and Holyrood abbey. That the new version of the legend appears only in the printed version might suggest that Bellenden made the alteration after Boece's death in 1536; the death of the original author caused Bellenden to feel more freedom to insert materials by personal preference.

Bellenden's additional passages concerning the origin of the Stewart family in chapter 5 reveal much

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[50] On 8 February 1515, Robert Crichton was appointed as Patrick Bellenden's successor. See *Protocol Book of James Young*, p. 445.

[51] William Rae Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Edinburgh: William Green and Sons, 1904), p. 18. See also Sheppard, p. 21.

[52] *A Scottish Chronicle Known as the Chronicle of Holyrood*, ed. by Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, SHS, 3rd ser., 30 (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable for the SHS, 1938), p. 118.

[53] *The Holyrood Ordinale: A Scottish Version of a Directory of English Augustinian Canons with Manual and Other Liturgical Forms*, ed. by Francis C. Eeles, The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 7 (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1914), pp. 63-69. This is also found in *The Bannatyne Miscellany: Containing Original Papers and Tracts, Chiefly Relating to the History and Literature of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827-1855), II (1836), 14-17. On the seal of the abbey in the time of James I, a stag with a cross between its horns is depicted. See *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: Munimenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1840), pp. xi-xii.

[54] Anderson claims that it was Bellenden's version in the *Chronicles* that made the legend familiar. See *Chronicle of Holyrood*, p. 118.

about his perspective towards the narration of history. This chapter starts with Macbeth's attempt to kill Banquo and his son Fleance. Fleance manages to escape from Macbeth and goes to Wales, where he fathers a son, Walter, progenitor of the Stewart family. In order to show the link between Walter and the Stewart family, Boece gives simple genealogical accounts of the family down to James V. These accounts are retained in MSS M, C, R and A. In the printed version, on the other hand, these accounts are subjected to great alteration. While Bellenden makes few alterations to the first half of the genealogical accounts, the last half, after the reign of Robert II, is expanded on a large scale with a significant number of additional passages.[55] He refers to more persons or events in relation to the Stewart monarchs and produces an abbreviated history of the period. In so doing, Bellenden shows the connection between events in Book 12 and the situation in the Stewart dynasty more clearly. His additions are generally limited to genealogical information on the Stewart family; he adds such information as whom each king married, how many children he gets from his wife, what are the names of the children and whom these children married. Most parts of the insertions are, in fact, adaptations from the narrative in Book 16, which covers the period from the coronation of Robert II to the return of James I from England.[56] However

[55] This dividing line shows that Bellenden's concern is focussed on the Stewart dynasty. It is unlikely that those additional passages in Book 12 are simply opportunistic insertions based on availability. Bellenden does not make any alterations or additions to the account of Robert Bruce despite the fact that much information concerning Robert Bruce can be obtained in Book 14. It is possible that Bellenden was aware of the now lost 'The Stewartis Orygenale' composed by John Barbour. Barbour was commissioned by Robert II to produce a genealogical history, which 'traced Robert II's ancestors' and provided 'a direct unbroken line of descent, through named individuals, that linked a contemporary figure to his illustrious forbears'. Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland', pp. 51-52, and Stephen I. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III 1371-1406* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996; repr. 1997), p. 59. Walter Bower apparently consulted the work, and left a note on it in the Corpus MS of the *Scotichronicon*: 'Note that Barbour asserts that the Stewarts came from Wales, and had their origin in 'Fleance de Warnne'. See, *Scotichronicon*, IX: *Critical Studies and General Indexes* (1998), pp. 46-49 (p. 47). Thus it is possible that Bellenden deliberately chose to expand the genealogical account after the reign of Robert II, where Barbour's genealogical history finished. It should be noted that Bellenden once calls his account of the Stewart family narrated in Book 16 'þe genology of stewardis' (fol. 248).

[56] As the corresponding parts in Book 16 are subjected to a large scale of alteration, the texts in MS M, the intermediary MSS and the printed version do not accord with each other. Because the additional passages inserted in Book 12 reflect many alterations made only in the printed version of Book 16, it is certain that they are based on the text in the printed version. This suggests that when Bellenden inserted the additional passages in Book 12 in the printed version, the text in Book 16 had already been revised into something not unlike the final formulation in the printed version. There are two possible explanations for this. One is that another, probably minor, revision work had taken place before the printed version was finalised. The revision work in Book 16 might have prompted Bellenden to return, once again, to Book 12 and to insert these additional passages. This rather precipitate insertion might account for the fact that chapter 5, in which these passages are included, is the longest of the chapters in Book 12. Bellenden's revision work in his translation of Livy is suggestive. As is discussed in Appendix I below, Bellenden's revised text in the fair copy does not always accord with the corresponding part of the final version. This

Bellenden makes rather biased extractions from the book; he gives less weight to the accounts of kings than to the nobility who had blood relationships with the Stewart family through marriage. Bellenden's account of each king is extremely short with no more information than his marriage and children. On the other hand, Bellenden gives more additional accounts concerning the nobility; how the earldom of Moray came in the possession of the Douglases; how Walter, Earl of Athole, masterminded a series of slaughters of successors to the crown; Walter's crime caused him and his family to lose their lives and lands; the third son of Duke Murdoch, in revenge for the death of his father and brothers, burned Dumbarton and went to Ireland; the Earl of Mar was slain in a bath-tub in the Canongate.[57] Cumulatively, in these additional passages, Bellenden demonstrates the earlier history or origins of the important noble families in the Stewart dynasty. Thus, after describing how the earldom of Moray transferred from the Dunbars to the Douglases through marriage, Bellenden concludes: 'and sa the Dowglas come to the erldome of murray.' (fol. 175) Similarly, mentioning not only two marriages of Alexander, second son to James II, but also his son, the Duke of Albany, from his second marriage, Bellenden states: '[Alexander got] Johne Stewart duke of Albany, quhilk was mony ȝeris gouernour of Scotland in our days.' (fol. 175^{v}) Furthermore, in the account of the marriage of the daughter of James II to James, Lord Hamilton, Bellenden states: 'And be that way the hous of Hammyltoun is decorit in the kyngis blude.' (fol. 175^{v}) Obviously, these insertions are related to the intended wider readership of the printed version, including members of the nobility. Bellenden is aware of the interest in the family history on the part of the nobility, and he responds to that. By narrating the history of the nobility in relation to the genealogy of the Stewart monarchs down to

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suggests the possibility that another minor stage of revision work took place even after the fair copy was made by his amanuensis. See Appendix I, p. 216, footnote 25. The other, although less likely, possibility is that Bellenden revised Book 16 before he worked on Book 12.

[57] Norman A. T. Macdougall argues that because of the paucity of evidence and official records, Scottish historical writers in the sixteenth century often incorporated 'oral evidence, ballads or prose tales' into their works in order to 'fill out their narratives'. He states that Bellenden's remark that the Earl of Mar was slain in a bath-tub is 'borrowing from the story of the death of the English duke of Clarence, who was currently said to have been executed by being drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine in 1478'. See Macdougall, 'The Sources: A Reappraisal of the Legend', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Jennifer M. Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 10-32 (pp. 14 and 25). This story, which was first related by Domini Mancini in 1483, was incorporated in many London chronicles, and was well known not only in England but also abroad. Macdougall speculates that Bellenden simply copied from one of these materials available to him in order to make it obscure that the Earl of Mar was executed for treason. See Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp. 130-32, 282 (p. 132). This is of significance as it indicates that Bellenden sometimes employed English materials, whether written or oral, in order to tailor the historical narrative according to his political perspective.

James V, Bellenden skillfully demonstrates the importance of the families of the nobility; their history is as long as that of the royal family, with which they were closely interconnected.

Bellenden's notion that the establishment of the Stewart dynasty is fixed to the period narrated in Book 12 can be endorsed by one revision he makes in chapter 3. As has been examined above, in Boece, the chapter starts with the passage: 'Accidit autem haud ita multo post res noua atque admiranda.' (fol. 257ᵛ)[58] This is followed by the passage 'quae statum regni perturbauit' (which introduced confusion to the situation in the kingdom). What Boece means by 'res noua atque admiranda, quae statum regni perturbauit' is probably the prophecy given to Macbeth by the weird sisters, which provoked Macbeth to murder Duncan.[59] Bellenden, however, does not translate the passage 'quae statum regni perturbauit' in MS M and the other intermediary manuscripts. Only in the printed version, Bellenden restores this passage with a slightly different implication: 'Nocht lang eftir hapnit ane vncouth and wounderfull thyng. Be quhilk followit sone ane gret alteration in þe realme.' (fol. 173) Bellenden maintains that after the prophecy was given to Macbeth, there occurred a drastic change in the realm of Scotland. Note that, unlike Boece, he does not claim that the change is a negative one. This change may refer to the origination of the Stewart family, or the substitution of elective kingship with hereditary kingship.[60] Or it may even suggest the disappearance of tyranny in Scotland afterwards. What is significant here is the fact that Bellenden thinks the political or social situation in Scotland before Macbeth's reign is different from that thereafter; the contemporary social and political system in Scotland under the Stewart monarch owes its existence to the change which took place in the reign of Macbeth.

DAUNTING THE ISLES, BORDERS AND HIGHLANDS

In Book 12, kings, or captains under them, make not a few expeditions to remote troubled places in order

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58 See above p. 63.

59 In Boece, the first prophecy is given Macbeth by the so-called weird sisters, but the second prophecy is given by other supernatural beings, 'haruspicibus' and 'muliercula'. This point is further discussed below pp. 96-98.

60 Boardman suggests that, from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, Malcolm III and St Margaret were often regarded as the founders of a fresh 'unified Saxon/Scots royal house', from whom 'all subsequent Scottish kings descended'. Although it is probable that Bellenden was aware of this notion, his emphasis in this book is put on the origin myth of the Stewart family rather than on the dynastic union of the Scots and the Saxons. See Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland', pp. 62-71 (pp. 62 and 65).

to deal with rebels. Bellenden's revisions to the accounts of these campaigns are of particular interest, as there is a recurrent pattern in them; he constantly replaces the word 'repres' in MS M with 'daunt' or 'punish' in the printed version. One example is found in chapter 1 in the scene where Banquo is attacked by defiant people in Lochaber and he asks king Duncan to punish them. Boece states that Duncan sends an officer to summon the offender: '[I]dque tandem a rege impetrauit, vt misso faeciali qui iniuriae authores in ius vacaret, animum paulum contumeliae accommodaret vlciscendae.' (fol. 255) (Banquo finally obtained from the king that, an ambassador having been sent to summon the authors of the injury to justice, he should lend his mind a little to punish the injury.) Bellenden translates this in MS M: 'King duncan / to repress þir extorsionis send ane officiar of armys.' (p. 398)[61] Bellenden renders 'contumeliae [. . .] vlciscendae' as 'to repress þir extorsionis'. In the printed version, he alters the passage using the stronger word 'dant': 'Kyng Du*n*cane to dant thir attemptatis send ane officer of Armes.' (fol. 171) In chapter 15, Alexander I punishes the Morays and the Rosses who repeat atrocities. Boece reads: 'Alexander cum aliquanta copiarum manu eas regiones adiens duces tumultuum ac principes captos capite mulctauit.' (fol. 271^{v}) (Alexander, coming to those parts with a body of troops, captured the leaders and chiefs of the disorders and executed them.) In MS M, Bellenden elaborates this with additional passages: 'King Alexander to repres þir attemptatis w*ith* mair deligence in þe begy*n*nyng of his Regnne come on þir conspiratouris w*ith* ane haisty cumpany / or þai wer aduerteist / And cessit nocht quhill þe principale movaris of þis troubill war punest to þe deth.' (pp. 425-26)[62] In the printed version, on the other hand, it is made more concise, and thus closer to Boece's original text: 'King Alexa*n*der to dant þir attemptatis come w*ith* sic diligence on thir co*n*spiratouris, þ*at* thay war finaly tane *and* punist to the deith.' (fol. 183) He retains his addition 'to repres þir attemptatis', but 'repres' is changed into 'dant'.[63] These alterations

[61] MSS R and A have the same readings. See fols 123 and 237^{v}. The leaf which should have included the corresponding part in MS C has been lost.
[62] MSS C, R and A have the same readings. See fols 260, 132 and 251^{v} respectively.
[63] In some cases, the word 'repres' is replaced with 'punys'. In chapter 1, Boece describes Duncan's character: 'Duncanus enim mitis erat ac clemens, et haud scio an in eam fuerit partem nimius, adeo vt ad corrigenda vitia plus aequo se laxum praebuerit, nimiumque indulgentem criminum illecebris.' (fol. 255) ([. . .] and it may be that Duncan went too far in that direction, so much so that he showed himself over-lax in correcting vices, and over-indulgent to the allurements of crime.) Bellenden renders this in MS M: 'Duncan was sa pieteous / and mercifull / þat he apperit no*ch*t abill to repres þe vices of his pepill.' (p. 397) MSS R and A have the same readings. See fols 123 and 237^{v}. The word 'repres' is changed into 'punys' in the printed text: 'For Duncane wes sa mercyfull, þat he apperit nocht abill to punys the vices of his pepill.' (fol. 171)

may indicate Bellenden's intention to put more emphasis on kings' power and authority in the printed version. Nevertheless, his deliberate employment of the word 'dant' means more than this. The word 'daunt' was frequently associated with royal expeditions to troubled places in late medieval and early modern Scotland. Bellenden must have been fully aware of the ideological implication of this word, and, as will be shown below shortly, in the *Chronicles*, he makes premeditated employment of the word in relation to the Stewart monarchs.

The control of remote places such as the Western and Northern Isles, Borders and Highlands was a particularly important issue to the Stewart monarchy. The Western Isles had, at least from the twelfth century, 'a continuous history as a political entity'.[64] They had semi-independent rulers, and the Lordship of the Isles had a powerful influence in the area. Indeed, the Lordship of the Western and Northern Isles was indicative of the limits of royal power; the people in these areas were ruled over not by the Stewart monarchy but by the Lords. That was an obstacle to the Stewart monarchy who sought to be the single authority in the realm of Scotland. After the fourteenth century, the Lords initiated their attempt to extend their authority eastwards, and in so doing, they fostered unrest in the far north and west.[65] In addition, they often harassed the Scottish crown by treating with the kings of England in order to regain the power and independence they enjoyed before 1266.[66] Accordingly, the relationship between the Lords of the Isles and the crown, which was generally good in the reigns of the early Stewart kings, started to get worse.[67] There ensued periods of direct conflict between the crown and the Lords of the Isles, and

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[64] K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationer Office, 1977), Appendix II: 'The Lordship of the Isles: Historical Background', pp. 201-13 (p. 201). The same was true in Shetland and Orkney, where the Sinclairs were the 'semi-regal rulers of a maritime domain'. Barbara E. Crawford, 'William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and his Family: A Study in the Politics of Survival', in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. by K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 232-51 (p. 232). The islands of Shetland and Orkney were forfeited and came into the possession of the crown, and the Sinclair family was reduced to the status of 'any other Scottish baronial house' in the fifteenth century. (p. 232) For a detailed account of the political situation in Shetland and Orkney, see Crawford, pp. 232-51, and Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542*, ed. by Norman Macdougall (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 242-45.

[65] Steer and Bannerman, pp. 205-06.

[66] Steer and Bannerman, pp. 206-07. Before 1266, when Norway ceded the Hebrides to Scotland, the Lords of the Isles owed allegiance to the kings of Norway. But, in practice, they held an 'ambivalent position vis-à-vis Scotland and Norway to maintain a considerable independence from the crowned heads of both'. See Steer and Bannerman, p. 202.

[67] In the reign of Robert II, there was an 'amicable relationship' between the king and the lordship, as the king's daughter, Margaret, married John, lord of the Isles. See Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, pp. 89-91 (p. 90). In the reign of Robert III, a military expedition was organised to the north and north-east, but it

punishing the Isles became 'a traditional pursuit of the Stewart monarchy'.[68]

James I arrested Alexander MacDonald in 1428, but after the release Alexander rebelled against James.[69] Although James won 'an impressive victory' over Alexander in 1429, he could not pursue his personal campaign because of a lack of sufficient resources.[70] James granted the control of the Isles to his lieutenant, the Earl of Mar. However, the Earl of Mar suffered a disastrous defeat by the forces of the Isle's men in 1431, and Alexander was released again. James II was concerned about the unnatural alliance between John MacDonald, the Earl of Ross, Alexander Lindsay, the Earl of Crawford, and William Douglas, the eighth Earl of Douglas.[71] However, as the king was occupied with the struggle with the Black Douglases, he pursued a 'conciliatory policy' towards John MacDonald, and John seems to have been loyal to the king.[72] In 1475 James III made forfeiture of lands and title held by John, on a charge of his trafficking with England and assisting the forfeited James, the ninth Earl of Douglas.[73] In 1476 he organised a campaign against the Earl of Ross, and John MacDonald submitted to the royal will. John was stripped of the title of Earl of Ross and the earldom was annexed to the domains of the crown. On the same day, however, John was restored to his title as the Lord of the Isles, and the annexed earldom was granted to his second son. Although John was charged with treason again in April 1478, following the royal act of revocation of 1476, he received confirmation of his lordship and lands in the Isles were regranted to him in December 1478. By this time, the authority held by the MacDonalds in the Isles was transferred to Angus Óg or Islay, illegitimate son to John, and 'until his death in 1490, Angus Óg played a

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was not led by the king but by his son and brother, David, Duke of Rothesay, and the Duke of Albany. These two dukes presented themselves, however, 'as the leaders rather than the persecutors of the Gael'. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, pp. 201-15 (p. 208).

[68] Cameron, p. 228.

[69] It should be noted that Alexander MacDonald was a grandson of Margaret, daughter of Robert II. His father, Donald, son of Margaret, had 'a perfectly good claim to be king of Scots' in terms of the system of succession in the kin-based society of the Lordship of the Isles. Although there is no contemporary evidence to prove that the Lords of the Isles sought to secure the kingship of the Scots, it can be surmised that this close kinship of the Lords of the Isles posed a threat to the Stewart monarchy. See John Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Jennifer M. Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 209-40 (p. 214), and Steer and Bannerman, pp. 204-05.

[70] Cameron, p. 228.

[71] There had been occasions of friction between these three earls, and each of them was 'individually troublesome to the king'. Thus the bond of friendship between them must have presented the king with 'an alarming prospect'. See Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), pp. 61-65 (pp. 61 and 63).

[72] McGladdery, p. 105. See also p. 94.

[73] Norman Macdougall, *James III*, pp. 121-25 (p. 121).

major part in the affairs of the Lordship'.[74] James IV took a more active and a stronger attitude towards the issue of the Isles.[75] In the parliament held in 1493, the Lordship of the Isles was forfeited, and was annexed to the crown.[76] James made several royal visits to the Isles, but after his return from the Isles in 1495, James's attention was diverted to foreign affairs. Thus he conferred his authority onto the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, and MacIan of Ardnamurchan. The Earl of Argyll was made lieutenant-general within the boundaries of the old Lordship of the Isles, excepting Kintyre and Islay in 1500.[77] The Earl of Huntly was also given similar authority in 1501.[78] In 1504, parliament declared that the Earl of Huntly was permitted to besiege the castles of Eilean Donan at the head of Loch Alsh, and Strone on Loch Carron, which were 'ry*ch*t necessar for þe danting of þe Ilis'.[79] Although all these events in the reign of James IV marked 'the beginning of the end for the Lordship of the Isles', there were prolonged oppositions by the inhabitants.[80] Constant struggles continued for more than thirty years, into the reign of James V. [81] At the beginning of his personal reign, the Earl of Argyll was mainly in charge of controlling the Isles. James V's personal expedition was planned in 1530, and elaborate preparations were made in 1531. It was not put into practice, however, because MacDonald of Islay submitted to him. It was in 1540 that James's expedition to the Isles took place. James V obtained 'considerable success in his daunting of the Isles, both in raising Crown revenues, and in increasing their extent, through annexation and by purchase'.[82] There occurred no further rebellion in the Isles during his personal reign.

These achievements of the Scottish monarchs were frequently celebrated in literary works. As early

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[74] Steer and Bannerman, p. 207.

[75] See R. L. Mackie, *King James IV of Scotland: A Brief Survey of his Life and Times* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), pp. 188-99, and Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), pp. 103-05.

[76] Macdougall argues that the forfeiture of the lordship and the act of revocation in 1493 were 'made in the king's name, but not by an adult king decisively asserting his authority for the first time'. It was rather instigated by Chancellor Angus 'to undermine the power of the new earl of Argyll' as well as 'to establish himself, his kin, and his allies, in the west of Scotland'. In 1498 and 1504, at the age of twenty five and thirty one, James IV issued further acts of revocation. The 1504 act was carried out, and the 1493 act was annulled by the king. Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 101-02.

[77] *RSS*, I: *A.D. 1488-1529* (1908), pp. 74-75. See also pp. 58 and 73.

[78] *RSS*, I, 107. See also pp. 116-17.

[79] *APS*, II, 240.

[80] Bannerman claims that although the Lordship became, after the forfeiture in 1493, a crown possession in 'the eyes of central government', not until 1545, with the death of Donald Dubh, 'did the inhabitants thereof finally accept the crown as their immediate superior' (p. 212).

[81] For a detailed description of the campaigns to the Isles in the reign of James V, see Cameron, chapter 10, pp. 228-54.

[82] Cameron, pp. 247-48.

as 1376, John Barbour, in the *Bruce*, mentions Robert I who 'dawntyt' the Iles: 'Þe king quhe*n* all þe Ilis war | Bro*cht* till his liking les *and* mar, | All þ*at* sesoun þ*ar* duellyt he | At huntyng gamy*n* *and* at gle. | Quhill þe king apon þis man*er* | Dawntyt þe Ilis as I tell her.' (XV, lines 315-20)[83] The same is true in the *Chronicles*. In the 'namis of the kyngis', which precedes the history, Bellenden gives very short account of each reign of the Stewart monarchs after James II. The word 'daunt' is employed for the laudatory description of James II and James IV in the printed version. The description of James IV reads: 'James þe fourt son to James þe thrid was þe .C.iiii. king *and* had his realme mony ȝeris in gret tranquillite be equall ministration of Justice throw al partis of his realme. All theift, reif, and slauchter dantit be his seuerane [*sic*.] Justice.' (fol. 33*)[84]

The 'daunting' of the remote troubled places was particularly significant in exalting strong kingship. Indeed, James V seems to have regarded it less as military operation than as means to promote his authority.[85] Kings were expected, in the first place, to 'travel throughout their kingdom' and to be 'seen by their subjects'.[86] By exercising justice and punishing rebels in troubled local areas, kings could demonstrate direct governance and impress the people within and outwith their realm with their personal royal authority. Inversely, failing to control the troubled situation in the local areas brought criticism of a king's authority. The situation of unrest in the Borders in 1528 undubtedly harassed James V. The English rebel, Sir William Lisle, together with Border thieves, conducted raids in the Borders from 1527. The English government, which assumed that Lisle was aided and abetted by the Armstrong family, requested the Scottish government to punish and remove Lisle. Several attempts to punish the rebels were made by Maxwell and Angus, but they were not successful enough. The English repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction and James V had to send back 'suitable apologies' to them.[87] The three-year truce with

[83] *Barbour's 'Bruce': A Fredome Is a Noble Thing!*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A. C. Stevenson, 3 vols, STS, 4th ser., 12, 13, 15 (Edinburgh: STS, 1980, 1981, 1985), III (1981), 112. Sir David Lyndsay, in 'The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo' (1530), praises James IV for his bringing about justice in the Isles: 'Duryng his tyme so Iustice did preuaill, | The sauage Iles trymblit for terrour; | Eskdale, Euisdale, Liddisdale, and Annerdale | Durste nocht rebell, doutyng his dyntis dour.' *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555*, ed. by Douglas Hamer, 4 vols, STS 3rd ser., 1-2, 6, 8 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1931, 1931, 1934, 1936), I: *Text of the Poems* (1931), p. 71, lines 493-96.
[84] Notably, here again, 'dantit' is a replacement of 'repressit' in MS C (fol. 21).
[85] Cameron, p. 77.
[86] Jenny Wormald, 'Taming the Magnates?', in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. by Stringer, pp. 270-80 (p. 277).
[87] Cameron, pp. 13-14 (p. 14).

England concluded in 1526 was going to expire soon, and it was not profitable or preferable for James to show his inability to control his side of the Border. It was this shameful experience, Cameron claims, that ultimately led James to dissociate himself from Angus and to assume royal power himself.[88] Immediately after the removal of the Douglases, James made a royal expedition to the Borders to impress 'his personal royal authority both at home and in the eyes of the English government'.[89] Thus associating the idea of 'daunting' of the troubled places with the Stewart monarch was an available means to show an ideological sympathy towards the king.

However, considering the complicated situation Bellenden was in, his employment of this idea cannot be taken so straightforwardly. In the parliament held in September 1528, the Earl of Angus was 'condemned for his association with the criminal activity' of John Johnston of that Ilk.[90] Nevertheless, there was no evidence suggesting that there was 'a connection between Johnston and Angus' or that Angus had assisted Johnston's attack on the royal lands of Duncow in Nithsdale. Moreover, neither John Johnston himself, nor Lord Maxwell, who was responsible for the lands, was summoned to the court.[91] The charge was simply unfair. Angus had made great efforts to control the Borders and had 'executed a number of successful Borders raids' in 1525 and 1527.[92] Nonetheless, Angus's failure to detain Sir William Lisle followed by several parades of troubles in the area, led James V to charge Angus with 'failing to give good government in the Borders'.[93] Bellenden, who defended Angus as a secretary in the parliament, must have felt acutely how problematic and significant the issue of the 'daunting' of the troubled places was in the reign of James V.[94] Bellenden's alterations to the description of the 'daunting' of the rebels in Book 12 demonstrate that he handled them with discretion and with the contemporary situation in mind.

Bellenden deliberately associates the kings with the word 'daunting' throughout the book. Chapter 15 starts with Alexander's succession to the crown. Boece states that as Edgar died without issue,

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[88] Cameron, pp. 9-30.
[89] Cameron, p. 77.
[90] Cameron, p. 16.
[91] Cameron, pp. 11-17 (p. 16).
[92] Angus captured Simon Armstrong and David Armstrong in 1525. In 1527 he made a campaign against Teviotdale and killed eighteen thieves and hanged a further fourteen. See Cameron, p. 72.
[93] Cameron, p. 11.
[94] Cameron, pp. 11-17, and *APS*, II, 322-26.

Alexander was made king: 'Fratri defuncto sine liberis, Alexander Fers, id est fortis ob singularem in latronibus compescendis virtutem cognominatus, suffectus est.' (fol. 271v) (As his brother died without issue, Alexander the Fierce, he was named 'fierce' because of his matchless courage in repressing thieves, was made king.) Bellenden renders 'compescendis' as 'dantit' in MS M: 'Edgare decessit / (as we haif schawin) succedit þe v son of King macolm Namit Alexander ferss / becaus he dantit thevis with singulair manhede.' (p. 425) This is retained in the later recensions.[95] In chapter 4 Macbeth, at the beginning of his reign, rules over the realm with justice. He plays a clever trick on the thieves in the realm, and succeeds in punishing them. Boece reads: 'Nec aliquam deinceps grassari audebant pro comperto habentes non magis se regias manus euasuros, si quicquam flagitiosum commisissent, quam illi quos nuper in tanto numero cepisset, fuerant .n. ad duo fere milia.' (fols 258v-59) (Nor did they dare to plunder anything from then on, for they knew very well that they would not escape the hands of the king if they did anything wicked, any more than had those whom he [the king] had lately captured in such numbers (for they were about 2000).) In MS M, Bellenden gives a broad rendition: 'Throw þis punycioun þe Remanent mysdoaris war dantit in sik maner þat mony ʒeris few rubberyis was herd in þe cuntre.' (p. 404)[96] In the printed version, and MSS R and A as well, the latter half is revised with additional use of the word 'dantit'. The printed version reads: 'The remanent misdoaris war dantit in sic maner, þat mony ʒeris efter al thift *and* reiffis war dantit, and the pepyll brocht to gret tranquillite.' (fol. 173v)[97] Evidently, Bellenden deliberately chooses to employ the word 'daunt' in order to show the authority of the king in punishing villains.

Indeed, it is not only the kings who are associated with the word 'daunting'. In chapter 5, an expedition to Galloway and the Isles in the reign of Malcolm is mentioned. The expedition is made not by the king himself but by Walter, a son to Fleance. Boece reads:

> Postea exercitus non contemnendi dux factus in Gallouidiam, ac deinde in Hebrides profectus Tyrannos deuictos occidit, ac tumultus per eos concitatos sedauit omnes. Quibus rebus gestis clarus, regique acceptus vbi innotuerat eum Scotico sanguine prognatum, regni Senescallum, id est regiorum prouentuum primarium procuratorem rex creat, praediisque et agris Stragis, Coil, Stuartislandis (vti ea vulgari et vernacula Scoti appellant lingua) donat.

[95] See MS C, fol. 259v, MS R, fol. 132, MS A, fol. 251v and the printed version, fol. 183.

[96] The corresponding part in MS C is almost identical. See fol. 247v.

[97] For the corresponding parts in MSS R and A, see fols 125 and 241 respectively. Note that in MS A, 'gret tranquillite' is changed into 'tranquillite'.

(fol. 260)

> (After that, Walter was made captain of a great army, and he advanced to Galloway, and then to the Isles. He subdued tyrants and killed them, and calmed all the troubles they had aroused with rapidity. Famous for these deeds, and acceptable to the king when it had become known that he was of Scottish blood, the king made him Seneschal, that is the top procurator of the royal incomes, and granted him the estates and lands of Stragis, Kyle and Stewartland (as the Scots call them in the vulgar and vernacular tongue).)

Significantly, the Stewart family owes its very origin to the 'daunting' of the Isles. This is what Bellenden puts emphasis on in his translation. MS M reads: 'Eftir þis he [Walter] wes send with ane grete powere in þe Ilis galloway / and vther partis of scotlannd to pvneiss Tira*n*nis / and ly*m*maris of þe cuntre / quhom he dantit with manhede and prudence / That he wes maid stewartt of scotlannd To ressaif þe Kingis malis *and* rentis / oute of all partis of þis /realme.' (p. 406) Bellenden eliminates details of the expedition such as 'dux factus', '[Tyrannos] deuictos occidit' and 'per eos concitatos', and substitutes them with 'he dantit with manhede and prudence'. In so doing, Bellenden narrows the focus of the rendition to the celebration of Walter in relation to the glorious 'daunting' of the Isles. The rendition is almost retained in the later recensions including the printed version.[98] The same expedition is referred to again in chapter 11. Bellenden's alterations to the part are further suggestive. Boece reads:

> Eos Vvalterus filius Fleanthi (qui vt diximus ad Malcolmi aulam vbi venisset praestantis [*sic.*; praestantibus] militiae artibus ducis nomen adeptus erat) acceptis a rege copiis primum Gallouidianos, duce seditionis Makglauo caeso, deinde Hebridianos ingenti affectos clade in ditionem regis redegit. Itaque ob ea foeliciter gesta, Senescallus regni a rege effectus est, et Stuart vulgari cognomento a regio munere nuncupatus. (fols 267-67^{v})
>
> (Walter, son to Fleance, (who, as we have said, after coming to the court of Malcolm, attained the name of Duke by his superior skill in soldiery) received forces from the king and brought under the king's control first the people of Galloway, after killing McGlave, the leader of the rebellion, and then the people of the Isles, who suffered great slaughter. Thus, as the expedition was successfully conducted, he was appointed by the king the royal seneschal, and he was given a vulgar surname of Stuart for his royal service.)

Bellenden gives an abridged rendition in MS M: 'King macolm To repress þir attemptatis send walter þe son of fleance afoir rehersit w*ith* ane band of chosin men / quhilk dantit all þir ly*m*maris with sik felicite

[98] MSS C, R, and A have the same readings. See fols 248^{v}-49, 126 and 242. In the printed version, 'Eftir þis' is replaced with 'Nocht lang efter'. See fol. 174^{v}.

That he was maid stewart of scotland and callit Stewart to his surname.' (p. 418) Again, the details of the expedition are greatly eliminated to put more emphasis on the relationship between Walter's successful campaign and the creation of the Stewart family. The intermediary manuscripts have almost identical readings.[99] In the printed version, it is somewhat revised: 'Kyng Malcolme to punys þir attemptat*is*, send Walt*er* the sonne of Fleance afore rehersit with ane band of chosyn men in Galloway. Finalie this Walter dantit all thir lymmaris with sic felicite, þ*at* he wes maid stewart of scotla*n*d, and callit stewart to his surname.' (fol. 180) Bellenden replaces 'repress' with 'punish', and inserts 'in Galloway' and 'Finalie þis Walter'. By repeating such words as 'punish' or 'daunt', Bellenden gives more a powerful image to the expedition. Although the excluded details of the expedition are never restored, the additional 'Finalie' suggests that Walter's service was an extensive one. The insertion of 'þis Walter' reveals Bellenden's intention to associate this powerful 'daunting' of 'Galloway' less with the king than Walter, the progenitor of the 'stewart of scotla*n*d'. This is followed by an additional passage in the printed version, where Bellenden employs the word 'dantit' again: 'Eftir þat þis truble wes dantit in þis wise followit ane othir of gretar motion.' (fol. 180)[100]

After Walter's 'daunting', when the Isles are mentioned in relation to Norway, they are persistently called 'Ilis of Scotland' in Book 12. In chapter 13, Donald, who asks the king of Norway for support, promises to give the 'Jlis of Scotland' (fol. 181v) to him when he gets the crown.[101] During Donald's reign, the king of Norway invades the 'Jlis of scotland' (fol. 182), and the Scots have great indignation as 'Jlis of scotland' is under 'vncouth empire' (fol. 182).[102] Bellenden's intentional insertion of 'of Scotland' is obvious. In the second case, he fails to put 'of Scotland' in MS M, but he inserts it in the printed version. The Isles are, after the 'daunting' by Walter, part of Scotland, and they do not owe any allegiance to Norway any longer. The powerful image Bellenden gives to the Stewart family in relation to the 'daunting' of the Isles must have been well appreciated by James V; it endorses James's overlordship of the area and

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99 MS C has 'walt*er* stewart the son of fleance' instead of 'walter þe son of fleance' (fol. 255v). In MSS R and A it is altered back to 'walter þe sone of fleance', but 'quhilk' is replaced with 'þis Walter'. See fols 129v and 247v respectively.

100 The corresponding part in MS M reads: 'Eftir þis troubill succedit ane gretare.' (p. 418) MSS C, R and A have the same readings as MS M. See fols 255v, 129v and 247v respectively.

101 For the corresponding parts in MSS M, C, R and A, see p. 422, fol. 258, fol. 131 and fol. 249v.

102 For the corresponding parts in MSS M, C, R and A, see p. 423, fol. 258v, fol. 131v and fol. 250.

enhances the authority of the crown. Above all this, the 'daunting' of the Isles, conquering 'distinct territories' and uniting them under his headship, accorded perfectly with James's pursuit of imperial kingship.[103] However, considering the fact that Angus, Bellenden's superior, was unjustly accused by James of his failure to control the Border, Bellenden's real purpose in connecting the Stewart monarchs with 'daunting' the troubled places cannot have simply been to flatter James.[104] What he really implies here is that it is James himself, not anyone else, who is responsible for the 'daunting' of the troubled areas. Angus is not to blame for the situation of unrest in the Border, but James is. Behind those ostentatious representations of the Stewart monarchs in relation to the 'daunting' of the Isles, Bellenden pleads for Angus.

IMPERIAL IDEAS IN BOOK 12

Imperial kingship was an idea in which great value was invested by the Stewart monarchy, who sought to project the image of themselves as worthy partners of the continental monarchies. They found the closed imperial crown was of great use to them, because it showed their 'parity of status and esteem' with the other European monarchies.[105] Thus they deliberately deployed the idea in order to show their supremacy in the kingdom over the church, or even local magnates, but mainly to show their freedom from foreign overlordship.[106] The idea was employed as early as in the reign of James III. It was declared in the Parliament of 1469 that the king had 'ful Jurisdictioune *and* fre Impire within his Realme'.[107] A silver groat

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[103] As *Imperium Romanum* was composed of 'distinct provinces bound to the Empire by the emperor himself', 'empire' was regarded as 'a compound of territories'. Many early modern monarchies regarded themselves as 'emperors' because they 'possessed a number of distinct territories which were united only under their headship'. See David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 33, and Chapter 2, pp. 53-54 above. Roger A. Mason suggests the possibility that the imperial idea served to 'underwrite territorial consolidation such as James III's acquisition of Orkney and Shetland in 1468, his forfeiture of the earldom of Ross in 1476 and the subsequent suppression of the lordship of the Isles in 1493'. See Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 131-32. See also Mason, 'This Realm of Scotland Is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's 'Scotichronicon'*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), pp. 73-91 (pp. 80-81).

[104] For a detailed description of the relationship between the Bellendens and the Angus Douglases, see above Introduction, pp. 3-9.

[105] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 135.

[106] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, pp. 130-34.

[107] *APS*, II, 95.

with a portrait of James III wearing an arched imperial crown was issued in 1484.[108] On the occasion of her marriage to James IV in 1503, Margaret Tudor was gifted an illuminated *Book of Hours*, now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Codex Lat. 1897. It was probably commissioned by James IV.[109] The *Book of Hours* includes portraits of Margaret and James IV at prayer wearing an arched imperial crown (fols 24^v and 243^v), as well as a full plate of the royal arms with an imperial crown (fol. 14^v).[110] James V's reign saw its apogee. Two coins newly produced in 1526 and 1527 had portraits of James V 'wearing an arched imperial crown'.[111] For the coronation of Mary of Guise in 1540, James himself refashioned the crown and 'gave it the form which it retains to this day'.[112] When James's new signet seals were produced in 1540, James ordered that the closed imperial crown should be engraved on them.[113] Nor was it only the Stewart monarchy which was concerned about the effective use of the imperial idea.

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[108] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 130, and Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 179. For a detailed account of the coinage in the reign of James III, see Ian Halley Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage with Supplement* (London: Spink and Son, 1967), pp. 57-67, plate VIII (nos. 107 and 119), Peter Seaby, *The Story of British Coinage* (London: Seaby, 1985), pp. 206-07 (plate 269). James IV did not follow his father and his coinage 'reverted to the use of the stereotyped king's head wearing an open crown' (Thomas, p. 179). See, for example, Stewart, plate IX, nos. 123-26.

[109] As Leslie Macfarlane argues, although we lack decisive evidence, it is likely that the *Book of Hours* was commissioned by either James IV or Henry VII, father of Margaret. Macfarlane, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *IR*, 11 (1960), 3-21 (pp. 6-8). Whoever was the donor of the *Book of Hours*, however, 'James really must have had something to do with its commission' as the manuscripts includes 'a full plate portrait of the king and other Scottish details of considerable accuracy'. (Macfarlane, p. 7) See also Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art: 1460-2000* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), pp. 24-27.

[110] For a detailed description of these illuminations, see Macfarlane, pp. 9-14. These portraits of James IV and Margaret are, as Thomas argues, 'very reminiscent of the portrayals of James III and Margaret of Denmark by Hugo van der Goes on the Trinity College altarpiece of c. 1475-76' (p. 83). Indeed, both of the two artists who were responsible for the illuminations in this Book of Hours were closely related to Hugo van der Goes. They were Gerald Horenbout of Ghent and Simon Bening, the eldest son of Alexander Bening. The portraits of James IV and Margaret were works of the former. Alexander Bening married Catheleen van der Goes, a niece or a sister of Hugo van der Goes, and Hugo was one of the sponsors of Alexander when he entered the artists' guild. Gerald Horenbout of Ghent worked in the atelier of Alexander Bening in Ghent, and absorbed the influence of both Hugo and Alexander. See Macfarlane, p. 18, and Macmillan, p. 19. For a detailed description of the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh, see Colin Thompson and Lorne Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: The Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1974), pp. 11-14. Thompson and Campbell speculate that James III 'had some part in the commission' of the panels. (p. 42)

[111] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 136. For a detailed account of the coinage in the reign of James V, see N. M. McQ. Holmes, *Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh: Part I 1526-1603*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 58 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy and the National Museum of Scotland by Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1-3. Four types of silver coins with a portrait of James wearing a closed imperial crown, which were minted between 1526 and 1538, are reproduced as nos. 42-134 in the plate.

[112] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 137. It is not certain exactly when the king's crown was closed with 'imperial' arches. Thomas suggests that it was closed in May 1532, when the crown was repaired and remodelled. See Thomas, p. 195.

[113] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 126.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the symbol of the imperial crown was frequently employed in portraiture or in architectural detail, and not a few churches with 'crown steeples' were made in Scotland.[114]

The *Chronicles* does not fail to reflect the social climate. When Thomas Davidson, the king's printer, printed the *Chronicles*, he used a woodcut in which the royal arms with a closed imperial crown is depicted for the title page.[115] Probably Davidson newly commissioned the woodcut from the Low Countries for this purpose.[116] In MS M, between the table of contents and the preface, there is one fully-decorated page which also includes the coat of arms of James V. This is a reproduction of the armorial woodcut employed by Badius Ascensius for Boece's *Scotorum Historia* and John Mair's *Historia Brittaniae*, and the crown depicted is an open one not a closed imperial crown. (p. xxv) Thus, the alteration Davidson made was a premeditated one. He demonstrates his positive attitude towards the kings's image-making. Bellenden also shows his evolving awareness of the imperial idea from MS M to the printed version. In contrast to Book 1, where the idea is connected to the foundation of the Scottish nation, in Book 12, the imperial idea is frequently employed when Scotland faces external challenges. Bellenden employs the imperial idea in order to show the independence of Scotland from foreign overlordship.

One example is found in the description of Sueno's coming to Scotland early in the reign of Duncan in chapter 2. When Duncan is informed of Sueno's invasion, he assembles an army. Boece describes this situation: 'Magnas extemplo conscribit copias.' (fol. 256^{v}) ([Duncan] at once enrolled a large force.) In MS M, Bellenden translates this passage faithfully: '[Duncan] assembillit ane grete novmer of

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114 Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, pp. 130 and 136. Presumably, as Mason argues, this wide spread of the imperial ideas is partly indebted to humanist education. It produced 'an embryonic lay legal culture' which encouraged 'commitment to a uniform code of law and to a value system in which submission to the king's justice was a hallmark of civilised behaviour' (p. 133).

115 It is possible that Sir David Lyndsay, who had become senior herald by the time the *Chronicles* was published, was involved in, or responsible for, the design of the new woodcut. See Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994; East Linton: Tuckwell, 1995), pp. 38-39, Janet Hadley Williams, 'James V of Scots as Literary Patron', in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, ed. by Martin Gosman and others, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2003), I, 173-98 (p. 191), and Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 136. Davidson employs the same woodcut for the title page of *The New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament Maid Be the Rycht Excellent Prince James the Fift King of Sctottis* (1542).

116 Many of the woodcuts in Davidson's stock were secondhand ones; he is known to have acquired at least four woodcuts from the Antwerp printer Jan van Doesborch. It seems that the woodcut of the coat of arms and that of his printer's device are instances of a few woodcuts newly commissioned by Davidson from the Continent. See above, Introduction, pp. 15-16.

pepill'. (p. 400) This is retained in the intermediary manuscripts.[117] In the printed version, however, Bellenden newly inserts the word 'empire': '[Duncan] assemblit ane army of all pepill vnder his empire.' (fol. 172) Notably, in the scene where Scotland faces external danger, Bellenden describes Scotland as an empire, which is integrated under king Duncan. A similar way of using the imperial image can be found in the episode where David I raises an army against king Steven to expel all the English from Northumbria in chapter 16. Again, the word 'empire' is employed to show the autonomy of the kingdom against the foreign enemy. Boece reads: 'Dauid vt bello finem aliquem quamprimum imponeret consultius ratus aut omnibus viribus Northumbria Anglos pellere, aut honeste occumbentem in totum cedere, per omnem Scotiam milites scribi iubet, maximumque exercitum contrahi.' (fol. 274) (In order to bring some end to the war as soon as possible, David thought it best either to drive the English from Northumbria with all his strength, or to die honourably and entirely yield. He ordered soldiers to be enrolled through all Scotland, and a very large army to be assembled.) What is notable here is the way Bellenden renders the placename 'Northumbria' in his translation. In MS M, 'Northumbria' is replaced with the phrase 'landis pertenand to þaim': 'King Dauid, to resist his Jniuris gaderit ane gret power *with* full purposs othir to ding Jnglismen out of All landis p*er*tenand to þai*m* be Just titill / Or ellis All Attanys to de.' (p. 430) Here, Bellenden shows that the land Northumbria belongs to them, namely the Scots. In the later versions, however, Bellenden makes an alteration to this phrase. The printed version reads: 'King Dauid to resist þir iniuris, gaderit ane army with deliuerit mynd othir to expel Jnglisme*n* out of al bou*n*dis p*er*tenand to his empire.' (fol. 186)[118] Northumbria, which is under the threat of English invasion, is now shown as a land which is a part of the integrated realm under the Scottish king. Accordingly, the inviolability of the land is given more emphasis here. After several battles take place between the Scots led by David and the English led by Steven, these two kings conclude a peace. It is treated that Northumbria and Huntingdon should be under the governance of Henry, son to David. Boece reads: 'Northumbria, Hundintoniaque Henrico Dauidis filio velut iusto haeredi, iure materno cederent.' (fol. 274^{v}) (Northumbria and Huntingdon come

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[117] See MS C, fol. 245^{v}, MS R, fol. 124 and MS A, fol. 239.

[118] MSS C, R and A have the almost same readings. MS C reads: 'king dauid to resist thir Jniuris gad*er*it ane grete power with deliuerit purposs oþ*ir* to expell Jnglismen out of all boundis p*er*tenand to his empire / or ellis all at anis to de.' (fol. 263) MS R has the same reading as MS C, and MS A has the almost identical reading except that 'deliuerit' is deleted. See fols 134 and 254 respectively.

to the possession of Henry, son of David as legal heir by his mother's right.) Bellenden gives a rather complex rendition in MS M: 'Northu*m*berland sall remane w*ith* hary King Dauidis sone be ry*ch*t of his moder / And cumber to remane with him be auld richt.' (p. 430) In the later recensions, Bellenden makes a closer rendition to Boece in terms of conciseness, but he inserts additional phrases, 'empire' and 'prince of Scotland'. The printed version reads: 'Northu*m*birland *and* Huntingtoun sal remane vnder the empire of Hary prince of Scotland be richt of his moder.' (fol. 186)[119] With these additional phrases, the authority of Henry is enhanced. It seems possible, from this ostentatious employment of the imperial ideas, that Bellenden seeks to show his ideological sympathy towards the king. However, another type of textual revision Bellenden makes in the context of the reign of James V shows that Bellenden's way of handling text concerning kingship is not entirely consistent.

BELLENDEN AND KINGSHIP

The Stewart monarchy endured a vein of unexpected and, in many cases, violent deaths of kings, which were followed by minorities. James I was assassinated in 1437, and James II succeeded to the crown at the age of six. James II unexpectedly died young in a gun accident in 1460, when his son was eight years old. James III was rebelled against by his own son, and was killed on the battlefield in 1488. James IV succeeded to the throne at the age of fifteen, an exceptional 'adult' succession. The death of James IV came in 1513, when his son was only one year old. Accordingly, the issues of the nature of kingship, merits or demerits of hereditary and elective kingship in relation to minority kingship and the right to resistance, were significant in the period. More often than not, medieval Scottish authors maintain a 'conservative' political ideology, and even when the idea of resisting the crown is stated, it is in 'only the most hesitant and ambiguous of terms'.[120] Indeed, Boece does not articulate his political ideas or philosophy of kingship in his 'authorial voice', and so his political attitude has to be inferred from the examples of the kings and nobles he shows.[121] Unsurprisingly, it is even more difficult to infer Bellenden's

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[119] For the corresponding parts in MSS C, R and A, see fols 263, 134 and 254 respectively.

[120] Roger Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland', *SHR*, 66 (1987), 125-51 (p. 126).

[121] Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', p. 24. For a detailed description of Boece's political attitudes, see pp. 35-46. Boece's political philosopy was 'attuned to reality, where it was dangerous to

own political philosophy from his translation of Boece's work. It has been suggested that Bellenden's textual alterations to Boece's original Latin as well as his own translation show his apparent support for hereditary kingship.[122] This seems to accord with Bellenden's deliberate employment of the imperial idea indicating his ideological and political sympathy towards the Stewart monarchy. Bellenden's textual revisions to the scene of king Duncan's murder in Book 12 reveal, however, a very different aspect of Bellenden's political attitude.

The first notable point is Bellenden's treatment of Banquo, the progenitor of the Stewart family in chapter 3. It is a well-known fact that, in Boece's original text, Banquo was involved in the conspiracy against king Duncan. In the scene of Duncan's murder, Boece states that Macbeth colluded with his friends including Banquo: 'Consilia igitur cum proximis amicis communicat, ac in primis eum [*sic.*; cum] Banquhone: qui vbi omnia polliciti fuissent, per occasionem regem septimum iam annum regnantem ad Enuernes (alii dicunt ad Bot gosuanae) obtruncat.' (fol. 258[v]) ([Macbeth], therefore, held a council with his closest friends, and in particular with Banquo. When they had promised everything, they took an opportunity and killed king [Duncan] at Inverness (others say it was Pitgaveny) in the seventh year of his reign.) This episode was inappropriate to a work which was to be dedicated to James V. Bellenden removes the name of Banquo from the text in MS M: '[Makbeth] gaderit all his freyndis, to ane counsale / And went to Jnuernes / quhair he slew king duncan / þe vij ȝere of his Regne.' (p. 403) Bellenden's intention to avoid offending the king, the principal reader and patron of this version, is obvious. What is

attempt radical changes in government, and therefore made more sense than a utopia' (p. 115). J. H. Burns claims that for Boece, 'a concept or image of kingship as an institution rooted and grounded in the "mystical body" of the community', and thus, though he also endorses hereditary succession, it remains 'a constitutional or limited authority', which can be resisted or put an end 'if it is intolerably abused by an incorrigible tyrant or an alien usurper'. See Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 75-92 (p. 91).

[122] Burns has shown how Boece's narrative concerning the dispute for the crown between Robert Bruce and John Balliol is altered by Bellenden according to his own perspective concerning kingship. He argues that in Boece's version there is the implication that kings can be deposed if they abuse their authority. Bellenden, on the other hand, seeks to diminish that and to celebrate Robert Bruce, a heroic ancestor of James V. Balliol's standing as a king is reduced to 'a mere creature of Edward I', and, inversely, Bruce's claim to the crown is reinforced by the statement that he was the 'nerist be proximite to the crowne of Scotland' ('nerest air be proximite of blud to the crowne of Scotland'; fol. 207[v]). Bruce's kingship is not confirmed by any constitutional process but by his own hereditary right. In conclusion, Burns claims: 'Bellenden, more particularly in the revised and expanded version of his *Hystory*, resolved the ambiguities in Boece's account in such a way as to minimize the "constitutionalist" theme, while at the same time presenting Bruce in a less equivocal light as the upholder both of Scottish independence and of essentially hereditary kingship.' See Burns, pp. 86-89 (pp. 87 and 89).

more intriguing, however, is the fact that Bellenden restores Banquo's name in all the later versions. As Bellenden makes a thorough revision here, the restoration of Banquo's name cannot be dismissed as accidental. The printed version reads: '[Makbeth] gaderit his freindis to ane counsall at Jnnernes, quhare kyng Duncane happinnit to be for þe tyme. And becaus he fand sufficient oportunite be support of Banquho *and* otheris his freindis, he slew king Duncane the vii. ȝeir of his regne.' (fols 173-73ᵛ)[123] Despite the fact that the printed version was also to be dedicated to James, Bellenden does not hesitate to insert the name of Banquo into the later versions.

Another example of this seemingly inconsistent treatment of text can be found in the description of the weird sisters. Boece deliberately avoids giving a conclusive definition of the three women who supply Macbeth with the first prophecies, which encourage him to usurp the crown. For example, he calls them 'tres apparuere muliebri specie, insolita vestitus facie' (fol. 257ᵛ) (three, looking like women, in unusual clothing), or 'parcas aut nymphas aliquas fatidicas diabolico astu praeditas' (fol. 258) (either the Fates or certain nymphs able to predict the future, endowed with devilish skill). It is hardly possible to judge whether they are good or evil from these passages. Bellenden's treatment of these three women is striking, because he gives completely opposite nomenclature from MS M to the final printed version. In MS M, Bellenden consistently calls them 'witches'. In contrast, in the printed version, he conscientiously alters them into 'weird sisters'.

Furthermore, Boece deliberately differentiates these three women from the other supernatural beings who appear in the latter half of Macbeth's reign, 'haruspicibus' (fol. 261), prophets, and 'muliercula' (fol. 261), a little woman; the prophecy that Macduff will rebel against Macbeth is given by the former, and the prophecies about Birnam wood and Macbeth's invincibility are given by the latter. In MS M Bellenden defines both of them as witches. Despite this rather careless treatment of the supernatural beings in the first rendition, Bellenden shows great attentiveness to them in the printed version. He clearly differentiates these three women who give the first prophecies from the other supernatural beings who later appear. The three women are consistently called 'weird sisteris', whereas the 'haruspicibus' in Boece

[123] The corresponding parts in MSS C, R and A have the same readings. See fols 247, 125 and 240ᵛ.

are called 'foresaid wichis', and the 'muliercula' is called 'one wiche'.[124] It seems likely that in the first rendition Bellenden could not understand the complicated relationship between these supernatural beings in Boece and rendered all of them as the same witches. In the printed version, after some thought, he gave his own interpretation to them and differentiated them as shown. The descriptions of these women in the intermediary manuscripts support this explanation. In these intermediary versions, in the same manner as in the printed version, Bellenden makes a distinction between these supernatural beings. He calls those who appear in the last half of Macbeth's reign 'foresaid weches' and 'ane weche'.[125] On the other hand, for those who give the first prophecies, Bellenden almost invariably uses 'weird sisters' except one case, 'thir weches'. The most plausible explanation for this last formulation is that when Bellenden made corrections in the early stage of his revision work, he overlooked one instance. This remained in the intermediary manuscripts, but later, in the printed version, Bellenden corrected it.

This differentiation in the later versions reveals Bellenden's own interpretation of Macbeth's reign, and sheds light on his ways of thinking about kingship. It is clear that Bellenden regards the weird sisters as good or favourable characters, while he regards both the 'haruspicibus' and 'muliercula', whom he calls 'wiches', as wicked or evil ones. He uses such favourable expressions in the description of the former as 'wounderfull thyng' (fol. 173) or 'beniuolence of fortoun' (fol. 173), while, in the description of the latter, he uses such negative expressions as 'fals illusionis of þe deuil' (fol. 176). Accordingly, the first prophecies that Macbeth will be the king of Scotland are favourable, while the later prophecies which led him to destruction are unfavourable. Hence this approach reveals that Bellenden does not think Macbeth's usurping of the crown was altogether a bad thing. Macbeth was a good king for at least the first half of his reign, making valuable laws and preserving justice, and so, to Bellenden, he deserved his kingship. Although Bellenden often shows an ideological and political sympathy towards his own king by giving

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[124] It is likely that Bellenden is indebted to Andrew Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (1420s) for the nomenclature of the weird sisters. In the *Original Chronicle*, Macbeth is given the first prophecy by the 'thre women' who appear in his dream. Wyntoun calls them 'thre werd sisteris'. Nevertheless, the prophecy about Macbeth's invincibility is given by his father, 'a deuill'. The prophecy about the Birnam wood is mentioned, but it is not clarified who gives it. *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun: Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS., with the Variants of the Other Texts*, ed. by F. J. Amours, 6 vols, STS, 1st ser., 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 63 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1903, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1914), IV: *Texts, Books V, VI, VII* (1906), pp. 272-98 (pp. 274 and 278).

[125] See MS C, fols 246^{v}-47, MS R, fols 124^{v}-26^{v} and MS A, fols 240-40^{v}.

prominence to the imperial ideas and hereditary kingship in the later versions of the *Chronicles*, he does not take issue with the usurpation here. Thus, Bellenden comes to closer to Boece's views on kingship here.

One possible explanation would be that Bellenden was not as concerned about James as a patron-reader in the later versions, which were targeted at a much wider audience than MS M. Bellenden must have realised the potential for a wide circulation of the printed edition, which could reach a readership considerably beyond the royal court.[126] From the fifteenth century, non-royal literary patronage by magnates, clerics and the burgesses started to emerge on a great scale. The manuscript of the *Kingis Quair*, MS Arch.Selden.B.24, was, for instance, made for the Sinclairs of Roslin, and Gavin Douglas dedicated his translation of the *Aeneid* to Henry, Lord Sinclair.[127] Bellenden himself had a non-royal patron, James Douglas.[128] Thus, in fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Scotland, there were works that were '*potentially* princely' intended to 'send a signal to the king', but which were also designed 'to make a more popular appeal'.[129]

The *Chronicles*, especially the printed version of it, can be regarded as one of those works. This is endorsed by the fact that the preface addressed to James V, which precedes the entire history in MS M, is placed after the history in the printed version.[130] By placing the preface before the entire history in MS M, Bellenden demonstrates that it is mainly targeted at James V. In contrast, by placing it after the entire history in the printed version, he deliberately downgrades James V from the main audience of his work. It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind the different contexts in which each type of textual alteration was made. Obviously, the removal of Banquo's name in the first manuscript version was made for the sake of James V. However, the evolving prominence given to the idea of 'empire' or 'daunting' of the troubled

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[126] For a detailed description of the actual readership of the *Chronicles*, see Chapter 5.

[127] See *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and 'The Kingis Quair': A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch.Selden.B.24*, introd. by Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 21-22, and Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), p. 93. See also Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland under James III and James IV', in Gosman, I, 147-72 (p. 169).

[128] For a detailed account of the relationship between Bellenden and James Douglas, see Introduction, pp. 4-9.

[129] MacDonald, p. 170.

[130] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, writers put in the lead dedicatory letters or epistles in order to 'prescribe a book's readership'. See Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 103. See also above Chapter 1, p. 31.

places in the later versions cannot be regarded as articulating Bellenden's full ideological sympathy towards the Stewart monarchy. They are also designed for a wider audience.

CONCLUSION

Textual revision in Book 12 is made less extensively but on a greater scale than in Book 1. Bellenden's attentiveness to Boece is still perceived, but dramatisation of the narrative leads to the introduction of some set speeches, and condensing of text is extended to the removal of a significant number of passages. Bellenden's evolving confidence and awareness as an individual author can now be detected. Indeed, in some cases, the death of the original author seems to have provided Bellenden with more freedom to make alterations or insertions according to his own personal preferences. Having said that, Bellenden's attention to the anticipated audience of each version of the *Chronicles* is also discernible. MS M is aimed at James V, hence the exclusion of Banquo's name from the account of the conspiracy against Duncan. The printed version is designed for a wider audience, including Bellenden's own patron or potential patrons, of lower, though still effectively the socially elite, social standing. Thus Bellenden deliberately inserts more accounts about the nobility in order to show their own history and importance in the Scottish nation. As with Book 1, there is found an intensified employment of imperial ideas in the printed version. He uses ideas of 'empire' and 'daunting' in order to demonstrate that the Scots king is the only unifying authority in the nation: the king not only defends the Scottish nation from foreign overlordship but also rules over the whole nation. Thus Bellenden articulates his ideological support for the Stewart monarch. At the same time, however, by employing contemporary ideological parlance in the narration of history, Bellenden attempts to show a parallel between the contemporary social and political situation and that in the eleventh century. He emphasises the relevance of the history to contemporary society, and expects his readers to learn useful lessons from it. Significantly, at given moments in the historical narrative Bellenden gives indications of his own political or ideological viewpoints, which are not always straightforwardly aligned with his dominant 'Stewart' reading of Scottish history. The very relevance which the historical events narrated in this book bear to the contemporary society prompts Bellenden to depart from Boece. Thus, Bellenden's translation and revision practice evolves not only from one version to another but also

from one book to another; and his deviation from Boece becomes more conspicuous as the history comes closer to his own period.

Chapter 4: Bellenden's Translation and Revision Practice in Book 16

One of the most significant aspects of the mechanics of Bellenden's translation and revision practice is that it evolves within each recension. Bellenden's translation practice gradually evolves from Book 1 to Book 17 within one version, and thus the comparison of his revision work in Book 1 and that in Book 16 reveals striking differences. However, this does not mean that Bellenden changed his ultimate respect for the *copia* of his work from book to book. It rather means that Bellenden's notion about his function as a translator alters as the historical narrative comes closer to his own generation. Compared to Book 1 where Bellenden behaves as a sheer translator, by Book 16, an element of the historian emerges in his practice.

There are crucial differences between Bellenden's way of handling text in Book 16 and that in Book 1; that in Book 12 takes a middle position. Firstly, Bellenden does not change the structure of Book 16 as greatly as in Book 1. As in Book 12, most of the chapter divisions in MS M are retained, except in three cases, in the printed version. On the other hand, the content of Book 16 is revised at a greater level than in Book 1 or Book 12. Most of the revisions made in Book 1 are at the level of words or phrasing, few of which are to change the gist of the narrative. In Book 12, in addition to these revisions to words or phrasings, some alterations to the narrative are also made. In Book 16, these alterations to the narrative are made at a greater level by Bellenden's changing, adding or deleting significant amounts of material. Thus, although Bellenden generally follows Boece's narrative flow, his deviation from Boece is far more noticeable than in Book 1 and Book 12. What is more, this divergence from Boece is conspicuously found in MS M; and in the printed version, instead of correcting this as he does in Book 1, Bellenden makes further alterations to the original narrative in Boece in Book 16. In Book 16, the sphere of Bellenden's revision work extends to the alteration of the narrative of history in his source text.

There are reasons for all of these alterations of practice in Book 16. That Bellenden does not make great alterations to the chapter divisions means that the structure of Book 16 in MS M is more or less satisfactory to him. By the time he translates Book 16, after working on the preceding fifteen books, Bellenden must have acquired a clearer perspective towards the narration of history. Thus, he can make divisions with more consistency than he does in Book 1. In Book 16, placing emphasis on Scottish events

is not the only criterion employed in organising the *Chronicles*. Bellenden attaches greater importance to the unity of each historical narrative unit in order to show causal connections between historical events in the book. This difference in the revision work may result from the difference in the amount of material available to Bellenden. The events in Book 16 are closer to Bellenden's own period than those in Book 1 or Book 12. Bellenden must have had more knowledge or information about the events in Book 16 than about the events narrated in earlier books.

Book 16 deals with events only about 150 years before Bellenden's generation; it starts with the coronation of Robert II, the progenitor of the Stewart family, in 1371. During Robert II's reign, there was a prolonged war between England and France, which is known as the Hundred Years War. Scotland is allied with France on the grounds of the Auld Alliance. Thus many battles take place between the Scots and the English on the Border, one of which is the battle of Otterburn, where the Scots led by James Douglas defeat the English led by Henry Percy. After the death of Robert II, John, his first son, succeeds to the crown as Robert III. However, the Duke of Albany, the second son of Robert II, is also in a position of power as governor of Scotland. The Duke of Albany, who is looking for a chance to get the crown for himself, imprisons David, the first son of Robert III, and makes him starve to death. Robert III sends his second son, James, to France in order to preserve his life from the Duke of Albany, but, on the way to France, James is captured by the English. James is held in captivity in England for eighteen years. Learning this news, Robert III dies of grief. After his death, the Duke of Albany governs the country for fifteen years, and, after his death, his son, Murdoch, governs the country until James comes back from England to be crowned as James I. Many Scots go to France to support the French army against the English during the War which is resumed in 1413. They support the French army led by Joan of Arc, and the allied army defeats the English in 1429.

Significantly, Bellenden is active in seeking for older materials concerning the events in Book 16. He examines several other works than Boece, and chooses the most trustworthy accounts amongst them. Bellenden does not hesitate to replace Boece's account with a seemingly 'better' one. Although this may appear to be contradictory to his translation policy of being faithful to Boece, Bellenden is always attentive to Boece. This should rather be regarded as a result of the permeation of humanist

historiography into his translation and revision policy. Humanists emphasised the importance of returning *ad fontes* in order to produce reliable history. At the same time, they believed that showing causal connections between each historical event was also important for their instructional purposes. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to analyse how Bellenden's increased awareness of humanist historiography affects his translation and revision policy through the course of his work. Firstly, the general humanistic notion of historiography will be reviewed in order to illuminate the background against which Bellenden's historiographical attitude was nurtured. Then Bellenden's translation and revision practice in Book 16 will be reviewed in contrast to earlier books, and this will be followed by discussion of the revisions Bellenden makes as a humanist historian-translator.

HUMANIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

As Antonia Gransden claims, there was no abrupt break between the medieval notion of history and that of the humanists in terms of their respect towards the classical age. Both the humanists and their medieval predecessors were much influenced by Latin classical literature, and thus what the humanists did in terms of historiography was to accept 'past views and methods, contributing their own predilections'.[1] What separated them significantly was the sense of anachronism which was generated among the humanists.[2] As they recognised the great discrepancy between their own period and the past they were

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[1] See Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, 1982), II: *C. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, pp. 425-53 (p. 426).

[2] As Joseph M. Levine states, medieval authors did not feel any qualms about recreating past history in contemporary terms or settings: 'On the whole, the Middle Ages did not share our sense of the past and was untroubled by anachronism; the past was rarely differentiated from the present, however distant.' See *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 19-53 (p. 22). The sense of anachronism originates from two significant new ideas in the Renaissance: 'the concept of historical discontinuity' and 'principle of linguistic change'. Charles G. Nauert Jr., *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 19 and 38. Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374) was the first to divide history, each as a distinct historical period, into three parts: first Antiquity with high civilisation, third 'the new age of high culture that was just beginning', and second, in between the others, a Middle Age, 'an age of darkness and barbarism'. Nauert, pp. 19-21. See also Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past: Documents of Modern History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), pp. 21-24, and Myron P. Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists: Six Studies in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 10-11. It was Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) who advocated the principle of linguistic change. He found that human language was 'a cultural artifact', and thus it 'undergoes historical development and changes with the passage of time'. This notion was 'the underlying basis of modern linguistics', and, moreover, it was 'part of a broader historical criticism leading to drastic re-evaluation of historical documents'. See Nauert, pp. 36-41 (pp. 37-38). See also Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (London: Harvard

dealing with, they nurtured the notion that they needed to deal with the past not on their own terms, but its own terms.[3] As the most accurate information can be obtained from evidence which is closest to an event, it is necessary to go back to the earliest sources. Humanists became more and more aware of the necessity to return '*ad fontes*'. Erasmus, for instance, in his *Life of Jerome* (1516), claims the importance of going back to the sources in order to acquire the accurate account of Jerome's life:

> [I]n good faith and with all possible care I have constructed the life of the great saint from Prosper, Severus, Orosius, Rufinus (calumniator though he is), and from such other authors whose credibility should not entirely be disregarded, but above all I have based my inquiry into Jerome's life on the works of Jerome himself. For who would have a better knowledge of Jerome than Jerome himself?[4]

This attitude to pursuing sources started to prevail among historians at the turn of the fifteenth century. Polydore Vergil, one of the few early humanist historians in England, was no exception. When he wrote a new English history, he did not choose to simply rewrite the *Polychronicon*, one of the most popular and available chronicles in his period. He decided, on the contrary, to go back to other, and better, sources and to create a completely new history. He consulted various sources; not only historical works but also other documents of 'direct observation, of legend and oral tradition; and of the reports of the survivors of great affairs'.[5] In doing so, Polydore graded his sources. F. J. Levy states: 'That all were not equally valuable was obvious; and the standard of value was fullness and intelligence.'[6] Polydore was skeptical about Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, especially his account of Britain's origin myth, and claimed it was untrustworthy. Nevertheless, he had, after all, to incorporate Geoffrey's untrustworthy account into his own history. This yet indicates that humanist historians in this period did distinguish, to some extent, good or reliable sources from bad and unreliable ones.

Despite their increasing emphasis on the importance of the trustworthiness of history, in practice,

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University Press, 1991), p. 27.

[3] It is a well-known fact that such early humanists as Petrarch and Valla exposed forgeries with their sense of anachronism. Burke shows how Petrarch exposed a forged document concerning Austria at the request of Charles IV. See Burke, pp. 50-55. Valla's exposure of the forged document of the *Donation of Constantine* is discussed in relation to Reginald Pecock, who also exposed this document, by Levine. See Levine, pp. 54-72. See also Nauert, pp. 38-40.

[4] *Patristic Scholarship: The Edition of 'St Jerome'*, ed., trans. and annotated by James F. Brady and John C. Olin, Collected Works of Erasmus, 61 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 24. Unless otherwise mentioned, all citations from Erasmus are not the original Latin but in English translation.

[5] F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1967), p. 57.

[6] Levy, p. 56.

humanist historians frequently distorted narratives. Gransden suggests three major factors for this distortion of narrative; patronage, patriotism of readers and the instructive purposes applied to histories.[7] In the first case, in order to please their patrons, historians sometimes had to add 'a eulogistic account' of their patron and his family.[8] Or patrons sometimes employed histories as a means of political propaganda. In these cases, these histories were deliberately manipulated.[9] Historians also had to think about the patriotism of their patrons or readers, as a patriotic bias 'served to make a book generally acceptable in a country'.[10] As a result, even though they were skeptical about fabulous national foundation myths, they could not help retelling them in their own histories, as Polydore Vergil's example aptly shows.[11] In the third case, historians had to manipulate narratives in order to prove that 'moral virtue had been rewarded or sin punished (even though in actuality this had not been the case)'.[12] Humanist historians emphasised, above all, the instructional value of history. They attributed the greatness of Rome to 'genuine eloquence and genuine moral wisdom' united in the Romans, who devoted themselves to public service and prioritised the 'welfare of society' to their personal advantage.[13] Thus they emphasised the importance of ethical and rhetorical education. One of the most useful academic subjects for the union of morality and eloquence was history, which 'presents concrete examples of the effects of virtue and vice and also offers inspiring models for youths to emulate'.[14] The best way to increase this value in their histories is, therefore, to give a complete account of 'causes, motives, means, and ends'.[15] Although everything on the earth is controlled by God's providence, He works 'normally through secondary or instrumental causes'.[16] Hence, it is possible to give a human explanation to events in their histories. For example, misfortune is a result

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[7] See Gransden, pp. 428-30.
[8] Gransden, p. 429.
[9] See Leonard F. Dean, *Tudor Theories of History Writing*, The University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, 1 ([Ann Arbor]: University of Michigan Press, 1947), p. 8.
[10] Gransden, p. 429.
[11] Burke claims: 'Many people believed in myths like those of Brutus and Francion, professional scholars included. Some myths may well have been invented during the Renaissance.' (pp. 75-76)
[12] Gransden, p. 428. Dean shows that these historians faced the dilemma of being trustworthy or of being instructive. See Dean, pp. 6-7.
[13] Nauert, pp. 23-24.
[14] Nauert, p. 45. Indeed, Bellenden emphasises the importance of studying history in the 'epistil' in the printed version: 'Amang mony knichtly exercitionis vsit be nobyl princis J fynd nane mair proffitable to þame, tha*n* frequent reding of thir *and* othir historyis. For in þame may be found mony hailsome documentis.' (fol. 249)
[15] Dean, p. 10.
[16] Dean, pp. 12-13.

of unwise or vicious policy, 'which in turn has a supernatural explanation, divine disfavor', or, inversely, 'wise and virtuous conduct will elicit divine favor which will be expressed in the form of secular rewards'.[17] If historians want to employ their works as moral instructions, they have to provide readers with a logically coherent outline of events. Then readers can find the cause and effects of each event, and learn lessons which historians prepare for them. That is why they opposed the medieval chroniclers who 'produce a scrapbook approach with contemporaneity as the only criterion', and emphasised the importance of a logically coherent outline of events in their histories.[18] Humanist historians believed that the purpose of the historian is to 'form an armature for important personalities, events, struggles', and so they have to 'seek formal unity in the materials of history'.[19] They even believed it was permissible to 'depart from a strict chronological pattern in order to follow a short course of action to its conclusion'.[20] It is against this background that Bellenden worked on the *Chronicles*.

BELLENDEN'S STYLE IN BOOK 16

That Bellenden's style is consistent within one version is evident from his approach to translation in MS M as well as from his way of revising it in later versions. In general, the printed version is more concise and shorter than MS M. One example is found in the battle scene between the Scots and the English in 1378 in chapter 2 of Book 16.[21] Boece narrates how, after fierce fighting between the Scots and the English, the victory fell to the Scots and the English were defeated: 'Verum varia ac inuicem victoria fuit, quinquies Scoti victi cedentesque, quinquies quoque vicere. Ad vltimum parta Scotis victoria conpluribusque Anglorum caesis, dux cum filio bellicarum artium peritissimo captus est, ac postea in Scotiam ductus.' (fol. 341) (But victory was changeable and came alternately; the Scots were defeated and retreated five times and were also five times victorious. In the end the Scots won a victory, and many Englishmen were killed. The English leader, together with his son, who was very skilled in the arts of war, was captured, and later taken to Scotland.) In MS M, Bellenden generally follows Boece, although he newly adds the name of the

[17] Dean, p. 13.
[18] Nancy S. Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 78-82 (p. 80).
[19] Struever, pp. 79-80.
[20] Dean, p. 4.
[21] Unless otherwise mentioned, the chapter numbers referred to in this chapter are taken from Book 16.

English captain and ignores his son's company: 'for þe scottis was wincust v tymes þat daye / And als ofttymez victorious on þair Jnymyis AT last þe victory succedit clerely to scottis / The Jnglismen disconnfist / Lilburn þair capitane brocht presonere Jn scotland.' (p. 543) This rendering is retained in the intermediary manuscripts, MSS C and A, except that 'wincust v tymes' is changed into 'v tymes wincust'. MS C reads: 'for the scottis was five tymes vincust that day / and als oft tymes victoryus on þair e*n*nymes / at last the victory succedit clerelye to scottis / the Inglisme*n* disconnfist and lilburne thair capitane brocht p*re*sonar in scotland.' (fol. 327ᵛ)[22] In the printed version, however, Bellenden conveys the same information in a more concise way: 'For the scottis war fyue tymes vincust þat day, and als oft victorius. At last the Jnglismen war cleirly discomfist *and* Lilburn thair capitane brocht presoner in scotland.' (fol. 232) This revision practice, to reproduce the vigour of the original Latin, which is the same as that seen in Book 1 or Book 12, can be found throughout Book 16.

Bellenden's attentive pursuit of the *copia* in his text, especially vividness, can also be found throughout. In the single combat scene between James Douglas and Henry Percy in chapter 6, how Douglas defeats Percy is vividly described by Bellenden. Boece states: 'Arma igitur expediens in campum descendit. Vtrinque infestis hastis concurritur: Douglas et cautus ad frustrandum hostem et ipse eum sub pectus hasta impellens equo deiicit.' (fol. 344ᵛ) (Accordingly, after preparing his weapons, he [Douglas] went down to the field. Both men fought against each other with hostile spears. Douglas was careful to frustrate his enemy, and himself struck him with his spear below the breast and made him fall from his horse.) This is rendered with more elaboration in MS M:

> Jncontinent þai come baith to þe campe / convoyitt w*ith* grete hono*ur* / and triu*m*phe on baith þe sydis / Syne w*ith* maist proude Curaige apon þair bardit horss þai Ran to giddir with Lang speris / Eftir sindry tornaement*is* The Douglas Richt war In all his doyngis / no*cht* onlye sauffitt him self fra displess*er*r of his Jnymye / Bot als be his huge strenth / and singulare manhede dang the Peirsee oute of his sadill. (p. 549)

That Bellenden works on this battle scene with enthusiasm is evident. Although Bellenden's treatment of battle scenes is always more or less engaged, this single combat seems to be particularly attractive to him.

[22] For the corresponding part in MS A, see fol. 309. MS R also has the same reading except that the passage 'that day' is removed: 'for þe scottis wer v tymes vincust and als oft tymes victoryus o[n þair] e*n*nymes At last þe victorie succedit clerelie to scottis / þe Jnglis[men dis]comfist and lilburne þair capitane bro*ch*t presoneir in scotland.' (fol. 173ᵛ)

This is one of the memorable events in Book 16, where James Douglas, an excellent ancestor of the great Scottish noble family, defeats Henry Percy, a famous English captain in this period. Accordingly, Bellenden keeps revising this battle scene to make it more dramatic and more dynamic. In MS C, and MS A as well, he changes some expressions. MS C reads:

> Incontinent thay come baith to the campe convoyit with grete triu*m*phe on all sidis / syne with maist proude curage apon thair bardit curso*uris* thay ran togidd*er* with squair and grondin speris / eft*er* sindry turname*n*tis the douglass rycht circu*m*spect in all his doingis no*ch*t onlye savit him self fra displeso*ur* of e*n*nymes bot als be his huge strenth and singlar ma*n*heid dang the p*er*se out of the sadill. (fol. 331)[23]

Here, Bellenden omits the word 'honour' in the first line, and replaces 'horss' with 'curso*uris*', 'lang speris' with 'squair and grondin speris' and 'richt war' with 'rycht circu*m*spect'.[24] These alterations aptly show the process of revisions from MS M to the printed version:

> Fynaly thir two feirs campionis montit on thair bardit coursouris, and ran aufully togidder with square and ground speris to the deith. The Dowglas wyse *and* circumspect in all his doingis, nocht onely sauit hym self fra displeseir of ennymes, bot be his strenth and singulare ma*n*heid dang the Perse out of þe sadyl. (fols 234v-35)

The first passage of MS M is expunged in order to put more emphasis on the actual fighting scene. Together with those alterations made in the intermediary manuscripts, newly added words 'feirs campionis', 'aufully' and 'to the deith' make this scene more dynamic still.[25] Note that, in the printed version, Bellenden gives more emphasis to his compliment to Douglas, from 'rycht circu*m*spect in all his doingis' in MS C to 'wyse *and* circumspect in all his doingis'. This is a good example of where Bellenden makes a textual revision in favour of members of the Douglases, a patron family of the Bellendens.[26]

DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH (1): CHAPTER DIVISIONS

The prioritisation of events concerning the Scottish nation seen in earlier books can also be found in Book 16. Bellenden is deliberate in making each chapter start with Scottish events. Considering the

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[23] For the corresponding part of MS A, see fol. 312v.

[24] The adjective 'grondin' (groundin) is often employed by Bellenden for the description of the 'speris'. See above Chapter 3, pp. 71-73.

[25] Bellenden frequently uses the phrase 'to the deith' to express the fierceness of battles. See above Chapter 3, pp. 71-73.

[26] This point will be discussed further below. For a detailed explanation about the relationship between the Douglases and Bellenden, see above Introduction, pp. 3-9 and Chapter 3, p. 86.

amount of text narrating English or French events in Book 16, this is by no means an easy task. Bellenden sometimes has to insert a relatively minor Scottish event in order to avoid opening a chapter with English or French events.[27] Bellenden's manner of revising these chapter divisions in Book 16 is, however, strikingly different from that in Book 1. As has been stated above, while most of the chapter divisions in Book 1 are revised from MS M to the printed version, in Book 16, only three divisions are revised in the printed version. Significantly, while all the revisions in Book 1 are already made in the intermediary manuscripts, those in Book 16 are, as with in Book 12, not yet made in them. Bellenden does not find it necessary urgently to revise MS M's chapter divisions for Book 16, probably because he is more or less satisfied with them.

When the number of chapter divisions in Book 1 made in MS M is compared with that in Book 16, it can be easily surmised that Bellenden's way of dividing chapters developed from the former to the latter. In contrast to the 9 chapters made in Book 1, as many as 21 chapters are made in Book 16 in MS M.[28] The chapter divisions in Book 1 are immediately revised in the intermediary manuscripts and the number of chapters increases to 12. In contrast to this, the chapter divisions in Book 16 are retained in the intermediary manuscripts and are later revised only in the printed version, and the number decreases to 20. If we take other books into consideration, it can be noticed that the number of chapters in the first half of the *Chronicles* tends to increase from MS M to the printed version, whereas, in the latter half, there are few differences in the number of chapters between them.[29] Furthermore, there is a recurrent pattern of alteration of chapter divisions in the first half of the *Chronicles*; newly made chapter divisions in the printed version often correspond with deaths or a change of sovereigns or leaders such as Scottish kings or Roman emperors. Bellenden starts to regard those leaders as a criterion according to which the history should be organised. For instance, in Book 2 in the printed version, at least three chapter divisions are newly made on the occasion of the death of sovereigns; in chapter 4, Bellenden makes a new division

[27] See, for example, chapter 18, which starts with the episode concerning John Drummond's murder of Patrick Graham. This is relatively minor as an opening episode, and Bellenden could have inserted it at the end of chapter 17. The most plausible reason for opening the chapter with this episode is that Bellenden needed to avoid opening the chapter with the war between France and England, which follows the episode concerning John Drummond.

[28] If we take the amount of text of each book into consideration, the ratio of the amount of text which comprises each chapter in Book 1 and Book 16 will be five to three.

[29] See the table in Appendix IV.

after king Nathatus's death and king Reuther's succession; in chapter 6, after the death of king Reuther; in chapter 7, after the death of king Thereus. Similarly, in Book 5, Bellenden makes a new division after king Satrahel's death in chapter 11, and on the occasion of a change of Roman captain in Britain in chapter 13. In contrast, in later books, this match of chapter divisions with change of leaders is more frequently made in MS M, and thus there is less need for Bellenden to make new chapter divisions in the printed version.

When he works on Book 16 in MS M, Bellenden has acquired a clearer perspective towards the narration of history and thus he makes chapter divisions with the more consistent criterion that Scottish events should be prioritised. The three alterations of chapter divisions in Book 16, which are made in the printed version, the final stage of the revision work, are, therefore, the result of mature deliberation by Bellenden. Because the chapters open with Scottish events in all these cases, they at least fit the criterion Bellenden adopts. Notwithstanding this fact, Bellenden revises these three chapter divisions in the printed version. What leads Bellenden to these three revisions seems to be his intensified notion that history should not consist of a mere chronological enumeration of events but of coherent units of events.

The first revision of a chapter division in Book 16 occurs between chapter 4 and chapter 5. This is the scene where the French offer the Scots an alliance against the English in 1385. The Scots accept this and they attack England, but soon they return home as the weather is bad. This is the place where chapter 4 ends in MS M. In the printed version, however, Bellenden does not make a division here, and thus, the story continues. The allied army of the Scots and the French go to Roxburgh to lay siege to the castle there. But the Scots do not agree to the demand by the French that they should get the castle when it is rendered, and each army returns home. Here, chapter 4 ends in the printed version, and chapter 5 opens with an account of how the Scots invade and plunder England. That Bellenden's division in MS M is based on a time shift is clear from the fact that chapter 5 opens with the phrase 'AT þe begynnyng of þe nixt Su*m*myr' (p. 546). On the other hand, the division in the printed version is based on a narrative shift. All the events concerning the alliance with the French are assigned to chapter 4, while the events concerning the battle against the English are in chapter 5.

The second revision, which occurs between chapter 7 and chapter 8, is made in a similar way. After fighting against the English at Otterburn in 1388, James Douglas gives his last words to his friends and

dies. Then the episode concerning how Hepburn, who is one of the English captives, saves the life of the Earl of March, and is given the land of Lothian, is introduced. In MS M, chapter 7 ends here, and chapter 8 opens with the episode concerning the compassionate treatments of captives by the Bishop of Durham and Lindsay of Wauchhope. This is how chapter 8 opens in MS M: 'IN þe tyme of This last Bataill of ottirburn / quhilk was strikkin apon Sanct Oiswaldis daye in August fra þe Incarnacioun I^{m} iij^{c} lxxxviij / The bischop of durehame come *with* vij^{m} men to þe new castell.' (p. 552) Lindsay of Wauchhope liberates Matthew Raidman, an English captive, and lets him go home. Later, when Lindsay himself is caught by Bishop Durham's army, Raidman liberates him from captivity. In return for this, the Scots liberate many English prisoners. After this episode, MS M once again mentions James Douglas: 'Eftir þe deth of Iames erle of douglas / his Cousing Archibald lord of galloway was maid erle.' (p. 552) Thus, the arrangement of narrative is complicated here; two small episodes concerning Hepburn and Lindsay of Wauchhope are inserted into the major episode of the battle of Otterburn. In MS M, Bellenden makes the division according to the change of location. As Hepburn was the captive caught at Otterburn, his episode is assigned to chapter 7, which deals with the events happening in Otterburn. The army of the Bishop of Durham, on the other hand, is in Newcastle, and thus is separated from the preceding narrative and assigned to the new chapter.

The corresponding part in the printed version is greatly changed. Firstly, Bellenden places the passage concerning Archibald Douglas's succession as Earl of Douglas immediately after the death of James Douglas, and thus integrates all the information about the Earl of Douglas in one place. The date of the battle of Otterburn, which is located at the beginning of chapter 8 in MS M, is now put at the end of chapter 7, as a result of which all the information concerning the battle of Otterburn is assigned to chapter 7. Lastly, he deletes the entire episode concerning Lindsay of Wauchhope. That is probably because Bellenden finds this episode concerning a socially minor person too insipid as an opening episode for chapter 8, but not so closely related to the preceding episodes concerning Douglas and Hepburn that it can be put at the end of chapter 7. Hence, by expunging it, Bellenden opens chapter 8 with King Robert's appointment of the Duke of Albany as governor, a more impressive and major episode.

Such deletion of episodes that have no direct causal connections with the main flow of Scottish

history is not something unusual in this book. Another instance can be found in two episodes of duelling in chapter 10; one is between David, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Welles, and the other is between a certain English man and Donald, Master of Stable to David, Earl of Crawford. Bellenden expunges the latter only in the printed version. The reason for this is obvious; the latter episode is a minor one. The first duel is between two nobles of Scotland and England, and the battle scene is described in detail. In contrast, in the latter episode, Donald is a subject of the Earl of Crawford, and the Englishman is not even given a name. Furthermore, as the Englishman is afraid of Donald and does not appear at the duel, Donald wins by default. Compared to the preceding dynamic duel scene where the Earl of Crawford and Lord Welles fight against each other, and the Earl of Crawford wins an honourable victory showing the great valour of the Scots, there is no vital point in this episode. Hence, Bellenden narrows the focus to the more dramatic duel scene.

Similarly, in chapter 13, Bellenden expunges the episode concerning the Duke of Albany's army in the printed version. In Boece, the Duke of Albany raises an army against King Henry. Yet, when he learns that Henry is laying siege to the castle where David, Duke of Rothesay, is staying, he stops his advance, because he expects David's death. Bellenden removes this episode for a similar reason to the case examined above. Firstly, in this short episode, there is no significant causal connection with the main flow of Scottish history.[30] That the Duke of Albany stops his advance does not affect the situation where Scotland is under attack by Henry. The vital point in this episode is that the Duke of Albany desires the death of David. This point brings us to the second reason for the removal of this episode; Bellenden wants to highlight the other, and more dramatic, episode concerning David and the Duke of Albany. Later this chapter, the Duke of Albany imprisons David, whose bad behaviour troubles his father, Robert III. David is given no food, and those women who provide him with food or their milk are executed. David eats his own fingers, but, in the end, he starves to death. In order to put more focus on this dramatic episode, Bellenden expunges the preceding minor episode, which touches on the Duke of Albany's hatred

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[30] It is noticeable that Bower also shows his notion that this episode is not noteworthy. He states that in this battle, 'nothing worthy of remembrance was done'. See *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower in Latin and English, ed. by D. E. R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press (vols 8, 2, 5, 6); Edinburgh: Mercat Press (vols 1, 4, 3, 7, 9), 1987-1998), VIII: *Books XV and XVI*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt (1987), pp. 34-35.

towards David.

The final case occurs between chapter 20 and chapter 21. This is the most significant revision of these three instances. Unlike the two cases above, what actually happens here is the incorporation of chapter 21 into chapter 20. In MS M, chapter 20 opens with the death of the Duke of Albany, whom his son, Murdoch, succeeds as govenor of Scotland in 1420. Then, Charles VII of France asks Murdoch for reinforcements against the English. A large army led by the Earls of Buchan and Douglas is sent to France, but these two earls die a heroic death on the field of battle. France suffers an English invasion, but it is finally saved by Joan of Arc. The chapter ends with the execution of Joan of Arc by the English. Chapter 21 opens with the episode about Robert Pettillo, who supports Charles VII in France, and then, in the remaining part, the bad administration of Murdoch and his sons' conspiracy against him is narrated. These two chapters are combined in the printed version, with some additional passages as well as alterations of order. All the information concerning Duke Murdoch's administration in chapter 21 in MS M is inserted immediately after Murdoch's succession to his father at the beginning of chapter 20. This is followed by some passages brought from the beginning of Book 17, as well as some additional passages by Bellenden concerning James I's return to Scotland.[31] Then, all the events in France follow with the episode concerning Robert Pettillo attached at the end.

There seem to have been several reasons for this substantial change in organisation. First of all, chapter 21 in MS M is unsatisfactory as one independent chapter. It comprises only two minor episodes, and hence is shorter than the other chapters. In connection with this, the episode of Robert Pettillo is too minor as an opening to a chapter. Besides that, Bellenden is concerned about the fact that information concerning Duke Murdoch is fragmented in MS M. When he shifts from the episode of Robert Pettillo to that of Duke Murdoch, he states: 'Bot we will Returne agane to duke Murdac gouerno*ur* of Scottland.' (p. 571) This is mainly because the narrative is arranged according to a time shift in MS M, which, of course, follows Boece's narrative flow. Charles VII's ambassador asking for reinforcement is sent in the 'ȝere nixt

[31] The outcome of this shift of the passages from the beginning of Book 17 to Book 16 is noticeable. While almost all the books in the *Chronicles* start with an account of the kings, in the printed version, Book 17, the last book of the *Chronicles*, starts with the account of the Douglas family. Book 17 of the printed edition starts: 'EFtir deith of Archebald erle of douglas duke of Turyne as we haue schawin at Warnoll, succedit his son Archebalde the thrid of that name erle of Douglas.' (fol. 244) In doing this, Bellenden expresses admiration for his patron family.

following' (p. 569) Murdoch's succession to the governor. Immediately after this, the battle in France follows. Robert Pettillo goes to France 'Schort Tyme eftir' (p. 571) the battle. Murdoch's bad administration and his sons' conspiracy against him are contemporaneous with the starting part of Book 17, and so can be located at the end of Book 16.

The overall rearrangement of these events made in the printed version reveals Bellenden's evolving awareness that history should consist of a coherent outline. In the printed version, he puts a greater emphasis on the unity or consistency of each narrative unit in history. Thus, regardless of timeline, all the information concerning Duke Murdoch is integrated at the beginning of chapter 20. In addition to this, Bellenden inserts additional passages concerning James I's return to Scotland after the episode of Duke Murdoch, although, in terms of timeline, this event occurs after the battle in France. The reason for this addition is obvious. Bellenden finds a causal connection between Murdoch's bad administration and James's return to Scotland. Bellenden explains:

> Oftymes gret feliciteis cumis be contentioun of vnhappy parteis inuadyng othir with athir iniuris, as happinnit at this tyme be þis haisty debait rising betuix duk Mordo and his sonnis, for wer nocht thair contentioun, James the first had neuir cumyn in Scotland, the quhilk had bene rycht da*m*mageus to the realme. (fol. 243v)

Obviously, Bellenden's focus in the arrangement of history gradually shifted during the course of his revision work. After establishing his criterion according to which historical narrative should be prioritised, Bellenden becomes more attentive to showing causal connections between each historical event.

DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH (2): BELLENDEN'S EMPLOYMENT OF SOURCES

Along with alterations in the organisation of the history, Bellenden also changes his way of revising the content of the historical narrative from Book 1 to Book 16. In contrast to Book 1, where Bellenden generally follows Boece's narrative flow, and most of the revisions he makes are at the level of vocabulary, in Book 16, Bellenden's deviation from Boece is more conspicuous with actual alteration of narrative. Bellenden prioritises episodes or events in the *Chronicles* according to his own perspective, and he alters the text to a significant degree by adding or deleting material. For these revisions to Book 16, Bellenden consults other sources than Boece. By comparing Boece's narrative with different versions in several other

works, Bellenden chooses the most plausible, or seemingly accurate, narrative account. When Bellenden finds that Boece's narrative is less plausible or preferable, he replaces it with a 'better' version. Bellenden's behaviour extends far beyond the confines of a translator; he behaves as a historian-translator.

Little is known about what works Bellenden employed in addition to Boece during his revision work. The first and only approach to this problem has been made by Sally Mapstone.[32] Admitting the probability that Boece was also involved in the revision work of the printed version, Mapstone suggests that Bellenden must have been responsible for many alterations made in the printed version. Mapstone claims:

> Cumulatively then, the evidence assembled here would suggest that while Boece may indeed have been involved in the revisions to Bellenden's translation, the translator himself played an active and sometimes politically interventionist part in the recasting of his translation, often on the basis of consultation of a range of Scottish source material.[33]

As candidates for materials Bellenden might possibly have consulted, Mapstone mentions such older works as John Barbour's *Bruce* (1376), Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (1440s) and Richard Holland's *Buke of the Howlat* (*c.* 1448), as well as a contemporary work such as John Mair's *Historia Majoris Britanniae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (1521).[34] Besides them, however, Bellenden must have employed other materials, because there are many additions and revisions whose sources are not identified yet.[35] Bellenden acquired information necessary for these revisions either from extant works which have not yet been identified, from works whose existence is now unknown but were available in his time or, like Polydore Vergil's example shown above, from personal observations of legends and oral traditions. Thus, it is impossible to trace every source for each revision Bellenden makes. It does not seem to be difficult, however, to find the major work Bellenden employs in addition to Boece when he works on Book 16. In fact, many revisions Bellenden makes in Book 16 in the printed version seem to be derived from Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon.*

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[32] Although R. W. Chambers and Walter W. Seton already mentioned Bellenden's dependence on John Barbours's *Bruce* for his revisions, their argument is very short and limited. See, 'Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece', *SHR*, 17 (1919), 5-15 (pp. 10-13).
[33] Mapstone, 'Shakespeare and Scottish Kingship: A Case History', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 158-89 (p. 168).
[34] Royan also mentions Bellenden's indebtedness to Mair for his additional critical comment on David I's foundations of religious houses. See Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in Mapstone and Wood, pp. 136-57 (pp. 150-51).
[35] Mapstone claims: 'No source is apparent for the anecdotes about David I and the White Hart in book 12, chapter 16 or about Archibald Douglas in book 16.' See Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', p. 168.

When Bellenden newly inserts episodes or anecdotes, or alters some figures or information in the printed version, many of them can be identified with the corresponding parts of Bower. This is not surprising considering the fact that Boece's original is highly largely indebted to Bower. Royan suggests that Bower was 'Boece's fundamental source' and that Boece was 'designed to replace it'.[36] It is probable that Bellenden knew this when he was working on his translation, and so decided to employ Bower as a main source.

In the 'Ballat apone þe Translatione' in MS M, Bellenden claims that he often 'consultit' Bower: 'Pass now to lith with all þi sentence hie | Groundit but feyd or assentatione | In naturall and morall philosophe | With mony grave and prignant orisone | Maid to þe Redaris Eruditione | But wourdis wayst or 3it superfluus | Consultit oft with Scoticronicone | To mak þi Mater moir sentencius.' (p. 590) Worthy of note are some alterations Bellenden makes to this statement in the printed version. Bellenden clearly states that this work is written by Boece, and that it is 'supported' by Bower: 'Pas now to lycht with all thy sentence hie | Groundit but feid or assentatioun | Jn naturall and morall Philosophie, | With mony graue and prignant orisoun | Maid to the reders eruditioun | Be the renowmit Hector Boetius, | Supportit oft with Scoticronicon | To make thy mater more sententius.' (fol. 35*^{v})[37] Compared to the above statement in MS M, which alludes to Bellenden's positive indebtedness to Bower, in the printed version, Bellenden deliberately obscures his initiative in employing Bower. Intriguingly, however, in practice, Bellenden behaved in the opposite way; he was far less indebted to Bower in MS M than in the printed version.[38] Presumably, when Bellenden was working on MS M, although he was fully aware of the importance of Bower, to whom Boece was greatly indebted, Bellenden did not, or more probably could not, consult the *Scotichronicon*. Thus it is probable that the statement in MS M does not reflect what Bellenden actually did

[36] See Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece: A Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), pp. 168-236 (p. 218). Royan argues that, as Boece himself claims in the preface, it was not Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* but Bower's *Scotichronicon* that Boece employed as a major source. Royan also claims that it is later books of the *Scotorum Historia* that are greatly influenced by Bower: '[T]he influence of the *Scotichronicon* alone only really becomes apparent in the *Scotorum Historia* from about the accesssion of David I onwards, in Book 12.' See Royan, '*Scotichronicon* Rewritten? Hector Boece's Debt to Bower in the *Scotorum Historia*', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's 'Scotichronicon'*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), pp. 57-71 (p. 58).

[37] MSS C and A have the same readings. See fols 26^{v} and 21^{v}.

[38] See pp. 121-24 below.

but what he aimed at. This is very probably related to the fact that the *Scotichronicon* was only available in manuscript until it was printed in the eighteenth century.[39] Bellenden must have had regular access to one of the manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon* when he employed it as a source for his revision. It may be surmised that no manuscript of the *Scotichronicon* was available to Bellenden when he was working on MS M, but later, while he was working on the printed version, he had access to one manuscript copy. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to prove to which manuscript of the *Scotichronicon* Bellenden had access.[40] Bellenden may have consulted Mair, and, indeed, he mentions Mair in his critical statement concerning David I's extravagant foundations of religious houses in Book 12. This statement, which is inserted by Bellenden, is held to have been derived from Mair.[41] Yet, Bellenden's debt to Mair is not as great or obvious as that to Bower. Although there are a few cases where no source for the revisions can be found, most of the revisions seem to be derived from one or the other of them.

An anonymous work, the *Liber Pluscardensis* (1461), which is a derivative of the *Scotichronicon*, may

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[39] There survive six manuscripts with full text, and four manuscripts with abridged text, all of which were made in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Among them, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 is maintained to have been written by a scribe under Bower's direction. The edition of the *Scotichronicon* by D. E. R. Watt is based on this manuscript. For a detailed description of the extant manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon*, see *Scotichronicon*, IX: *Critical Studies and General Indexes*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt and others (1998), pp. 148-98, and Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers', in Crawford, pp. 31-55 (pp. 33-40).

[40] Royan refers to the same problem in the case of Boece. Although Boece states that he used Bower as a source, he is recorded to have had only a copy of Fordun. As Boece is greatly indebted to Bower, he must have had 'regular access to a copy, which may not have belonged to him, or which may not have survived'. Nevertheless, to trace a detailed history of each extant copy of Bower will 'undoubtedly prove impossible', and so 'Boece's access to any of them, or to any other non-extant copy, will always remain feasible'. See Royan, 'The *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece', pp. 215-16. One possibility is that Bellenden had access to a manuscript of Bower through the Sinclair family, with whom Bellenden was closely associated. This family seems to have had access to several manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon* through successive generations. Among the four manuscripts with abridged text, according to Richard Hay's statement in the early eighteenth century, the Coupar Angus MS (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.1.7), was presented to Coupar abbey by William, the Earl of Orkney and Caithness, in 1445. See *Scotichronicon*, IX, 193. Watt suggests that 1445 may be a slip for 1455. Henry Sinclair, and later William Sinclair of Roslin, owned the Perth MS (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.6.7), *Extracta* (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.6.13) and an abridged copy of the Royal MS (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.6.8). See 'Further Additions (Including Manuscripts) to J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, at the National Library of Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, 12 (1985), 85-90. In the later sixteenth century, Sir William Sinclair of Roslin examined another manuscript with full text, Donibristle MS. This William is said to have had 'a miscellany of information collected from a variety of sources, some of which can be identified as MS B [Brechin MS], MS R [Royal MS], *Extracta*, and MS CA [Coupar Angus MS], and some of which are now unknown'. *Scotichronicon*, IX, 188.

[41] See Royan, '*Scotorum Historia* and *Chronicles of Scotland*', pp. 150-51, and Mapstone, 'Scottish Kingship', pp. 167-68.

have been available to Bellenden.[42] Nevertheless, it is hard to find places where Bellenden is definitively and exclusively indebted to the *Liber Pluscardensis*. This is mainly because, as an abridged version of Bower, the *Liber Pluscardensis* has a quite similar narrative of texts to Bower's. There is, at least, one occasion, however, where a verbal correspondence between Bellenden's Book 16 and the *Liber Pluscardensis* is found. It is the scene in chapter 2 where the Scots make a noise using bags made of pigskin to frighten the English army led by Henry Percy in the dark. In MS M, Bellenden explains how these bags are made: 'and þat samyn nycht þe hyrdis fillit sindry ledderin pokis full of small stanys / and band þe samyn to þair horss.' (p. 543) In the printed version, on the other hand, Bellenden adds the word 'clogbog' to this explanation: 'Jn þe nicht following þe la*n*dwart me*n* *and* hirdis fillit syndry dry leddryn polkis full of small stanis, *and* band þame togidder in maner of clogboggis to thair hors.' (fols 232-32^{v})[43] It is only in the *Liber Pluscardensis* that the word 'clogbog' is used in this scene: 'Ubi quidam astuti garciferi varleti ac juvenes patriae, cum quibusdam suis adhaerentibus, circa mediam noctem, cum quodam terribili sonitu cuiusdam instrumenti quod in Scocia vocatum est *Clochbolg*, cum aliis tubae corneis.' (Hither came some cunning lads, varlets and youths of the country with some of their dependents, about midnight, with a fearful noise from a certain instrument which in Scotland is called *Clochbolg*, and with horn trumpets.)[44] This correspondence of the word 'clogbog' suggests the probability that Bellenden consulted the *Liber Pluscardensis* when he was working on this part of the printed version. For the moment, therefore, these two works, Bower's *Scotichronicon* and Mair's *Historia Britanniae*, will be examined as major sources Bellenden exploits when he works on Book 16, with some references to the *Liber Pluscardensis* as a possible candidate for a source.

Significantly, Bellenden seems to have employed different materials at different stages of his translation and revision work or, even if he used the same material, the extent to which he is indebted to

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[42] Mapstone argues that the author of the *Liber Pluscardensis* may have been Sir Gilbert Hay or someone who knew Hay very well. See Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers', pp. 34-35.

[43] In fact, Bellenden does not translate Boece's 'ad vesicarum modum' (fol. 341) (in manner of bladder) in MS M, probably because he thought it unnecessary. Arguably, Bellenden later found that the reference to 'clogbog' in the *Liber Pluscardensis* described the scene better, and restored the passage as 'in maner of clogboggis' in the printed version. MSS C and A have almost the same readings as the printed version. See fols 327^{v} and 309 respectively.

[44] *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. by Felix J. H. Skene, 2 vols, The Historians of Scotland, 7, 10 (Edinburgh: William Peterson, 1877, 1880), I, 312 and II: *The Book of Pluscarden*, p. 237.

the work is not always the same. Another notable point is that, although it may sound pleonastic, the main source for Bellenden is always Boece. However many additional materials Bellenden may bring in, it is Boece's narrative flow he follows in general. Bellenden exploits other materials only for information which supports and contributes to the main history provided by Boece. For Bellenden, each piece of information, episode or anecdote in these works is detachable from the original context, and it can be incorporated and fitted anywhere into the *Chronicles*. Bellenden chooses the best information from all the materials available to him, and incorporates it into his translation. The criterion Bellenden adopts here is characteristically humanist; he prioritises the materials according to their truthfulness and coherence.

That Bellenden regards each piece of information in the sources as an independent unit can be well illustrated by the addition made to chapter 20 in the printed version. After narrating how James I was called back from England to Scotland, Bellenden inserts an anecdote about the Earl of Buchan, a son of the Duke of Albany. When the Earl of Buchan hears about James's return to Scotland, he is afraid that he will be in trouble, because it was his father who kept James out of Scotland for a long time. Thus, he flees from Scotland to France with Archibald, the Earl of Douglas, where they fight against the Duke of Bedford, lieutenant of England. The printed version reads: 'The erle of Buchquhan co*n*stable of France beleuit litill proffet or pleseir to fall to him be þe hame cumyng of James the first. Becaus his fader duk Robert held hym so lang out of his realme. And thairfore he solistit his gudfader Archebald erle of dowglas to pas w*ith* hym i*n* France.' (fol. 243^{v}) This rather short anecdote cannot be found in MS M or in Boece. Probably, the insertion of this anecdote is closely related to the structural alteration Bellenden makes from MS M to the printed version. As we have seen above, chapters 20 and 21 in MS M are greatly revised only in the printed version with some alterations in the order of events. In MS M, before the Duke of Bedford attacks France, the Earls of Buchan and Douglas are already in France, because Charles VII, through a letter sent to Murdoch, has asked them to come to France to support him. Thus, the above anecdote concerning the Earl of Buchan's flight to France to avoid James I would not fit here. In the printed version, however, as the episode concerning Charles VII's letter to invite these two earls is replaced with the episode concerning Murdoch and his sons, the Earls of Buchan and Douglas are still left in Scotland. Bellenden needs some material which brings them to France so that they will fight against the

Duke of Bedford there. Charles VII's letter to invite them to France could have been used here. Nevertheless, as James I's return to Scotland is narrated at the end of the preceding episode concerning Murdoch and his sons, the introduced anecdote concerning the Earl of Buchan's avoidance of James I serves the function better.

The examination of the corresponding parts in the intermediary manuscripts will show, however, that what Bellenden does here is to detach the anecdote from its original context, and to transform it to fit the context where he needs it. As we have seen above, the intermediary manuscripts have the same chapter divisions, and thus the same narrative flow, as MS M, because Bellenden does not make any revisions here until the final stage of his revision work. Hence, the anecdote concerning the Earl of Buchan is not inserted into this part in the intermediary manuscripts, because, as in MS M, the Earls of Buchan and Douglas go to France at the request of Charles VII. Intriguingly enough, however, Bellenden employs this anecdote in a different place in MSS C and A. At the end of chapter 18, Bellenden narrates how, after the agreement on the inheritence of French throne made between Henry V and Charles VI was annulled, the Earls of Buchan and Wigton were treated favourably by Charles VI and stayed in France for a while. Immediately after this, in MSS C and A, Bellenden newly inserts passages whose content is not unlike that of the anecdote examined above. MS C reads: 'the opinion of vulgar pepill Is far discrepant fra thir wordis saying / that the erle of buchquha*n* (seand that he my*ch*t no*ch*t resist the hame cu*m*ing of the king Iames the first) went in france becaus he dred grete truble following amang his freindis be hame cu*m*in of the said prince.' (fol. 341ᵛ)[45] Probably, Bellenden found this anecdote concerning the Earl of Buchan's avoidance of James I in some source and inserted it into his history at an early stage of his revision work. Later, in the printed version, after Bellenden changed the order of events in chapters 20 and 21, he needed to revise the scene where the Earls of Buchan and Douglas go back to France. Bellenden found the anecdote he employed at the end of chapter 18 in the intermediary manuscripts served his purpose well, and inserted it into chapter 20 regardless of its original context.

That Bellenden examines sources thoroughly and meticulously is evident from the fact that even minor figures are frequently revised in favour of those in his sources. One example is found in chapter 4,

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[45] For the corresponding part in MS A, see fol. 322.

where Archibald Douglas, together with the Earls of Douglas and March, lays siege to Lochmaban castle. Boece states that they laid siege to the house for three months: 'Tenuerat autem obsidio iam tertium mensem.' (fol. 342v) (Now he [Douglas] had already besieged them for three months.) In MSS M, C and A, Bellenden follows this. MS M reads: 'þai had Lyne with continewall sege at þe said house / thre monethis.' (p. 545)[46] In the printed version, however, Bellenden changes the information about the length of the siege. He states that the siege continued for nine days: '[T]hay had lyin at the sege of the said hous .ix. dayis.' (fol. 233) Probably, this alteration is based on Bower. Although his description of the scene is different from that of Boece in several points, he states that the siege continued for nine days. In Bower, the lord of the castle asks the English army for help and the English advise him to sustain it for eight days: 'They advised him to hold the castle for eight days, and if while negotiating with the Scots (whether by a formal document or otherwise), he did not secure help by the ninth day, he should defend himself as best he could.'[47] On the ninth day, the castle is rendered to the Scots. Similarly, in chapter 6, where Robert Stewart and William Douglas fight against the Irish, the number of the soldiers of the Irish side is revised only in the printed version. Boece states that they collected five hundred soldiers: 'Clam igitur a Dundalk accepto auxilio ac ex vicinis agris quingentis militibus.' (fol. 344) (Then they secretly received reinforcements from Dundalk and 500 soldiers from the neighbouring estates.) MSS M, C and A also give the same number. MS M reads: 'þe citesanis þ*er*of, [. . .] gaderitt ane cumpany of v^c bodin men.' (p. 548)[48] In the printed version, on the other hand, the number is changed into eight hundred: 'The cietezanis thairof [. . .] gaderit ane cu*m*pany of .viii. C. men.' (fol. 234v) This again agrees with Bower's statement. Bower reads: 'Accordingly eight hundred armed horsemen came the next day to Carlingford, and met up with the men of Carlingford in large numbers.'[49]

Although Bellenden makes many revisions in the printed version, there are some cases where Bellenden gives different readings from Boece from the first in MS M. Intriguingly enough, Bellenden does not seem to have employed either Bower or Mair for these alterations. For example, in MS M,

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46 For the corresponding parts in MSS C and A, see fols 329 and 310 respectively.

47 *Scotichronicon*, VII, 394-95.

48 For the corresponding parts in MSS C and A, see fols 330v and 312 respectively.

49 *Scotichronicon*, VII, 412-13.

Bellenden alters Boece's passage concerning the English invasion of Scotland in chapter 3. Boece explains that as soon as the English invaded Scotland by way of Solway, they were intercepted by the Scots and many were either caught by the Scots or drowned in the river, and some escaped:

> At sequuti Angli Duglas breui post per Soluacium fluuium Scotiam ingrediuntur: sed circumuenti in arctis faucibus postquam ingentem rapuissent praedam grauiter caesi exuti sunt omnibus spoliis, capti quoque quadringenti, nec minor numerus submersus fuit, dum conentur abiectis armis flumen Soluacium tranare. Reliqui fuga in syluas ac montes se eripuere per noctem in Angliam redeuntes. (fol. 341[v])
>
> (But, a short time later, pursuing Douglas, the English invaded Scotland across the Solway river. However, after seizing huge plunder, they were surrounded in a narrow strait, suffered serious casualties, and were stripped of all their plunder. 400 men were also caught, and no less number of people was drowned in the river, when they threw away their weapons and tried to swim over the river. The rest escaped by night into the woods and mountains, and went back to England.)

In MS M, on the other hand, the English are destroyed not by the Scots but by the flood tide:

> The Jnglismen to Recover þe herschippis maid be The erle of Douglas At Pennyre come In scotland be sulwaye / And gaderitt ane grete praye of gudis / oute of sindry boundis þairof / Jn þe menetyme þe tyde come sa apon þame þat þai war Jnclusit amang þair Jnymyis be streme of watter / sindry of þame war slayne / vþ*er*is takin / and grete novmer pereist in þe Rvere [*sic.*]. (p. 544)

Bellenden must have acquired this information from other material than the three major sources, and inserted it into MS M.[50] In the printed version, however, Bellenden revises this part again and restores the original narrative with some elaboration:

> The Jnglismen to recouer thir heirschippis maid be þe erle of Douglas at Pynnire, come in scotla*n*d ouir Sulway, and inuadit the cuntre with fire and slauchter in maist cruel maner. Jn þe mene tyme the scottis gaderit to the nowmer of .v. C. men *and* stude at ane strait glen quhil the Jnglismen war cumyn by þame, *and* w*ith* sa huge noyis and clamour set on þame, þ*at* þay gaif backis .iiii. C. of þame war slane, *and* mony of al þe laif perist in Sulway. (fol. 232[v])

The flood tide mentioned in MS M is removed here. The reason for its removal in the printed version is uncertain. Nevertheless, it seems quite possible that the fact that neither Boece, Bower nor Mair mentions

[50] There is possibility that the flood tide in MS M was simply Bellenden's mistranslation and he corrected it in the printed version. That Bellenden renders 'circumuenti in arctis faucibus' into 'þai war inclusit be streme of watter' suggests the likelihood that Bellenden mistakenly assumed that there came a flood tide. Both MS C and MS A have almost the same readings as MS M. See fols 328 and 309[v].

the flood tide leads Bellenden to remove it from his translation. That none of his authorities mentions the information suggests its lack of credibility.

Another example of Bellenden's employment of other materials than his major sources in MS M is found in the scene where James I is caught by the English in chapter 15. Boece does not give a detailed description of this capture scene. Boece writes:

> Emensis iam aliquantum spatii Oceani Iacobus iactationis insuetus, quamquam in Franciam proficisci malebat, non ferens tunc vltra nauseam, ad littus Anglicanum exponi se iubet. Promontorium id est Flamburg appellatum. Inde ad Henricum regem tendentes in itinere capti, atque in carcerem coniecti sunt, ostentante nequicquam Iacobo literas patris, quibus Henrico regi commendabatur. (fol. 352ᵛ)
>
> (After they had gone some way, James, unused to being tossed about in the ocean, could not put up with his sea-sickness any longer, and, though he really wanted to go to France, had himself landed on the shore of England: that promontory is called Flamborough Head. From there, they began to make their way to King Henry, but were captured en route and flung into prison: it was in vain that James showed a letter from his father recommending him to King Henry.)

In MS M, Bellenden generally follows Boece's narrative flow, but inserts some additional information about the date of this event, James I's age and the length of his captivity in England:

> Jn þe menetyme þe Prince wery be Jnfirmite of seyis / desyritt to pas to land And was takin at flamburgh hede be Jnglismen apon þe seyis / on þe xxx day of Marche / fra oure Redempcioun Iᵐ iiijᶜ iiij ȝeris / ix ȝere of his aige / And xviij ȝeris haldin Jn captiuite In Jngland And was brocht to king haryis presence / And presentit to him king Robert his faderis tendir supplicaciouns. (p. 562)

This is further revised and elaborated in the printed version:

> James richt wery be vncouth aire *and* corruption of seys, desirit to refresche hym on the land. *and* was takin with al his cumpany be that maner. Otheris writis that he was takin at Flamburgh heid apon the seys be Jnglismen, quhilkis war aduertist be treason of certane Scottis of his passage to France. Treuth is he was takyn the .ix. ȝeir of his age, the .xxx day of Marche, fra our redemption, ane .M .iiii. C .iiii. ȝeris, and was haldin in captiuite be Jnglismen .xviii. ȝeris. (fols 239ᵛ-40)[51]

Note the phrase 'otheris writis' here. This suggests the possibility that Bellenden is interested in this episode and consults some other materials than Boece. As found in MS M, the additional information

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[51] MSS C and A have almost the same readings. See fols 338ᵛ and 319.

must be derived from a source other than Boece. It does not seem, however, that this account is based on Bower, whose description of this scene cannot be identified with that in MS M. Bower reads: 'While at sea off Flamborough Head he fell into the hands of some Englishmen. He was captured by them on 30 March, and sent to strict custody in "Penvai" Castle, until he was released by Henry V king of England.'[52] Although the overall narrative flow in Bower is similar to that in MS M, Bower does not mention the year counted from the redemption, and, what is more, these two narratives disagree with each other on James I's age; MS M gives it as nine, whereas Bower gives it as thirteen.[53] This difference in the age of James between MS M and Bower cannot be dismissed as a mistake, because this figure is still retained in the printed version despite his great revision in this part. Some other material than Bower, Mair and the *Liber Pluscardensis* must have been employed here. Whether the newly added information in the printed version that James I was captured because of treachery is derived from the same source is not certain. Nevertheless, we are safe to surmise that at least one work is employed in addition to, or instead of, the two major sources here.

In contrast to this situation in MS M, Bellenden's debt to Bower in the printed version is conspicuous. Bellenden employs Bower not only for minor revisions of figures and names, but also for major revisions of whole episodes. For example, in chapter 3, the episode concerning the fire at the abbey of St Andrews is greatly changed only in the printed version. Boece explains that the fire was caused either by thunder or by a jackdaw: 'Quo anno et templum diui Andreae maximum seu fulmine seu monedula (vt fertur, ramale incensum ad nidum suum ferente, nam id incertum est) conflagrauit.' (fol. 341^{v}) (This year, the great abbey of St Andrew was burnt, either by lightning or by a jackdaw carrying burning twigs to its nest (as the story goes: for the matter is uncertain).) MSS M, C and A have the same readings as Boece. MS M reads: 'The samyn 3ere The Abbay of Sanctandro*is* was brynt be Thundyr / or ellis be ane craw / berand stykkis to hir nest / quhilkis war in fyre.' (p. 543)[54] In the printed version,

[52] *Scotichronicon*, VIII, 60-61.

[53] Both Mair and the *Liber Pluscardensis* give it as fourteen, whereas Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (1420s) does not mention James's age. See *A History of Greater Britain as Well England as Scotland: Compiled from the Ancient Authorities by John Major, by Name Indeed a Scot, but by Profession a Theologian 1521*, ed. and trans. by Archibald Constable, SHS, 10 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1892), p. 341, *Liber Pluscardensis*, II, 261.

[54] For the corresponding parts in MSS C and A, see fols 328 and 309^{v} respectively.

however, Bellenden gives a totally different explanation: 'Jn this ȝeir the abbay of sa*n*ct Andros was brint be necligence of ane plumbar quhilk left ane of h*i*s hait Jrnis in ane craw nest, quhare it rasit sa huge fyre þ*at* it micht not be slokin quhill all the kirk was brint.' (fol. 232[v]) This account in the printed version is more plausible and persuasive than that in Boece. It seems that this explanation is again based on Bower's account, although Bellenden compresses Bower's detailed explanation. Bower reads:

> In the same year on the feast of St Adomnan or Thecla the Virgin the great church of St Andrews was burnt at the hour of high mass; this was caused by the carelessness of a plumber who was repairing a small crack in the lead roof of the nave of the church with lead that had been heated red-hot, and then flowed down to the nest of a raven, jackdaw or crow, setting it alight and developing into a conflagration beyond control.[55]

Another example of the introduction of new information into the printed version can be found in chapter 8. King Robert II, who is too old to govern the country well, chooses his second son, the Duke of Albany, as governor of Scotland, because his eldest son, John, has been kicked by a horse and is infirm. Boece reads: 'Nam id temporis Ioannes natu maximus filiorum regis ictus ab equo ad tibiam haud sine vitae pedisque periculo decumbebat.' (fol. 346[v]) (For, at this time, John, the eldest son of the king, was kicked by a horse on the shin and fell. He was confined to bed, his life and feet in jeopardy.) MSS M, C and A generally follow Boece's account, though they do not mention the jeopardy of John's life. MS M reads: 'becaus his eldest son Iohnne was hurt / be ane straik of ane horss on his legg And my*ch*t no*ch*t travale throw þe Realme.' (p. 552)[56] Intriguingly enough, in the printed version, Bellenden inserts the new detail that the horse which kicks John belongs to James Douglas of Dalkeith: 'For his eldest son John*n* erle of Carrik gat sic ane strake on his leg be schir James Douglas hors of Dalkeith, that he mycht nocht trauell throw the realme.' (fol. 236) Notably, James Douglas of Dalkeith is an ancestor of the Douglases of Morton and Whittingham, who were the superiors of the Bellendens.[57] This additional passage reveals, therefore, Bellenden's intention to have the ancestor of his patron family appear in the history. Probably, Bellenden obtains this detail either from Bower or from Mair, both of which have it.[58]

What can be inferred from these revisions is that, although few revisions made in MS M are

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[55] *Scotichronicon*, VII, 378-79.
[56] For the corresponding parts in MSS C and A, see fols 333 and 314 respectively.
[57] See above Introduction, pp. 7-8.
[58] See *Scotichronicon*, VII, 442-43, and *A History of Greater Britain as Well England as Scotland*, p. 329.

attributable to Bower, those made only in the printed version are indebted to Bower. This may mean that it was not until Bellenden started to revise the printed version that he had a regular access to a manuscript copy of Bower. Once Bellenden starts to use Bower, he often, though not always, prefers Bower's information to that of Boece. This may be ascribed to the fact that Bower, who was born in 1385 and died in 1449, is nearly a contemporary with these events narrated in Book 16, and hence his work can be better and direct evidence for them. Nevertheless, Bellenden does not always disregard Boece in favour of Bower or other sources. He compares every version of a narrative found in each work and chooses the best one according to his criterion. The criterion he applies to his selections seems to be the completeness of the account they give to each course of events. Bellenden tends to employ those accounts that are more plausible and persuasive, with a logically consistent course of events.

DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH (3): BELLENDEN'S SELECTION AND ORGANISATION OF NARRATIVE

Bellenden does not seem to employ any other sources than Boece when he is working on the scene where the Duke of Albany imprisons David, Duke of Rothesay, and makes him starve to death. In this scene, Bellenden generally follows Boece's narrative flow, and all the revisions he makes are at the level of vocabulary. The reason for this is evident from a comparison of this episode in Boece with those in the other works. Actually, none of Boece, Bower and Mair gives the same description of this scene. Boece gives a detailed description of two ladies who tried to save David's life, and how David, suffering from hunger, even ate filth and his own fingers:

> Ancilla vero quaedam Dauidis miserta per strictum quoddam foramen farinam fundens aliquandiu vitam illi prorogauit. Sed quum per quaestionem ea depraehensa fuisset, morte poenas dedit. Erat et altera quae miserandam eius mortem ferre muliebri animo nequiuerat, quae tum nepotes eius lactabat, ea nullo nec pane, nec alio vllo edulio assumpto, velut ad consolandum Dauidem progressa, per canalem lac mamillarum in os illi inseruit, vitaeque huius exiguam, sed in suam ipsius perniciem, illi vsuram protendit. Nam vbi ea quoque depraehensa est, simili interiit quo altera exitio. Ita Dauid humano omni destitutus auxilio, quicquid in carcere reperit, quod in ventrem modo meare posset, res foedissimas, denique et digitos suos absumpsit, ac tandem lentam increpans mortem crudelissimo fato periit. (fol. 350^{v})

(But a female servant, who felt compassion towards David, prolonged his life for some time

> by pouring grain through a [certain] narrow hole. However, when through investigation she had been caught, she was punished by death. There was another woman who, being of womanly temperament, could not tolerate his lamentable death. At that time, she was giving milk to her grandsons, and as she did not obtain any bread or anything else to eat, pretending that she was visiting David to comfort him, introduced her breast milk into his mouth through a tube, and proffered him this small lease of life, though to her own destruction. For when she too had been caught, she died the same death as the other woman. In this way, David, deprived of all human help, consumed whatever he found in his prison that could pass into his stomach, the most filthy things. Finally, he even ate his own fingers. At last he died with cruel fate, cursing his lingering death.)

Although slightly abbreviated, Bellenden's rendering is generally faithful:

> It is said, ane woman hauand co*m*miseratioun on this duk, leit meill fall doun throw þe loftis of þe toure. Be quhilkis his lyfe wes certane dayis sauit. Þis woma*n* (fra it wes knawin) wes put to deith. On þe same maner ane othir woman gaif hym mylk of hir paup throw ane lang reid, *and* wes slane with gret cruelte fra it wes knawin. Þan wes the duke destitute of all mortall supplie, and brocht finalie to sa miserable and hungry appetite, þat he eit nocht allanerlie the filth of the toure quhare he wes, bot his awin fingaris to his gret marterdome. (fol. 238^{v})[59]

In contrast, Bower's description is surprisingly short and simple:

> [The duke of Albany with the second Sir Archibald earl of Douglas] condemned him to be kept in a certain decent small room, in which he was long guarded by John Selkirk and John Wright until after languishing with dysentery or (as some will have it) with hunger he died on [the evening of] the day before Easter (which fell on 26 March) or on the morning of Easter Day, and was buried at Lindores.[60]

Here, Bower suggests two possible causes of David's death; dysentery and hunger.[61] Furthermore, Mair gives a totally different account of this episode. In Mair, it is not the Duke of Albany but William Lindsay and John Remorgenay who make David die in a prison. When David breaks the promise of marriage with

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[59] See also MS M, pp. 558-59, MS C, fol. 336^{v} and MS A, fol. 317^{v}.

[60] *Scotichronicon*, VIII, 38-39.

[61] That Bower mentions dysentry as a cause of David's death is noteworthy in that it shows Bower's attitude towards this episode. M. H. Brown argues that when Bower narrates death of tyrants or immoral magnates, he scarcely puts it in political context. He rather treats it as 'an act of God or fate'. This scene of David's death, where Bower ascribes David's death to dysentry rather than to hunger contrived by Albany, is an example of this: 'No clear statement of Rothesay having been deliberately killed is made in the *Scotichronicon* and Bower presents the duke's death as a sequence of unfortunate accidents set in train by the young duke himself and foretold by omens in the shape of a comet.' See Brown, '"I have thus slain a tyrant": *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis* and the Right to Resist in Early Fifteenth-Century Scotland', *IR*, 47 (1996), 24-44 (pp. 27 and 41). In contrast, as Royan argues, Boece reinterprets Bower's description of this scene in a more politically suggestive way: 'Boece does not portray Rothesay as an innocent, but he is far more suggestive than Bower of the political benefits of his [David's] death for Albany'. See Royan, '*Scotichronicon* Rewritten?', pp.60-61 (p. 61).

Lindsay's sister, Lindsay bears resentment against David. John Remorgenay, who fails to persuade David to kill Albany, and, in turn, Albany to kill David, conspires with Lindsay to kill David. Mair concludes this episode: 'Not to enlarge further, I will say simply that duke Rothesay was imprisoned in the castle of Falkland, and there he died. Whence may be seen how dangerous it was for him to play false with the daughters or sisters of noblemen.'[62] Thus, there prevailed at least three different accounts of the episode. Rather than referring to the other two accounts shown by Bower and Mair, Bellenden adheres to Boece's version here. This is probably because Boece gives a more complete and dramatic description of the episode.

Similarly, in the scene where James Douglas dies at the battlefield of Otterburn in chapter 7, Bellenden prefers Boece's version to that of Bower or Mair. Generally, Boece's description of the battle of Otterburn is different from that in Bower or Mair. One of the most significant differences found between them is that while in Bower or Mair, James Douglas dies in action, in Boece, Douglas, although severely wounded, survives the battle. The Earls of Crawford, March and Murray finds him dying in his pavilion: 'Quem vbi conspexere iacentem attoniti re noua inuicem cum admiratione aspicientes constitere: deinde in fletum ac lachrymas versi ploratum edunt.' (fol. 345[v]) (When they, astounded by the strange event, saw him [Douglas] lying [there], they halted, looking at each other with surprise. Then, falling into tears and wailing, they uttered laments.) Then Douglas gives his last words to his friends, and dies in their loving embraces. Bellenden follows Boece's version faithfully in MS M; James survives the battle and dies after giving his words to his friends.[63] In the printed version, except that Bellenden inserts his own additional statement that James was buried beside his father, he does not alter this episode greatly; his revisions are at the level of words or phrases.[64] This probably means that Bellenden does not employ any sources besides Boece when he revises this part. Bellenden prefers Boece's dramatic scene where James Douglas's heroic death is highlighted to those simple ones in other works.

Bellenden's deliberate insertion or revision of information or episodes concerning the Douglases

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[62] *A History of Greater Britain as Well England as Scotland*, p. 338.
[63] MS M, pp. 550-51.
[64] See fol. 235[v]. The additional passages concerning the burial of James Douglas are not found in MS C or MS A. See MS C, fols 332-32[v], and MS A, fols 313-13[v].

can often be found in Book 16. The descriptions of Archibald Douglas in chapter 14, for instance, are meticulously revised in the printed version. In this scene, many Scottish nobles are killed or caught by the English army led by Henry Percy. Boece enumerates those nobles who are caught by the English: 'Mordacus Stuart gubernatoris filius, Archimbaldus comes Douglas amisso altero in pugna oculo, Thomas comes Morauiae, comes Angusiae Abernethi a Saltoun, ac viginti quatuor equites aurati.' (fol. 351) (Murdoch Stewart, son of the governor; Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who lost one of his eyes in the battle; Thomas, Earl of Moray; the Earl of Angus; Abernethy of Salton; and 24 knights wearing gilt spurs.) In MS M, Bellenden follows Boece except that he mentions Douglas's name first: 'The erle of douglas was takin / and tynt ane of his eeyn / with him Murdoo son to duke Robert w*ith* þe erlis of Murray / and Anguse / Abirnethy of Saltoun w*ith* xxiiij knychtis.' (p. 560) This is a recurrent practice found in the *Chronicles*. Bellenden frequently shows his respect for a particular person or object by mentioning them first.[65] This is retained in the intermediary manuscripts.[66] In the printed version, however, Bellenden makes several alterations: he adds more names of nobles, including James Douglas of Dalkeith, who were caught by the English, and he deletes the information that Douglas lost one of his eyes. The printed version reads: 'Archebald erle of Douglas, Mordo Stewart eldest son to duke Robert, George erle of Angus, Robert Erskin of Alloway, þe lord Saltoun, James Douglas maister of Dalkeith with his .ii. brethir John*n* *and* Willia*m* with mony of al þe baronis of Fife *and* Louthiane war tane.' (fol. 239) Probably, these newly inserted names are derived either from Bower or from Mair, as both of them enumerate those Scottish nobles who were caught.[67]

The information that Archibald Douglas lost one of his eyes, which is deleted from the printed version, is inserted in another place later in this chapter. This is where Douglas is taken by the English for

65 For example, Bellenden, whose family is deeply connected with Holyrood house, mentions Holyrood house first in chapter 16 of Book 12 in the printed version (fol. 185). See Chapter 3, pp. 76-77 for a description of the connection between the Bellendens and Holyrood abbey.

66 See MS C, fol. 337, and MS A, fol. 318.

67 See *Scotichronicon*, VIII, 48-49, and *A History of Greater Britain as Well England as Scotland*, pp. 339-40. It is more probable that Bellenden used Bower here, as only Bower mentions two brothers of James Douglas of Dalkeith. However, there is one problem with this surmise. In Bower, their names are James and William, not John and William as in Bellenden. In fact, James Douglas had five brothers, Thomas, William, John, Nicholas and Henry. Hence, Bellenden either corrects the information himself or uses a different source, quite possibly through his personal connection with the Earls of Morton and the Douglases of Whittingham.

the second time. After the eulogy given to him, Bellenden inserts a new episode concerning Douglas's humorous allusion to his loss of one of his testicles, only in the printed version. Neither Bower, Mair nor the *Liber Pluscardensis* mentions this episode. Bellenden may have acquired this information personally through his connection with the Douglases. The information that Archibald lost one of his eyes is incorporated into this newly added episode:

> Þis erle was namit Achebald tyne ma*n*, for he wan neuir feild þ*at* he was in. Howbeit he faucht ay with gret ma*n*heid, He tint ane of his ene at the battal of Ho*m*mildon, *and* at þis feild he tynt ane of his stanis. At last quhen he was brocht to þe supper at þe quenis tabyll of Jngland (efter þ*at* mony lordis of Jngland war menand þair heuy wou*n*dis gottin i*n* þis last battal) he said, þai sit full styl, þ*at* hes ane reuyn breik. (fol. 239v)

What Bellenden does here is to give more unity to each event of the history. By earlier removing the information about Douglas's loss of his eye, he avoids interrupting the enumeration of the nobles. At the same time, by incorporating the information about Douglas's loss of his eye into the newly added laudatory episode about him, Bellenden makes another integrated unity where Douglas's bravery on the battlefield is highlighted.

Another textual manipulation Bellenden makes in order to put more focus on the Douglas family can be found in chapter 1. This is the scene where King Robert II's daughter marries John Dunbar, through which the earldom of Moray comes into the possession of the Dunbars, though later, the earldom is transferred to the Douglases. Boece explains that John Dunbar marries King Robert II's daughter secretly before Robert becomes king: '[Q]uarum cum altera Ioannes Dumbar frater Georgii comitis Merchiarum [.] priusquam pater puellae regnum adeptus esset, clandestinos congressus habuit, atque vxorem patre ignorante duxit.' (fol. 340) (John Dunbar, brother of George, Earl of March, met secretly with one of them, before the girl's father obtained the kingdom, and made her his wife without her father's knowledge.) Later, Dunbar is accused by the king of this secret marriage. In MS M, Bellenden retains this information about the secret marriage. MS M reads: 'Off quhilkis þe eldest was marijtt on Iohnne dunbar bruþ*er* to george erle of Marche / but ony avise of hir fader.' (p. 541)[68] The king's accusation of Dunbar follows this. In the intermediary MSS, the passage 'but ony avise of his fader' is

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[68] For the corresponding parts in MSS C and A, see fols 326v and 308v respectively.

removed. Nevertheless, as the king's accusation of Dunbar is still retained, we can learn that the marriage was made without the king's consent. MS C reads: 'of quhilkis the eldest wes marit on Iohne du*n*bar bruþ*er* to george erle of m*ar*che. [. . .] schort tyme eft*er* ane counsale wes sett at perth in the quhilk king robert be p*er*suasioun of the erle of douglass accusit Iohne dunbar for the tresonable seducing of his docht*er* to mariage.' (fol. 326ᵛ)[69] In the printed version, however, Bellenden deletes the passages concerning the king's accusation of Dunbar, who is now referred to as 'erle of Murray' not 'bruþ*er* to george erle of m*ar*che': '[O]f quhilkis ane wes maryit on Johne Dunbar erle of Murray.' (fol. 231ᵛ) The outcome of this revision is significant. The focus of this whole episode is shifted from the marriage between Dunbar and Robert II's daughter to the process of how the earldom of Moray comes into the possession of the Douglases. Thus, in the printed version, Bellenden concludes this episode: 'And be þis way þe Douglas come to the erledome of Murray.' (fol. 231ᵛ)

There are several other additional episodes in the printed version whose sources have not been identified. One of them is the episode concerning the charter made by king William in chapter 5. Among the plunder the Duke of Albany brought back from England in 1387 was a certain charter made by Athelstan, king of England. After mentioning this charter, only in the printed version, Bellenden introduces another, much longer, charter made by William I, king of Scotland:

> [Q]uhilk charter is nocht vnlike to ane charter geuin be king Wyllyam in maner as followis. Heir J Wyllyam kyng, the thrid ȝeir of my ring, geuis to þe Normand huntere, to me thow art baith leif *and* dere, the hop and the hoptoun, and all the boundis vp and down, vnder the erd to hell, aboue the erd to heuyn. Fra me and fra myne, to þe and to thyne. Als fre as the kingrik is myne. To verify þ*at* þis is suith. J bite þe quhit walx w*ith* my tuith, before Meg, Mald, Mariory, *and* my eldest son. For ane bow *and* ane braid arrow, quhen J cum to hunt apon ȝarrow. (fol. 234)[70]

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[69] For the corresponding part in MS A, see fol. 308ᵛ. Notably, MS R removes the first name of the Earl of March: 'of quhilk þe eldest wes marijt one Johne Du*n*bar broþ*er* to þe erle of m*ar*che.' (fol. 173)

[70] Neither of MS C nor MS A has this additional episode. See fol. 330 and fol. 311ᵛ respectively. Note the verse quality of this charter. As Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards claim, there was a long tradition of inserting vernacular verse into prose chronicle writings without any clear distinction between verse and prose. They argue that, in many cases, those verses were not specially made for this purpose, but selected from material circulated independently: 'It clearly suggests some form of opportunistic interpolation in some manuscripts based on the availability of such a translation, not on any more purposive sense of a relationship between verse and prose.' See Boffey and Edwards, 'Middle English Verse in Chronicles', in *New Perspectives on Middle English Texts: A Festschrift for R. A. Waldron*, ed. by Susan Powell and Jeremy J. Smith (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 119-28 (p. 127). It is likely that this charter is some form of burlesque or parody of the charter form. There is at least another example of burlesque charter in Middle

It is not certain where Bellenden acquired the knowledge about this charter, as none of Bower, Mair and the *Liber Pluscardensis* mentions this.[71] What is significant here is, however, that this charter inserted by Bellenden is longer than the one by king Athelstan, and is made by the Scottish king, William I, who was once called 'the lion of justice' by John of Fordun.[72] Bellenden's purpose with this insertion is evident; he seeks to show that Scotland also had a legal system which can be compared with that in England.[73]

The description of two sons of King Robert II in chapter 1 is noticeable in that Bellenden employs not only Bower but also other sources for his revision work. Boece describes how Robert II assigned property to each of sons: 'Eodem anno filios agris donauit, Ioannem comitem Carrictae, effecit ac Scotiae senescallum, Robertum comitem Fif, et Menteth, Alexandrum dominum Badzenothae, Dauidem ex Eufemia primogenitum comitem Ernaeuallis, vernaculo Scotorum sermone Strathem, Vvalterum comitem Atholiae.' (fol. 340ᵛ) (This year he [king Robert II] gave lands to his sons; he made John earl of Carrick and steward of Scotland; Robert earl of Fife and Menteith; Alexander lord of Baidyanath; David, his firstborn by Eufemia, earl of Ernaevallis (Strathern in Scots); Walter earl of Atholl.) In MS M, Bellenden follows Boece in general:

> [King Robert] maid Iohnne, hir [Elizabeth's] eldast son erle of Carrik / and Stewart of Scotland And hir seconde son Robert erle of Fiffe *and* Menteth / and hir thrid son Alexander Lord of Baidȝenoch / he maid als Dauid his eldest son gottin on his wyfe ewfemia erle of strat*h*herne / And hir secund son Walter erle of Athole. (p. 542)

In the intermediary manuscripts, this is almost retained with one additional passages inserted at the end.

English; Canterbury Cathedral M 251 is 'Burlesque conveyance in the form of a charter'. See *NIMEV*, 3299.55. I am indebted to Prof. Edwards of De Montfort University for this information.

[71] According to *DSL*, 'quhit walx' is 'natural, uncoloured beeswax as used for sealing official documents'. The word was frequently used from mid fifteenth century to early sixteenth century. A. A. M. Duncan claims that the word 'quhit walx' was equivalent to 'quarter seal', and litigants 'took out his summons "under white or red wax" (quarter seal or signet) according to his taste and his purse'. Duncan, 'The Central Courts before 1532', in *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, The Stair Society, 20 (Edinburgh: Robert Cunningham and Sons, 1958), pp. 321-40 (p. 334). This suggests that this verse on William's charter was composed a little earlier than the *Chronicles* was made. Although Wyntoun's verse chronicle, *Original Chronicle*, seems a strong candidate for this, it does not have any descriptions about this charter.

[72] Fordun states that William was 'the friend of God, the lion of justice, the prince of peace', and 'took great pains in maintaining the laws of his kingdom'. See *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. by William F. Skene, trans. by Felix J. H. Skene, 2 vols, The Historians of Scotland, 1, 4 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871, 1872), II, 255 and 275.

[73] Boffey and Edwards claim that verses were often employed in order to emphasise ethnic anthipathies, in particular those between the English and the Scots: '[T]he Scots and/or Anglo-Scottish relations become a recurrent subject for such verse interpolations.' (p. 121) Although Bellenden does not express anthipathy towards the English here, that he inserts the verse about the Scottish charter in rivalry with the English charter is indisputable.

MS C reads:

> [King Robert] maid Iohne hir [Elizabeth's] eldest son erle of carrik and stewart of scotland / and maid hir secund son robert erle of fyffe and menteith / and maid hir thrid son alex*ande*r lord of baidȝenoch / he maid als Dauid his eldest son quhilk wes gottin of his lauchfull wiffe eufamia erle of stratherne / and hir secund son walt*er* erle of atholl / quhais son walt*er* wes ane of the slayaris of king Iames the first for he pretendit ay grete ry*ch*t to the crown. (fol. 327)[74]

Here, Bellenden acquires new information that Walter's son was involved in the assassination of James I from some material and inserts it into his work. In the printed version, Bellenden further revises this part. In addition to revising the additional passage in the intermediary manuscripts, Bellenden changes the order of birth of David and Walter:

> [King Robert] maid John*n* his eldest son gottyn on Eliȝabethe Mure erle of Carrik. Hir secund son Robert erle of Menteith and Fiffe. Þe thrid son Alexander erle of Buchquhan, and lord of Badȝenocht, his eldest son Walter gottin on Eufame his wyfe was maid erle of Athole *and* lord of Brechin. His secund son Dauid erle of Strathern. Þis Walter was the slaar of James the first, for he pretendit ay gret richt to þe croun. (fol. 232)

Notably, Walter is the eldest son from Eufamia, and it is this Walter not his son who is claimed to have been involved in the assassination of James I here. That this alteration is an intentional one will be clear from the fact that Bellenden meticulously revises this order elsewhere.[75] Whether or not this alteration of order of birth is derived from the same source as the information about Walter's involvement in the assassination of James I, these two alterations seem to be closely related to each other; Bellenden attempts to explain that Walter was implicated in a plot of murdering the king because he was the next claimant to the crown after James I. This surmise is endorsed by the revision Bellenden makes in the actual scene of James I's assassination in Book 17. In MS M, Bellenden shows Walter's motive for the conspiracy against James I was to usurp the crown:

> This erle desyrand to conquess þe croun persuaditt afoir duke Robertt governo*ur* to slaye þe duke of Rosaye afoir rehersitt / And siklyke to slaye þe said king James his bruþ*er* quhen he was bott prince of scottland / howbeit he was be p*ro*vidence of god deliueritt fra his tira*n*ny

[74] MSS R and A have the same readings, except that MS R misses out 'alex*ande*r'. See fols 173^{v} and 308^{v} respectively.
[75] In the explanation of the priority of succession, for example, Walter comes earlier than David in the printed version: 'And in falt of his succession the croun to cum to Walter quhilk was gottyn on Eufame his first wife. And failȝeyng succession male of hym, þe croun to cum to Dauid erle of Strathern and his airis quhatsumeuir.' (fol. 232) See also Bellenden's short account of Walter and David in chapter 5 of Book 12, where Walter is mentioned first.

> Jn Jngland This erle of athoill belevitt / quhen duke robert had putt þame baith doun / to fynd ane new Ingyne / to haif distroyitt þe said duke robertt / and his successioun / Becaus duke Robertis so*n*nis war all distroyitt be þe battell of vernoll / and Justice of þe said king James / he persuaditt twa pert men / Robert stewartt his nepott / and Robertt grahame. (p. 583)

In the printed version, utilising the above shown revision he makes in Book 16, Bellenden presents Walter's motive in a clearer way:

> Walter Stewart erle of Athole, quhilk pretendit ay ane richt to the crown, be reason þat he was gottyn be king Robert þe secund on his first wyfe. This erle (as we schew afore in þe genology of stewardis) was the principal mouar of Robert duk of Albany to sla Dauid Steward duk of Rothesay. And efter the hame cumyng of James the first, he solistit the said kyng to slay duk Mordo with all othir duk Robertis lynnage. Traisting quhe*n* thir nobyll men war put down to fynd sum hyd way to slay the kyng and his barnis, that he mycht thairefter succede to the crown. And becaus all duke Robertis sonnis war deceissit, sum of thaym slane at the battal of Vernoll and otheris Justifyit be kyng James, he perswadit Robert Stewart his nepot and Robert grahame his cousyn to slay the kyng. (fol. 248)[76]

By showing Walter as the eldest son of Robert II by his first wife, Bellenden gives Walter a more convincing motive for his murder of James I. Note that Bellenden newly inserts the information that Walter urged James I to kill Duke Murdoch. It is highly likely that this information is derived from Bower. In the scene of James I's death, Bower states that Walter was the principal architect of the killing of Duke Murdoch as well as the Duke of Rothesay:

> It is said that this unlucky death for the king was brought about by his paternal uncle the earl of Atholl, a man grown old in a life of evil-doing, who is said to have had secret ambitions of attaining supreme office in the kingdom. On this account (as it afterwards came to be known) he was the author, instigator and principal adviser of the killing of the duke of Rothesay [the king's brother] as well as of Murdoch duke of Albany and his two sons [Walter and Alexander].[77]

What is remarkable here is the similarity between this statement of Bower and Bellenden's above examined account of Walter. As can be inferred from Bellenden's several confused accounts, there was much conflicting information concerning Walter's involvement in the conspiracy against James I. Even

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[76] Note that the passage 'as we schew afore in þe genology of stewardis' is newly inserted into the printed version by Bellenden. This is not found in the corresponding part in Boece. (fol. 366^{v}) Bellenden refers to the accounts of the Stewart family narrated in Book 16 by 'þe genology of stewardis'. This is noticeable as this may suggest the possiblity that Bellenden was aware of the now lost genealogical history, 'The Stewartis Orygenale' composed by John Barbour. For a detailed discussion, see above Chapter 3, p. 78, footnote 55.

[77] *Scotichronicon*, VIII, 300-01

when Walter was seen as a party to the conspiracy, there were divisions of opinion on how actively, or inversely how indirectly, he was involved in it. M. H. Brown argues, for example, that Bower's treatment of Walter is constrastive to that in *The Fulle Lamentable Cronicle of the Dethe and False Murdure of James Stewarde, Last Kynge of Scotis*, which was written by an Englishman, John Shirley, in the 1440s. In Bower, 'the entire responsibility for the events at the Perth Blackfriars' is placed on Walter, and the murder of James I was described as 'merely the final act in Atholl's long quest' for the crown.[78] On the other hand, in *The Fulle Lamentable Cronicle*, Walter is described as an innocent victim whose role in the plot was 'limited to passive complicity'.[79] The close correspondence between Bellenden's account of Walter in the printed version and that of Bower suggests that Bellenden deliberately chooses to follow Bower's account. Probably, Bower's view that a series of deaths in the royal family were connected to each other through Walter inspired Bellenden. Accordingly, Bellenden makes Walter the first son of Robert II, and thus the next claimant of the crown, reinforcing the account of the series of evil doings of Walter. Bellenden succeeds in showing coherent cause and effect through the course of events in the history; through Walter, all the events from Robert II's marriage, through the imprisonment and starvation of David, to the assassination of James I, are now connected to each other in the printed version.

Needless to say, this does not match the historical truth; Walter was actually the second son of Robert II. Nor does it match any of descriptions that can be found in Boece or Bower. This does not mean that Bellenden forges history here. It rather seems that Bellenden found some material that suggested that Walter was the eldest son. The description of Robert II's marriage to Eufamia in Mair is suggestive here. Walter's name comes earlier than that of David, though Mair does not specify the order of birth: 'By her [Eufamia, a daughter of Earl of Ross] the king had two sons: the one, Walter earl of Athole — who afterward, when he was convicted of treason to James the First, was torn limb from limb — and David earl of Strathern.'[80] Note that Mair mentions Walter's assassination of James I. What can be surmised from this passage is that it is possible that there existed some material which suggested that

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[78] Brown, '"That Old Serpent and Ancient of Evil Days": Walter, Earl of Atholl and the Death of James I', *SHR*, 71 (1992), 23-45 (p. 23).
[79] Brown, 'Death of James I', p. 24.
[80] *A History of Greater Britain as Well England as Scotland*, pp. 311-12.

Walter was the eldest son. Equally possible is that this passage in Mair gave Bellenden a hint for his revision in the printed version. Whichever work this revision is derived from, Bellenden employs several sources together in order to make a unit of events which are interrelated to each other with more logical and coherent unity.

IMPERIAL IDEAS IN BOOK 16

Bellenden's employment of imperial ideas in Book 16 contrasts with those found in Book 1 and Book 12 in a striking way. As in these two books, Bellenden employs imperial terms more often in the printed version than in MS M. Intriguingly enough, however, in Book 16, Bellenden hardly employs the word 'empire' in connection with the Scottish nation or kings. It is rather connected with the English nation or kings. For instance, in the scene where King Henry subdues Rouen in 1419 in chapter 18, Bellenden employs the word 'empire' to signify the English realm in the printed version. This scene reads in MS M: 'JN þe menetyme king hary past in Normandye And oppressitt frencheme*n* w*ith* sindry batallis / subdewing Rowand to his dominion fforthir passand throw sindry boundis of france.' (p. 567) Here, the English realm is called king Henry's 'dominion'. On the other hand, Bellenden replaces 'dominion' with 'empire' in the printed version: 'Jn þe mene tyme kyng Hary past in Normandy, and opprest þe inhabitantis thairof with gret iniuris, and subdewit the town of Roan to his empire.' (fol. 242) Similarly, in chapter 14, Bellenden also employs the word 'empire' only in the printed version in the scene where the English army led by Henry Percy, after defeating the Scots led by Archibald, Earl of Douglas, invades Lothian and the Merse in 1403. MS M reads: 'hary persee proude of þis felicite come w*ith* his victorious army / throw merss and loutheane w*ith* purposs to subdew þe samyn to þe dominion of Jngland.' (p. 560) In the printed version, 'dominion' is replaced with 'empire': 'Hary haitspur proude of þis victory come with his victorius army throw Louthiane *and* Mers with purpos to subdew þe samyn to þe empire of Jngla*n*d.' (fol. 239)

Bellenden employs the word 'empire' when the English invades the enemy's territory, and he uses the word 'empire' to mean 'dominion'. As has been shown in Chapter 2, the word 'empire' had a sense of

'a compound of territories', following the Roman Empire which was composed of distinct provinces.[81] Moreover, as Anthony Pagden claims, as all empires began with conquest, 'the association of "empire", understood as extended territorial dominion, with military rule has lasted as long as imperialism itself'.[82] It is this sense of the word 'empire' Bellenden applies to the English kingdom. In the above two cases, when the English invade and subdue Rouen, Lothian and the Merse, England, which was originally composed of distinct states, extends its territorial dominion. Only in this sense, England can be described as an 'empire'.[83]

In contrast, the only case where an imperial term is employed in connection with the Scottish nation is the scene where Duke Murdoch deplores how his sons do not obey him in chapter 20.[84] Boece reads: 'Quam iniuriam filii pater indigne, vt aequum erat, ferens, Vvaltere inquit (nam id illi qui facinus patrabat nomen erat) quia mite atque laxum patris imperium sine iniuria ferre nequis, cogor alium nobis inducere qui nos virga ferrea, vt dicitur, posthac regat.' (fol. 358[v]) (The father, as was only reasonable, resented this injury from his son, and said: 'Walter (for that was the name of the man who executed the deed), because you do not tolerate your father's mild and lax empire without doing him injury, I am compelled to bring in another to rule over us hereafter with, as they say, a rod of iron.') Both in MS M and in the printed version, following 'mite atque laxum patris imperium' in Boece, Bellenden employs the word 'soft empire'. The printed version reads: 'O Walter sen thow and thy brothir will not be rewlit be my soft empire, J sall bring hym hame, that sal chaistifie ʒow and me baith.' (fol. 243[v])[85] Here, Bellenden employs 'empire' for the root sense of *imperium,* 'order' or 'command', and so it does not have any ideological connotations as found in the instances in Book 1 and Book 12.

The reason why Bellenden does not employ imperial terms for the Scottish nation other than on

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81 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 33. See also above Chapter 2, pp. 53-54.
82 Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 14-15.
83 There is still another instance where Bellenden employs the word 'empire' for this sense. It can be found in chapter 19 where the English army subdues Normandy and Gascony. The word 'dominion' in MS M (p. 569) is replaced with 'empire' in the printed version (fol. 243). MS A still retains 'dominion' (fol. 323). The leaf containing the corresponding part in MS C is lost.
84 Bellenden once employs the word 'empire' in the scene of the conflict between two clans of Clan Kay and Clan Chattan. In this case, 'dominacioun' in MSS M (p. 554), C (fol. 334) and A (fol. 315) is altered to 'empire' in the printed version (fol. 236[v]).
85 For the corresponding parts in MSS M, C and A, see p. 571, fol. 342 and fol. 324 respectively.

this occasion may be related to the fact that, in Book 16, in most cases when the Scots fight against the external enemy, they are not led by the king but by nobles such as James Douglas. As we have seen above, imperial terms are frequently employed by Bellenden in order to show the independence of the Scottish kings from external powers as well as internal competitors. In this book where kings do not serve as leaders in defence of the country, however, it is hardly possible for Bellenden to employ imperial terms. Moreover, in the latter half of his book, Scotland literally loses kings. After the death of Robert III, Scotland is governed by Duke Robert and Duke Murdoch. That Bellenden never uses imperial terms with ideological connotations for these governors or leaders of the Scottish army may reveal Bellenden's distinct differentiation of these non-royal leaders from the kings. Scotland is an empire, which is ruled over, as well as symbolised, only by the Scottish kings.

CONCLUSION

Throughout his translation and revision activity, Bellenden gives a high regard to the humanistic value of his work; influenced by humanistic precepts on translation as well as historiography, he emphasises the copiousness, trustworthiness and persuasiveness of his text. In order to provide readers with an accurate and truthful history, he seeks to return *ad fontes* and compares accounts found in multiple sources with that of Boece. Despite his overall attentiveness towards Boece, the greater availability of information concerning the historical narrative in Book 16 frequently causes Bellenden to depart from Boece on a greater scale than in the preceding books. Bellenden substitutes Boece's accounts with 'more reliable' ones, and inserts significant amounts of material into the later versions. Furthermore, the instructional quality of his work weighs more than its accuracy. Bellenden believes that history has to consist of a coherent narrative unit with causal connections employed to provide useful moral or political lessons and models for readers. He reorganises the overall structure of Book 16, and transforms the narrative according to this policy.[86] In Book 16, that is, Bellenden is not only attentive towards the way he presents the historical

[86] Thomas Rutledge compares Gavin Douglas's translation practice in his *Aeneid* with that of Bellenden, and argues that there is a fundamental difference in their appropriation of their humanistic way of writing; while Douglas 'rather privileges the religious than the political implications of Virgil's narrative', Bellenden 'insistently puts his material to political and advisory purposes'. Rutledge, 'Gavin Douglas and John Bellenden: Poetic Relations and Political Affiliations', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour*

narrative given by Boece, but he is selective about the historical events he narrates. Therefore, the fact that no imperial term is employed in relation to the Scots kings in this book must have been a deliberate choice by Bellenden. The absence of the ideological employment of imperial ideas in this book indicates Bellenden's notion that the only unifying authority of the Scottish nation is the Scots king, who defends the 'commonweal' from external enemies and who also 'daunts' the troubled places within the nation. James I's return to Scotland in Book 17 is anticipated.

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to Drummond, 1375-1630, ed. by Nicola Royan, Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 93-116 (p. 112).

CHAPTER 5: THE *CHRONICLES OF SCOTLAND* AND ITS READERS

There is one place in the *Chronicles* where Bellenden mentions his intended readership. In chapter 10 of Book 6 he narrates how Arius, an Alexandrian priest, was excommunicated as a heretic because of his denial of the divinity of Christ.[1] Then he declares that he will not continue with this any more because he: 'devise[s] this my Translacioun mair for Lawit men / þan ony Curious Clerkis / be quhom all heresyis begynnys.' (p. 163)[2] Bellenden deliberately evades such a controversial topic as heresy. The statement that all heresy begins with 'Curious Clerkis', and that his work is meant for 'Lawit men' might reflect the contemporary clerical association of the vernacular with heresy. From the early fifteenth century onwards Church authorities intensified their notion that the vernacular was dangerous as it was apt to lead lay readers to trespass onto territory 'traditionally occupied by the clerics'.[3] They associated any notion that 'celebrated the transference of learning' from Latin to the vernacular with Wycliffite heresy.[4] Bellenden was aware of the potential clerical suspicion about his vernacular translation and sought to obviate unnecessary trouble.

This statement, however, deserves a further investigation as Bellenden revises it in several stages. The corresponding passages in the intermediary manuscripts are almost identical with that in MS M except that the word 'sobir' (humble, little) is added in them: 'I devise this my sobir translatioun more for laude men than ony curyus clerkis / be quhom all heresyis begynis.' (MS C, fol. 115)[5] Again, Bellenden makes it clear that his 'sobir' translation does not include anything provocative or seditious. However, at the same time, the word 'devise' (contrive) gives the *Chronicles* an impression of a degree of substantiality. The word 'devise' had 'strong associations of graphic visualisation' in the Middle Ages, and it meant to

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[1] Arius was born in Libya *c.* 250. He claimed that Christ was a 'created being, to whom the Father before all time gave an existence formed out of "not being"', and thus Christ is not the same substance with the Father. See *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. by Michael Walsh (London: Continuum, 2001), p. 91.

[2] That Bellenden calls the *Chronicles* 'this my translation' is also noteworthy, as it reveals Bellenden's sense of himself as an author. This point is discussed above in Chapter 1, p. 30, footnote 28.

[3] Alastair Minnis, 'Absent Glosses: A Crisis of Vernacular Commentary in Late-Medieval England?', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20 (2003), 1-17 (p. 7). See also Ralph Hanna, and others, 'Latin Commentary Tradition and Vernacular Literature', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989-), II: *The Middle Ages*, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (2005), pp. 363-421 (pp. 392-400).

[4] Minnis, p. 12.

[5] See also MS A, fol. 119v.

'describe anything minutely'.[6] Thus, Bellenden's statements in these manuscript versions mean that he contrived the *Chronicles* with emphasis on the *enargeia* or *copia* of his text; it is well designed and is equipped with the deeper sense which readers are supposed to draw out.[7] In the printed version, however, this statement is further revised with a more intensified indication of simpleness: 'I haue maid th*is* tra*n*slatio*n* mair for pleseir of lawit me*n* tha*n* ony vane curius clerk*is*, be quhom all heresyis begynnis.' (fol. 73)[8] The word 'devise' is replaced with 'maid', and 'pleseir' and 'vane' are newly added. In so doing, Bellenden gives the *Chronicles* a less substantial and simpler impression; the *Chronicles*, Bellenden claims, is 'maid' for 'pleseir' of lay readers, and has no political, social or religious messages to be detected or interpreted by the readers.

Bellenden's deliberate and intensified claim in the printed version that the *Chronicles* is simple and plain seems to be due to his notion that the printed edition will reach a much wider circulation than the manuscript versions. Unlike the manuscript copies which circulate among a limited and specific type of audience, it is impossible to control the circulation of the printed version. It can reach a variety of readers in terms of age, sex, class, wealth, religion and intelligence. It was no longer possible for an author to guide readers to safe interpretations by providing a prescriptive reading. This loss of control over the circulation of book among a variety of readers was 'menacing' for authors.[9] These readers make multiple interpretations of a work, and many of them might be 'antithetical to the author's "true meaning"'.[10] Thus, Bellenden's statement in the printed version that the *Chronicles* was a simple and plain work made for the pleasure of the lay readers can be regarded as a precautionary measure against anticipated problems.

Furthermore, the combination of two added words, 'pleseir' and 'vane', in the printed version brings to mind the medieval, and early modern, notion that every literary work can be either delightful or

[6] David Burnley, *A Guide to Chaucer's Language* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 162, 167 and 240.
[7] For a detailed description of Bellenden's emphasis on the *copia* of his text, see above Chapter 1. A visual quality, or *enargeia*, is one of the most important components of the *copia*.
[8] Thomas Davidson, the printer, gives the passage emphasis by putting manicules (pointing fingers) before and after the passage. This has significance because it suggests that Bellenden's viewpoint was, more or less, shared by the printer. Obviously Davidson could anticipate such a degree of lay readership as would sustain his business. This point will further be discussed below. For a detailed account of the use of manicules in early modern age, see below, p. 151.
[9] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 70.
[10] Brayman Hackel, p. 79.

profitable or both, derived from Horace's remarks concerning the function of poetry in his *Ars poetica*. Glending Olson claims that all literary works in this period could be divided into three categories: delightful literature only for pleasure, profitable literature for edification, and a combination of these two, delightful and profitable literature.[11] For instance, Bernardus Silvestris wrote: 'Some poets (such as the satirists) write for instruction; some (such as the comic playwrights) write for delight; and some (such as the historians) write for both.'[12] Note that historians are categorised in the third classification: those who write for both instruction and delight. The content of history provides readers with important knowledge concerning the past, and its rhetorical style gives them pleasure. Moreover, the profit of acquiring new information can be pleasurable, too. Antonia Gransden suggests:

> [P]erhaps the most important purpose was to provide the reader with news — to satisfy his curiosity about current affairs. The reader might find the information useful, and he would certainly find it interesting and enjoyable. Nor should it be forgotten that the desire to entertain was itself often in the mind of the historian.[13]

As a humanist translator of Scottish history, Bellenden must have realised that his work was also expected to aim at this.[14] Nevertheless, in the printed version, Bellenden puts more emphasis on the pleasurable quality of the *Chronicles*.[15] This must also have been prompted by the anticipation that the printed version would have a wider range of readership, including not only nobles and clerics but also burgesses. Unlike the religious, the professionals or the university men, who owned books for practical purposes, the burgesses did not have any particular need to purchase books to conduct their affairs. Nonetheless, as

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[11] Olson shows that this notion was also shared by early humanists. See Olson, *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 205-32. He states that in the Middle Ages literature for pleasure rather than profit was 'acknowledged, if not venerated': 'Some classical compositions were thought by at least some critics to be for enjoyment rather than edification, and it would follow that medieval works might make the same appeal.' (p. 31)

[12] *Commentary on the First Six Books of Virgil's 'Aeneid' by Bernardus Silvestris*, trans. by Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 4.

[13] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, 1982), II: *C. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, p. 459.

[14] His foremost respect for the *copia*, a copious combination of *verba* and *res*, of his text supports this surmise. Moreover, as we have examined above in Chapter 4, Bellenden emphasises the instructional quality of his work. See Chapter 4, pp. 108-14.

[15] Significantly, as 'delight itself could be considered useful', literary works for pleasure were more often than not admitted to have profit as well. See Glending Olson, 'The Profits of Pleasure', in Minnis and Johnson, pp. 275-87 (p. 285). Many venacular writers found a positive value in delightfulness, and thus they were not 'reluctant to embrace *delectatio*' in their works. Kevin Brownlee and others, 'Vernacular Literary Consciousness *c.* 1100-*c.* 1500: French, German and English Evidence', in Minnis and Johnson, pp. 422-71 (p. 438).

Margaret Lane Ford states, they 'certainly had the means to acquire books, and they did'.[16] Book ownership was 'an attribute of high social status', and the burgesses, who had the means to purchase books as well as the leisure to enjoy them, became one of the major components of the book owners in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.[17] They purchased books as 'devotional aids and works of edification as well as entertainment', and most of these books were, not surprisingly, in the vernacular.[18] Thus the books owned by the burgesses were different from those owned by the religious or scholars, in both subject matter and language. The books owned by the religious or scholars were often in Latin, and Latin books were extensively supplied from the continent. Ford states that the initial demand for the vernacular works printed by Caxton was 'among the gentry-merchant class, a class whose book interests were not being met by the Latin trade'.[19] By focussing on producing English books, which could not be obtained elsewhere, Caxton enjoyed the sizeable demand from the newly increasing constituency of lay readers. Judging from the fact that Davidson gives emphasis to Bellenden's statement that the *Chronicles* is meant for the 'pleseir of lawit me*n*', what was in Davidson's mind was something not unlike this strategy by his English predecessor. This can be endorsed by the fact that he employed black-letter type not roman type for the text of the *Chronicles*.[20] In the *Scotorum Historia*, Badius Ascensius employed roman type, which was 'based on humanistic script', and hence a 'humanist standard' appropriate for Latin texts.[21] On the other hand, despite the fact that Bellenden also emphasises the humanistic characteristics of the *Chronicles*, Davidson employs black-letter type.[22] The black letter was regarded as 'the easiest "print

[16] Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-), III: *1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (1999), pp. 205-28 (p. 205).
[17] Ford, 'Private Ownership', p. 218.
[18] Ford, 'Private Ownership', p. 218.
[19] Ford, 'Private Ownership', p. 227.
[20] In fact, Davidson was 'the first printer in Scotland to own Roman and Italic types', and he used roman type only for the chapter synopses in the *Chronicles*. See Paul B. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland with an Introductory Survey of the Scottish Book Trade' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), pp. 70-72 (p. 71).
[21] Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: The Scolar Press, 1992), p. 54, and David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 156.
[22] E. P. Goldshmidt claims: 'The founts of type with which a printer furnished his press were naturally determined by the kind of book he intended to print, and that again largely depended on the circle of customers he had in mind.' See Goldshmidt, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance: Three Lectures on Type, Illustration, Ornament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 4.

hand" to read', and in early modern England black letter was the type employed for texts in English for a 'popular market', such as 'primers, ballads, and other cheap print'.[23] Both Bellenden and Davidson expected, therefore, for the printed version, readers whose purpose in reading was more focussed on entertainment rather than on practical use.

How accurate, then, was Bellenden's prediction? It is difficult to answer this question with such a scarcity of information about how many manuscript and printed copies were made, and who owned each copy. Nevertheless, it is possible to sketch, though roughly, an overall picture of the actual readership of the *Chronicles* by examining the evidence of ownership found in the extant copies. There are 11 manuscripts, 5 of which were made in the sixteenth century. In addition, as many as 34 copies of the printed version are known to exist.[24] Most of the copies include, to one degree or another, some inscriptions, which may enable us to speculate on or even demonstrate their ownership. The examination of the information concerning the actual ownership of the *Chronicles*, although it is patchy, will help us to judge whether or not the *Chronicles* was enjoyed by the audience Bellenden originally targeted.[25] Before investigating the actual ownerships of the *Chronicles*, however, the general background to book ownership in sixteenth-century Scotland will be reviewd.

LITERACY AND BOOK OWNERSHIP IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

It was roughly in the century after 1460 when 'the laicisation of Scottish culture' occurred in Scotland. Roger Mason describes the process of this: '[T]he clerical monoply of the higher reaches of learning was

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[23] Brayman Hackel, p. 60, and Parkes, p. 54. Carlson claims that roman type was not used in England until 1509. (pp. 123 and 156) It should be noted that when Gavin Douglas's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* was published for the first time in London in 1553 by William Copland, the text was set in black-letter not in roman type.

[24] See Appendix II. Unfortunately, out of the twenty five printed copies whose existence was once mentioned by Sheppard, four of them (P-35, P-36, P-37 and P-38) seem to have been lost. The numbers in the parentheses correspond to those in Appendix II. The copy numbered P26 was sold at an online auction by PBA Galleries, San Francisco, on 28 May 2009 (lot 428). Its whereabouts is not known. I am grateful to Mr Gregory Jung of PBA Galleries for providing me with bibliographical information about this copy.

[25] For the nature of the purpose of this chapter, my research will be limited to the sixteenth- and seventeenth- century owners of the *Chronicles*. The MSS made in the seventeenth century are not examined here. They are generally either transcribed from earlier manuscript versions, the printed edition or related to continuations from Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie.

gradually eroded and finally broken by the spread of literacy and education among the lay elite.'[26] This is, to some extent, attributable to the increasing awareness among the humanists and churchmen of the necessity for the education of the lay elite. Humanists provided practical educational programmes which sought to train and equip the gentry or lairds to serve 'their prince, their kingdom and their commonwealth'.[27] Various forms of education were available in this period; church schools, whose master was normally a secular chaplain or a parish clerk, were open to 'all who could afford the fees';[28] private education in the internal schools or religious houses was also available, and its curriculum was 'not confined to theology'; even hospitals could have been a learning place when scholars were lodged there.[29] As many as 600 schools are known to have existed from the evidence found in manuscript registers in this period.[30] As a result, by the late sixteenth century, the gentry class were 'all literate' and there were considerable amount of 'educated men of the "middling sort"' in Scotland.[31]

The wide spread of education among the lay elite, however, seems to have been induced mainly by their own desire to learn. James Grant claims that 'a thirst for letters' was found in the principal burghs before the Reformation.[32] In Perth, for example, a distinguished teacher was sometimes in charge of 'as many as three hundred scholars', among whom were 'sons of the nobility, gentry, yeomen, and burgesses'.[33] Of the 600 schools examined by Durkan, a fifth were unofficial 'rural "adventure" schools',

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[26] Roger A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), p. 106. For an account of spread of literacy and education in Britain in general, see Pamela Selwyn and David Selwyn, '"The Profession of a Gentleman": Books for the Gentry and the Nobility (c. 1560 to 1640)', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols, ed. by Peter Hoare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I: *To 1640*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, pp. 489-519 (pp. 490-99).

[27] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 107.

[28] See John Durkan, 'Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by John MacQueen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 123-60 (p. 123). According to Durkan, education was, in theory, free: '[F]ees charged were not for education as such, at least where the school was endowed.' Durkan, 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. by David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), pp. 145-68 (p. 158). The number of endowed schools was, however, 'few'. (Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 123)

[29] Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 123.

[30] Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 129.

[31] R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 85, and Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 106.

[32] James Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland*, 2 vols (London: William Collins and Sons, 1876), I: *Burgh Schools*, p. 27.

[33] Grant, p. 27.

which were found at 'busy crossroads' or 'gathering places', and often were under '"baronial" patronage'.[34] Durkan speculates that in some households of lairds, the children of the lairds, and perhaps those who served them as well, were educated by household chaplains.[35] It is also highly likely that these private educational facilities were shared with neighbourhood villagers. Durkan states:

> And since [. . .] in many parishes villages lay at some distance from church and thus the laird's chapel was made available to villagers, the same must occasionally have been true of his educational facilities, at least for the offspring of favoured tenants, and where the laird's patronage extended to several chaplains in a collegiate foundation this probability is increased.[36]

What prompted the lay landed elite to learn, or to let their children learn, was the necessity of education for them to equip themselves with adequate legal knowledge to protect and develop their lands. As Mason suggests, after the mid-fifteenth century, when the great regional magnates exercised less control over the localities than before, there was 'intense local feuding' among the lesser landowning families, who 'jockeyed for power and influence'.[37] Thus, in order to defend their right from 'fellow landowners in the localities as well as from an increasingly intrusive monarchy', the landed elite had to acquire sufficient knowledge of the arts and the law.[38] For the burgesses who depended on trade, such as merchants and craftsmen, literacy and numeracy was a requisite for their business. They had to 'understand contracts and to maintain account books', and so it was necessary for the craftsmen and tradesmen to receive a suitable education.[39] In consequence, the tradesmen and craftsmen were generally much more literate than the agricultural population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[40]

This gap in literacy between different occupations brought about a significant gap in literacy between urban and rural areas in seventeenth-century Scotland.[41] R. A. Houston's survey of levels of

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[34] Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 129.
[35] Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 124.
[36] Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 124.
[37] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 113.
[38] Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*, p. 114.
[39] Shona Vance, 'Schooling the People', in *Aberdeen before 1800: A New History*, ed. by E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn and Michael Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002), pp. 309-26 (p. 312).
[40] Houston, p. 102. See also the table of occupational illiteracy on p. 41. Houston states that levels of literacy in Scotland were 'remarkably constant between the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the mid seventeenth century'. The level of illiteracy of craft and trade deponents who appeared before the Justiciary Court between 1575 and 1660 is 48 %, while it is 50 % for 1661-1680 and 47 % in the 1650s. (pp. 84-85)
[41] Houston, p. 104. Significantly, Houston claims that 'increased provision of education' is not necessarily

illiteracy reveals that illiteracy in urban areas such as Inveresk, Ayr, St Andrews and Edinburgh was 'more than 30 % lower than average rural levels'.[42] Houston ascribes this to 'the concentration of literate occupations in the towns'.[43] In general, towns possessed 'appreciable commercial development and occupational diversification'. They had a high proportion of inhabitants who were engaged in 'the secondary and tertiary sectors': lairds, professionals and craftsmen and tradesmen, many of whom were rich and well-educated.[44] In contrast, in rural areas, where the inhabitants were mainly composed of farmers and labourers, the level of literacy was considerably lower.[45] In short, there was a conspicuous degree of regional difference in literacy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland.

Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the burghs that played a major role in book commerce and book trade in early modern Scotland. Alastair J. Mann claims that Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow were 'the three main "book burghs"', and describes how these burghs were involved in book trade: 'Directly, through acting as employer, censor, licensor, patron and publisher, and indirectly, as a "sustainer" of schools and libraries, the councillors and magistrates of these burghs regulated and encouraged book commerce and book ownership.'[46] In these burghs, the councils took more and more initiatives over schools, and, by the sixteenth century, 'most control had been won over by the burghs'.[47] In Aberdeen, for example, the secular authorities of the burgh were 'taking an increasingly proprietorial attitude towards schooling'.[48] As they supplanted the chancellor of the diocese as an appointer of masters of grammar schools, the schools became primarily meant for the burgesses.[49] In Edinburgh a new grammer school curriculum was made by the council in 1598, whereas in Glasgow only '"four Inglisch scooles an ane writing scool" were allowed in the burgh' by magistrates in 1639.[50] Furthermore, from 1560 onwards,

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linked with 'enhanced literacy levels'. (p. 102)

[42] Houston, p. 102. See also the table provided on p. 91.

[43] Houston, p. 102.

[44] Houston, p. 104.

[45] Durkan claims: 'In the nature of things education is an urban thing, and Latin was a less useful instrument of communication away from the centres of trade and ecclesiastical organisation.' See Durkan, 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', p. 151.

[46] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), pp. 7 and 31.

[47] Durkan, 'Education in the Century of Reformation', p. 154.

[48] Vance, p. 311.

[49] Vance, p. 311. See, for example, below p. 170.

[50] Mann, p. 31. This tendency was, of course, not unique to these three burghs. It was widely found in other burghs such as Perth. See Grant, pp. 30, 94-95.

burgh magistrates began to assume the initiative for 'the employment and sponsorship of printers'.[51] For example, in Edinburgh, such printers as Henry Charteris, Andrew Hart and Robert Bryson were employed by the town council on 'college and town business without being holders of the royal patent'.[52] The burgh councils were even prepared to provide help to destitute booksellers or book makers, as there were no guilds for book traders to protect their welfare.[53] According to Mann, for instance, after the death of the printer and bookseller Thomas Bassandyne [Bassindene] in 1577, Edinburgh council agreed 'to waive the rent' of Bassindene who held property at the Netherbow in order to assist Bassindene's widow and partner.[54] The burgh authorities also behaved as 'publishers' and 'patrons'.[55] They sponsored printers by way of bearing costs of publications of books concerning official business such as 'the laws of the kingdom' and 'the Scots law bible'.[56] Similarly, although it was not common until around the Restoration, printers dedicated a work to the appropriate burgh council and the council made payments for it.[57] Cumulatively, these burghs were characteristically 'bookish', and, even at personal levels, there was frequent lending and borrowing of books or presentation of books among the burgesses.[58]

Notably, these personal networks were one of the most significant influential factors on book circulation in Scotland. According to Ford, even before the printing press was introduced in Scotland, the Scottish book trade was heavily dependent on personal networks. Evidence of imported printed books with Scottish ownership suggest that there was 'little bulk importation of books by merchants'.[59] Most books were rather purchased individually on the Continent either through their personal visits or through their agency. It is well known that Henry Sinclair acquired numerous books from the Continent. According to T. A. F. Cherry, Sinclair had contact with many European places 'to furnish his bookshelves',

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[51] Mann, p. 9.
[52] Mann, p. 8.
[53] Mann, p. 32.
[54] Mann, p. 8.
[55] Mann, p. 27.
[56] Mann, p. 27.
[57] Mann, p. 29.
[58] Mann, p. 30. John Higgitt suggests that people often borrowed books from institutional libraries: 'The Glasgow cathedral inventory of 1433 noted that nine of the cathedral's books were out on extended loan', and there is a list of books 'borrowed in the mid 1550s from the library of King's College in Aberdeen'. Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries*, introd. by John Durkan, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 12 (London: The British Library, 2006), p. lv.
[59] Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in Hellinga and Trapp, pp. 179-201 (pp. 200-01).

and many books were purchased by Sinclair himself during his travels:

> Clearly Sinclair not only enjoyed regular contact with France while still Dean of Glasgow, but also drew upon a wide European area to furnish his bookshelves – Basle, Rome, Venice, Florence, Cologne, Nuremberg and Tubingen – in all representing a total of forty printers and publishers of the first half of the 16th century. It follows that Sinclair himself or someone in his service was well informed on what was available abroad; no doubt he acquired much of his knowledge and some of his treasures during his travels.[60]

In a similar way, even if not on the same scale, many books were acquired by individuals on their trips abroad. Ford further suggests that for those who could not afford it, such as university students, books 'would have had to be supplied by means other than personal visits to the Continent'.[61] As Ford summarises, what permeates in these book acquisitions is personal networks among the Scots: 'What the patterns of importation tell us is that Scots were well aware of what was available in print on the Continent and had the means to be supplied with it, whether through the extensive Scots networks abroad or through a book-trade at home.'[62]

The extensive personal networks remained a major factor in the book trade even after domestic printing was introduced into Scotland in 1508. It is true that personal networks influenced book ownership to a certain extent in the other parts of Europe. Nevertheless, as Ford claims, in Scotland, personal association 'does seem to account for a greater proportion of books with Scottish ownership' than in any other country including England.[63] There was, first of all, a link between author and owner. Authors often gave their work as a gift to someone who was closely associated with them. Or, inversely, it also probably happened that those people who knew the author in person purchased his work. For example, Hector Boece presented the *Scotorum Historia* to Alexander Stevenson, a rector of Forvie, and some of his friends are known to have owned Boece's works.[64] As might be expected, there were also links between individual book owners. That Giovanni Ferreri, an Italian humanist and continuator of Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, gave his books to his associates is well known. Ferreri came to Scotland in 1528.

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[60] T. A. F. Cherry, 'The Library of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, 1560-1565', *Bibliotheck*, 4 (1963), 13-24 (p. 15).

[61] Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books', p. 200. Watry claims: 'Scottish students, studying on the Continent, regularly supplied printed books to individual book collectors residing in Scotland.' (p. 9)

[62] Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books', p. 201.

[63] Ford, 'Private Ownership', p. 225.

[64] Ford, 'Private Ownership', p. 224, and John Durkan and Julian Russell, 'Additions to J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, at the National Library of Scotland', *Bibliotheck*, 11 (1982), 29-37 (p. 36).

After spending three years at the Scottish court, he went to Kinloss in 1531.[65] In Kinloss, Ferreri met Thomas Chrystall of the Cistercian abbey, for whom Ferreri 'had the liveliest admiration'.[66] The old abbot Thomas had a practice of sending 'young monks to study theology under Fr. John Adamson', and Ferreri himself enjoyed 'cordial' relations with Aberdeen University.[67] He associated with William Hay, Alexander Galloway, Robert Gray, John Vaus, and above all, Hector Boece, whom he met in Elgin and admired strongly.[68] Ferreri is known to have given some books to Alexander Hepburn, a school teacher in Elgin and later in Dunkeld.[69] They associated with each other while Hepburn was in Elgin. Ferreri also gave a copy of Pico Della Mirandola's *De animae immortalitate* (Paris, 1541) to Henry Sinclair whom he corresponded with.[70] Sinclair gave his copy of the *Chronicles* to Ferreri.[71] Indeed, numerous personal links between individual Scots bookowners can be demonstrated from *Early Scottish Libraries.*

THE *CHRONICLES* AND THEIR OWNERS

The early ownership of the *Chronicles* that emerges from an examination of the evidence found in the extant copies reviewed here is consistent with this review of contemporary book ownership. The *Chronicles* was owned by readers of various social standings; from the king and the nobility to the gentry and burgesses including merchants. Obviously, there was a concentration of owners in major burghs, and thus, personal, social and even political associations between individual owners can be anticipated. At the same time, however, we have several pieces of evidence that the *Chronicles* was geographically widely circulated. Some copies did certainly reach a readership beyond the Border at an early stage of their circulation. Most of the extant copies of the *Chronicles* include early inscriptions, which demonstrate that a variety of readers read the *Chronicles*, and they took various approaches to their copies.[72] Some regarded their copies

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[65] Durkan, 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR*, 4 (1953), 5-24 (pp. 14-17).
[66] Durkan, 'Humanism in Scotland', p. 15.
[67] Durkan, 'Humanism in Scotland', p. 15.
[68] Durkan, 'Humanism in Scotland', p. 15.
[69] See Durkan, 'Fresh Foundations', p. 134, and John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: John S. Burns and Sons, 1961), pp. 96 and 116.
[70] *Early Scottish Libraries*, p. 97. See also Durkan, 'Humanism in Scotland', p. 16.
[71] *Early Scottish Libraries*, pp. 54 and 97, and Sheppard, p. 191. Ford, reflecting Cherry's statement, claims that Ferreri presented the copy to Sinclair, but the reverse was the case. See 'Private Ownership', p. 224, and Cherry, p. 14.
[72] There are two copies that have no inscriptions. The printed copy in Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepysian lib. 2071 (P-10), which was formerly owned by Samuel Pepys, has no inscriptions at all. The

as valuable objects, and inscribed their names, sometimes repeatedly, in the copies to protect their ownership.[73] In contrast, some readers regarded their copies as an 'archive', or 'a site of information', where personal or domestic affairs are recorded and stored.[74] They employed their copies, although they admitted the physical value of them, as 'available paper';[75] they noted down recipes, household affairs, devotional phrases, their mottos or poetical excerpts in margins or blank pages. Many readers, however, read the *Chronicles* in order to learn past events, satisfy their interests, or acquire particular information or useful lessons about the ways of the world. These readers customised their copies according to their purposes by putting summaries of text, or marking up the passages of importance or interest to them with manicules (pointing fingers), underlinings or other marks or symbols or even making indexes.[76] There were even several readers who drew pictures, which are in many cases related to the text. These personal approaches indicate that each reader attempted to acquire something useful and profitable from the *Chronicles*, and this is most revealingly shown by the variety of manicules employed in many copies. In early modern age, reading was closely associated with the hand, and readers were aware of the 'symbolic and instrumental power of the hand'.[77] The manicule, which is at once 'icon, index, and symbol', was essentially different from the other signs of similar use, and was 'the most personal symbol a reader could develop and deploy'.[78] Thus, manicules left by annotators reveal not only their personal engagement with particular passages but also their attempt to take the text '*in hand*' and fit it to their purposes '*at hand*'.[79]

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printed copy in Drummond Castle, I.6-7 (P-22), has no inscriptions apart from a few pen trials found on fols 203, 211, 243 and 246. Considering that there must have been some '"invisible readers", those able to read but not write', it is rather surprising that almost all the extant copies of the *Chronicles* bear inscriptions. (Brayman Hackel, p. 141) In comparison, according to Brayman Hackel, out of 151 extant copies of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, seventy per cent of them bear legible contemporary marks. (pp. 158-59)

73 Brayman Hackel calls this category of mark left by readers 'Marks of ownership'. See Brayman Hackel, p. 138.

74 William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 59. This category of mark is called 'Marks of recording' by Brayman Hackel. (p. 138)

75 Brayman Hackel, p. 138.

76 Brayman Hackel calls this category of mark 'Marks of active reading' (p. 138). Until recently, the pointing finger, or pointing hand, which was frequently employed to emphasise noteworthy passages, had no fixed single name. Sherman suggested that 'manicule', which derives from 'the Latin *maniculum*, simply meaning "a little hand"', is the most appropriate nomenclature for it. See Sherman, pp. 25-52 (p. 34). Following Sherman, the pointing hand is called 'manicule' here.

77 Sherman, pp. 47-50 (p. 48), and Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, eds, *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 14-15.

78 Sherman, p. 51.

79 Sherman, p. 47.

Indeed, many readers seem to have approached the history narrated in the *Chronicles* as a 'usable past', which they could reinterpret and use, or even abuse, for their own purposes.[80] In early modern Scotland, it was history not natural law or political theology that was 'the very back bone of political argument' or the basis on which to build their religious identity.[81] The Scots transformed their 'flexible' and 'multi-faceted' historiographical material in order to support their political or religious ideas.[82] Readers of the *Chronicles* were no exception; their annotations demonstrate that they read the *Chronicles* in order to acquire useful and 'usable' past information.

I. Presentation Copies

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 527, that is MS M (M-1), was dedicated by Bellenden to James V, and it was passed to Mary, Queen of Scots, and then James VI.[83] Then the copy came into the possession of John Maitland (1594-1645), the first Earl of Lauderdale, a privy councillor. It has been suggested that James VI gifted the copy to John Maitland.[84] Indeed, the catalogue of James VI's library made by Peter Young, British Library, MS Add. 34275, records that James VI gifted books to people around him on many occasions. However, the name of the first Earl of Lauderdale is not mentioned in

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80 The early modern Scots and their use of history as 'usable past' is discussed by Roger Mason in his 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland', *SHR*, 76 (1997), 54-68, reprinted in his *Kingship and the Commonweal*, pp. 165-86. Mason argues that John Knox used biblical history in order to shape 'the Scot's new Protestant identity', whereas George Buchanan used Scottish history, especially that of Boece, in order to prove that the Scots had always been Protestant and Presbyterian. (pp. 67-68)

81 Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 12-29 (p. 27), and Mason, 'Usable Pasts', p. 68.

82 Kidd, pp. 25 and 27. Historiographical material was even shared by ideological opponents. For example, Buchanan deployed the story of the foundation of Scottish monarchy by Fergus to demonstrate 'a theory of monarchy and the rights of subjects to resist tyranny' in his *De Iure Regni Apud Scotos, Dialogus* (1579). In contrast, James VI, in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598), used the same story as 'the prescriptive fount of absolute monarchy in Scotland'. See Kidd, pp. 19-27.

83 In the catalogue of James VI's library made by Peter Young, there is an entry for 'The Scottis Chronicle, wrettin with hand'. See 'The Library of James VI, 1573-1583: From a Manuscript in the Hands of Peter Young, his Tutor', ed. by George F. Warner, in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society: Volume I*, SHS, 15 (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press for the SHS, 1893), pp. i-lxxv (pp. xxxiv and lix). It has been suggested that this entry is likely to refer to MS M. Higgitt, pp. 102-03, 195 and 205. Sheppard argues that the fact that the coat of arms on p. xxv of MS M is that of Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin suggests that the arms were 'repainted in honour of Mary's marriage in 1558'. Nevertheless, the copy is not found in the lists of Queen Mary's library, and Sheppard cannot give any explanation for this. See Sheppard, pp. 108-10. Higgitt clarifies the problem by showing that the copy was borrowed by Regent Morton from Mary's library. It was later returned by him to James VI. See pp. 186-88.

84 Sheppard, p. 108.

the catalogue, and so it is not certain that James VI gifted MS M to the Earl of Lauderdale. Considering the fact that the books in the royal library were frequently borrowed out, and that a significant number of them were never returned, it seems also probable that the Earl of Lauderdale borrowed MS M from the king and never returned it.[85] The copy was passed from the first Earl of Lauderdale into the possession of his son, John Maitland (1616-1682), the second Earl of Lauderdale and the first Duke of Lauderdale.

The Maitlands who produced prominent statesmen in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland, were a literary family. Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496-1586), who was a royal servant from the reign of James V to that of James VI, was a distinguished poet.[86] As his blindness increased, he devoted himself into literature, genealogy and history. He wrote the *Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surename of Seytoun* (1559). He also collected and preserved vernacular poetry, including poems of his own creation, in a manuscript, which is now known as the Maitland Folio, MS 2553, in the Pepysian Library in Magdalene College, Cambridge.[87] Sir Richard had three sons, William, John and Thomas. The first two of them, William Maitland of Lethington (1525x30-1573) and John Maitland (1543-1595), first Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, were eminent statesmen. Both of them were the confidential advisors of Mary Queen of

[85] For instance, in the catalogue by Young, there is a record of several books which were borrowed out by George Hacket of Pitfirrane, conservator of the privileges of the Scots in Flanders. See 'The Library of James VI', p. xxxix. Evidently, not a few books were borrowed out from the royal library in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and were never returned. Servais de Condé retained some of the queen's books 'for his own use' even after his departure from Scotland, and James Sandilands, Lord St John, 'certainly retained several of the queen's books'. See Higgitt, pp. 186-87.

[86] See Michael R. G. Spiller, 'Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington', in *ODNB*, William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation; or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: A Fullarton, 1866-1877), III (1877), 73-75, and Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, ed. by A. A. MacDonald and others (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 183-225 (pp. 198-99). Elizabeth Maitland, Sir Richard's daughter from his second wife, married William Douglas of Whittingham in about 1555. For a description about the relationship between Bellenden and the Douglases of Whittingham, see Introduction, pp. 7-9.

[87] The Maitland Quarto (*c.* 1586), Cambridge, Magdalene College, the Pepysian Library MS 1408, was largely transcribed from the Maitland Folio. Mary, daughter to Richard, has been conventionally believed to be a transcriber of the copy, but it is not certain to which extent she was responsible for it. See *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript: Containing Poems by Sir Richard Maitland, Arbuthnot, and Others*, ed. by W. A. Craigie, STS, new ser., 9 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1920), pp. v-vi, and S. M. Dunnigan, 'Mary Maitland', in *ODNB*. The Maitland Club, which was founded in 1828 with the purpose of preserving early Scots literary works, is named after Sir Richard Maitland. Worthy of note is the fact that Sir Richard Maitland was closely associated with Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull, son of John Bellenden of Auchnoull. When Sir Richard had to resign his seat on the bench in 1584, he chose as his successor Sir Lewis Bellenden. See van Heijnsbergen, p. 199, and *Scottish Nation*, III, 75.

Scots, and the counsellors of James VI.[88] William Maitland married Mary Fleming, daughter of Malcolm Fleming, third Lord Fleming, and Janet Stewart, illegitimate daughter of James IV, in 1567. John, Lord of Maitland, was a lord chancellor of Scotland, and 'sagacious counsellor' of James VI.[89] He was also a poet, and two poems of his own creation are included in the Maitland Folio. Thomas Maitland (*c.* 1548-1572), the third son of Sir Richard Maitland, was chosen by George Buchanan as a prolocutor in his treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scots* (1579). Thomas is also known to have written some works including 'an encomium on Alexander Arbuthnot' and 'an anonymous pasquinade satirizing the Regent Moray and his advisers'.[90] John Maitland, first Earl of Lauderdale, was a son and heir of John, Lord Maitland. He was admitted a privy councillor in 1615 and was appointed an ordinary lord of session in 1618. He was created viscount of Lauderdale in 1616. He married Isabel Seton (1594-1638), daughter of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, and had fifteen children by her. John Maitland, second Earl of Lauderdale and the first Duke of Lauderdale, was the eldest of the four children who survived their mother. He was a powerful minister with a 'supreme talent for political manoeuvre and manipulation', but, at the same time, he was notorious for his 'growing lack of scruple and aptitude for brutality'.[91]

On fol. 1 of MS M, the Duke inscribes: 'Windsor Castle 15 Decemb. 1658 | οιζέον χή ἐλπιζέον | Durate — Lauderdaill'. Sheppard states that this inscription was made when Robert, his younger brother, died at Lundin.[92] Indeed, the word 'Durate' (May you endure.) seems to be a commemorative inscription to his brother. The Duke puts his signature once again on fol. 2 of this copy, the first page of the 'Tabill of this Buke'. That the Duke left the commemorative inscription as well as his repeated signature in this copy demonstrates the copy was regarded as a special object of value by him. He owned, in addition to

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[88] See Mark Loughlin, 'William Maitland of Lethington', in *ODNB*, and Maurice Lee jun., 'John Maitland, first Lord Maitland of Thirlestane', in *ODNB*. See also W. C. MacKenzie, *The Life and Times of John Maitland Duke of Lauderdale (1616-1682)* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1923), p. 12.

[89] MacKenzie, pp. 12-14 (p. 14).

[90] See van Heijnsbergen, p. 199 and Spiller.

[91] Ronald Hutton, 'John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale', in *ODNB*.

[92] Sheppard, p. 107. The Greek passage is peculiar, but it can be read: 'something for lamentation and for hope.' It is likely that the Duke was not familiar with Greek, but attempted to make his statement seem impressive. I am indebted to Dr Neil McLynn of Oxford University for the translation and understanding of this passage. Robert Maitland was a 'zealous loyalist'. He married Margaret, only daughter of John Lundy of Lundy. See *Scottish Nation*, II (1877), 634. Notably, the copy of the *Chronicles* in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester (P-14), was owned by Andrew Lundy of Balgonie. See below, pp. 179-80. The Lundys of Lundy and the Lundys of Balgonie were originally derived from the same family, and thus were closely related to each other.

MS M, another MS copy (M-2) and one printed copy of the *Chronicles* (P-24), which will be shortly examined below, but none of them has his signature or inscriptions in it.

Besides MS M, which was dedicated to James V, some copies of the *Chronicles*, both in manuscript and in print, must have been presented by Bellenden to his patrons and friends. Unfortunately, however, little is known about Bellenden's presentation copies. Bellenden must have presented his work to his immediate patron, James Douglas, but no copy has yet been discovered with Douglas's ownership. Nevertheless, of all the extant copies, at least four can be regarded as Bellenden's presentation copies: the three vellum copies and one paper copy of the printed edition. In general, a vellum copy was a special issue made for presentation or for sale at higher prices than an ordinary issue. Printing on vellum took special care and required printers with a high degree of technique. Unlike paper, vellum, made of animal skins, does not absorb ink, which may cause overinking making it necessary to dry printed vellum longer than printed paper.[93] As skins 'can vary considerably in calibration, not only between skins but from corner to corner of the same skin', it is extremely difficult to ensure even inking.[94] Moreover, skins, which continue to breathe even after they are removed from animals, can be affected by a slight change to the atmosphere; they will shrink, curl, cockle and expand according to temperature and humidity. Accordingly, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, vellum copies were special, deluxe issues, which usually cost 'about three times as much as the ordinary copies on paper'.[95] Obviously, Thomas Davidson had great difficulty in printing these vellum copies; impressions of ink in these copies are far from even, and the type sometimes appears too light to be read. Some of the pages in these vellum copies bear offset marks, indicating that he put printed sheets on top of another while they were still wet.[96] Lotte Hellinga claims that printers in England and Scotland never printed special vellum copies unless they were sure of their destination:

> Most revealing for understanding the value that was put on a publication is the use of vellum for particular copies. [. . .] printers in England and later in Scotland seem to have

[93] For a detailed description of the difficulty of printing on vellum, see Richard Bigus, 'Printing on Vellum and Parchment', in *The Mystique of Vellum* (Boston: Anne and David Bromer, 1984), pp. 25-38.
[94] Bigus, p. 31.
[95] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 136. See also Konrad Haebler, *The Study of Incunabula*, trans. by Lucy Eugenia Osborne (New York: Grolier Club, 1933), pp. 187-88.
[96] For example, a vellum copy formerly held in Ham House (P24) has an offset mark of fol. 7 on fol. 4*^{v}.

> printed special copies only when certain of their destination, copies commissioned by clients either for their own use or for dedication, where vellum was *de rigueur* for presentation to those at the pinnacle of power.[97]

It seems plausible, therefore, that these three extant vellum copies of the *Chronicles* were made at Bellenden's request for dedication. Indeed, one of them was dedicated to James V.

The vellum copy dedicated by Bellenden to James V is now held in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, W 02 C (P-29). The binding of the copy, with gold tooling executed on leather, is 'a remarkably rich and highly ornamented piece of work'.[98] On the covers, James V's name is stamped together with medallions of Dido and Plato. William Smith Mitchell states that these medallions are 'characteristic of French work' in the early and middle sixteenth century, and hence the copy was possibly bound in France.[99] Nevertheless, as Howard Nixon claims, there is no evidence to verify this surmise, and it is equally possible that the copy was bound in Edinburgh.[100] No matter where it was executed, that it was made especially for James V, who was 'keeping up with French fashions', is indisputable. There are a few text-related annotations in the copy, but there is no indication of ownership except that on the title page initials 'I' and 'R' are written probably by James V.[101]

The second vellum copy is now held in a private collection (P-24).[102] Although its first owner is not known, in the seventeenth century, it was owned by John Maitland, the first Duke of Lauderdale. The

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[97] Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in Hellinga and Trapp, pp. 65-108 (p. 94).

[98] E. Gordon Duff, 'Some Early Scottish Book-bindings and Collectors', *SHR*, 4 (1907), 430-42 (p. 439).

[99] William Smith Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432 to 1650* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1955), pp. 21, 52-53 (p. 53). See also G. D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries: Seventy-Two Plates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 68-69, and Anthony Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of the Humanistic Bookbinding 1459-1559, with a Census of Historiated Plaquette and Medallion Bindings of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 135-36. It has been suggested that James V took the copy with him when he went to France in 1536. D. W. Doughty, 'Renaissance Books, Bindings and Owners in St Andrews and Elsewhere: The Humanists', *Bibliotheck*, 7 (1975), 117-33 (p. 119), and Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 148. But, as the *Chronicles* was printed in or after 1537, that is impossible.

[100] See Howard M. Nixon, *Sixteenth-Century Gold-Tooled Bookbindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1971), p. 22. The binding of the copy is reproduced as plate 16 on p. 20. Thomas claims that there were 'French craftsmen at work in the Scottish court before 1537'. See Thomas, pp. 55-89 (p. 88).

[101] Nixon states that the initials are written in 'a hand that seems to be the same as on a document signed by him (MA. 1218)'. See Nixon, p. 21. James V's signature in a charter issued on 22 October 1528 is reproduced in William Fraser, ed., *The Douglas Book*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1885), III: *Charters*, p. 228. The recent history of the copy is well known. It was owned by the tenth Duke of Hamilton, whose book plate is found on the fly leaf. It was sold at the Hamilton Palace sale by Sotheby's in May 1884 (lot 301). It was sold for 800 pounds to Mr Bernard Quaritch.

[102] I am grateful to the owner of this copy who generously allowed me to consult it.

covers of the binding of the copy bear the armorial stamp of the Duke: a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counterflory within the Garter.[103] About four months after the death of his first wife, Anne, in 1671, the Duke married, secondly, Elizabeth Murray (*c.* 1626-1698), the eldest daughter and heiress of William Murray, first Earl of Dysart.[104] Elizabeth's first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache of Helmingham in Suffolk, had died in Paris in 1669. Elizabeth was famous for her beauty and intelligence, and she was closely associated with Oliver Cromwell, over whom Elizabeth seems to have possessed 'considerable influence'.[105] John Maitland and Elizabeth Murray lived in the mansion of Ham House in Surrey, where Maitland collected numerous books and manuscripts through the intermediacy of his chaplain and librarian, Dr George Hickes.[106] After the Duke's death, his collection was divided into two libraries at Ham House and Helmingham, but the vellum copy of the *Chronicles* seems to have been held in the library at Ham House until it was sold at the Ham House sale in 1938.[107] Inside the front cover of the copy, there is an inscription: 'Found Among the Books at Ham House 1730. By the Arms suppos'd to have been þe D. of Lauderdale's'. Presumably, this was written by Lionel Tollmache, the fourth Earl of Dysart (1708-1770).[108] He also writes on the second fly leaf: 'This Book is a very great Curiosity & it may be þe

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103 See Denis Woodfield, *An Ordinary of British Armorial Bookbindings in the Clements Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1958), p. 18, no. 109.

104 Anne Home was a daughter of Alexander Home, the first Earl of Home. The Duke married her in 1632, and had one daughter, Mary, by her. William Murray, the first Earl of Dysart had no male issue. Hence, after the Earl of Dysart died, Elizabeth became the *suo jure* Countess of Dysart.

105 MacKenzie, p. 305. It is said that in the early 1650s Elizabeth used her influence with Cromwell 'to save Lauderdale's life while he was imprisoned in the Tower'. Christopher Rowell and others, *Ham House, Surrey* (London: The National Trust, 1995), p. 64.

106 Charles Roundell, *Ham House: Its History and Art Treasures*, 2 vols (London: George Bell and Sons, 1904), II, 127-28. Mark Purcell claims that the Lauderdale library was 'a new sort of library in late seventeenth-century England' in that it was a private library with 'a choice collection for a connoisseur' which was 'assembled and curated with the help of an expert bookman'. Purcell, 'The Library at Ham House: National Trust Libraries 2', *Book Collector*, 55 (2006), 509-24 (p. 511). Some books were later added by the fourth and the fifth Earls of Dysart, both of whom were book collectors. See Roundell, II, 127 and 135, and Purcell, p. 512. The library at Ham House was constructed in 1672-1674, and was 'part of the Duke's private suite'. Rowell, pp. 29-30.

107 It was sold by Sotheby's on 30 May 1938, lot 37. William Younger Fletcher, who visited the library at the beginning of the twentieth century, gives a detailed description of the vellum copy of the *Chronicles* held in the library at Ham House. See Roundell, II, 137-38. The Tollemaches were also a bookish family. They collected numerous manuscripts and early printed books in Helmingham Hall, some of which are known to have been in the family from the mid-sixteenth century. One of them is a manuscript called 'The Book of Secrets', a compendium of 'instructional texts of various kinds'. Inside the front wrapper is an ownership inscription of Catherine Tollemache (d. 1620), a wife of Lionel Tollemache, the first baronet (d. 1612). See *The Tollemache 'Book of Secrets': A Descriptive Index and Complete Facsimile with an Introduction and Transcriptions Together with Catherine Tollemache's 'Receipts of Pastery, Confectionary &c.'*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths, completed by A. S. G. Edwards, Roxburghe Club, 245 (London: Roxburghe Club, 2001), pp. 1-7.

108 Some books held in Helmingham Hall bear similar notes written by the fourth Earl. See Edward

Only ones Printed in Scotland on vellum. I saw one printed on Paper of Black sett: mark'd 10p=10s=00d in þe sale of þe Late L*or*d Oxford's Lybrary | Dysart'.[109] Also, on the title page is found his signature 'Lyonel Tollemache'. Almost all the early inscriptions are washed away and so illegible. Only three inscriptions are legible: 'of Scotland' is written just below the title on the title page, and 'for so mind (?)' and 'Be it here' are scribbled on fols 135 and 209. The most notable point about this copy is that the woodcut of the crucifixion on fol. 184 is almost completely scraped away. This is likely to be the work of a Protestant reader who had a negative attitude towards Catholic dogma in the Reformation period.[110]

The third vellum copy is now held in Edinburgh University Library, Df.2.11 (P-15). Again, the first owner of the copy is not known. In the seventeenth century, however, it was owned by Thomas Wilson, an Edinburgh merchant. Little is known concerning Thomas Wilson. He states that he is a 'mercator' in his inscriptions on the title page.[111] He writes: 'Thomas Willson mercator me Bibliothecae Edinburgenae | Dono Dedit An*no* Dom: 1669'. In the donators's list held in Edinburgh University Library, on the other hand, he is referred to as 'Capt. Thomas Willson': 'Capt. Thomas Willson upon the 24th of July gifted to the Bibliothec Mr Hector Boecius' *Cronicklis of Scotland* embassed with brass and all done upon parchment.'[112] Thus, he might have been a merchant who traded with foreign countries.[113] It is likely that he was a graduate of Edinburgh University, and one of the two Thomas Wilsons who were in Edinburgh University in the seventeenth century; one was matriculated on July 23 in 1631; the other on April 3 in

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Wilson, 'The Book-Stamps of the Tollemache Family of Helmingham and Ham', *Book Collector*, 16 (1967), 178-85 (pp. 183 and 185). Obviously, Fletcher mistakes Lionel Tollemache, the fourth Earl of Dysart, for Lionel, the third Earl. (Roundell, II, 135)

109 Edward Harley, the second Earl of Oxford, owned at least three copies of the *Chronicles*. See *Catalogues Bibliothecae Harleianae; or, A Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Library of the Late Earl of Oxford*, 22 April 1745, 5 vols, I: lot 8314, III: lot 425, and V: lot 1755.

110 Images, including those in books, were regarded by 'devout and fanatical Reformers' as 'the outward and visible signs of Antichrist, objects to be destroyed'. Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: The British Library, 2004), p. 194. Worthy of note is the fact that 'the destruction or effacing of an image did not involve the destruction of the whole artefact', as is aptly shown by this vellum copy of the *Chronicles*. Driver suggests that this is partly because 'books continued to be valued as comparatively expensive commodities that were worth keeping', and partly because Protestantism was not an entirely new religion but had complex relationships with Catholicism. See Driver, pp. 184-214 (pp. 194 and 204). See also Sherman, p. 80.

111 His name is also found in the inscription on fol. 7*. See also Sheppard, p. 188.

112 Edinburgh University Library, MS Da.1.32, p. 70.

113 In the roll of Edinburgh burgesses and guild members, three Thomas Wilsons, merchants, were registered in 1635, 1643 and 1644 respectively. See *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren 1406-1700*, ed. by Charles B. Boog Watson, SRS, 59 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by J. Skinner, 1929), p. 533.

1640.[114] Unfortunately, almost all the inscriptions in the copy have been erased. Besides Wilson's, another signature, 'Adam Read Adam', probably in a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand, can be found in the margin of fol. 231^{v}. Presumably, Adam Read was the early owner of the copy, but it is hardly possible to identify him without any other information.[115] It should be noted, however, that his signature and some of the marginal inscriptions are made in a similar way: on the edge of the margin, and require turning by 90 degrees to be read. It is possible, therefore, that these marginal inscriptions were also made by Adam Read.[116]

At least one paper-printed copy seems to have been a presentation copy from Bellenden. Alexander Dick, Archdeacon of Glasgow, owned two copies of the *Chronicles*, and it is highly likely that one of them was given him by Bellenden. One of the two copies owned by Dick is now held in the Innerpeffray library (P-23). This copy is of significance in that Dick gives the date '1540' on fol. 1. His inscription, which is put between two columns and requires turning to be read, reads: 'Liber d*omi*ni Alexandri dick archidiaconi glasguen*sis* anno d*omi*ni 1540'.[117] It was this inscription that enabled H. G. Aldis to declare that the *Chronicles* was published 'at least as early as 1540'.[118] Besides this, an inscription related to the text found on fol. 28^{v}, 'of þe birth of crist jesus', can be ascribed to Dick; just like his signature on fol. 1, it is put between two columns.[119] There is no information concerning the later ownership of this copy until it

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[114] *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation* (Edinburgh: Neill, 1858), pp. 46 and 57.

[115] In sixteenth-century Ayr, there were several Adam Reids. Among them, Adam Reid in Mauchline seems to be the most possible candidate. He was a servitor to Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, sheriff of Ayr, and was elected as parish clerk of Mauchline by referendum in 1524. See *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, N. P. 1512-1532*, ed. by John Anderson and Francis J. Grant, SRS, 29, 30 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by James Skinner, 1907-1908), pp. 127-28. Sir Hugh Campbell was married first to Margaret Stewart, second daughter of Matthew, the second Earl of Lennox, and secondly to Agnes Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffray. See *SP*, v (1908), 494-96.

[116] See, for example, fol. 65.

[117] The page with Dick's inscription is reproduced in William Sterwart, 'A Quaint Corner in Libraria', in *Innerpeffray Library and Chapel: A Historical Sketch with Some Notes on the Books of the Library* (1916; repr. [Blairgowrie]: W. M. Culross and Son, 1955), pp. 16-27 (p. 25).

[118] Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: Including those Printed furth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904; repr. Edinburgh: The National Library of Scotland, 1970), p. 112. An updated version of Aldis's list is available online: <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scotbooks/index.html> See also Sheppard, p. 72. See above Introduction, pp. 21-22, for a detailed discussion concerning the publication date of the *Chronicles*.

[119] Although another text-related inscription on 148^{v}, 'ane gritt frorst', is written in the same way between two columns, the hand seems different from that of Dick.

came into the possession of the Hay Drummonds in the eighteenth century.[120] Another copy owned by Dick is now in the Takamiya collection, Tokyo (P-25).[121] Notably, on fol. 249v, there is an inscription by Dick which is very similar to the one in the Innerpeffray copy: 'Liber d*omi*ni archidiaconi glasguen*sis* 1540'. Besides this, there are some text-related inscriptions and several legal and devotional inscriptions; 'To the Ryght wourshipfull' (fol. 76); 'To mych o lord I do not crave | but A Comparsone [illegible]' (fol. 19*).

It is hard to tell how and why Dick acquired two copies of the *Chronicles*. He may have been a book collector, who, as John Maitland did, gathered as many copies of the *Chronicles* as possible. Yet all the books that are known to have belonged to him are these two copies of the *Chronicles*.[122] In the matriculation roll of St Andrews, there is one Alexander Dick who entered the University in 1532. Nevertheless, he does not seem to be our Dick, who took possession of Archdeacon of Glasgow in the 1520s.[123] As he is not registered either in Aberdeen University or Glasgow University, he may have been educated on the continent. In addition to being Archdeacon of Glasgow, Dick was also Parson of Peebles, as these two offices went together at that time.[124] As Parson of Peebles, Dick had 'the right of nomination to all the vacant Altars in the Collegiate Parish Church' for five years.[125] Moreover, the Parsonship also provided Dick with a residence in the Old Town, which 'he occupied during part of the year'.[126] It appears that, in the burgh of Peebles, Dick owned a huge yard with 'xxi fir geists, two alier trees, one oak geist of the minister's, iv oaken spars in the nether chamber: and seven rotting daills', where he had a harvest of corn, oat and wheat.[127] He may be identified with 'Master Alexander Dyk' mentioned

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[120] The binding of the copy reveals that it was in the possession of either Robert Hay Drummond (1711-1776), Archbishop of York and founder of the Innerpeffray library, or his son, Robert Auriol Hay Drummond (d. 1804), the tenth Earl of Kinnoull. Robert Hay Drummond was a grandson of Robert Harley, the first Earl of Oxford, an eminent collector of manuscripts. See Richard Sharp, 'Robert Hay Drummond', in *ODNB*. Notably, the Hay family owned MS M after it departed from the Maitlands. It belonged to the family until it was sold on 7 November 1911 (London, Sotheby's, lot 68).

[121] I am grateful to Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya of Keio University for having generously allowed me to examine this copy.

[122] *Early Scottish Libraries* registers only the Innerpeffray copy. (p. 90)

[123] *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray, rev. edn, SRS new ser., 25 (Edinburgh: SRS, 2003), p. 225. Alexander Dick, archdeacon of Glasgow, is mentioned several times in *RSS*, II: *A.D. 1529-1542* (1921), pp. 412-13, III: *A.D. 1542-1548* (1936), pp. 49-50 and 109, *RMS*, IV: *A.D. 1546-1580* (1886), pp. 61 and 327.

[124] C. B. Gunn, *The Book of Peebles Church: St Andrew's Collegiate Parish Church, A.D. 1195-1560*, Books of the Church ser., 2 (Galashiels: A. Walker and Son; Peebles: J. A. Anderson, [1908]), p. 139.

[125] Gunn, p. 140.

[126] Gunn, p. 128.

[127] Gunn, pp. 169-72 (p. 172).

in John Foular's protocol book on 6 September 1532. Then he also owned lands and buildings on the south side of the Tolbooth in Edinburgh.[128] According to John Foular, the lands and buildings belonged to his brother, William Dyk, notary public, and after William's death, Alexander acquired sasine of them in 1533.[129] Dick continued in his office as Archdeacon of Glasgow until 1560, and he died in 1563.[130] Collectively, all these particulars enable us to surmise that Dick did have enough means to acquire two copies of the *Chronicles* in terms of wealth as well as social status.

Alternatively, these copies, or either of them, might have been given to Dick by someone around him, especially Bellenden himself. Two charters issued by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, in 1539 and 1542 are suggestive here. Gavin Dunbar confirmed that the church of Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne was elevated to a collegiate church in a charter made on 16 October 1539. Significantly, the charter was witnessed both by Alexander Dick and Bellenden: 'Presentibus ibidem venerabilibus et egregiis viris magistris et dominis Georgio Lokart decano / Johanne Bellantyne precentore / Alexandro Dik archidiacono.'[131] Similarly, the other charter, which confirmed the assignement of the vicarage of Maybole to New College, was also witnessed by Dick and Bellenden: 'Presentibus ibidem Georgio Lokert decano / Johanne Bellantyne precentore / Alexandro Dik archidiacono.'[132] That Dick knew Bellenden is indisputable. Thus, it is highly likely that one of the two copies of the *Chronicles* owned by Dick was a presentation copy from Bellenden.

These above cases demonstrate that Bellenden used three different forms of the *Chronicles* for dedication according to the status of the recipient: a manuscript copy for the important royal patron; a vellum printed copy for a powerful noble; a paper printed copy for the less elevated recipient who had personal association with him. Although the texts of these copies are not so meticulously annotated, they

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128 *Protocol Book of John Foular 1528-1534*, ed. by John Durkan, SRS, new ser., 10 (Edinburgh: SRS, 1985), pp. 142-43.

129 *Protocol Book of John Foular*, pp. 165-66.

130 Dick was claimed to have died in 1560. See Gunn, pp. 169-74. Nevertheless, it is possible he was alive until 1562, as there is a record which reports that Dick appeared at the Roman court in 1562. See *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 225.

131 *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine: Registrum Ecclesie B. V. Marie et S. Anne infra Muros Civitatis Glasguensis MD XLIX*, Maitland Club, 65 (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1846), pp. 57-60 (p. 60). See also Sheppard, p. 176. Bellenden was a Precentor of Glasgow from 1538 to 1547 and Rector of Glasgow University from 1542 to 1544. See Introduction, p. 5, and Shappard, pp. 45-46.

132 *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, pp. 61-63 (pp. 62-63). See also Sheppard, p. 177.

almost invariably bear ownership inscriptions. Evidently, these presentation copies were regarded by the owners as valued objects.

II. PERSONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATIONS: ROYAL BURGHS

Significantly, in addition to MS M and the vellum copy, MS Angl. 1, University College, London, that is MS A (M-2), was also owned by the Earls of Lauderdale.[133] The heraldic stamp found on the covers of the binding belongs to the first Earl of Lauderdale: A lion sejant affronté holding a sword in his dexter paw and fleur-de-lys in the sinister, with a motto 'CONSILIO ET ANIMIS'.[134] It was used by him between 1616 and 1624. Then the copy came into the possession of his son, the first Duke of Lauderdale. There is no information concerning the ownership of this copy before the first Earl.[135] The possibility that the first Earl was given the copy by Alexander Seton, his father-in-law, was once suggested, but there is no evidence to support the surmise.[136] In this copy there are several inscriptions and scribbles as well as notes related to the text in several early hands.[137] In the margin of fol. 150, although partly cut away, a personal memorandum of the owner is left: 'Jn p*ri*m*is* interiunt | the pentrie of mainse | vi^c and xvi scoir

[133] See Sheppard, pp. 117-20. Sheppard argues that both MSS M and A were disposed of at the 1692 sale of the Duke of Lauderdale's library. She points out that the pressmark 'F: 4' on fol. 1 of MS M and the figure '8' inside the front cover of MS A correspond with the lot numbers 4 and 8 in the sale catalogue respectively; lot 4: 'Chronicle of Scotland, (Antient, Large, MSs. upon Paper). Fol.'; lot 8: 'Chronicle of Scotland, written upon Paper, by Tho. Forman (in Scotch). Fol.' (*The Bannatyne Miscellany: Containing Original Papers and Tracts, Chiefly Relating to the History and Literature of Scotland*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827-1855), II (1836), 153.) See Sheppard, pp. 108 and 118. However this is not entirely convincing. These two figures are written in a different hand and size, and they appear on a different part of each page. In addition, the figure '8' is written close to the signature of Alexander Boswell (1706-1782), the later owner of MS A, suggesting its connection with Boswell rather than Maitland. Although Sheppard further suggests the possibility that MS C (M-3) was also owned by Maitland and was disposed of at the sale as lot 9, there is no evidence which supports this suggestion. (pp. 108 and 121) Note that it is only lot 9 that mentions Boece's name, and the title given is not identical with those in lots 4 and 8: 'Hector Boethius his Hist. of Scotland, in Scotch (on Paper).' (*The Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, 153) Furthermore, on the fly leaf of MS M, it is written in a modern hand that the copy was probably passed into the possession of the Hay family through Maitland's heiresses. It would be reasonable, therefore, to surmise that only lot 9 refers to a manuscript of the *Chronicles*, and the most plausible candidate for lot 9 would be MS A.

[134] Woodfield, p. 134, no. 1945, and Cyril Davenport, *English Heraldic Book-Stamps: Figured and Described* (London: Archibald Constable, 1909), pp. 277-78. See also Sheppard, p. 117.

[135] On fol. 119^v, 'George Jaiksoune', 'Thomas Jaikson', 'Richard Jaikson' and 'Marmaduik (?) Jacksoune' are written in an early hand. See also Sheppard, p. 118. Unfortunately, however, they are not identifiable.

[136] See above p. 154, and R. W. Chambers and Walter Seton, 'Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece', *SHR*, 19 (1922), 196-201 (p. 197).

[137] An inscription written upside down at the bottom of fol. 3^v indicates that the copy was held by an owner in Linlithgow in 1625: '[illegible] franc with my hand, At linlythgow the xvi of September | 1625'. See also Sheppard, p. 118.

| Jtem of the kendl[e] | to the blaknes xxj | and uther Jtem unto | Into the paintre be | ane meibel of oat | bread xxx[c] and | of the send to the | hens a[illegible] and | Jtem to Iames ros | and to my self'. Presumably, this is an inventory of comestibles going out of a property.[138] This annotator notes down the domestic record in the margin of this copy, and in doing so, he/she turns this copy into a household account. Moreover, this inscription might be attributable to a female reader. Early modern women frequently left household accounts not only in notebooks but also in the blank space of printed books. As the price of paper was very high, women often used a printed book which contained 'a whole notebook's worth of blank paper' in order to 'store and circulate individual and collective records'. Thus, on title pages, flyleaves and margins of printed books, they noted down 'culinary, spiritual, familial, financial, intellectual, medical, and even meteorological information'.[139] In this sense, the *Chronicles*, which is characterised by Davidson's 'lavish use of paper' with much marginal space left, must have served their purpose well.[140]

William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649), the poet, is also known to have owned a copy of the *Chronicles*.[141] There is an entry for the *Chronicles* in the list of his library.[142] Although the whereabouts of this copy are unknown, what motivated him to acquire it is obvious; he used the *Chronicles* when he was working on the *History of Scotland from the Year 1423 until the Year 1542*, alias the *History of the*

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138 See also Sheppard, p. 118. She suggests that this is 'an account of provender'.
139 Sherman, p. 59.
140 Watry, p. 24. There is also likelihood that some sheets of the *Chronicles* were used as available paper for the binding of books. In 1990, 24 half-sheets of the *Aberdeen Breviary* were purchased by the National Library of Scotland together with a strip of blank paper. The strip of blank paper contains a part of a watermark. Robert Donaldson states that this watermark 'consists of part of hand, the outlines of the little finger, the one next to it', and that it is nearest to Briquet's 11387 in 'general shape', but it contains 'part of capital letter, possibly "I", and the whole of a capital letter "B"'. Donaldson, 'Fragments of the *Aberdeen Breviary*', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 6.3 (1995), 71-86 (p. 73). The watermark is reproduced on p. 74 as figure 3. Judging from the reproduction as well as the description provided by Donaldson, it seems highly likely that this watermark is identical with one of the watermarks that frequently appear in the paper used for the *Chronicles*. (See, for example, fol. 72 of British Library, 187.c.18 (P-1), fol. 63 of Oxford, Bodleian, S. Seld. D.37 (P-4), and fol. 63 of Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian Lib.2170 (P-10).) Although a further research is needed, this is notable in that it suggests one possible type of consumption of the *Chronicles*.
141 The printed copy now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Bz5 013t (P-30), includes an early ownership inscription by Alexander Drummond on fol. 250[v]. His identification is not clear.
142 *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. and introd. by Robert H. MacDonald (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), p. 188.

Five Jameses (*c.* 1644).[143] Rosenblum suggests that Drummond acquired many books on Scottish history in the later years of his life in order to do research for the work.[144] It is possible that the *Chronicles* was also acquired then. Indeed, Thomas I. Rae declares that internal evidence indicates that Drummond employed the *Chronicles* while he was working on the *History of the Five Jameses*.[145] Worthy of note is the fact that Drummond was closely associated with the family of the first Earl of Lauderdale. When the first Earl and Isabel Seton, his wife, and Jane Maitland, his daughter, died, Drummond wrote poetical epitaphs on them.[146]

The Sinclair family was an erudite one and produced many literary patrons and bibliophiles in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland. William, the third Earl of Orkney and Caithness (d. *c.* 1482), is known to have presented one manuscript of Bower's *Scotichronicon*, Coupar Angus MS, to Coupar abbey in 1445.[147] Henry, Lord Sinclair, grandson to the Earl of Orkney and Caithness (d. 1513), was a reputed literary patron. It was to him that Gavin Douglas dedicated his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the prologue of the *Aeneid*, Douglas celebrates Lord Sinclair: 'Fader of buk*is*, protecto*ur* to sciens *and* lair.'[148] MS Arch.Selden.B.24, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which includes several works by Chaucer as well as *The Kingis Quair*, was also made for Lord Sinclair.[149] The third Earl's grandsons, Henry Sinclair (1507/8-1565), Dean of Glasgow and Bishop of Ross and John Sinclair, his brother, both of whom were sons to Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, were both bibliophiles.[150] Many books and manuscripts with their

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143 Drummond donated more than 360 books and manuscripts to Edinburgh University in 1626, but the *Chronicles* must not have been one of them, as Drummond consulted it much later when he was working on the *History of the Five Jameses*, which was finished around 1644 and was published posthumously by John Scot, Lord Scotstarvet, in 1655. The copy of the *Chronicles* is not found in the other deposit of his collection, the University Library, Dundee. See Joseph Rosenblum, 'William Drummond of Hawthornden', in *Pre-Nineteenth-Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers*, ed. by Willam Baker and Kenneth Womack, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 213 (London: A Bruccoli Clark Layman, 1999), pp. 93-103 (pp. 102-03).
144 Rosenblum, pp. 96-97.
145 Rae, 'The Historical Writing of Drummond of Hawthornden', *SHR*, 54 (1975), 22-62 (pp. 34 and 62).
146 *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden with 'A Cypresse Grove'*, ed. by L. E. Kastner, 2 vols, STS, new ser., 3, 4 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1913), II, 192-96. See also George Crawfurd, *The Peerage of Scotland: Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of that Kingdom* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1716), pp. 253-54, and *Scottish Nation*, II, 634.
147 See above Chapter 4, p. 117, footnote 40.
148 *Virgil's 'Aeneid': Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, 4 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1964), II: *Text* (1957), p. 5, line 85.
149 *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and 'The Kingis Quair': A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch.Selden.B.24*, introd. by Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 21-22.
150 For a detailed description of the Sinclairs of Roslin and their book collections, see H. J. Lawlor, 'Notes

ownerships are recorded in *Early Scottish Libraries*. Their younger brother, Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn, was a favourite servant of James V, and married Katherine Bellenden, younger sister of John Bellenden, the translator.[151]

Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, is known to have owned one printed copy of the *Chronicle*.[152] As has been mentioned above, he gave a copy of the *Chronicles* to Giovanni Ferreri. This is the copy now held in the National Library of Scotland, BCL.S 147 (P-11). On the verso of the title page of this copy, just below the signature by Sinclair, Ferreri writes: 'Hunc Librum dono d*omi*ni et mag*ist*ri henrici sinclar decani eccl[es]ie Metropolitane Glasguensis in Scotia accepi parisiis 10 Junii, 1557'. Sheppard speculates that Ferreri became acquainted with Sinclair while Sinclair was travelling in Europe.[153] On the front fly-leaf, there are repeated inscriptions by a later owner of the copy: 'Mr Robert Pendrich'. As the hand is probably late sixteenth or seventeenth century, it can be surmised that Robert Pendrich acquired the copy after it left Ferreri. One possible candidate for Pendrich is found in a record of transfer of land in Banff. On November 16 in 1547, 'John Pendreych' inherits land from his father, 'Roberti Pendreych': 'Joannes Pendreych, *haeres* Roberti Pendreych de Eodem, *patris*, —in Maynes de Pendryech; — Overtoun de Pendreych et Cragindertie (Cragmadertie) cum molendino et piscaria in aqua de Doverne.'[154] There is no other information concerning him. Considering the broad social associations Ferreri established around Aberdeen and Kinloss, Robert Pendrich in Banff would not be entirely improbable.

In the copy are found numerous marginal notes concerning the text together with many *nota bene* marks made by Sinclair, revealing that he read the *Chronicles* thoroughly. An inscription concerning the text found on fol. 245 is worthy of note. The portion of text which belongs to this page is chapter 2 of Book

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on the Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 32: *Session 1897-98*, 3rd ser., 8 (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1898), pp. 90-120.

151 See, *SP*, I, 62, and *Calendar of the Laing Charters A.D. 854-1837: Belonging to the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by John Anderson (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1899), pp. 147 and 157-58.

152 The printed copy now held in Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C., HH 29/7 (P-31), was formerly in the possession of Christopher Sinclair. At the top of fol. 208, he writes in a late sixteenth-century hand: 'Seyntclere is mi name and besides that I ame | named Christophere'. He also writes at the bottom of the same page: 'cominge heather to me a so faurthe Lye (?) | me your Louinge ffrinde and Louere | as youe dow me Cale by the name of so Seyntclre so | xxviii'. Unfortunately, Christopher Sinclair is not identified. The first name 'Christopher' is rather unusual for the Sinclairs. He may have been a member of a minor cadet branch of the Sinclair family.

153 Sheppard, p. 191.

154 *Inqvisitionvm ad capellam domini regis retornatarvm, qvae in pvblicis archivis Scotiae adhvc servantvr, abbreviatio*, 3 vols ([n.p.]: Printed by command of His Majesty King George III, 1811-1816), I, Banff, no. 1.

17; Alexander, Lord of the Isles, burns the town of Inverness and lays siege to Inverness castle in 1427. When James I's army comes to capture him, he flees into the Isles. However, in the end, he surrenders to the king and begs for mercy. The king, at the request of the queen, saves his life, and sends him to William Douglas for custody. The *Chronicles* reads: 'And thairfore þe said Alexander was send to schir Willia*m* Douglas erle of Angus the kingis sister son to remane in his castell of Temptalloun.' (fols 245-45v) Intriguingly, Henry Sinclair found this passage of importance. At the bottom of the page, he writes: 'note þat sir welliam dovglas erl of an[gus] vas k*ing* James þe frist*'s* sist*er* son'. Sinclair's interest in the Douglas family is obvious from the numerous *nota bene* marks put to passages concerning members of the family in Books 15, 16 and 17.[155] This might have been prompted by the fact that the Sinclairs had kin relationship with the Douglases through the marriage of William Sinclair, the third Earl of Orkney and Caithness to Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of the fourth Earl of Douglas by Lady Margaret Stewart, a daughter to Robert III. Sinclair frequently marks up passages of genealogical information about the Douglases: 'Schir Wyllyam Dowglas, son to gud schir James of Dowglas þ*at* was slane in Sap*n*ȝe, returnit out of France.' (fol. 229v), 'And becaus this erle James had na airis gottin on his body, Archebald lord of Galloway succedit to the said erldome.' (fol. 235v), 'Amang quhom was first Willyam son to Archebald erle of Douglas, quhilk succedit eft*er* him to þe erldome of Douglas.' (fol. 246) The interest in the genealogical matter even might have been a family tradition. William Sinclair (d. *c.* 1580-1585), laird of Roslin, left annotations to his copy of Russell's abbreviated *Scotichronicon*, and these annotations are 'principally to do with genealogical matters'.[156] Moreover, some of the annotations left by William Sinclair to his copy of *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie* bear a close similarity to the above annotation by Henry Sinclair. In the description of the coronation of James I, soldiers who guarded the king on the day are enumerated, among whom is Archibald Douglas, the fifth Earl of Douglas. William Sinclair puts a marginal note to Archibald Douglas: 'Syster sone to Kyng James the fyrst'.[157]

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155 See, for example, fols 226v, 229v, 230v, 233v, 235v, 236v, 238, 240v and 243v. Also note that a passage concerning Henry Sinclair, the second Earl of Orkney, in chapter 15 of Book 16 is also marked up by Sinclair.

156 See Sally Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's 'Scotichronicon'*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), pp. 31-55 (p. 36).

157 *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie: From the Ancient Manuscript in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, Now First*

Before coming into the possession of Sinclair, the copy seems to have belonged to William Meldrum. On the title page and fol. 1, are inscriptions by him, 'Ex Libr*is* Mag*ist*ri Will[e]lmi [illegible]' and 'Ex libris Magistri Willelmj Meildrum', and a similar inscription is found on fol. 2*: 'Liber d*omi*no [. . .] Willelmo Meldrum [. . .] Rectori [. . .]'.[158] As a possible candidate for William Meldrum, a rector, Sheppard mentions Mr William Meldrum, vicar of Strabrok (3 June 1538), who 'bears a part in a transaction which concerns Henry Sinclair', and Mr William Meldrum, vicar of Peterculter (3 June -21 August 1542).[159] There is no evidence to prove that the vicar of Strabrok and the vicar of Peterculter were the same man.[160] The fact that Henry Sinclair, the seemingly next owner of the *Chronicles* after Meldrum, was also based in the neighbourhood of Lothian prompts us to surmise that Meldrum was vicar of Strabrok.[161] It should be noted, however, that vicar of Peterculter also had some connection with Lothian. William Meldrum, vicar of Peterculter, held the office of Commissary of St Andrews as well.[162] From 1542 to 1547, he passed judgement on several cases together with Andrew Hay, Commissary of Lothian.[163] Andrew Hay held the office of Commissary of Lothian from 1543 to 1548, and during this time he

Printed, Abbotsford Club, 23 (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1842), p. 227. See also p. 237. William Sinclair again left a note to Archibald Douglas: 'He ves kyng James the fyrst syster sone, and desesset in Lastallreke, anno Dom. 1438.' Notably, this copy was formerly owned by Henry Sinclair. See *Extracta*, pp. xi and xv.

158 See also Sheppard, p. 190.

159 Sheppard, p. 191. William Meldrum, vicar of Strabrok, was made 'ane of the clerkis of our soverane lordis closet', and received a yearly pension in 1537. See *RSS*, II, 334.

160 William Meldrum, vicar of Strabrok, was certainly a notary public. In a charter issued in 1531, he is referred to as a notary public: 'Wil. Meldrum vicario de Strabrok, Joh. Kere, presbyteris notariis publicis.' *RMS*, III: *A.D. 1513-1546* (1883) p. 226.

161 The Sinclair earls of Orkney were 'the holders of important lowland estates', which were 'centred in Midlothian'. Henry Sinclar's father was based in Edinburgh and Henry himself purchased the lands of Haddingtonshire. See Barbara E. Crawford, 'William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and his Family: A Study in the Politics of Survival', in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. by K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 232-51 (p. 234), and Mark Dilworth, 'Henry Sinclair', in *ODNB*.

162 Commissaries were clergy who were delegated juridicial functions by bishops and officials. See *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. xiii.

163 *Liber Officialis Sancti Andree: Curie Metropoliane Sancti Andree in Scotia: Sententiarum in Causis Consistorialibus que extant*, Abbotsford Club, 25 (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1845), pp. 71-72, 74-77. He is usually referred to as 'vicarius de Petercultar', but once, in 1547, he is referred to as 'commissarius officialis Sancti Andree'. (p. 77) What is also noteworthy here is the fact that Martin Balfour, provost of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, was also in office then, and so probably Meldrum knew Balfour in person. Martin Balfour was Commissary of St Andrews from 1526 to 1533, and Official with authority of St Andrews from 1540 to 1545. See, *Liber Officialis Sancti Andree*, p. 82, and *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 420. A copy of Guido Juvenalis's *In Latine lingue elegantias in Laurentio valle* (Rouen, 1506) now held in the National Library of Scotland (RB.s.1086) has ownership inscriptions of both Martin Balfour and John Bellenden. This suggests the possibility that Balfour had some personal connection with Bellenden. See Durkan and Russell, 'Additions to *Early Scottish Libraries*', p. 32.

shared the office with William Meldrum. Thus, almost certainly, William Meldrum, vicar of Peterculter, was also Commissary of Lothian from 1543 to 1549.[164] Furthermore, the vicar of Peterculter possessed the office of Chancellory of Aberdeen as well. Chancellory was a title 'held by residentiary canons in some cathedrals', and a chancellor was 'responsible for the Cathedral School and also the library'.[165] It was chancellors who had 'care of the theology books' in Aberdeen cathedral, and they were required to conduct 'a book check' in front of the dean and chapter every year in order to demonstrate that 'none was lost or damaged'.[166] Sir John Cristisone records, in his protocol book for 1551, that William Meldrum, vicar of Peterculter, admonishes Alexander Gordon of Strathoun to pay his yearly pension of the Chancellory of Aberdeen: '[C]ertain letters, ordinary and admonitory, issued and directed from the lord bishop of Aberdeen against me [Alexander Gordon of Strathoun] at the instance of Mr. William Meldrum, vicar of Peterculter, admonishing to pay to him the sum of 40 merks as of his yearly pension of the Chancellory of Aberdeen.'[167] Here Meldrum claims a pension for the years of 1550 and 1551, in spite of the fact that he was in the office only between 1540 and 1541.[168] Meldrum's pecuniary craving can also be found in the letters of James V, who acted as arbitrator in the trouble concerning the Chancellorship:

> James thought to induce William Meldrum, the first impetrator at Rome, and George Marischal to reach an understanding. Meldrum's right [as Chancellory of Aberdeen] should be transferred wholly to Marischal by papal action, with reservation of a pension. The cardinal could surely arrange it. The *parva data* should be extended for Meldrum according to former custom, despite the lapse of a year since the impetration.[169]

It seems worthwhile further to investigate the office of Chancellor of Aberdeen, as the office was once held by one David Douglas from 1532 to 1534.[170] Considering the fact that Bellenden had a close connection with the Douglases, there is a likelihood that David Douglas, Chancellor of Aberdeen, was

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164 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 429. He was in the office once again from *c.* 1550 to *c.* 1551.

165 See *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), p. 317.

166 Higgitt, pp. xlix-l.

167 *Protocol Book of Sir John Cristisone, 1518-1551*, ed. by R. H. Lindsay, SRS, 107, 113 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by J. Skinner, 1928, 1930), pp. 109-10.

168 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 19.

169 *The Letters of James V: Collected and Calendared by the Late Robert Kerr Hannay*, ed. by Denys Hay (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), pp. 440-41.

170 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, pp. 18-19.

also personally associated with Bellenden. The identification of David Douglas is, however, not clear; there are four possible candidates in this period: David Douglas of Pittendreich, David Douglas, the seventh Earl of Angus, David Douglas, Precentor of Dunkeld, and David Douglas, Bellenden's amanuensis and the scribe of MS M. As has been examined above, the first two Davids are closely related to the Angus family.[171] Bellenden's amanuensis also has a connection to the Angus family through his master, James Douglas. Little is known about David Douglas, precentor of Dunkeld. He was prior of St Mary's Isle (Trail) in 1526, abbot of Holyrood from 1530 to 1531, prior of Restenneth Angus from 1530 to 1533 and precentor of Dunkeld in 1533.[172] It is not certain whether he knew Gavin Douglas, who held the office of bishop of Dunkeld from 1516 until his death in 1522.[173] Nevertheless, he seems to have associated with William Douglas, prior of Coldingham and younger brother of Gavin Douglas.[174] William Douglas held the office of prior of St Mary's Isle from 1526 to 1528, and the office of abbot of Holyrood from 1526 to 1528.[175] Thus, it is highly likely that David Douglas, Chancellor of Aberdeen, knew Bellenden through some member of the Angus family. It is recorded that David Douglas made strenuous efforts to get the office of Chancellory. He prevented William Symple from transferring the Chancellorship to John Reid: 'William resigns *eodem jure* to John Reid, a man of high character; but David Dowglas impedes possession, having as he says impetrated the benefice from the pope while the see was vacant, and contemplates litigation.'[176] Eventually, the Chancellorship was transferred to John Reid, and he held the office from 1534 to his death in 1540 or 1541.[177]

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171 See Introduction, p. 6

172 See *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 142, and *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by D. E. R. Watt and N. F. Shead, SRS, new ser., 24 (Edinburgh: SRS, 2001), pp. 96 and 194-95. He is once mentioned as David Douglas of 'Lindeff' in a charter issued by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1542. See *Laing Charters*, p. 122.

173 Gavin Douglas was granted the bishopric of Dunkeld by the queen and Leo X consented to it in 1515. But he was imprisoned by the Duke of Albany nearly a year. Thus it was in 1516 that Gavin was officially appointed to the office. See Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Gavin Douglas', in *ODNB*.

174 William Douglas came into the office of priory of Coldingham in 1524 without approval of the Scottish king. Alternatively, his priorship was supported by the English king. Although William stated that Henry VIII acquired approval for him in Rome, it is unlikely that he was officially provided with the office by Rome. See, Mark Dilworth, 'Coldingham Priory and the Reformation: Notes on Monks and Priors', *IR*, 23 (1972), 115-37 (pp. 123-24). See also *Douglas Book*, II: *Angus Memoirs*, pp. 171-73.

175 See *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp. 96 and 195.

176 *The Letters of James V*, pp. 276-77.

177 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 18. John Reid is believed to have died either in December 1540 or in July 1541. James V states that Reid had 'a long illness' in his letter in February 1542. *The Letters of James V*, p. 436.

It might be worthy of note that another printed copy of the *Chronicles* in the National Library of Scotland, H.33.b.6 (P-12) was owned by 'John Rhead' in the sixteenth century.[178] On the title page, he makes what we can call a pseudo-royal ownership inscription. He puts his initial, 'IR', just besides the title; he also puts 'I' on the left side of the coat of arms, and 'R' on the right side. On fol. 1, he inscribes his signature and a Latin motto: 'deficit ambobus qui vult sevire duobus' (He who tries to serve two masters serves neither). It is almost impossible to identify this John Reid with the little information we have. Nevertheless, it is also true that John Reid, Chancellor of Aberdeen, could be a strong candidate in terms of his social status and association. As we have seen above, he must have known David Douglas, who impeded his Chancellorship, as well as William Meldrum, who took the position of Chancellor of Aberdeen at the end of his career. In addition to the Chancellorship, Reid held the office of Commissary of Aberdeen, and he might have been Provost of Semple and vicar of Tarves as well.[179] While Reid was Chancellor of Aberdeen, he was also an Official of Aberdeen.[180] Apparently, he was one of the burgh council members who was actively engaged in administration of schools in the burgh. As Chancellor of Aberdeen, Reid chose and appointed a master of grammer school in Aberdeen in 1538:

> The said day [January 17], Maister Laurens Chene, scribe of the consisterie of Aberdene, in name and behalf of ane rycht virschipfull clark, Maister Johne Reid, chancellar of Abirdene, and commissar generall of Abirden, exponit to the prowest and consale how he had chosin ane abill, conwenyent, discreit man, to be maister of thair gramer skoull, callit Maister Robert Skeyne, beseikand thair maisterschipis and the haill towne to ressaue hym thankfully, for sic steid and plesur he mycht do thaim in tym cumyng, becaus the admissioun and presentatioun of the said maister pertenit to hym, as he allegit.[181]

As a possible reader of the *Chronicles*, John Reid, an active promotor and sustainer of education in the burgh of Aberdeen, is not an insignificant candidate.

III. Personal and Geographical Association: Perth

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178 See also Sheppard, p. 189.

179 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, pp. 33 and 486. John Reid, Provost of Semple, is mentioned in the letter of James V. See *The Letters of James V*, p. 224.

180 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 32. Official was a 'principal judicial officer' who 'presided over the bishop's court'. (p. xii) Reid had two illegitimate offspring. See *RSS*, II, 514.

181 *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570*, Spalding Club, 12 (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844), p. 151. See also Grant, pp. 31-32.

In addition to the three 'bookish burghs', Perth is also a significant place in terms of the ownership of the *Chronicles*. This is hardly surprising considering the fact that it was one of the oldest royal burghs. Unlike other seacoast burghs, however, it was located at an important crossroads inland. Thus, anyone 'travelling to or from the north and north-east' had to journey through the heart of Perth unless they crossed the Tay by boat.[182] Mary Verschuur suggests that this geographical location caused Perth to be 'predominantly a craftsmen's town', which was significantly different from the other three seacoast burghs 'whose economies were based on overseas trade and whose citizens were more likely to come into direct contact with people and ideas from abroad'.[183] In sixteenth-century Perth, 'merchants and craftsmen comprised the two dominant social groups', and they were 'quite successful financially'.[184] Moreover, they were 'the most politically conscious groups', who formed 'definitive representative organisations such as guilds and craft incorporations'.[185] In short, Perth was equipped with the requisites for a prosperous book culture in Scotland: wealth, literacy and close associations between its peoples.

The manuscript copy now held in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.3.21, that is MS C (M-3), was made for John Roule, prior of Pittenweem. On fol. 27^{v}, the scribe writes: 'liber cronicar*um* Regium Et gestor*um* scotor*um* pro d*omi*no Joha*n*ne Roull Priore de PittinWeym al*ia*s mayo'.[186] Roule himself writes a signature just beside the chapter heading on fol. 220, although it is partly cut away: 'Jo: prior de p'. Unlike signatures on a title page or a flyleaf, it is hard to find Roule's signature, which is assimilated to the chapter heading in the middle of the volume. By signing his name in this peculiar way, Roule may have sought to protect his claim for the copy against other owners. Sheppard shows that Roule came into the offices of prior of Pittenweem as well as the Isle of May in 1525, and he remained in these offices as late as 1558 or 1559.[187] Roule appears in various documents made in this period.[188] One of the noticeable records

182 Mary Verschuur, *Politics or Religion? The Reformation in Perth 1540-1570* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2006), p. 2.
183 Verschuur, pp. 1-2.
184 Verschuur, pp. 8-9.
185 Verschuur, p. 8.
186 See also Sheppard, pp. 120-25. It should be noted that the foliation quoted here does not correspond to that in Sheppard. The manuscript lacks the title page and part of the table of contents, which, judging from the foliation left by the scribe, consisted of 6 leaves. Sheppard counts the first leaf in the manuscript as fol. 1, whereas it was originally counted as fol. 7 by the scribe. Here, the original foliation by the scribe is adopted.
187 Sheppard, pp. 121-22. Roule also held the office of prior of Blantyre from September 1547. See below, p. 175 and Sheppard, p. 123.

concerning him is found in a letter written by James V in 1531. In the letter, James complains about some 'religious and other wealthy churchmen' who commit violent actions with their 'armed followers', but get a 'pardon from the pope' by exploiting their privileges.[189] Roule is mentioned as an example:

> A fresh instance is the case of John, prior of Pittenweem. With some religious men and Alexander Ramsay, rector of Mukart, John led a band to the slaughter of several persons; and, although James takes steps to bring the ecclesiastical judge into action, these men rely upon a false story to impetrate pardon from the pope.[190]

In 1537 the priorship of Coldingham was transferred to Roule from Adam Blackadder 'without reference to the crown'.[191] James V showed great concern at this violation of royal authority especially because 'Coldingham is near England, and [. . .] any unauthorised provision might be very damaging'.[192] The king annulled the transfer, and claimed that John Hume, abbot of Jedburgh, should possess the priorship if Adam Blackadder was still desirous of its transference. Nevertheless, Roule further took 'steps at Rome for provision according to the original mandate'.[193] Certainly, Roule was a troublesome figure to the king.[194] It should be noted, however, that John Roule was a nephew of Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, and was one of the five hundred men who accompanied the king on his marriage tour to France in 1536.[195] Thus, Roule had, at least, enough wealth and status to be a patron of a manuscript copy of the

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188 See, for example, *Extracts*, p. 139, and *The Letters of James V*, pp. 274-75.
189 *The Letters of James V*, p. 200.
190 *The Letters of James V*, p. 200.
191 *The Letters of James V*, pp. 334-35.
192 *The Letters of James V*, p. 335. The priory of Coldingham 'lay only nine miles north of the royal burgh of Berwick', and was seized from the English during James III's minority. See Norman Macdougall, 'The Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', *IR*, 23 (1972), 102-14 (p. 103). In the sixteenth century, there was continuous dispute over the prioryship between the Humes and the Blackadders, as a result of which Robert Blackadder, David Hume and Patrick Blackadder were assassinated. See Dilworth, 'Coldingham Priory and the Reformation', pp. 121-25. Hence, when Adam Blackadder came into the possession of the priory, he was 'not unwilling to exchange the priory with William Douglas'. See, Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542*, ed. by Norman Macdougall (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 46-47 (p. 46). Adam was given a royal licence to transfer the priorship to William Douglas in exchange for the provostry of Methven and the priory of St. Mary's Isle, but this was not realised because of the death of Douglas. Adam instead sought 'an exchange with the unscrupulous John Roule, prior of Pittenweem' (Cameron, p. 47).
193 *The Letters of James V*, p. 335.
194 Sheppard states that it is 'somewhat surprising' to find that the patron of MS C was Roule, the 'litigious and quarrelsome Prior of Pittenweem' (p. 122). It might not be so surprising, however, considering the fact that monasteries were centres of book culture; monks in the monasteries often spent their day 'in the scriptorium copying and illuminating manuscripts', and that Pittenweem had indeed such a scriptorium as late as 1554. Mark Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 63-64.
195 Andrew Forman became prior of Pittenweem in 1497, and after becoming Bishop of Moray, he held Pittenweem *in commendam*. He resigned it to his brother, Robert Forman, dean of Glasgow. Robert Forman

Chronicles. How actively Roule was engaged with the *Chronicles* is not certain. He may not have owned the manuscript for a practical purpose, because, apart from his signature, Roule did not leave any other inscriptions in the copy. Nor is it certain how long this copy was in his possession. There was at least one more owner of it in the sixteenth century. On fol. 313v, there is an inscription in a sixteenth-century hand: 'John sande Lenss*is* [Lenzeis?] this bouk p*er*teines to me geif'.

There are numerous text-related annotations in at least three distinctive early hands in the manuscript, although most of them are now heavily cut away. The seemingly earliest annotator often marks up text with underlines, and makes marginal annotations beside the relevant piece of text. While material in Books 1 to 5 and Books 12 to 17 is heavily annotated, few marginal notes are written in Books 6 to 11, indicating that the annotators were less concerned about the events narrated in these books. The marginal notes left on fols 249 and 303 indicate that the annotator was interested in the origin of the Stewart family. The portion of text in fol. 249 belongs to chapter 5 of Book 12, where the early history of the Stewart family is narrated. The passage concerning how Walter, son to Fleance, was first made Stewart of Scotland is underlined: '[Walter wes maid] stewert of scotland to ressaue the kingis [malis and rentis]'. Beside the text is written a marginal note: 'Stewa [cut away]'. Another passage concerning Walter Stewart's marriage to Marjory Bruce, daughter of Robert I in 1310 is also underlined: 'this walter stewart marit m*a*riory docht*er* to king'. Beside this text, marginal annotation is written: 'Walt [...] ald a [...] to ber [...] of robert [...] erls of [...] Roberti [...] Robertz [...] Jamesi [...]'. A similar annotation is found on fol. 303, which is composed of text belonging to chapter 13 of Book 14. The passage concerning the birth of Robert Stewart, son to Walter Stewart by Marjory Bruce, in 1318 is underlined: 'the samyn tyme robert stewart son to walter Stewart'. A marginal note is written: 'Roberts [...] son to valt [...] on mario [...] docther to Robert [...]'.

In contrast, another annotator has a broader interest; he/she is interested in the relationship between Scotland and foreign countries, or even in the history of such countries or peoples. For example,

was commendator of Pittenweem from 1522 to 1525, and he resigned it to his nephew, John Roule. See *St. Andrews Formulare 1514-1546*, ed. by Gordon Donaldson and C. Macrae, 2 vols, The Stair Society, 7, 9 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Stair Society by J. Skinner, 1942, 1944), I, 171-72, and 179-81, and Mark Dilworth, 'Dependent Priories of St Andrews', *IR*, 26 (1975), 56-64 (p. 58). James V set out by sea from Pittenweem in July, but he was forced to land on the Isle of Whithorn by a tempest. He resumed his voyage from Kirkcaldy on 1 September. See Cameron, p. 131.

on fols 116 and 117, there are marginal notes concerning battles between the Scots and the Picts. The portions of text on these pages belong to chapters 13 and 14 of Book 6. The annotator counts the number of battles fought between the Scots and the Picts: 'The 3 battell focht be scott*is* & pichtis' (fol. 116); 'The 4 battell of scott*is* & pichtis' (fol. 117). Fol. 219 is composed of text belonging to chapter 20 of Book 10, where the Duchy of Normandy was created by Charles III, *alias* Charles the Simple, in 911. There are two marginal notes on the events on the page: 'the beginning of normandie Jn france'; 'the beginning of þe duche of frandoris'. Obviously, these two readers read the *Chronicles* with specific interests. They did not annotate whole texts but only the parts which they were interested in. They only need to return to the text which is interesting or useful to them.

In the early seventeenth century, the copy was owned by the Moncreiffs, lairds in Perth. There are many inscriptions by the members of the family.[196] Some of them are of particular help for identification of the owners. On fol. 164, there is an inscription by William Moncreiff of that Ilk. Although this is partly cut away, it can be read: 'This Book pert*en*es to Wiljame Moncreiff of that ilk'. There are several inscriptions written in the same hand: 'Be me William Moncreiff off That ilk 1611' is written upside down on fol. 246v; 'Be me Moncreiff 1619 nov. 28' is written on fol. 300v. On fol. 201, there are several inscriptions in two distinctive hands: 'Moncreiff', probably in the same hand as that of William Moncreiff on fols 164, 246v and 300v; 'Moncr [...] with my [...]' (partly cut away) and 'Jhone Moncreiff with my hand'. The latter is probably identical with the hand of an inscription found on fol. 259v: 'John moncreiff with my hand 1619 november 29'.[197] Evidently, the copy was owned by William Moncreiff and John Moncreiff. Judging from the dates given by them, it is likely that the copy was given from William to John either on 28 or 29 of November 1619. These repeated signatures in the middle of the volume indicate

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[196] For instance, 'William' (fol. 100), 'In my defence god me defend' (fol. 161) and 'Moncreiff with my hand' (fol. 152). See also Sheppard, p. 123. The phrase 'in my defence god me defend | and bring my soul to one good end' is ubiquitous in manuscripts and prints with sixteenth-century Scottish ownership. In addition to MS R (M-5) (fols 66, 71v and 143) and the copy in Glasgow University Library, Bn.6-d.18 (P-17) (fol. 132), it is also found on fol. 231 of MS Arch.Selden.B.24 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and 'The Kingis Quair'*, p. 3. See also below footnote 236. Priscilla Bawcutt claims that it is 'a formula whose recital or inscription may preserve the individual [. . .] from adversity, a mixture of prayer and good-luck charm'. See Bawcutt, 'The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England & Poems Previously Unpublished: In Honour of Helena Mennie Shire*, ed. by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 59-68 (pp. 64-65).

[197] Also, 'Moncreiff' twice, 'fathak' (fathar?) and 'Mo Fa' are written in the same hand.

that this copy was regarded as an object to be valued and protected in the family.[198] William is William Moncreiff of that Ilk (*c.* 1552-1624), son to William Moncreiff, apparent of that Ilk. The Moncreiffs seem to have been allied with the Earl of Lennox, who, as the principal enemy of Angus, formed a secret bond with James V in 1526. William Moncreiff of that Ilk, father of William Moncreiff apparent of that Ilk, supported Lennox with his two attempts to rescue the young James V from Angus's custody in July and September in the year.[199] The king ultimately escaped from Angus in 1528, and forfeited the lands of Balgony from Angus.[200] The land was restored to 'Beatrix Forman, Lady Moncreiff, in liferent, and to William Moncreiff, her son, heritably' in 1530.[201] It should be noted that Beatrix Forman was a niece of Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, and thus a cousin to John Roule, prior of Pittenweem, the first owner of MS C. Not surprisingly, the Moncreiffs and John Roule were closely associated to each other. When John Moncreiff, the second son of Beatrix Forman, died in 1547, the office of prior of Blantyre was given to John Roule.[202] In turn, the office of prior of Pittemweem was resigned by John Roule in favour of John Moncreiff (d. 1579), a grandson of Beatrix Forman and brother of William Moncreiff, apparent of that ilk, in 1550.[203] It is likely, therefore, that MS C was given by John Roule to one of the family members of the Moncreiffs.[204]

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198 Brayman Hackel claims: 'Repeated signatures in the middle of the book also offer some protection against competing claims to ownership.' (p. 160) It should be noted that throughout the copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gough Scotland 126 (P-2), 'J Corsaw' and 'SA' are repeatedly written down as if these two owners competed their claims to the copy. See, for instance, fols 1, 24, 64^v and 80^v. It might be possible that J. Corsaw was John Corsaw, servant of David Lawte, notary public. Lawte and Corsaw witnessed a charter concerning a contract between John Hume of Blackadder and Alison Hume, his daughter, made on 11 February 1563. See *Laing Charters*, p. 192.

199 Frederick Moncreiff and William Moncreiffe, *The Moncreiffs and the Moncreiffes: A History of the Family of Moncreiff of that Ilk and its Collateral Branches*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Privately Printed by T. and A. Constable at the University Press, 1929), I, 67-68.

200 The lands of Balgony came into the possession of the Earls of Angus when the fourth Earl married Isabella Sibbald, daughter to Sir John Sibbald of Balgony. See, *Douglas Book*, II, 62. For a detailed description of the succession of the lands of Balgony, see below pp. 179-80.

201 Moncreiff, I, 44, 64 and 68.

202 See *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 23, and *RSS*, III, 392. See also Moncreiff, I, 62-63, for an account of the relationship between Andrew Forman and Beatrix Forman.

203 *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 148. John Moncreiff also held the office of treasurer of Dunkeld from 1549 to 1561. See *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 149, and *RSS*, IV: *A.D. 1548-1556* (1952), pp. 72-73.

204 There has been a vacuum of history of MS C between John Roule's ownership and that of the Moncreiffs. As is discussed above in footnote 133, Sheppard suggested that the copy was once owned by John Maitland, the Duke of Lauderdale, which is highly unlikely. The copy was later owned by Roger Gale, who donated it to Trinity College, Cambridge. Sheppard, reflecting M. R. James's statement that Roger Gale's library comprises a significant number of books owned by Patrick Young, suggests the possibility that MS C was owned by Patrick Young (1584-1652), son of Sir Peter Young, tutor to James VI. See Sheppard, pp. 120-21, and James's introduction to his *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College,*

William Moncreiff of that Ilk was on a list of forty-eight men who were 'nominated by the Earl of Lennox, as a bodyguard to protect the King from seizure by the Earl of Morton'.[205] In 1580 he was appointed 'one of the twenty-four Gentlemen of the King's Chamber', who were to attend 'quarterly or when summoned'.[206] The Moncreiffs had a close connection with the Murrays, and in 1586 William married Annas Murray, daughter to Robert Murray of Abercairnie.[207] The identification of John Moncreiff is problematic. The most plausible candidate is Sir John Moncreiff of that Ilk (*c.* 1588-1651), son to William. He was created the first Baronet in 1626, and he was Sheriff of Perth in 1628.[208] Nevertheless, as the hand on fol. 259^{v} does not seem to be identical with that of Sir John Moncreiff of that Ilk, it is not likely that John Moncreiff of that Ilk is the former owner of MS C.[209] Another possible candidate is Sir John Moncreiff of Easter Moncreiff and Kinmonth (1570-1635), brother to William Moncreiff of that Ilk. He was advocate from 1580, Sheriff-Depute of Perth from 1594 to 1625, and counsellor to James VI in 1598.[210] He acquired Easter Moncreiff in 1581 and Kinmonth in 1600, and he was knighted in 1604.

What is of particular significance here is a kinship relation between the Moncreiffs and the Ruthvens. As Elizabeth Moncreiff, sister of William Moncreiff apparent of that Ilk, was married to Alexander Ruthven of Freeland, the two families were related. Thus, William Moncreiff of that Ilk and John Moncreiff of East Moncreiff and Kinmonth had, as paternal cousins, Alexander and Henry Ruthven, who were actively involved in the affair known as the Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600.[211] In fact,

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Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900-1904). MS C is mentioned on p. 205 of vol. III. The close relationship between the Moncreiffs and John Roule strongly suggests the possibility that MS C circulated among the kinsfolk. However, there is one problem with this surmise. As has been stated above, there must have been another sixteenth-century owner of the copy, that is, 'John sande Lenss*is* [Lenzeis?]', who left an inscription on fol. 313^{v}. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about him.

[205] Moncreiff, I, 113.

[206] Moncreiff, I, 113.

[207] Moncreiff, I, 113-16.

[208] Moncreiff, I, 125.

[209] See Moncreiff, I, p. xxv.

[210] *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland: 1532-1943: With Genealogical Notes*, ed. by Sir Francis J. Grant, SRS, 145 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by J. Skinner, 1944), p. 153, and Moncreiff, II, 541.

[211] W. F. Arbuckle gives a detailed description of the various contradictory accounts of the affair in his 'The "Gowrie Conspiracy"', *SHR*, 36 (1957), 1-24, 89-110. Maurice Lee Jr summarises three possible explanations of the affair: 'Either they [the Ruthvens] were the victims of a successful murder plot on the part of King James, or their own plot against the king, to murder him, as James said, or to kidnap him, backfired, or an unpremeditated quarrel broke out, which escalated into deadly violence.' See Lee, *The*

Frederick Moncreiff suggests that the Moncreiff brothers were, more or less, involved in the affair. He claims that although William Moncreiff of that Ilk was not 'directly concerned in the affair', his brothers, John and Hew, were directly involved in it.[212] They dined with Gowrie before the king came to Gowrie's house, and they were still in the house while the king was there.[213] Hew, together with his cousins and Patrick Eviott, appeared in a court session which was convened on 4 November 1600, and was convicted of treason.[214] In contrast, however, John was never accused, and he appeared in the court as a deponent.[215] In addition, he 'received a gift of pension' in 1601 and was knighted in 1604.[216] Although it is hard to tell exactly how actively John was concerned about the affair, it is certain that he was in such a close relationship with the king that he escaped any kind of suspicion or punishment despite his kinship with the Ruthvens.[217] The manuscript copy of the *Chronicles* was in the possessions of owners who were involved in politically controversial events. As has been examined above, at least one annotator of MS C showed great interest in the origin of the Stewart family. It is hard to tell whether these annotations were made by a member of the Moncreiffs. They might have been made before the copy came into the possession of the Moncreiffs. Nevertheless, they are notable in that a reader of the *Chronicles* actively studied the origin of the Stewart monarchy at a time when the ideological history of Scottish kingship was open to dispute, and this attentive concern was certainly shared by the Moncreiffs.[218]

'Inevitable' Union and Other Essays on Early Modern Scotland (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003), p. 100. The account of the event given by the king is found in *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland: Compiled from the Original Records and MSS., with Historical Illustrations, &c. by Robert Pitcairn*, 3 vols in 8 parts (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833), II, part 2: *1600-1609*, pp. 208-19.

212 Moncreiff, I, 119. Moncreiff mentions a story which reveals William's 'opinion of the King's share in the proceedings'. See, pp. 119-20. See *Criminal Trials*, II, part 1: *1596-1600*, pp. 159-60.

213 Moncreiff, II, 544.

214 See *Criminal Trials*, II, part 1, 159-71. Colin Eviot of Balhousie, brother to Patrick Eviot, was married to Margaret Moncreiff, sister to William, John and Hew. See Moncreiff, II, 544-45.

215 See *Criminal Trials*, II, part 1, 184-86

216 Moncreiff, II, 545.

217 Notably, Hew Moncreiff, unlike his cousins, was later pardoned by the king and his property was restored. Thus Frederick Moncreiff surmises that the affair was undertaken by the king, and John was rewarded for 'not saying all he knew' (Moncreiff, II, 545).

218 Arbuckle introduces a story recorded by John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews. When William Cowper, minister at Perth, visited the Earl of Gowrie, he found the Earl reading a book. Although the title of the books is not known, Cowper recorded that that book included a description of past conspiracies. The book was possibly a 'Latin translation of Machiavelli's *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy*', and the Earl was 'studying how to go beyond all conspirators recorded in any history'. See Arbuckle, pp. 102-03 (p. 103). This is another notable example of where a politically astute lay reader purchases books for practical use. He may have looked for materials that could support his political ideas or provide him with a useful guide to his political actions.

Surprisingly enough, MS C does not seem to have been the only copy that was owned by someone connected with the Gowrie conspiracy. It is quite possible that the former owner of the printed copy in University College, London (P-38; hereafter the UCL copy), was also involved in the affair, and he met a worse fate than the Moncreiffs.[219] According to Sheppard, the copy had several sixteenth-century ownership inscriptions: 'Alexander Howesone' (fol. 46); 'Alex*ande*r Menȝeis' (fol. 26v); 'Liber Alexandri Hay de eister kennett / Clerici Registri primo maij 1585 ex dono' (fol. 19*); 'written be me Johnne duff with my hand þe (?) xxiiij day off (?) Junii þe xvij ȝeir 1583' (fol. 94v). Among them, the identity of Alexander Hay is clear. He was the Lord of Easter Kennet, Clackmannanshire, who was chosen as deputy of William Maitland of Lethington in 1564. He held the office of clerk of the privy council from 1564 to 1572, and he became a clerk register in 1579. Consequently, he became a privy councillor as well as a judge in the court of session. He bought many lands not only in Easter Kennet but also in Edinburgh, as a result of which he became a 'top-level landowner'.[220] Only two years before Hay made the above inscription on the UCL copy, it was owned by 'Johnne duff'. Sheppard states that there are many inscriptions which indicate that the UCL copy 'belonged to John and David Duff'.[221] Presumably, they were close blood relations. Of many Duffs found in this period, only the Duffs of Findowie or Fandowie, who 'claim to represent the original stock of the old Earls of Fife', have John and David in successive generations.[222] Although there is not so much information concerning the family in the late sixteenth century, there is one significant record about 'one Juhn Duff' who had sons 'Duncan Duff' and 'David Macduff of Fandowy': 'One John Duff or Macduff, otherwise Ferguson of Fandowie in Athole, was hanged at Perth, August 13, 1600, for his share in the Gowrie conspiracy.'[223] Certainly, he is the same man as John McDuff *alias* Barroune, in Strabrand, who appeared in a court on 22 August 1600.[224] He was

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219 This copy was given to University College Library by Professor R. W. Chambers. Unfortunately, however, University College Library cannot locate the copy any more, and so I have not been able to consult it. (It may have been lost during the Second World War.) All the information concerning the copy is, therefore, based on the record by Sheppard, pp. 197-98.

220 R. R. Zulager, 'Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet', in *ODNB*.

221 Sheppard, p. 197.

222 Alistair Taylor and Henrietta Taylor, *The Book of the Duffs*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: William Brown, 1914), II, 544.

223 Taylor, II, 544.

224 *Criminal Trials*, II, part 1, 143 and 153-55. It is said that the lands of Ballinloan and Findowie, which probably went together, were given to a Duff by James IV 'in return for hospitality'. See Taylor, II, 544.

sentenced 'to be tane to ane Gibbet, besyde the mercat-croce of Perth, and thair to be HANGIT quhill thay be deid'.[225] If this identification of David Duff is correct, we have an intriguing situation where the owners of the *Chronicles* were linked together through the mediation of the Gowrie conspiracy.

The printed copy in the John Rylands University Library, Manchester, 18935 (P-14; hereafter the JRUL copy), also had an owner based in Perth. This copy passed into the possession of various notable owners; it was owned by James West (1703-1772), antiquarian, William Herbert (1718-1795), bibliographer, John Ker (1740-1804), Duke of Roxburghe, and George Spencer (1758-1834), Earl of Spencer. Herbert puts his signature and initials on the title page, the cover of the binding of the copy bears the book plate of the Duke of Roxburghe, and inside the front cover is the stamp of the Earl of Spencer.[226] There is one sixteenth-century ownership inscription on fol. 57: 'Androw Lwndye of balgonye'. There were several Andrew Lundies in this period, but Andrew Lundy of Balgony seems to be identifiable.[227] The lands of Balgony originally belonged to the Sibbalds. James II elevated the lands of Balgony into a barony in 1445 in favour of Sir John Sibbald of Balgony, grand master of king's household. Sir John Sibbald had a son, John Sibbald, and a daughter, Isabella. As Isabella married George Douglas, the fourth Earl of Angus, some part of the lands was held by the Earls of Angus.[228] The other part of the lands was held by John Sibbald, and after his death in 1453, his daughter, Elizabeth. Elizabeth Sibbald married Robert Lundy, treasurer of Scotland, and she resigned the lands of Balgony and others to his son, Andrew Lundy in

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[225] *Criminal Trials*, II, part 1, 155.

[226] See also Sheppard, p. 193. Among these later owners, only William Herbert, who is known to have owned at least two copies of the *Chronicles*, did make a practical use of the *Chronicles*. He made a revised and enlarged version of Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities, Being an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain* (1749). As the existence of the *Chronicles* was not known to Ames, it was Herbert who added the description of the *Chronicles* to the revised edition of the *Typographical Antiquities; or An Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (London: T. Payne and Son, 1785-1790). Herbert must have owed his detailed information of the *Chronicles* in his edition to the copies he owned. He says: 'I have an edition without date, thus intitled [. . .].' (III, 1474-1476 (p. 1475))

[227] For example, one Andrew Lundy was matriculated in St Salvator's College, St Andrews University in 1555. See *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews: The Graduation Roll 1413-1579 and the Matriculation Roll 1473-1579*, ed. by James Maitland Anderson, SHS, 3rd ser., 8 (Edinbrugh: Edinburgh University Press for the SHS, 1926), p. 261. Besides this Lundy, there was Andrew Lundy, laird of St Andrews, and Andrew Lundy of Stratharlie. See David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), pp. 603 and 606, and *Criminal Trials*, I, part 4: *Supplement, 1537-1568*, p. *404.

[228] The lands were later forfeited by James V in 1530, and were granted to the Moncreiffs. See above p. 175.

1494.[229] Presumably, Andrew Lundy of Balgony, the former owner of the JRUL copy, is a son of Andrew Lundy and his wife, Katherine Seton.[230] He appears in a court, as a cautioner in 1548: 'John Sibbet (at the horn) found Andrew Lundy of Balgony cautioner for his underlying the law at the next Justice-air of Fife, for art and part, along with Norman, formerly Master of Rothes, James Kirkcaldy of Grange, and their accomplices, in detaining the Castle of St Andrews against the Queen and Governor and their authority.'[231] His name appears in the register of Dunfermline several times; between 1555 and 1583, he received a charter of the land of Schanwell twice.[232] In 1552, there occurred a feud between the Fairnys of that Ilk and the Betons of Creich. A friend of Robert Beton of Creich murdered one member of the Fairnys of that Ilk, and, in turn, Andrew Fairny, together with Andrew Lundy of Balgony, killed one member of the Beton faction. All of them were summoned to appear in court held in front of Queen Mary and the lords of the Privy Council.[233] Notably, the Lundies were closely associated with the Moncreiffs. From 1488, John Ramsay of Kilgour, a farmer of the kirk of Abernethy, had frequent feuds with the Moncreiffs for nearly twenty years. When John Ramsay litigated against John Moncreiff of that Ilk in 1488, 1494 and 1505, Andrew Lundy of Balgony is always mentioned as a partner of John Moncreiff.[234]

What should be mentioned here is the fact that one illuminated manuscript in the Scottish Catholic Archives, MS Dep.221/5, is called 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', after its former owner in the sixteenth century. William James Anderson speculates that the owner of the primer was somehow connected with Fintray, and conjectures that he was Andrew Lundie of Benholm.[235] As there is no personal information concerning Andrew Lundie of Benholm available, however, this surmise cannot be sustained. It seems

229 *RMS*, II: *A.D. 1424-1513* (1882), p. 470. He is 'Andrea Lundy de Balgony milite vic*us* de Fif', who appears in a charter issued in 1506. *Registrum de Dunfermelyn: Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S. S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, 78 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1842), p. 377. For references to Robert Lundy of Balgony as lord treasurer, see *RMS*, II, 530 and 542.
230 Andrew Lundy married Katherine Seton in 1492. *RMS*, II, 441. It seems that Andrew Lundy had at least three sons by Katherine Seton: James, Robert and Andrew. James and Robert are mentioned in a letter made by the queen in 1546. See, *RSS*, III, 262-63.
231 *Criminal Trials*, I, part 4, *338-39.
232 *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 477. The exact date when Lundy received a charter of the land of Schanwell is not certain. The information is found in a manuscript called 'The buik withe the blak covering Callit nouum rentale Begynnand in 1555 and endand 1583' (p. 465). See also pp. 393-94.
233 *RPC*, I: *A.D. 1545-1569* (1877), pp. 126-27.
234 Moncreiff, I, 44-47. See also pp. 59 and 519 for their family connection.
235 Anderson, 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', *IR*, 11 (1960), 39-51 (pp. 40-41).

unlikely that the owner of this primer was identical with Andrew Lundy of Balgony, the former owner of the JRUL copy. The hand of the inscription found on fol. 4 of the primer is different from that of Andrew Lundy of Balgony found on the JRUL copy.[236] Judging from the fact that the primer was made at the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, it might be possible to surmise that the owner of the primer was Andrew Lundy of Balgony, father of the owner of the JRUL copy.[237] It would be worthwhile, therefore, to further investigate the relationship between the two Lundies, sixteenth-century book owners.

Threre are many inscriptions in the JRUL copy, some of which are related to the text, others are not. An inscription on fol. 10ᵛ, which was probably made in the early or mid sixteenth century, reveals the fact that the copy was once wrongly bound. It reads: 'here the leaves ar wrong sett / and com in agayn at the xi leafe'.[238] Here is a reader who is serious about the textual accuracy and proper sequence of the historical narrative. One notable text-related inscription is found on fols 130ᵛ-31. The portion of text on these pages belongs to chapter 29 of Book 9, where Fergus III is murdered by his wife for his insatiable lust. It is a dramatic scene with a long direct speech by the queen. Learning that innocent men are accused of the regicide, the queen declares that she is the murderer of the king, and kills herself. She 'dang hir self with ane dager to the hert' (fol. 131). Obviously, the reader was deeply impressed by this contrite queen. A *nota bene* mark is put at the beginning of the chapter, all the passages concerning the queen are underlined and short clue to the text are put on the margin. One of them, an abbreviated excerpt from the text, reads: 'Jre & lust sorofull brodd*is* among weman'. The fact that this is the only part marked by this annotator might suggest the possibility that this annotation was made by or for a female reader. Another notable inscription which might be related to a female reader is found on fol. 31*ᵛ. This inscription, which starts with 'Memorand*um* to tak ca*m*mamald raw ressinar a dowbill//', is scribbled in an early sixteenth-century

236 In the primer, Andrew Lundy inscribes: 'In mea tutione Deus me tueatur | Et portet animam meam ad meum | finem. Finis. Amen. | Andrew Lundy with my hand | In my defens god me defend'. See Anderson, 'Andrew Lundy's Primer', p. 40. For a detailed account of the phrase 'in my defence god me defend', see above footnote 196.

237 Anderson states: 'Its date is certain within narrow limits; for the original rubricator quotes an indulgence granted by Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503); it cannot be earlier and it is unlikely to be much later.' ('Andrew Lundy's Primer', p. 39)

238 The two leaves comprising fols 7-10 belong to quire B, whereas three leaves comprising fols 11-16 belong to quire C. The most plausible explanation for this enigmatic 'wrong sett' is, therefore, that the second leaf of quire B was bound between the second leaf and the third leaf of quire C. Only in this way, the second leaf in quire B appears 'agayn at the xi leafe'.

hand and is hard to interpret. However, it is likely to be a recipe for some kind of medicinal poultice or, as Sheppard suggests, 'a pomade'.[239] As with the household record left in MS A examined above, this recipe might have been left by a woman.

The MS RH 13/10 (1530-33) in the National Archives of Scotland, that is MS R (M-5), also had ownership related to Fife. There are numerous early inscriptions and scribbles, both relevant and irrelevant to the text, in the copy.[240] From these inscriptions, it can be learned that the copy was owned by Annas Murray, William Robane and Andrew Row.[241] Unfortunately, none of them is identifiable. An inscription on fol. 71 reveals, however, that another former owner of the copy was somehow related to Perth. It reads: 'Jaems kingorne his hous was Painted the 25 day of may of Maerchte Anno domminu*m* 1602 wretten be me Alex'. According to George F. Black, the family name 'Kinghorn' is of 'territorial origin from the old barony of the same name in Fife'.[242] Thus, it is highly likely that our James Kingorn is identical with James Kingorn (Kinghorn) who often occurs in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century records in the register of Dunfermline. Judging from the fact that he had a charter of the lands of Morpheisfauld, and was granted leases of several parts of land in Dunfermline, it can be surmised that he was a landowner in Dunfermline. For instance, the record on 20 July 1597 reads: 'Carta confirmacionis Jacobj kinghorne terrarum de morpheisfauld cum decimis garbalibus earundem.'[243]

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239 Sheppard, p. 193.

240 See also Sheppard, pp. 128-30.

241 On fol. 19, William Robane writes: 'Wiȝam robane v*ith* my hand at þe pen' (16th century?). On fol. 164, Andrew Row writes: 'It Iss ane beulty by the Lef ane weill Brydlit tung to haue Be me Andro Row The farast thing that mane can falle to heir & se and say not all AR' (late 16th century). A later inscription on fol. 96 shows the copy was once in Stirling: 'w*ith* my hand be my hand it is wryttyne þe xiv day of I [space] monetht of may it is wryttyne Be me at carnok'. Annas Murray is one of the few early female owners of the *Chronicles*. She puts her signature in many places as if to confirm that the copy belongs to her. See fols 20, 27v, 54, 57, 120 and 153v. This reveals her strong desire to protect her ownership against a competing claim, probably a male member of her family. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'women's libraries seem often to have been incorporated into their husbands' holdings during their lifetimes', and so women were aware of the danger of their books 'being mistaken for someone else's property' (Brayman Hackel, p. 214). Another early female owner of the *Chronicles* is found in the copy, BCL. S 147 in the National Library of Scotland (P-11). There is an inscription on fol. 61: 'Katherine Le Riche | bonne fille et bien [cut away]'. The copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Gough Scotland 126 (P-2), has a seventeenth-century female inscription: 'Margaret Johnstoun w*ith* my hande' (fol. 20). The copy in Glasgow University, Bn.6-d.17 (P-16), has a signature of Margaret Rose on fols 213v and 214, but it is probably later than the seventeenth century.

242 Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York: New York Public Library, 1946), p. 400.

243 *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 494. The other items are as follows: 'Tak of the great customes of Dumfermeling and of the port and heavin of Lymkillis Disponit to James Kingorne. 3rd februar 1603.' (p.

Presumably, he is identical with James Kinghorn, clerk of regality of Dunfermline and notary public, who frequently appears in charters issued in Dunfermline. For example, among the witnesses to a charter issued on 11 February in 1604, there is 'James Kingorne, clerk of the regality of Dunfermline'.[244] Notably, in a charter issued on 23 April 1618, Alexander Kinghorn, 'son of the notary' appears together with James Kinghorn.[245] It is highly likely, therefore, Alex, who made the note concerning the painting of the house of James Kinghorn, was James's son. If this is the case, this copy serves as a 'family copy book' for the Kinghorn family to recod domestic affairs.[246]

IV. THE *CHRONICLES* OUTWITH SCOTLAND

Some of the copies of the *Chronicles* enjoyed ownership beyond the Border.[247] The Bath MS, Longleat

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496), 'Tak of the greit custumes of Dumfermeling To James Kingorne. 20 June 1605.' (p. 502), 'Carta Jacobj Kingorne de patella salina jacente apud Kirkcaldie.' (p. 483), 'James Kingornis assedatioun of the teindis of St Margrats stane and randellis craigis.' (p. 485) and 'Jamis Kingornis tak of þe erle of huntlie of þe teinds of Saint Margrats stane and randellis craiges.' (p. 486)

244 *Laing Charters*, pp. 355-56.

245 *Laing Charters*, p. 436. Also see, pp. 438-39, 447 and 449. James Kinghorn seems to have had at least three sons. George Kinghorn appears in a charter issued in 1613, John Kinghorn in 1617 and Mr David Kinghorn in 1615 and 1621. See *Laing Charters*, pp. 405, 428-29, 420, 447 and 449. Note that Andrew Murray, burgess of Dunfermline, often appears in charters witnessed by the Kinghorns. Although it is a mere conjecture, Annas Murray, the former owner of MS R, might have been related to this Andrew Murray.

246 Brayman Hackel, p. 162.

247 Priscilla Bawcutt surveys Scottish works which travelled beyond the Border, and claims that 'the cultural contacts between England and Scotland in the sixteenth century were numerous and extremely varied'. Bawcutt, 'Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), pp. 59-76 (p. 73). William Fletewode, or Fleetwood (*c.* 1525-1594), lawyer and antiquary, owned a copy of the *Chronicles*. The copy was, together with other items in his collection, sold by S. Paterson in 1774, and it cannot be located now. See *Bibliotheca Monastica-Fletewodiana: A Catalogue of Rare Books and Tracts in Various Languages and Faculties; including the Antient Conventual-Library of Missenden-Abbey*, sold by S. Paterson, December 1774, lot 3384. For a personal history of Fletewode, see Christopher W. Brooks, 'William Fleetwood', in *ODNB*. There is an ownership inscription, 'Richard Fletewood (or Fletemale?)', on the title page of the copy in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Mal.18 (P-3; hereafter Mal.18 copy). See also Sheppard, p. 196. Richard Fletewood is not identifiable and so the relationship between William Fletewode and Richard Fletewood is unclear. However, it is likely that they had a kin relationship, and that the copy owned by William Fleetwood was indeed the Mal.18 copy. Edmond Malone, the last owner of the Mal.18 copy before it came into the Bodleian Library, left the following inscription on the fly leaf: 'This book sold at Mr West's sale in 1774 for four guinees E. M.' Enigmatically, however, the sale of James West's library took place in 1773, not in 1774. This might simply mean that the date Malone gave was based on the old calendar in which a new year starts in April not in January. Nevertheless, there is no evidence left that Malone did acquire his copy at the sale of West's library. West owned two copies of the *Chronicles*, both of which were sold at the sale held in March 1773. One of them was bought by George III (now British Library, 187.c.18; P-1), and the other was bought by William Herbert. See *Bibliotheca Westiana: A Catalogue of the Curious and Truly Valuable Library of the Late James West, Esq.*, sold by Mess. Langford, 29 March 1773, lots 4597 and 4598. See also below, footnote 315. Hence, it might be possible that Malone's inscription that he bought the copy at the sale of James West's

House, Bath (M-4), is known to have been taken to England in as early as 1544. Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat House, went to Scotland as a member of the expedition made by the Earl of Hertford in 1544.[248] As Scotland had renounced the treaty with England and allied closer with France in 1543, the Earl of Hertford was appointed lieutenant-general in the north, and invaded in Scotland in May 1544. The English army led by the Earl reached first the Firth of Forth, and then Leith. Several days later, they reached Edinburgh and set fire in the city to destroy it. Both Holyrood abbey and the palace of Holyroodhouse were burned and despoiled.[249] Thynne found the MS copy of the *Chronicles* in Edinburgh and took it back as booty to England. On the flyleaf of the copy, there is an inscription by him: 'Founde in Edenburgh at the wyninge and burninge therof / the vij th of maye beinge Wednisdaye / the xxxvj th yier of the Reigne of *our* souverayn Lorde Kinge henry the eight | John Thynne'.[250] Higgitt and Durkan speculate that this manuscript was taken from the royal library.[251] If this was the case, it is likely that, in addition to MS M (M-1) and the vellum copy of the printed edition (P-29), the Bath MS was also in the possession of James V.

The printed copy in the University Library, Cambridge, Sel.3.174 (P-7; hereafter the CUL Sel.3.174 copy), was also held by an English owner at an early stage of its history. It has several early ownership inscriptions: 'Xtopher Gibbs' (fol. 2*), 'Thomas wardein owe this book' (fol. 3*) and 'bassingbourne gaudy' (fol. 250^{v}).[252] Although the first two owners are not indentified, there is a certain amount of information concerning the last one. Bassingbourne Gawdy is from the Gawdy family, gentry, who rose to

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library was a slip for that of William Fleetwood's library, which took place in 1774.

248 William Thynne, John Thynne's uncle, 'began the family tradition of book collecting'. He collected many manuscripts of Chaucer's works as well as early printed books such as Boethius's *Consolations of Philosophy*, translated and printed by William Caxton in 1478. William's son, Francis, helped Thomas Specht 'with a new edition of Chaucer'. See John Collins, *A Short Account of the Library at Longleat House, Warminster, Wilts* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), p. 5. For a detailed description of the political situation between Scotland and England, and of the expedition carried out by the Earl of Hertford, see Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000), pp. 137-50, and 268-69. The main purpose of this expedition was to 'force the Scots to agree to the marriage' between Queen Mary and Prince Edward, which Henry VIII had failed to achieve by diplomacy. (p. 139)

249 *The Late Expedicion in Scotlande, Made by the Kynges Hyhnys Armye, vnder the Conduit of the Ryght Honorable the Erle of Hertforde, the Yere of oure Lorde God 1544* (London, 1544), reprinted in J. G. Dalyell ed., *Fragments of Scotish History* (Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable, 1798), III, 5-7.

250 This inscription is reproduced in Collins, p. 6. See also Bawcutt, 'Crossing the Border', p. 63.

251 Higgitt, pp. lvii-lviii, lxxvi and 101.

252 See also Sheppard, p. 194.

prominence in Tudor Norfolk.[253] In the early sixteenth century, Thomas Gawdy, who was trained in the law at the Inner Temple, was a very influential burgess in Norfolk; he was high steward of the third Duke of Norfolk's estates, justice of the peace and recorder of King's Lynn and of Norwich.[254] In addition, he became a sergeant-at-law in 1552. He brought his family great estates and property through his three marriages, and established a secure position in the gentry of Norfolk. Bassingbourne Gawdy (*c.* 1532-1590) was his second son from the first marriage to Anne Bassingbourne. Bassingbourne was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and then, following his father, he went to the Inner Temple.[255] He held the office of gentleman waiter to the queen in London, and became sheriff for 1578-1579 in Norfolk. Furthermore, he was a member of the Suffolk bench, Norfolk magistrate and MP for Eye. He had a son named after him, Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy (1560-1606). Bassingbourne II succeeded to the West Haring estate.[256] He was MP for Thetford, 1592 and 1603, and for Norfolk, 1601, and was high sheriff of Norfolk in 1593 and 1601. In 1597 he was created knight. It is hard to tell to which Bassingbourne Gawdy the CUL Sel3.174 copy belonged.[257] There is a letter book of Bassingbourne Gawdy I in MS Tanner 241, the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The hand of the letter book does not seem to be identical with that of the inscription in the CUL Sel.3.174 copy. Thus, the most possible candidate for the owner of the copy is Bassingbourne II.

The Gawdys were a family of the social and intellectual status to appreciate the *Chronicles*. Letters written by Philip Gawdy, younger brother of Bassingbourne II, to his various family members are in MS Egerton 2804, the British Library. In his letter to Bassingbourne II on 13 June 1600, he refers to a special court hearing held on 5 June 1600 where the second Earl of Essex was charged with various acts of

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253 For a description of the origin of the family, see Percy Millican, *The Gawdys of Norfolk and Suffolk* (Norwich: Goose and Son, 1939), pp. 1-12.
254 Millican, pp.12-15, and Joy Rowe, 'Gawdy family', in *ODNB*.
255 See Millican, pp. 16-20, and *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1900*, ed. by J. A. Venn, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-1954), II: *From the Earliest Times to 1751* (1922), p. 201.
256 Millican, pp. 20-22. Although Millican states that Bassingborne II had 'no academic career', Isaac Herbert Jeayes claims that Bassingborne II and his brother, Philip, were both 'admitted to the Inner Temple in November, 1578'. See Jeayes, ed., *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to Various Members of his Family, 1579-1616*, Roxburghe Club, 147 (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1906), pp. ix-x.
257 In addition to them, two of Bassingborne II's sons (one died in infancy), one grandson and three great grandsons were named Bassingborne. See Millican, pp. 18-19, 35-36, 38-39, 42, 51-55. Some of them were admitted to Cambridge University. See *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 201.

insubordination during his stay in Ireland. Philip states that this case should be included in 'Hollinshedes cronycle': 'I thinke it better worthye to be put in Hollinshedes cronycle then any conduyte, or Lo. Mayors Henchmen.'[258] Apparently, both Bassingbourne II and Philip read Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577; 2nd edn, 1587), the Scottish part of which is heavily based on Bellenden's *Chronicles*. In another letter, written on 11 May 1605, Philip refers to Sir George Carew, who owned another copy of the *Chronicles*, Oxford, the Bodleian Library, S.Seld.D.37 (P-4).[259] He writes: 'I was at courte vppon Satterday last wher in the hall wer created theis lordes, whiche I sawe withe myne owne eyes. M[y] Lo. of Cramburn Earle of Salusbury. My Lo. Burleigh Earle of Exeter. [. . .] Sr George Carew.'[260] This reference does not necessarily mean that Philip knew Sir George Carew in person. Nevertheless, this at least suggests there was a social connection directly or indirectly between two former owners of the *Chronicles* beyond the Border.

There are numerous annotations in several different hands found in the CUL Sel.3.174 copy. One reader puts manicules in the margin throughout the copy showing active engagement in the history. This annotator seems to have been especially interested in the relationship between the Picts and the Scots, the reign of king Hengist and the early history of the Stewart family. It is not certain whether this annotator was Scots or English. However, considering the fact that this annotator is interested in not only the early history of Scotland, but also that of England, or Britain, it is possible that the reader was also English.[261] Six of the chapter summaries in the Tabula are marked up with manicules: chapter 17 of Book 2: 'How the kingis of Scottis and Pichtis war alliat togidder [. . .].' (fol. 22*v); chapter 3 of Book 3: 'How Juli*us*

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258 *Letters of Philip Gawdy*, pp. 99-101 (p. 99).

259 For a detailed description of the copy, see below, pp. 191-97.

260 *Letters of Philip Gawdy*, pp. 154-55.

261 Hengist, king of Kent, must have been of particular interest to English readers. It was believed that Hengist first entered Britain at the invitation of Vortigern to defend the Britons from their northern enemies. Kent was the only English kingdom that existed 'long before the *adventus Saxonum*', and legend has it that Kent was tranferred from the British king to Hengist as the 'bride-price for Vortigern's marriage to Hengist's daughter'. See Nicholas Brooks, 'The Creation and Early Structure of the Kingdom of Kent', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by Steven Bassett, Studies in the Early History of Britain (London: Leicester University Press, 1989), pp. 55-74 (p. 57). The marginal annotations found in the printed copy in Oxford, Magdalen College, Arch.B.III.3.13 (P-5), bear a close resemblance to the annotations in the CUL Sel.3.174 copy. The reader marks up passages concerning not only the Scots (fols 132v and 166v) and the Picts (fol. 141v) but also the Romans (fols 24v and 92v), king Arthur (fol. 112v), the Saxons (fols 99v and 100v) and William I (fol. 178). This suggests the possibility that this reader was English.

returnit in Britane [. . .].' (fol. 22*v); chapter 13 of Book 8: 'How Hengist *and* Vortimer come with gret armyis [. . .].' (fol. 25*v); chapter 5 of Book 12: 'How Banquho was slane be Makbeth [. . .].' (fol. 28*v); chapter 7 of Book 15: 'How Robert Stewart *and* Johne Randall recouerit syndry strenthis of Scotland [. . .].' (fol. 30*v); chapter 17 of Book 16: 'How the vniuersite of sanct Androis tuk begynnyng [. . .].' (fol. 31*)[262] Correspondingly, the beginning of chapter 5 of Book 12 on fol. 174 and the passage narrating the marriage of Walter Stewart and Marjory Bruce in the same chapter on fol. 175 are marked up with manicules. Obviously, the annotator customises the *Chronicles* with manicules so that he/she could return to these passages and get necessary information easily. The most notable annotation made by the reader is found on fol. 250v. Just above the woodcut of the 'Imago Crucifixi' on the final page, it is written: 'How the Keithis took their beginning lib: xi cap xvij'.[263] The annotator facilitates reference to the Keith family. Presumably, the annotator was particularly interested in the Keith family, and anticipated that he/she, or perhaps some family members, will re-read the section later. The corresponding part of the main text is also marked up with a manicule.

Another kind of response to the text by a reader is found on fol. 3*. The portion of text on this page belongs to the 6th to 10th stanzas of 'The Proheme of the Cosmographe', where the motif of the sea is often employed. The lines 3 to 5 of the 6th stanza reads: 'So lang I sweomit in hir seis deip | That sad auising with hir thochtfull lance | Couth fynd na port to ankir hir firmance.' Inspired by these lines, a reader, or readers, drew, in black ink and brown ink respectively, two ships with raised sails, one of which has anchors cast, in the margin.

The printed copy in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, delt.21.13 (P-6; hereafter the CCC copy), belonged to a university scholar in the middle of the seventeenth century. A plate on the pastedown of the front cover tells us that the copy was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College by John Rosewell: 'Liber CCC. Ex testamento Reverendi viri *Johannis Rosewell.* Primum Gymnasiarchæ, dein [*sic.*] Socii Ætonerisis, Canonici *Windsoriensis* Hujus Coll. olim Socii.' John Rosewell was matriculated in Corpus Christi College in

262 The chapter numbers referred to here correspond to those in the printed edition.
263 Interestingly, a later reader imitating this writes: 'How the Hayes tooke their beginning Libro: 11 fol. 169'; 'Hengist king of Kent Libris 8: fol 107'; 'The chre of certaine Landis in King Athelstanes reighne Lib: 16: fol: 234' (fol. 250v).

1652, and acquired the BA in 1655, the MA in 1659 and the BD in 1667. He was also incorporated at Cambridge in 1668, and became a fellow of Eton College in 1683.[264] From the evidence of the binding, it can be speculated that Rosewell acquired the copy while he was in Oxford. The binding of the copy, which is made of reverse-sheepskin or reverse-calf, is decorated only with three blind fillets running round the perimeters of the boards without any other ornamentation.[265] This simple design with three fillets appeared in Oxford around 1615 and it soon became popular there; numerous books in Oxford were bound in the style in the first half of the seventeenth century.[266] It is highly likely, therefore, that the binding of the copy was ordered by Rosewell in Oxford when he acquired it. How Rosewell acquired the copy is hard to tell. Nevertheless, there is some possibility that the copy circulated within an Oxford circle. Roger Charnock, another student of Corpus Christi College, is known to have had a copy of either the *Chronicles* or Boece's *Scotorum Historia.* Charnock was matriculated in Oxford in 1563 and acquired the BA in 1568 and the MA in 1572.[267] The inventory of his library, which was made in 1577, is extant in two versions: manuscripts A and B. In manuscript A, there is an entry of 'Boetheus, *Histories*', whereas, in manuscript B, the item is registered as 'Boethius, Historia'.[268] Thus, the book was probably Boece's original version. Nonetheless, considering the fact that the *Chronicles* was frequently called 'Boece's History', there is still a possibility that it was the Scots translation by Bellenden.[269]

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264 *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Their Parentage, Birth Place and Year of Birth, with a Record of their Degrees*, ed. by Joseph Foster, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker, 1891-1892), III (1891), 1281. He also held the office of Canon of Windsor from 1678 to his death in 1684. While in Oxford, he was a tutor to John Potenger. Potenger's private memoirs describe Rosewell as 'a man, eminent for learning and piety, whose care and diligence ought gratefully to be remembered by me as long as I live'. See C. W. Bingham, ed., *Private Memoirs, (Never before Published) of John Potenger, Esq., [. . .] with a Letter to his Grandson, Going to the University* (London: Hamilton Adams, 1841), p. 28. See also Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College with Lists of its Members* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. 234 and 399.

265 I am indebted to Ms Margaret Lane Ford of Christie's and Mr Richard Linenthal formerly of Bernard Quaritch for identification of the material used for the cover of the binding.

266 David Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500-1640: Including a Supplement to Neil Ker's Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2000), p. 35. See, for example, figure 32 on p. 35. The binding of the copy of *Bodleiomnema* (1613) held in Brasenose College, Oxford, bears a close resembrance to that of the CCC copy.

267 *Alumni Oxonienses*, I, 264, and *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, ed. by R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green, 6 vols (Malborough: Adam Matthew, Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992-2004), v: *PLRE 113-137* (1998), p. 37.

268 *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, pp. 39 and 48.

269 See, for instance, the entry in the sale catalogue of the Duke of Lauderdale in footnote 133.

Whatever early history the CCC copy has, it is certain that it was in heavy use by an early owner.[270] Many inscriptions related to text are made throughout the copy. An illustration found on the margin of fol. 161 is of interest. The portion of text on the page belongs to chapter 8 of Book 11. A farmer named Hay and his sons fight against the Danes in support of king Kenneth, and they are made nobles for their heroic acts. The Hays are given a shield by the king: 'King Kenneth gaif hym thre reid scheildis in ane field of syluer to beir in maner of armis in place of þe ȝok, to signify þ*a*t he was promouit fra smal *and* obscure lynnage to gret honours, riches, *and* la*n*dis.' (fol. 161) Just beside the text, the coat of arms of the Hays is drawn, though in a simplified way. Besides the text-related inscriptions, there are many private notes. A motto, 'Speraui (in deo) Spero Spe morio', is repeatedly written on the title page, fols 33*v, 10 and 250v. On fol. 1*v, the following passages are written: 'Suspecke douthe macke me donte | dout mackethe me to mesdeme | mesdemeng mackethe me to ofende | ofense is cause of this'.[271] The subjects of this verse, such as suspect and doubt, remind us of the agenda of humanist commonplace books.[272] In commonplace books, readers were encouraged to prepare 'a full list of subjects' such as 'Reverence', 'Faith' and 'Gratitude', and note down whatever they found striking or useful through their readings under these subject headings.[273] Arguably, the annotator noted down in the CCC copy a verse which would be later included in a commonplace book, or employed this copy as a commonplace book. This surmise can be endorsed by the following passages, which are inscribed in the same hand on fol. 31*v: 'Those ffrendese whom profett, or leuckere, encrease athe, | whane sobstance, onse fayllethe, therwithall thay will cease, | but frendese, that be copeled, with hart and withe love, | nether ffeare, nor ffortenne, nor fforse, may remove.' This is a quotation from Socrates. Presumably, the owner of the CCC copy found this in

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270 Although many names are scribbled on fol. 250v, such as Wallter, Henry and Marye, they are too common to be a clue to identification of the owners.

271 Unfortunately, this poem is not identified.

272 Humanists encouraged readers, especially inexperienced ones, to 'accumulate a storehouse of examples and stylistic flourishes' in order to acquire 'sounder judgment, wittier conversation, and more abundant style (Brayman Hackel, p. 145)'.

273 *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia / De Ratione Studii*, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, trans. and annotated by Betty I. Knott, Collected Works of Erasmus, 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), XXIIII: *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo / Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*, pp. 635-39 (pp. 635-36). For a detailed account of the humanist agenda of commonplace books, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 101-33.

William Baldwin's *A Treatyce of Moral Philosophy*, which was printed by Richard Tottel in London in 1564.[274] This is one of the 'prime examples' of printed vernacular commonplace books in the late sixteenth century, which, more often than not, assembled 'the sayings of moral philosophers, popular proverbs, or prose paraphrases of no great stylistic distinction'.[275] It was 'immensely popular' among the contemporary English as well as the Scots.[276] In the Bannatyne Manuscript (National Library of Scotland, MS Adv.1.1.6, *c.* 1568), one of the important literary manuscripts made in sixteenth-century Scotland, George Bannatyne copied many verses from Baldwin's *Moral Philosophy*; parts I, II and III of the manuscript opens with verses copied from it.[277] Furthermore, Bannatyne copied the same passage from Socrates copied in the CCC copy, demonstrating a notable correspondence of interest and reading practice between an English reader and a Scots reader. In addition, on fol. 33v* of the CCC copy, three verse excerpts are written also in the same hand. One of them is a poem by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the elder (*c.* 1503-1542), and the second is the first four lines from 'Time trieth truth' by an anonymous poet.[278] Both of them are found in the *Songs and Sonnettes*, commonly known as Tottel's *Miscellany,* 'one of the most important single volumes in the history of English literature', and 'a landmark in the emergence of new

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274 See Baldwin, *A Treatyce of Moral Philisophy: Containing the Sayinges of the Wise* (London: Printed by Richard Tottel, 1564; *STC* 1258), fol. 215v. *A Treatyce of Moral Philosopy* was first published in 1547, and was revised and enlarged several times by William Baldwin and Thomas Palfreyman. The above quotation from Socrates was first added in the 1564 edition.

275 Moss, p. 207.

276 Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *Older Scots Literature*, ed. by Sally Mapstone (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), pp. 189-210 (p. 206).

277 *The Bannatyne Manuscript National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS. 1.1.6*, ed. and introd. by Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scolar Press in association with the National Library of Scotland, 1980), pp. xv-xvi. Bannatyne used the 1567 Baldwin-Palfreyman edition.

278 The poem by Thomas Wyatt is no. 108 in *Tottel's Miscellany (1577-1587)*, ed. by Hyder Edward Rollins, rev. edn, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965). Wyatt held a close relationship with Thomas Cromwell, who was a 'chief patron and protector' of him. After the fall of Cromwell in 1540, Edmund Bonner and Simon Heynes malignantly accused Wyatt of his communication with Cardinal Pole, whom Henry VIII felt to be hostile, as well as of 'verbal treason' against the king. See Colin Burrow, 'Sir Thomas Wyatt', in *ODNB*. This poem seems to refer to this 'false charges pressed against Wyatt after the execution of Cromwell'. The title of the poem, 'The louer suspected blameth yll tonges', which was manufactured by the printer, is thus 'misleading'. See *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 208. The second poem, 'Time trieth truth' (no. 206), is probably based on a poem on times and seasons, 'Everything is in the hand of God', in Ecclesiastes, 3:1-8. See *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 280-81. The third poem reads: 'Sithe thout hathe leaue to thinke what leste | and tong wntied may ofte ofende | Toung hold thy pease soo is itt besste | for thoute is free and ther a ende.' Although this is not identified, its sentiments are familiar and find a parallel in the verse 'Antithesis', which is ascribed to James VI. See *The Poems of James VI. of Scotland*, ed. by James Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 22, 26 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1955, 1958), II: *Unpublished and Uncollected Poems, Glossary, Index*, p. 196.

themes and styles' of humanism.[279] Tottel's *Miscellany*, which comprises poems by Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Nicholas Grimald and anonymous authors, was first published in 1557, and at least nine editions were produced in the sixteenth century.[280] Both of the above poems are found in every edition, but it is likely that the owner of the CCC copy used one of the later editions, as these annotations were made about 1593. At the bottom of the same page is inscribed in the same hand: 'The 20 of october 1593 betwene io and ii of the clocke in the fornonne wase a yerthequake.' With mottos, maxims, poetical excerpts, and a diary element are noted down, this copy plays a role of a family copy book.

The printed copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, S. Seld. D.37 (P-4; hereafter the S.Seld.D.37 copy), is of particular interest in that it was, at a very early stage of its history, in the possession of a member of one of the most influential families in Wales. The copy has many inscriptions including text-related ones, *nota bene* marks and private memoranda.[281] A *nota bene* mark, which is a combination of three dots and a line drawn top-to-bottom, is found throughout the copy. Only once on fol. 17*, probably in a different hand, a manicule with a ring on the forefinger is employed to mark passages on a wondrous lake in Ireland. There are several early ownership inscriptions. John Selden, lawyer and scholar, the last owner of the copy before it came into the Bodleian Library in 1659, makes his signature on the title page: 'J Selden'.[282] Several other inscriptions, 'ffoulk mosten' and 'Maston', each in a different hand, are also found on the title page. The signature 'Mosten' or 'Mostyn' is also found on fols 33*v and 250v. Evidently, the copy was owned by the Mostyns, a family of the land-owning class in Wales.

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279 See *Tottel's Miscellany*, I, 76 and 160, and Charles G. Nauert Jr., *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 176. Nauert claims that Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was 'captured aesthetically by the Italians, especially Petrarch', was the first English poet 'to use the sonnet as a metrical form'. Similarly, the Earl of Surrey is important for 'the first significant and sustained use of blank (unrhymed) verse in his translations from Vergil's *Aeneid* (*c.* 1554)'. See Nauert, pp. 176-77.

280 *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 4, 7-36. The date of publication of each edition is as follows: 1557, 1557, 1559, 1559, 1565, 1574, 1585 and 1587. Only one witness of the first edition is known to exist. It is now held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Arch.G.f.12(I). A facsimile of the copy was produced as *Songes and Sonettes (Tottel's Miscellany) 1557*, A Scolar Press Facsimile (Leeds: The Scolar Press, 1966).

281 See also Sheppard, p. 195.

282 Upon his death on 30 November 1654, Selden passed most of his library, except for some oriental books he had given to Cambridge University Library and 'some Arabic medical manuscripts bequeathed to the college of physicians', to his executors. In June 1659 the executors gave most of his collection to the Bodleian Library. See Sandra Naiman, 'John Selden', in *Pre-Nineteenth-Century Book Collectors*, pp. 297-306 (p. 304), and D. M. Barratt, 'The Library of John Selden and its Later History', *Bodleian Library Record*, 3 (1950-1951), 128-42, 208-13, 256-74 (pp. 128-32).

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the greater Welsh families started to use surnames instead of 'the traditional Welsh form of nomenclature' with 'aps'.[283] The Mostyn family, which had a distant relation to the Tudors, was one of them, and it was Thomas ap Richard ap Hywel (1490-1558) who adopted the surname of 'Mostyn' for the first time.[284] Thomas was not as ambitious to increase the estate he inherited from his father or to hold many public offices as was his brother Piers. Still both Thomas and Piers were included in the commission of the peace as justices of the peace for Flintshire from the first commission in 1543 until their deaths.[285] What Thomas stood out in was, however, his great patronage of literature. According to Carr, '[n]o fewer than seven poets' sang to Thomas, and there are also 'several poems to his wife and daughters'.[286] The patronage of poets was inherited by his son, William (1521-1576). Many poets sang to him, and 'Lloegr drigiant ddifyrrwch Brytanaidd Gymro' was dedicated to him by the author, Gruffudd Hiraethog.[287] He is also known to have played a key role in the Eisteddfod held in 1567. The Eisteddfod was 'an official examination of members of the bardic order', where 'degrees were awarded in accordance with the rules of their craft', and 'licences to practice were issued'.[288] It is assumed that it was Thomas, son to William, who founded the famous Mostyn Hall library, which boasted a valuable collection of early printed books as well as one of the 'five major collections of manuscripts' made in North Wales.[289] The Mostyns were, collectively, a lettered family, and hence, it is no

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283 A. D. Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn, 1540-1642, Part I', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 28 (1977-1978), 17-37 (p. 17).
284 Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', p. 17. Carr claims that 'Thomas's change of name was a gradual one'. Even after adopting the new surname, Thomas sometimes used his traditional Welsh name. Nevertheless, the surname seems to have become established by 1547. See Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', p. 17. The spelling of the surname was, however, less rapidly established. It was often spelled as 'Moston'. See Thomas Pennant, *The History of the Parishes of Whiteford, and Holywell* ([London]: Printed for B. and J. White, 1796), p. 72. Howel ap Ieuan Fychan, grandfather to Thomas, was 'third, and fourth, cousin to Henry Tudor', and his wife, Margaret of Gloddaeth, was 'second cousin to Edmund Tudor, Henry [VII]'s father'. See Lord Mostyn and T. A. Glenn, *History of the Family of Mostyn of Mostyn* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1925), pp. 74-75.
285 *The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1541 to 1689*, ed. by J. R. S. Phillips (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), pp. 92-93. According to Phillips, 'justices of the peace did not make their appearance in Wales' until around 1536. (p. x) As Carr suggests, that Thomas's name in the commission 'stood at the head of the active Flintshire justices, immediately after the *ex-officio* members, in 1543 and 1551' indicates the precedence of his status in the county. See Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', p. 19.
286 Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', p. 20.
287 Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', p. 22.
288 Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', pp. 29-30. William's grandfather, Richard ap Hywel, also played an important role in the Eisteddfod held in 1523. The family was awarded a 'miniature silver harp' for their great service, which became a family treasure. Carr even suggests that William Mostyn himself was a poet.
289 Daniel Huws, 'Sir Thomas Mostyn and the Mostyn Manuscripts', in *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. by James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: The British Library,

wonder that this copy of the *Chronicles* was owned by a member of it.[290]

Presumably, the signature, 'ffoulk mosten', on the title page was made by Fulk, or Foulk, Mostyn (b. 1530), the seventh son of Thomas.[291] Unfortunately, however, little is known about him. What is known is that he held the office of sergeant-at-arms to Queen Elizabeth in 1569, and died without issue.[292] The hand of the other signature, 'Mostyn' on the title page, as well as of those on fol. 33*^{v} and 250^{v}, is different from that of Fulk, and so these inscriptions were made by another family member. Judging from the date '1570' inscribed in the same hand on fol. 1*^{v}, the annotator must have been someone very close to Fulk. On fol. 2*, he/she repeatedly inscribes: 'vnto god only | I hely praye Daely | to save mooste assurydly | frome the yeld hauld Jury'. On fol. 33*^{v}, the annotator puts a similar inscription, but puns his/her name in it: 'vnto god only | I Dealy pray hely | to Save me mosten assuredly | frome the yeld hauld Jury'. Below this inscription, the following figures are written down: '8 myllions ix hundryd forty vii vii hyndryd iiil iij^{b} xvij^{s} iiij^{d}', 'fyve v thau v hyndreyd iiijv ii vij^{s} x^{d}'.[293] Presumably, this copy served as a household record for the Mostyn family to note down various sorts of domestic information.

The next identifiable owner of this copy is George Carew (1555-1629), Earl of Totnes. The covers of the binding bear his heraldic stamps: arms with three lioncels passant.[294] George Carew was educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, from 1564 to 1573.[295] In 1574 he went to Ireland, where he spent nearly thirty years in military service as well as in administration. He became master of the ordnance in Ireland in

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1997), pp. 451-72 (p. 451), and also see, Pennant, pp. 72-73.

[290] According to Philip Henry Jones, people in the 'upper ranks of Welsh society' learned English enthusiastically even before the Act of Union of 1536, and the sons of the gentry were sent to English grammar schools. Jones, 'Wales', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-), IV: *1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (2002), pp. 719-34 (p. 720). Thomas Lloyd also suggests that even before the eighteenth century gentlemen in Wales tended to avoid purchasing Welsh books. See Lloyd, 'Country-House Libraries of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales*, ed. by Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales in Association with Aberystwyth Centre for the Book, 1998), pp. 135-46 (p. 136).

[291] Mostyn, p. 92, and Carr, 'Mostyns, Part I', p. 22. Thomas had nineteen children by his wife, Jane. The first and the last of them died in infancy.

[292] Mostyn, p. 92, and Carr, 'Mostyns, Part I', p. 22.

[293] On the page it is also noted: 'Aden[?] 8947783^{b}17^{s}4^{d}'; 'Jurors[?] 0005592^{b}7^{s}10^{d}'. Below these figures is written: '20 basters [?] in my Daris [?] | the viith of Febwrariy yf I sayd truiw onore | I tould never a lie'. There is another seventeenth-century ownership inscription, 'Anthony Masham' on the page, but he is not identifiable.

[294] See Woodfield, p. 19, no. 118, and Davenport, pp. 86-87.

[295] Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'George Carew', in *ODNB*. See also *Alumni Oxonienses*, I, 236, Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*, 2 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1691), II, 451-52.

1588, privy councillor in 1590 and lord president of Munster in 1600. After coming back to England in 1603, he became a courtier and stood high in the favour of James I, and later Charles I. He was elected Member of Parliament for Hastings and Sussex in 1604, and was created Baron of Clopton in 1605, Earl of Totnes in1626. In addition, he was master of the ordnance in England, councillor for the colony of Virginia, governor of Guernsey and member of the privy council. Carew was also a reputed antiquary. Although Carew hated Ireland, where his brother was killed, he was interested in its history, and collected numbers of Irish papers and manuscripts. He associated with many antiquaries such as William Camden, Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas Bodley.[296]

That he was interested in Irish history deserves attention, because it may be related to the unique occurence of the manicule on fol. 17*.[297] The finger with a ring on the forefinger is drawn just beside the text concerning a miraculous lake in Ireland:

> In Ireland is ane loch, and about the samy be mony mylis growis nothir herbe nor tre. And gyf ony tre be affixit and set doun in this loch, within the space of ane ȝeir eftir, this tre alteris. For sa mekle of it as is hyd within the erd turnis in ane hard stane, it þat is hyd in the watter turnis in Irne. And sa mekle as is a bone the watter kepis the nature of the tre. And so the tre, stane, and yrne ar iunyt togidder vnder ane stok.

Carew does not leave his autograph in the copy, and there is no inscription that was evidently made by him. However, it seems likely that the manicule was inserted by Carew, who must have been interested in the passages. The deliberate employment of the manicule indicates the annotator's active engagement with the passage and attempt to acquire profitable information from it.

It is impossible to prove how the copy came into the possession of Carew from the Mostyns. Nevertheless, the fact that some members of the family were active in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I seems suggestive here. According to Carr, Edward, brother to Fulk, was in Ireland in 1570s and 1580s. Also, Robert Mostyn, either Fulk's brother or cousin, was under-constable of Athlone in 1573,

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[296] Presumably, Sir Robert Cotton became familiar with George Carew through his patron, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. Both George Carew and the Earl of Northampton were in Sir Walter Ralegh's circle. See Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 205 and 220. Richard Carew, brother of George Carew, was a Cornish antiquary and topographer. (pp. 28-29)

[297] Just below the pointing finger is written 'toase' or 'taose[?]'.

as well as constable of Roscommon in 1576.[298] As some more Mostyns were found active in Ireland at the turn of the century, it is not impossible to surmise that Carew and some member of the Mostyn family knew each other in Ireland.[299]

The last owner of the copy before it came into the Bodleian Library was John Selden (1584-1654). Selden was matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford in 1600, where he stayed for less than two years, and never acquired his degree.[300] He left Oxford and started his apparenticeship at the Inns of Court in London in 1602. He entered Clifford's Inn in the same year, and was admitted to enter the Inner Temple in 1603. Soon after his arrival in London, Selden made the acquaintance of Sir Robert Cotton, and was given *carte blanche* to Cotton's Library.[301] Selden dedicated some of his works, such as the *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon* (1607) and *The History of Tithes* (1618), to Cotton.

The relationship between George Carew and John Selden is thus easy to reconstruct; both of them were members of Sir Robert Cotton's circle.[302] It is evident that books and manuscripts were circulated among the members of Cotton's circle. Despite his reputation for covetousness, Cotton let his friends borrow printed books as well as manuscripts in his collection.[303] In Add. MS 35213 in the British Library, some notes of loans of printed books in Cotton's hand are left.[304] A loan to George Carew is recorded on fol. 60[v] of the manuscript.[305] Selden's name is not found in the manuscript. Nevertheless, another list of loans in Harleian MS 6018 in the British Library shows that Cotton lent thirteen books to Selden on 2

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298 Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', p. 36.
299 Carr, 'Mostyns Part I', pp. 36-37.
300 David Sandler Berkowitz, *John Selden's Formative Years: Politics and Society in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Associated University Press, 1988), p. 15. For a detailed description of the early history of John Selden's life, see pp. 13-31. Also see Paul Christianson, 'John Selden', in *ODNB*.
301 There is an anecdote that Selden met Cotton in Sussex before he went to London. See Berkowitz, p. 25. It has been also suggested that Selden was a copyist for Cotton.
302 Berkowitz claims: 'The friendships made by Selden in the first two decades of his London career could have developed from his activities either as a lawyer or as a scholar, yet the common thread connecting them was their acquaintance with Sir Robert Bruce Cotton.' (p. 31)
303 He kept records of loans of manuscripts meticulously with the purpose of maintaining 'control amid many comings and goings'. Nevertheless, this was not successful, because some of them were, undoubtedly, never returned, and strayed from the library. See, Colin G. C. Tite, 'A "Loan"of Printed Books from Sir Robert Cotton to John Selden', *Bodleian Library Record*, 13 (1988-1991), 486-90 (p. 486).
304 For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Colin G. C. Tite, 'A Catalogue of Sir Robert Cotton's Printed Books?', *British Library Journal*, 17 (1991), 1-11; also reprinted in 'A Catalogue of Sir Robert Cotton's Printed Books?', in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, ed. by C. J. Wright (London: The British Library, 1997), pp. 183-93.
305 See Tite, 'A Catalogue', p. 7.

February 1622.[306] Inversely, Cotton acquired books and manuscripts from his friends; Carew presented Cotton with a roll of Naples, and Selden donated him the *Annals of Tewkesbury* (13th century).[307] Thus, it is not unlikely that Carew and Selden, who frequented Cotton's library, made exchanges or gifts of books to each other. The fact that at least two books, that were originally lent out by Cotton to John Pory and William Camden respectively, are found in Selden's library is evidence of personal associations among the members of the Cotton circle.[308] In fact, in Selden's library, numerous books are found that carry ownership inscriptions of his contemporaries such as Cotton, Camden and John Donne, which suggest close links between these book collectors.[309]

Cotton's enormous library was one of Selden's 'major resources throughout his life'. By using Cotton's library, Selden became familiar with 'a remarkable range of modern European scholarly writings' as well as 'English medieval material, chronicles, charters, and legal documents', and 'the whole body of classical literature'.[310] What Selden pursued in his works was 'antiquarian scholarship'; he traced a subject 'to the remotest times and move forward', compared each record and document, and matched only verifiable records with a reliable chronology.[311] Therefore, although Selden does not leave any annotations in his copy of the *Chronicles*, it is highly likely that he read it. When he was preparing for *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera* (1610), for example, Selden must have done some research on Scottish history. Parry claims that the work was 'implicitly directed against the King'.[312] In his *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (Edinburgh, 1598; London, 1603), James I emphasises the divine right of kings and royal absolutism. By demonstrating that Fergus, the first Scottish king, came from Ireland to Scotland in order to rule over barbarous people, and established the form of government, James claims that the king is 'above the law and above Parliament'.[313] Selden, in *Jani Anglorum*, traces the 'development of the laws and constitution of

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306 Tite, 'Sir Robert Cotton to John Selden', pp. 487-89.

307 Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 57.

308 Tite, 'Sir Robert Cotton to John Selden', pp. 489-90. It should be noted that some books in Cotton library were 'absorbed' by Selden and were never returned. (p. 486)

309 See John Sparrow, 'The Earlier Owners of Books in John Selden's Library', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 6 (1929-1931), 263-71.

310 Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 95-129 (pp. 97, 112-13).

311 Parry, pp. 101 and 105.

312 Parry, p. 102.

313 Parry, p. 101. See also John Cramsie, 'The Philosophy of Imperial Kingship and the Interpretation of James VI and I', in *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government*, ed. by Ralph Houlbrooke (Aldershot:

England', and argues that 'the origins of the laws and government in what is now England were quite differently derived from those of Scotland as described by James'.[314] The S.Seld.D.37 copy, which was a household archive to the Mostyns, became a profitable resource for the legend of Ireland, or political or legal history for its later owners.

ANONYMOUS READERS

There are several copies, which include annotations and inscriptions in early hands without any clue to the identification of the annotators. The printed copy in the British Library, 187.c.18 (P-1), is one of them. In the eighteenth century, it was owned by James West, antiquarian, and afterwards, at the sale of West's library, it was purchased by George III through his court seller, George Nicol of Pall Mall.[315] After the death of George III, the king's library was inherited by his son, George IV, and the king presented it to the British nation in 1823. Nothing is known about the earlier ownership of this copy, nor is there any ownership inscription in it. However, the early owner of the copy read it assiduously and left many notable annotations and notes. He/she counts the number of kings of Scotland and England, and writes the number beside the text concerning each king. For example, in the margin of fol. 14, beside the passage concerning king Nothatus, '5.K.S.' is written, indicating that Nothatus is the fifth king of Scotland. This is seen throughout the copy. It appears that the origin of the Stewart monarchy was of particular note to the annotator. In chapter 5 of Book 12, there is a genealogical account of the Stewart family from Fleance, son to Banquo, down to James V. On fol. 175, the passages concerning Robert II, the first Stewart monarchy, are marked up with underlines as well as a line drawn top-to-bottom. In the margin is written: 'the first king | of the steward*is* | look the 1. ca. | the .16. book'. The reader makes a reference for return

Ashgate, 2006), pp. 43-60 (p. 47).

[314] Parry, pp. 102 and 106.

[315] *Bibliotheca Westiana*, lot. 4597. For a detailed account of the library of George III, see John Brooke, 'The Library of King George III', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 52 (1978), 33-51, and Graham Jefcoate, '"Most Curious, Splendid and Useful": The King's Library of George III', in *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Kim Sloan with Andrew Burnett (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 38-45. For a detailed description of George Nicol, see H. R. Plomer, G. H. Bushnell and E. R. McC. Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford: Printed for the Bibliographical Society at Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 181.

visits. Equally worthy of note is the fact that there are many marginal notes concerning legal matters.[316] One of them is found on fol. 11v. The portion of text on the page belongs to chapter 1 of Book 2, where, after the death of king Fergus, a law prohibiting minority succession is made. The marginalia reads: 'A law that | no children | shold inherit (?) the | crown of Scotland'. Similarly, when Dowal murders king Nothatus and usurps the crown in chapter 6 of Book 2, the reader writes a note in the margin: 'K. contrary to law' (fol. 14). This is comparable to another note written beside the text where Durstus, the eleventh king, dies and Ewin is chosen as king by Charon on behalf of the nobles in chapter 15 of Book 2. The marginal note reads: 'K. chosen' (fol. 20). Obviously, the reader was concerned about the relationship between the law and kingship, and supplies the finding notes to make it easier to follow these topics. These finding notes were of use to both the annotator and later readers; the annotator could move quickly to a particular passage which he/she wanted to consult or re-read later, and the first-time readers could 'scan through the margins' before they started to read the text.[317]

It is noticeable that marginal annotations made by another anonymous owner of the printed copy now held in the University Library, Cambridge, SSS.41.10 (P-8; hereafter the CUL SSS.41.10 copy), bear a close similarity to the annotations found in the British Library copy. In this copy, at least three different readers make annotations; one in red ink, one in black and the other in pink. The annotator who used red ink is of particular note. As with the annotator of the British Library copy, this annotator was concerned about kingship, and provides an apparatus to find and follow relevant passages. The number of kings is counted and the numbers are inserted in margins beside passages concerning each king, and, in the 'Tabula', each king's name is copied out in the margins. Just beside the summary of chapter 1 of Book 12 on fol. 28*, Banquo's name is written down together with other kings. When the 'Tabula' comes down to the summary of the death of James I in chapter 8 of Book 17, the date of his death is written in the margin: '21 feb. | 1436' (fol. 31*v). The annotator seems to be especially interested in the Stewart family. On fols 174v and 175 some referential notes are put for return visits. The text on the pages belongs to chapter 5 of Book 12, where a genealogical account of the Stewart family from Fleance to James V is

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316 See fols 13v, 61v, 65, 73, 110v and 137.

317 Brayman Hackel, p. 165.

given. At the top of the pages 174[v] and 175, 'The Geonologie of the Stewardis', and 'The GeonoLogie' are written respectively. In addition, the following passage is marked up with underlines: 'Nocht lang efter he was send with ane gret power in þe Jlis, Galloway, and othir partis of scotland to punis tyrannis *and* lymmaris of þe cuntre, quhom he dantit with sic ma*n*heid and prudence, þat he was maid stewart of scotland to ressaue þe kingis malis *and* rentis out of al part*is* of þe realme.' (fol. 174[v]) That the Stewart family owes its origin to 'daunting' of the Isles and other troubled places is given a special attention by the reader.[318]

A poem excerpt in the same hand on fol. 33*[v] demonstrates that the annotator was accustomed to the style of the humanist commonplace book, where collected passages were categorised into subjects. The annotator writes:

> So have I seen 'mongst the celestiall Train, | Bright Stars arise and quickly set again: | Others (whose circles greater arches trace) | Though short in Lustre, run a Longer race: | Some wondrous swift, some slower then the rest | Yet (one and all!) still tending to the west, | Impartiall Death doth no compassione take; | Cedars and Shrubs promiscous Ashes make.

This is a poem by Sir George Wharton (1617-1681), an astrologer. In his *Calendarium Ecclesiasticum*, almanac, published in 1657, he includes several poems of his own creation. The poem quoted in the CUL SSS.41.10 copy is put under 'The Regall Table', which lists the kings of England from William I to Charles I. Thus this poem presumably alludes to the fates of the past kings of England.[319] The reader of the CUL SSS.41.10 copy, whose major concern was kingship, found that this poem fitted to the *Chronicles*, and quoted it after the king list.[320]

CONCLUSION

As the first printed vernacular history of Scotland, the *Chronicles* did have a wide range of readership in terms of social status as well as geographical location. It was owned not only by nobles, magnates and

318 For a detailed account of the significance of the association between the Stewart monarchy and the idea of 'daunting' of the troubled places, see above Chapter 3, pp. 80-90.
319 George Wharton, *Calendarium Ecclesiasticum; or, A New Almanack after the Old Fashion, for the Commune Year of Man's Creation 5606, Redemption 1657, Being the First from the Bissextile* (London: Printed by John Grismond, 1657; Wing A2657A), p. [5].
320 A collection of the poems of George Wharton, *Select and Choice Poems Cellected out of the Labours of George Wharton Esquire*, was published in London in 1661.

clerics, who were conversant with Latin, but also by lay elites such as landed gentry and burgesses, who were versed only, or mainly, in the vernacular. There is a concentration of owners of the *Chronicles* in major burghs, and many of the owners were personally associated with each other. A variety of readers took a variety of approaches to the *Chronicles*. Whereas some readers regarded their copies of the *Chronicles* as an object to be valued and preserved, others employed their copies as household records in order to preserve information. Many readers actively read their copies and often left annotations which reflect their interests or concerns. More annotations are made in relation to the king-lists, the succession issue or genealogical accounts, demonstrating that contemporary Scots readers were concerned about these matters. Significantly, these heavily annotated parts coincide with the material Bellenden attentively revises or newly inserts in the printed version. Bellenden was certainly well informed about popular demand, and his revisions in the later versions reflect this. Indeed, what he offered in the *Chronicles* was well appreciated by his audiences. At the same time, however, there are several instances where the *Chronicles* had a less anticipated audience. Some readers left far more annotations to English events than to Scottish events; accounts of the reigns of king Arthur and king Hengist, not those of the Scots kings, or the invasions of the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans in Britain are heavily marked and annotated.[321] Presumably, these were made by English readers or at least by people whose major interest was in English history. If so, the *Chronicles* is one of the most revealing examples of literary inter-communication across the Border in the sixteenth century, and of the influence and impact of Scottish literature on English readers.

Many copies were thus customised with marks and notes which reflect the personal concerns of each annotator. When these customised copies were passed to subsequent readers, their readings must have been influenced by the apparatus provided by the former annotators. When readers shared their copies of the *Chronicles*, they also shared their knowledge or ideas about the nation and its history. Accordingly, Bellenden's *Chronicles* keeps evolving; Bellenden revises the text with public demand in mind, and the national identity or historical knowledge of his readers could be shaped and influenced by this prescriptive reading. When subsequent readers used annotated copies, their ideas on the Scottish nation and its history were influenced not only by the history narrated in the *Chronicles* itself but also by the

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321 See above, pp. 186-87, and footnote 261.

personal interpretation of preceding annotators. Thus John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland* is a multi-faceted work whose quality and value was transformed and created by its readers as well as by its author.[322]

[322] The importance of the notion that the text is 'unstable', and its meanings are formulated not only by the author but also by the readers was recently suggested by Sharpe and Zwicker. The text should be examined not only in terms of its production or creation but also its reception and consumption. We need to pay more attention to 'readerly' text, where texts are regarded as 'sites of multiple hands and voices', rather than 'writerly text', where texts are the 'embodiment of the single author'. See Sharpe and Zwicker, pp. 24-25.

Conclusion

John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland* is not a reliable translation of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, from which it differs in terms of content, style, and historiographical as well as political philosophy. This is not a result of Bellenden's indifference to Boece's Latin text, but rather of his respect for the original's humanistic quality. In the *Chronicles*, from its first manuscript version to the final printed edition, Bellenden seeks to procure the humanistic quality and to heighten the value of his vernacular text. In order to reproduce the *copia* of the original Latin text in his translation, Bellenden successively and meticulously makes stylistic revisions. He employs a variety of type of rhetoric, he makes stylistic substitutions, and he alters the order of passages for the sake of the dramatic quality of his text. He also makes deletions of words, passages, or even a significant amount of narrative material to acquire a compressed style which recreates the narrative vigour of the original Latin. At the same time, Bellenden's adherence to the humanistic principle, his personal sympathy towards his patrons, or his concern about audience often prompt him to work beyond the confines of the function as a translator; he makes alterations of text at a greater level, such as ideological tailoring of the text, structural alterations or insertions of narrative material. In general, Bellenden follows Boece's narrative flow and material, but he modulates it with humanist-inspired treatment. Moreover, Bellenden abides by humanistic historiographical precepts, and so the instructional value of his work often weighs more than faithfulness to the original Latin text. Humanistic ideas, which emphasised the importance of civic and social responsibility, accord with what Bellenden aims at in the first full-scale printed vernacular history: shaping of the national identity of the Scots themselves. Bellenden differentiates MS M, which is mainly targeted at James V, from the printed edition, which circulates widely among the Scots, and his revision work demonstrates his evolving attentiveness to this different audience of each version of the *Chronicles*.

In the opening book of the *Chronicles*, Bellenden attempts to demonstrate the wholeness of the Scottish nation structurally as well as ideologically. When he revises the chapter divisions of the book, he emphasises Scottish events, especially the reigns of Scottish rulers or kings, as the organising principles. Scotland is described as an 'empire', and its king as an 'emperor', suggesting its autonomy. In so doing,

Bellenden intensifies the unifying relationship between the Scottish nation and its king. On the other hand, Bellenden's employment of other humanist-inspired terms of civic responsibility, namely 'commonweal' and 'counsel', shows that the nation and its people are also inseparable; in order to maintain the wholeness of the Scottish empire, it is essential for the Scots to be actively engaged in public service.

As the history comes closer to his own time, Bellenden's notion that his work should be profitable for his audience is escalated. Book 12 bears some correlation between its historical events and contemporary social and political concerns, so that readers can find some lessons from it. The indomitability and unity of the Scottish nation are, again, articulated with imperial parlance; by describing Scotland as an 'empire' when it faces external menace, Bellenden stresses its invincibility; by associating the Stewart monarchy with the 'daunting' of the troubled places, he shows that Scotland is a unified nation under the government of one ruler. Admittedly, these imperial ideas are of use to display Bellenden's ideological support for the Stewart monarchs, but Bellenden shows no less concern about the impact of the *Chronicles* on a popular audience. This indicates that imperial ideas are not incompatible with public feeling and that they are also effective in shaping the national identity of the Scottish people.

In Book 16, which relates historical events only 150 years before Bellenden's own time, Bellenden's emphasis on the usefulness of his work is all the more intensified. Bellenden deviates from Boece's original text more frequently and greatly than in the preceding books in favour of the instructional value of his work. He compares all the available source materials with Boece's and at instances substitutes Boece's account with a better one according to a humanist historiographical viewpoint. The overall organisation of this book is also altered on such an extensive scale that even material in Book 17 of Boece is incorporated into this book. Bellenden's emphasis on accounts of nobles, especially those of the Douglases, the ancestor of Bellenden's patron family, also leads him to depart from Boece; he meticulously makes stylistical, structural and material revisions and alterations to these accounts in order to demonstrate the significant role they played in society. The absence of the ideological employment of imperial ideas in this book, however, ensures that Bellenden still retains the notion that only the Scots king is equipped with the power to unite the nation.

What emerges from the analytical survey of three chosen books of the *Chronicles* is that Bellenden's

translation and revision practice evolves from one book to another as well as from one version to another. Thus it is to be expected that an examination of the relationship of all the extant early manuscripts of the *Chronicles* would illuminate further aspects of Bellenden's translation and revision practice. In addition to the first version and the final revised version, we have at least two distinctive stages of revision work represented by MSS C and A. A limited examination of MS R in Book 12 indicates, however, the possibility that this manuscript represents another, possibly early, stage of revision work. There is another early manuscript, whose relationship to other intermediary manuscripts is uncertain, namely MS B. The probability that MS B also represents another stage of revision work might not be as high as that of MS R. Even so, it would still be useful to elucidate how this manuscript was produced, as it would show much about the mechanics of manuscript circulation in sixteenth-century Scotland.

Bellenden's approach to other books is also worth investigation. Because Bellenden's translation practice changes as the history comes closer to his own time, it would be useful to trace this process through the chronological examination of all the books in the *Chronicles*. It would be particularly rewarding to explore how Bellenden approaches Books 8 and 9, two characteristically idiosyncratic books in the *Chronicles*. In contrast to Books 1, 12 and 16, which primarily deal with historical events in Scotland, in Books 8 and 9 events in England are foregrounded. The latter half of Book 8 is devoted to descriptions of events in Britain; Vortigern becomes king of the Britons, he invites Hengist to Britain to support him against the Scots and the Picts, and Hengist becomes the king of Britain. Similarly, the first half of Book 9 is devoted to descriptions of events in Britain, mainly the reign of king Arthur, who, together with the Scots and the Picts, defeats the Saxons and defends Albion from pagan invasion. Accordingly, many chapters in these books start with English events, and the reign of the Scots king loses its function as the principle for the organisation of the history. The description of each Scots king is extremely short and insipid in Book 9, and consequently, this book, which covers the history of nearly 280 years, includes accounts of the reigns of as many as twenty Scots kings. This number is conspicuously large in comparison with those in other books. Book 12 includes, for example, a description of the reigns of eight kings in a period of about one hundred years.

This kind of extended study of Bellenden's translation practice will give us a better understanding

of the reception of the *Chronicles* and the reciprocal relationship between the author and the audience. The contemporary readers of the *Chronicles* approached and utilised their copies in a variety of ways. Many readers did find it a useful resource for the information they needed, and numerous notes and marks are left in their copies which reflect their concern or interest. The absence, or scarcity, of annotations can show, in other words, their indifference or lack of concern. In many copies, far fewer annotations are made to Books 8 and 9 than to other books, for instance. This might simply mean that many Scots readers were not interested in the English historical events narrated in these books. Nevertheless, it is also possible that their attention was deliberately diverted from English history. Bellenden's approach to these two books is conspicuously different from that to the other books. Bellenden might have purposefully made these books unappealing in order to highlight the Scottish events in other books. A further investigation of the relationship between Bellenden's variable approach to each book of the *Chronicles* and the actual reaction of the readers to that could be carried out.

In their dependence on the 'origin-legend-plus-king-list' as a means to prove the indomitability and tradition of Scotland, Boece and Bellenden follow their medieval predecessors, such as John of Fordun and Walter Bower. What Boece did in his work was to enhance what is obscure in Fordun and Bower; by naming the forty anonymous kings from Fergus I onwards and describing their reigns in detail, he filled in the historical vacuum in their chronicles. In so doing, Boece demonstrated the unbroken line of Scottish monarch, and established 'the antiquity and independence of the Scottish kingdom'.[1] This emphasis on the longevity of Scotland's independence as a nation is also retained in Bellenden's translation. Nevertheless, Bellenden shifts the purpose of history in his work. Boece's history is, as with the preceding chronicles by Fordun and Bower, 'designed to site the Scots and their history in the world'.[2] On the other hand, Bellenden looks inward. The *Chronicles* is expected, as the first full-scale printed vernacular history,

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[1] Sally Mapstone, 'Scotland's Stories', in *Scotland: A History*, ed. by Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 304-34 (p. 327).

[2] Nicola Royan, 'Medieval Literature', in *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c. 1100-1707*, ed. by Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald, 5 vols (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2006-2007), I: *The Scottish Nation: Origins to c. 1500* (2006), pp. 201-17 (p. 202). Royan claims that this purpose of history also applies to Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicles*. (p. 206) See also Nicola Royan with Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c. 850-1707', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Ian Brown, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), I: *From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, ed. by Thomas Owen Clancy (to 1314) and Murray Pittock (1314-1707), pp. 168-83 (p. 171).

to disseminate a uniform national history among the Scots on a far greater scale than previously. Accordingly, the purpose of the *Chronicles* is to shape the national identity of the Scots themselves, and Scottish antiquity and independence becomes a means to provide the Scots with national pride. Indeed, the *Chronicles* had a remarkable popular appeal among the Scots. Its manuscript copies were successively produced until the mid-seventeenth century.[3] Notably, three of them were painstakingly copied from the printed edition by less learned Scots; National Library of Scotland, MS 2766 (M-9) is a copy made by a Leith notary Adam Broun in 1641; National Library of Scotland, MS 3146 (M-10), was made by George Paterson, a sheriff clerk of Haddington, in 1650; National Library of Scotland, MS 21244 (M-11), was made by Richard Moir, a schoolmaster at Campsie, in 1636.[4]

The *Chronicles* had a significant impact and influence on Scottish historiography thereafter. Bellenden's successful attempt to heighten the quality of the vernacular text proved that Latin is not the only appropriate language for historical writings. Vernacular Scots became, together with Latin, a legitimate medium for national history, not a supplementary one. In the late 1550s and 1560s, John Knox (*c.* 1514-1572) wrote the *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* in Scots.[5] In general, Knox's *History* is not 'in the model of' the Scottish histories which preceded it.[6] Nevertheless, Knox's employment of dialogues of subject and monarch recalls those in the preceding historical writings, and 'pre-Reformation nationalistic sentiments' certainly penetrates his *History*.[7] Almost simultaneously with Knox, John Leslie (1527-1596), Bishop of Ross, also wrote the *History of Scotland* in the vernacular.[8] Leslie

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[3] There exist at least six later manuscript copies. Two of them, Edinburgh University Library, MS Laing III.205 (M-6) and National Library of Scotland, MS 5288 (M-8), were made in the sixteenth century, and the other four in the seventeenth century.

[4] *National Library of Scotland: Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938-1992), II: *Manuscripts 1801-4000, Charters and Other Formal Documents 901-2634* (1966), pp. 114-15 and 196. Most parts of National Library of Scotland, MS 5288 are also similar to the printed edition, although 'in places it differs substantially'. See *NLS: Catalogue of Manuscripts*, IV: *Manuscripts 4941-6405, Charters and Other Formal Documents 2635-6000* (1982), pp. 31-32.

[5] William Croft Dickinson claims: '[B]y the end of October 1559, Knox must have been well advanced with his work, which then consisted of the present Book II'. He then completed Books III and I in 1566. Probably, part of Book IV was also written in 1566, but it is certain that 'Knox was still collecting record material as late as December 1571'. See *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. by William Croft Dickinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1949), I, pp. ixxxviii-xcv (pp. ixxxviii and xciii).

[6] Mapstone, pp. 330-32 (p. 330).

[7] Mapstone, p. 331.

[8] Leslie started to work on the *History* in 1568 when he was 'reteirit fra the Court of Ingland', and finished it in 1570. See *The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I. in the Year M. CCCC. XXX VI, to the Year M. D. LXI, by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross*, Bannatyne Club, 38 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830), pp. 6-7.

wrote his *History* as a continuation of Boece, and so it covers history from the death of James I in 1436 down to 1561 when 'Queen Mary assumed the reins of government'.[9] Writing in vernacular Scots, however, Leslie seems to have compared himself with Bellenden, who translated the *Scotorum Historia* 'to the greit furderaunce and commoun weille of the hole natione'.[10] In his epistle to Queen Mary, Leslie states that he compiled the *History* 'for the honour and weill of oure natione and countrey'.[11] About a decade after Knox and Leslie, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (*c.* 1532-*c.* 1586) wrote *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* in the vernacular.[12] This work covers history from the death of James I in 1436 down to 1576. Unlike Leslie, when Pitscottie was working on his *Historie and Cronicles*, he must have had an access to the second edition of the *Scotorum Historia* (1574, 1575), which includes two additional books written by Boece.[13] However, Pitscottie deliberately chose to start his work where Bellenden's translation finishes, not where the *Scotorum Historia* does. This demonstrates that Pitscottie thought that the Latin chronicle did not meet every demand for a history, and that the vernacular history of this period is hoped a positive place. The vernacular prose history was established as a legitimate form for the national history.

The influence of the *Chronicles* was not confined within early modern Scotland. When William Harrison prepared the 'History of Scotland' for Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577), he decided to employ the *Scotorum Historia* for his source. Nevertheless, what he really did was not to translate the *Scotorum Historia*, but to slavishly follow the *Chronicles*.[14] Consequently, the 'History of Scotland' in Holinshed's *Chronicles* bears a close similarity to the *Chronicles*. It was this 'History of

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Leslie rewrote his *History* in Latin with corrections and enlargements, which he published as *De origine, moribus et gestis Scotorum* in 1578.

[9] *The Historie of Scotland: Wrytten First in Latin by the Most Reuerend and Worthy Johne Leslie Bishop of Rosse, and Translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple Religious in the Scottis Cloister of Regensburg, the 3eare of God, 1596*, ed. by E. G. Cody, 2 vols in 4 parts, STS, 1st ser., 5, 14, 19, 34 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885, 1888, 1890, 1895), I, p. xvii.

[10] *The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I*, p. 144.

[11] *The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I*, p. 8.

[12] *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* was made sometime between 1 January 1576 and 25 April 1579. See *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland: From the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir: Written and Collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*, ed. by Æ. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols, STS, 1st ser., 42, 43, 60 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1899-1911), I, p. xlviii.

[13] For the history from 1436 to 1460 Pitscottie merely translates the second edition of the *Scotorum Historia*. See, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, I, p. cxlvi.

[14] In his dedication to Thomas Secford, Harrison states that he chose 'rather, onely with the losse of three or foure dayes to translate Hector out of the Scottish (a tongue verie like vnto ours) than with more expence of time to diuise a newe, or follow the Latin copie, which is farre more large and copious'. 'The Historie of Scotland', in *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: 1577; *STC* 13568), p. [v].

Scotland' that William Shakespeare was heavily depended on for Scottish materials in his works such as *Macbeth* and *Cymbeline*.[15] Not surprisingly, we can find, in Shakespeare's works, numerous verbal or ideological echos of the *Chronicles*.[16]

Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland* matched the contemporary cultural climate, where a humanist ethos penetrated well into the culture. It was about thirty years after the completion of Gavin Douglas's pioneering work, *Eneados*, which demonstrated the usefulness and attractiveness of 'the langage of Scottis natioun'.[17] The vernacular language was now embraced as an appropriate medium for literary and historical writings. Bellenden was at the threshold of a new era of vernacular culture, and he took the initiative with his humanist vernacular history, the *Chronicles of Scotland*.

15 It is generally believed that Shakepeare employed the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587) as a source for these works. For a detailed description of Shakespeare's employment of sources for these two works, see *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957-1975), VII: *Major Tragedies* (1973), pp. 423-527, and VIII: *Romances* (1975), pp. 3-111, Kenneth Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 208-17 and 258-66, and Henry N. Paul, *The Royal Play of Macbeth: When, Why, and How It Was Written by Shakespeare* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), pp. 204-25.

16 It has been claimed that, for example, Shakespeare comes closer to the *Chronicles* than to Holinshed on the description of Lady Macbeth. See, Bullough, VII, 439, and Nicholas Brooke's introduction to *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. by Nicholas Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 67 and 69. Also see Paul, p. 211, footnote. Bullough suggests the possibility that Shakespeare knew the *Chronicles*. (VII, 438)

17 *Virgil's 'Aeneid': Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, 4 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1964), II: *Text* (1957), p. 6, line 103.

APPENDIX I: BELLENDEN'S REVISION WORK IN THE *FIRST FIVE BOOKS OF LIVY*

In 1533, after completing the first manuscript version of the *Chronicles of Scotland*, John Bellenden produced his second translation of a historical work: the translation of the first five books of Livy's *Ab urbe condita*. He dedicated it to James V, and received payments from the royal court.[1] Unlike the *Chronicles*, which was printed by the king's printer within about ten years after the completion of the first manuscript version, the *Livy* was not printed in Bellenden's lifetime as far as we know.[2] Only two extant manuscript copies of the full work are known to exist; National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.3.12, and the Boyndlie MS in Aberdeen University Library, MS 2740 Additional 1. The former was written before 1538, whereas the latter was written some time between 1550 and 1560.[3] In general, the Advocates MS is the

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[1] Bellenden received payments in installments at least three times in 1533; 8 pounds on 26 July, 8 pounds on 24 August and 20 pounds on 30 November. See *TA*, VI: *A.D. 1531-1538* (1905), pp. 97-98, and 206. John MacQueen argues that James V commissioned Bellenden to translate Livy because, as a Renaissance ruler, he 'acknowledged the importance of classical and historical studies for the conduct of public affairs'. See MacQueen, 'Aspects of Humanism in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Literature', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by John MacQueen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 10-31 (p. 19). W. A. Craigie in his introduction to the STS edition, however, claims that 'it is improbable that the work was ever much in request'. *Livy's History of Rome: The First Five Books*, trans. by John Bellenden, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, 1st ser., 47, 51 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1901, 1903), I, p. viii. A comparison of the amount of payment Bellenden received for the *Livy*, 36 pounds in all, with that for the *Chronicles*, 67 pounds in all, may suggest that the *Livy* was not as valued as commission by James V.

[2] It was first printed and published in 1822; *The First Five Books of the Roman History: Translated from the Latin of Titus Livius by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, and Canon of Ross* (Edinburgh: printed by James Ballantyne for W. and C. Tait, 1822). This edition is based on the Advocates MS, which was the only manuscript that was known to exist then.

[3] Craigie suggests that the Advocates MS was written around 1540. *Livy's History of Rome*, STS, I, p. viii. Nevertheless, E. A. Sheppard rectifies the date as 'not later than 1538' on evidence that Bellenden is abbreviated as an 'Archden of Murray' in the Prologue. See Hector Boece, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. by John Bellenden, ed. by R. W. Chambers, Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands, 2 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 10, 15 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1938, 1941), II, 448. The STS edition is based on the Advocates MS with some amendations supplied from the Boyndlie MS. Craigie's introduction gives a detailed description of these two MSS. See *Livy's History of Rome*, I, pp. vii-xvii. Some ownership inscriptions found in the Boyndlie MS are identifiable; 'Mr William Gordon' on p. 65 is William Gordon of Balcome, second son of Sir William Gordon of Lesmoir. He was registered as an advocate on 28 January 1681. See *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland: 1532-1943: With Genealogical Notes*, ed. by Sir Francis J. Grant, SRS, 145 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by J. Skinner, 1944), p. 85. In 1680 he married Elizabeth, a daughter to Mungo Wood, a town treasurer of Edinburgh as well as a solicitor-general. There are inscriptions by Mungo Wood on pp. 27 and 40 of the manuscript. Presumably, Mungo Wood gave the manuscript to his son-in-law, William Gordon. The early ownership of the Advocates MS is harder to trace. On page 512, there is a signature 'A. Home, St Leonardis'. It is hardly possible to identify him with only this information. Nevertheless, it may be worth mentioning that there is only one A. Home who was matriculated in St Leonard's College between 1474 and 1579; this was Alexander Home, who was matriculated in St Leonard's College in 1579. See *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews: The Graduation Roll 1413-1579 and the Matriculation Roll 1473-1579*, ed. by James Maitland Anderson, SHS, 3rd ser., 8 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the SHS, 1926), p. 294. Alexander Hume (1557(?)-1609), a poet, is believed to have been a student of St Andrews University in the last half of the

'better' of the two copies; it is in 'perfect condition throughout' except a few defects, and contains a remarkably good text which probably 'represents Bellenden's text pretty accurately'.[4] In contrast, the Boyndlie MS, which is written by at least eleven scribes, includes irregular and inconsistent spelling where 'scribal errors of every kind abound'.[5] Nevertheless, the Boyndlie MS is 'in some points (chiefly spelling) a more faithful copy of the original', and 'supplies numerous words and sometimes lines which have been accidentally omitted' in the Advocates MS.[6] Thus, with a close comparison of these two manuscripts, an almost perfect text of Bellenden's *Livy* can be produced.

Besides these two full manuscripts, however, some fragments of the *Livy* translation are preserved in British Library MS Add. 36678.[7] This is the oldest of these three manuscripts, and is of particular interest in that it includes Bellenden's autograph. It comprises 44 leaves, some of which are imperfect, and only fragments remain of folios 34 and 37. It is partly written by the hand of Bellenden's amanuensis, and

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sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the probability that Alexander Home, the former owner of the Advocates MS, was identical with Alexander Hume, the poet, is denied by Alexander Lawson, because the poet is believed to have been matriculated in St Mary's College, St Andrews in 1571. See *The Poems of Alexander Hume (?1557-1609)*, ed. by Alexander Lawson, STS, 1st ser., 48 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1902), pp. xii-xv, and 199-201.

[4] *Livy's History of Rome*, I, pp. viii-x.

[5] *Livy's History of Rome*, I, p. xiii.

[6] *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 236, and I, p. xiv.

[7] These fragments were found in the binding of a book owned by George Reid, a bibliophile of Dunfermline, in 1902. According to Robert Donaldson, it is highly likely that these fragments were included in the binding with some fragments of the *Aberdeen Breviary*, printed by Walter Chepman in Edinburgh in 1510. See Donaldson, 'Fragments of the *Aberdeen Breviary*', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 6.3 (1995), 71-86 (pp. 80-81). There are several contradictory statements concerning the book in whose binding these fragments were included; according to the British Museum's record, the book was printed in Edinburgh in 1537, whereas, in the issue of 25 June 1902 of the *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, J. C. M. Weale claimed that the book was printed in Lyons and bound in Scotland. Donaldson maintains that the British Museum's record is more reasonable and plausible, and discusses the probability that these fragments were used for the binding of a book printed by Thomas Davidson, the only printer active in Edinburgh in the 1530s. Nevertheless, no available information indicates that George Reid owned a book printed by Davidson. His collection was mainly comprised of medieval illuminated manuscripts, such as Books of Hours and Bibles, most of which were given to the Victoria and Albert Museum. (The online catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum shows 82 titles given by Reid.) The rest of the collection was given to the British Museum Library and the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust. The Carnegie Dunfermline Trust housed the collection in the Pittencreiff House Museum, from where 36 items were given to the Public Library Committee in 1930. In the catalogue of Pittencreiff House Museum, there is no entry for Scottish books presented by Reid. The only one book printed in Lyons found in the catalogue is printed in 1886. I am indebted to Dr Janice Erskine, librarian of Dunfermline Carnegie Library, for this information. According to Dr Arnold Hunt of the British Library, there are only two entries for George Reid in the donation register: he is registered as the donor of the fragments of the *Aberdeen Breviary* on 12 April 1902, and as the donor of the fragments of Bellenden's translation of Livy on 20 May 1902. I am grateful to Dr Hunt for providing me with this information. What can be inferred here is either that we have lost the book in whose binding these fragments were included, or that the information that the book was printed either in Edinburgh in 1537 or in Lyons is inaccurate.

partly by Bellenden himself.[8] The first 30 leaves and folios 34 and 35r are written in a form of a fair copy. The writing is regular, but rather small and compressed with much marginal space left for corrections and revisions. Indeed, Bellenden adds many corrections in the margin of these fair copies.[9] The rest of the leaves are all written, or scrawled, by Bellenden in a rough manner. Obviously, they are early working drafts of his translation. The portion of the text in this manuscript belongs to Book 1 and Book 3 of the *Livy*. Worthy of note here is the fact that folios 36-38 and folios 39v-42 cover the same part of the text, demonstrating two stages of a working draft by Bellenden. Folios 36-38 are the first draft of chapter 15-16 of Book 3, and folios 39v-42 are the second draft of the same part, as the latter is written with more care than the former.

An examination of this manuscript reveals much about Bellenden's translation and revision practice that cannot be detected from the final version of the *Livy* as reproduced from the two extant manuscripts. What becomes immediately clear is that Bellenden initially intended to put glosses, or marginal notes, into his work. Along with many corrections, he gives explanatory notes to words or phrases whose meaning may not be familiar or clear to his contemporary audience. The notes are sometimes written in Latin, probably quoted from Latin texts, and sometimes in Scots.[10] John MacQueen suggests that Bellenden's purpose of inserting these educational glosses was to 'enrich the resources of the vernacular'.[11] Equally possible is that Bellenden was prompted by the marginal notes inserted by Gavin Douglas in his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[12] Douglas puts extensive marginal notes to the Prologue 1 and the first

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[8] The hand of this amanuensis is not identical with that of David Douglas in MS M of the *Chronicles*. I owe this judgement to Professor Ralph Hanna of Oxford University.

[9] Some marginal glosses appear to have been inserted by a hand other than the amanuensis or Bellenden. Presumably, they were written by an early reader of the manuscript.

[10] Strangely, none of these glosses is found either in the Advocates MS or in the Boyndlie MS. As a result, as MacQueen suggests, 'many unfamiliar concepts are taken apparently for granted' in these two manuscripts. See MacQueen, p. 18. For a possible explanation for this loss of glosses in these manuscripts, see below, pp. 212-13.

[11] MacQueen, p. 18.

[12] It was first printed, posthumously, in London in 1553. (*The .XIII. Bukes of Eneados of the Famose Poete Virgill Translatet out of Latyne Verses into Scottish Metir, bi the Reuerend Father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkel & Vnkil to the Earle of Angus* (London: William Copland, 1533); *STC* 24797) For a detailed discussion concerning Douglas's marginal notes in his translation of Virgil, see Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), pp. 107-08. Bawcutt claims that although these marginal notes appear fully only in the Cambridge Manuscript of the *Eneados*, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.12, 'there can be no doubt that it is the work referred to by Douglas himself' (p. 108). It is impossibly difficult to identify the edition of Virgil Douglas used for his translation, and probably he consulted more than one edition. Nevertheless, almost certainly he made 'close and

seven chapters of Book 1 of the *Eneados*, where he interprets 'the hidden "sentence" of Virgil'; he explains not only 'historical and geographical allusions' but also 'pronunciation of words'.[13] In so doing, he sought to make his translation profitable to his readers especially those who teach Virgil to children: 'Ane othir proffit of our buke I mark, | *Th*at it salbe reput a neidfull wark | To *th*ame wald Virgill to childryn expone.' (Conclusion, lines 41-43)[14] This allies with the purpose of humanist translation: to introduce the value of the Latin classic to wider audience. It seems likely that Bellenden took the view that his translation should also be equipped with this instructional value. As Thomas Rutledge discusses, Bellenden deliberately attempts to situate himself as 'Douglas's literary successor'.[15] Bellenden's *Livy* begins with 'precisely the material with which the thirteen-book *Eneados* concludes', and there is material 'reminiscent of the *Eneados*' in the 'Proloug' to the *Livy*.[16] Thus Bellenden's attempt to gloss his translation can also be regarded as an aspect of his imitation of Douglas. Bellenden, however, seems to have embarked on this scheme at a much earlier stage than Douglas did. Priscilla Bawcutt speculates that Douglas's commentary was composed 'after Douglas had finished the translation of the *Aeneid*, since it contains many references to the later books and Prologues'.[17] On the other hand, Bellenden appears to have kept composing glosses from the first stage of drafting to the later stage of revision work. Bellenden's marginal notes are found throughout the BL MS whether on a fair copy prepared by the amanuensis or on a first draft by Bellenden. Moreover, glossing seems to have coordinated with his

continuous use of Ascensius's commentary on Virgil' (Bawcutt, p. 99). Ascensius's edition was published in 1501, and was re-printed in 1507 and 1512. Bawcutt argues that Douglas consulted the edition of 1501. (pp. 99-102) At the same time, however, he was 'not content to rely on the commentaries of others', and consulted other scholarly works such as Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and Livy's *Ab urbe condita.* See Ralph Hanna and others, 'Latin Commentary Tradition and Vernacular Literature', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989-), II: *The Middle Ages*, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (2005), pp. 363-421 (p. 368).

[13] Bawcutt, p. 108.

[14] *Virgil's 'Aeneid': Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, ed. by David F. C. Coldwell, 4 vols, STS, 3rd ser., 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1964), IV: *Text* (1960), p. 189. See Hanna, p. 369, and Alastair Minnis, 'Absent Glosses: A Crisis of Vernacular Commentary in Late-Medieval England?', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20 (2003), 1-17 (pp. 1-2).

[15] Thomas Rutledge, 'Gavin Douglas and John Bellenden: Poetic Relations and Political Affiliations', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. by Nicola Royan, Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 93-116 (p. 96). For further discussion of the literary relationship between Bellenden and Gavin Douglas, see above Chapter 1, p. 39.

[16] Rutledge, pp. 93-94, and 102.

[17] Bawcutt, p. 108. It is believed that Douglas's commentary is an unfinished work. Douglas shows his 'intention of continuing the commentary' by his promise to give a description about Venus and Cupid in chapter 10 of Book 1. See Hanna, pp. 368-69.

revision work to a certain extent. An example can be found in chapter 3 of Book 3. The Aequi and the Volsci join forces and attack the Hernici, and then they invade the Roman fields. As no Romans could intercept them because of the disastrous plague prevailing in Rome, the enemy could advance to the third milestone on the Gabinian Way. Livy reads: 'Ubi cum obvius nemo ne inermis quidem fieret perque omnia non praesidiis modo deserta sed etiam cultu agresti transirent, pervenere ad tertium lapidem Gabina via.' (Encountering no one there, not even an unarmed man, and passing through a country wholly destitute not only of defenders but also of cultivation, they came to the third milestone on the Gabinian Way.)[18] Bellenden's rendition of this part in the fair copy of the BL MS is notable. Bellenden does not understand what 'tertium lapidem' means, and renders this as a place name: '[The] ennimess, seand na mann armit nor vnarmit to resist tham, an[d þ]e feild*is* desert but ony garneson or manuring of landwart [pe]pill, come to ane place namyt þe thrid stane in þe gabyne [w]ay.' (fol. 26v; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 295) Intriguingly enough, the passage 'ane place namyt' is crossed out later, as a result of which it becomes a correct rendition of the original Latin. Here, the gloss to this passage, which Bellenden inserts in the margin, is suggestive. The gloss reads: 'thrid stane þat Is to say w*ith*in iij myle to rome.' (fol. 26v; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 295) Obviously, Bellenden found the correct meaning of this passage during his scholarly work of glossing it, and revised it.

It is hard to know why these glosses are not found either in the Advocates MS or in the Boyndlie MS. It seems likely, however, that Bellenden intended to separate these glosses from the main text, and to put them into an independent section. Some of the printed editions of Livy made in the early sixteenth century are suggestive here. For example, Jean Petit's 1516 edition includes a glossary made by Badius Ascensius.[19] This glossary stands independently from the main text under the heading, 'vocabulorum Liuianorum Explanation Ascensiana', and is put before the main body. Similarly, in Erasmus's edition of 1536, annotations by Sigmund Gelen and Beatus Rhenanus are not placed in margins of the main text but

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18 *Livy: With an English Translation in Fourteen Volumes*, trans. by B. O. Foster, 14 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1919-1959), II: *Books III and IV* (1922; repr. 1960), pp. 22-23.

19 *T. Liuij Parauini historici clarissimi quae extant Decades ad decem diuersa exempla acri iudicio repositæ* (Paris, Jean Petit, 1516), fols 8*-15*v. (As foliation is only given to the body text, there is no foliation for the pages preceding the body. For convenience sake, folio numbers with '*' is used for the preliminary pages here.)

independently after each book.[20] Although it is not certain which printed edition of Livy Bellenden used for his translation, it is highly probable that Bellenden consulted several contemporary editions available in Scotland. At least one copy of Jean Petit's 1533 edition, which also includes the glossary by Ascensius, is known to have belonged to a Scots owner in the early sixteenth century.[21] It is plausible, therefore, that Bellenden found some editions in which glossary or commentary were placed separately from the main text, and decided to follow them. Or, there might have been a more practical reason for this. Considering the fact that Bellenden meticulously revised his text in several stages, it is likely that Bellenden planned to have his translation printed. If so, Bellenden might have been advised or even requested by the printer to separate the gloss from the main body. It required compositors and printers of great technical expertise to put marginal annotations or glosses to a printed book, and thus 'the earliest printed commentaries of many classical authors were placed not in the margins but in separate volumes or at the end of a work'.[22] Even in the sixteenth century, unless either authors or readers strongly demanded printed marginalia, printers would not embark on such a troublesome work as setting marginalia.[23]

Secondly, an examination of folio 35 of the BL MS reveals the striking fact that Bellenden did not make revisions after he finished translating the whole text of Livy, but did so in the course of his translation work. As has already been mentioned, the recto page of folio 35 is written by the amanuensis in a form of a fair copy. The portion of text on the page belongs to chapter 11 of Book 3. The text runs on to the verso page without any interruption. Strangely enough, however, the verso page is written by Bellenden in rough. This means that the text on the verso page of folio 35 is the first draft by Bellenden. What can be inferred from the rather awkward appearance of this folio is that Bellenden suspended his translation work in the middle of chapter 11 of Book 3, and the amanuensis made a fair copy up to this part. Bellenden made revisions to the fair copy, and then he resumed his translation work from the point where he had left off. Presumably, the same thing was repeated through the course of his translation work.

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20 *T. Livii Patavini Latinae Historiae Principis Decades Tres* (Basil, 1535).

21 John Annand, canon regular of St. Andrews and principal of St. Leonard's College, owned the copy of Jean Petit's 1533 edition. It is now held in Glasgow University Library, Sp coll Ea7-y.14. See John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: John S. Burns and Sons, 1961), p. 71.

22 Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 127. See also Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), pp. 59 and 176, footnote 5.

23 Brayman Hackel, p. 130.

As the hand changes from the amanuensis to Bellenden between folios 30 and 31, it can be speculated that this is another suspending point. There is a textual gap between these two folios; the portion of text in folio 30 belongs to chapter 5 of Book 3, whereas that in folio 31 belongs to chapter 9 of Book 3. That folio 31 comprises a later part of text than folio 30 *per se* does not prove that the former was composed after the latter. Judging from the textual gap between them, however, it seems reasonable to assume that a few leaves containing the text in between have been lost. Moreover, there is another reason why we are safe to surmise that the scribe suspended his transcription work at the end of folio 30. At the bottom right of the verso page of folio 30, the scribe puts a catchword and shows the first word which should be written on the next page. This is rather an unusual practice for a scribe who keeps transcribing the text himself, and, in fact, this is the only place where the scribe inserts a catchword in the BL MS.[24] Thus it is quite possible that he had to suspend his transcription at some point between folios 30 and 31, and inserted the catchword for the sake of the person who would write down the following part, namely Bellenden.

Furthermore, a comparison of Bellenden's double drafts with the final version discloses the fact that it sometimes happened that, after making revisions several times, Bellenden eventually adopts the rendition he made in the earlier stage of revision. For example, in chapter 16 of Book 3, Bellenden meticulously revises the description of the scene where Virginia is left alone in the forum. In the first draft, it reads as 'throw [*sic.*] þe virgyne stud', and it is revised as 'þus stud þe virgyne'. (fol. 37; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 314) In the second draft, it first reads as 'þan stud Virginia', and is then revised as 'in þe mene tyme Virginia stud'. (fol. 40v; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 320) In the final version, out of four versions he has made, Bellenden chooses the second one: 'Thus stude Virginea.' (*Livy's History of Rome*, II, 9)

All these practices evidently demonstrate that Bellenden is so concerned about the quality of his work that he meticulously revises his translation in several stages, and thus he produces at least three versions of his translation; the first and the second draft written by Bellenden and the fair copy written by

[24] To be fair, many leaves are defective in the bottom parts. Unfortunately, folio 35 has also lost its bottom right part, and so it is impossible to tell whether the scribe put a catchword there or not. There are at least two cases where a quire number is inserted at the right bottom corner. See fols 23r and 25r.

his amanuensis.[25] In general, Bellenden follows the original Latin text faithfully, and he revises his translation for quality's sake. As a result, Bellenden's revision is usually at the level of word or phrase, which does not affect the gist of the original narrative. Craigie summarises Bellenden's overall translation and revision practice:

> Bellenden took great pains with his translation, revising and altering his first draft in a very thorough manner, and making further alterations, often of an extensive kind, on the fair copy prepared by his amanuensis; and even these corrections do not always give the readings adopted in the finished text. Not only are many errors of translation removed by these successive revisions, but the general style of the work is considerably improved.[26]

Significantly, this remark, especially the last sentence, reminds us of Bellenden's practice in revising the *Chronicles*; he not only meticulously corrects mistranslations in the first manuscript version but also revises and refines correct renditions for the sake of quality of the text. A further close examination of the BL MS reveals that there are many resemblances between his translation and revision work in the *Livy* and that in the *Chronicles*.

Both in the *Livy* and the *Chronicles*, at an early stage Bellenden's translation tends to be a literally close rendition of the source text with similitude to the original Latin in terms of grammatical structures, phrases and words. On the other hand, at a later stage, Bellenden tends to give more broad renderings, and the text is improved to fit more into the Scots language than into Latin.[27] In order to improve the quality of his text, Bellenden continuously substitutes one word or phrase for another, changes the order of passages and alters grammatical structures. Nevertheless, Bellenden is consistently attentive towards the original Latin text throughout his translation and revision work, and he examines the Latin text not only in the early stage but also during the later stage of work. Indeed, a revision Bellenden makes in chapter 16 of Book 3 of the *Livy* suggests that Bellenden does go back to the Latin original even at the last stage of his revision work. This is the scene where Appius sends his colleagues a letter to order them to detain Virginius in custody, but the letter reaches them after Virginius has left. Livy reads: 'Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, cum postero die

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[25] Notably, the revised text in the fair copy is not always consistent with the corresponding part of the final version. This may mean that, though limited in its scale, there was another stage of revision work.

[26] *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 236.

[27] MacQueen argues that Bellenden parallels Scotland with Rome and Scotticises Livy's text. See MacQueen, pp. 11-18.

mane de retinendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.' (His base design was too late, as it deserved to be; Verginius had already got his leave, and had set out in the fore-part of the night, nor was it until early the next morning that the letters for detaining him were delivered, to no purpose.)[28] Bellenden renders this in the first draft: 'þis vekit devise of Appi*us*, as resonn & equite wald, come to lait, for Virgini*us* had gottine his licence, & wes dep*ar*tit at þe first vigill; & sa þir le*tt*rez war deliu*er*it in vane to þe x men.' (fol. 36v; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 312-13) Note that Bellenden does not translate 'postero die mane' here. Instead, the passage which immediately follows it starts with 'airlie on þe nixt morow': 'airlie on þe nixt morow, quhen all þe cite wes abiding þe fyne of þis mat*er*.' (fol. 36v; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 313) This is, however, based on 'prima luce' in the corresponding passage of Livy: 'At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro exspectatione erecta staret.' (But in the City, as the citizens at break of day were standing in the Forum, agog with expectation.)[29] The second draft of Bellenden has the same reading. In the final version, however, Bellenden revises this part:

> This wickit devise of Appius (as It aucht of ressoun) come to late: for afore þe cu*m*myng of þame to þe armye Virgineus had gottin his congie and was departit at þe first vigill. Thus war þe l*ett*eres of Appius deliuerit in vane to þir ten men arelie on þe nixt morow. eftir þat þe pepill war gaderit in grete confluence to þe merket, abiding þe end of þis mater.[30]

Here, the passage 'airlie on þe nixt morow' is used as equivalent to 'postero die mane', and there is no equivalent to 'prima luce'. Accordingly, the following passage is revised by replacing 'quhen' with 'eftir þat', and 'gaderit in grete confluence to þe merket' is added. Apparently, Bellenden makes this revision with Livy's original Latin in mind.

Bellenden's rendition is, however, not aimed at being a literal one. He rather seeks to keep to the spirit of the original. For example, in chapter 16 of Book 3, Bellenden keeps revising his text to reproduce the dynamism found in Livy's text. This is the well-known scene where after Virginius kills his own daughter to save her from Appius's lustful desire, he makes a speech in front of the people, and they promise to revenge Appius. Livy describes this scene:

> Haec Verginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos. Et immixti turbae militum togati, eadem illa querendo docendoque quanto visa quam audita

[28] *Livy: With an English Translation*, pp. 152-53.
[29] *Livy: With an English Translation*, pp. 152-55.
[30] *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 7.

iadigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam iam rem nuntiando Romae esse, insecutis qui Appium prope interemptum in exsilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt ut ad arma conclamaretur vellerentque signa et Roman proficiscerentur.

(As Verginius spoke these words in a loud voice, the multitude signified with responsive shouts that they would not forget his sufferings nor fail to vindicate their liberty. And the civilians, mingling with the crowd, repeated the same complaints and told them how much more shameful the thing would have appeared if they could have seen it instead of hearing about it; at the same time they reported that the decemvirate was already overthrown at Rome; and on the arrival of later tidings, to the effect that Appius had almost lost his life and had gone into exile, they induced the troops to raise the cry 'To arms!' and to pluck up their standards and set out for Rome.)[31]

In the first draft, Bellenden renders this scene:

[1]qu[hen] Virginius had said þir wourd*is*, þe army cryit w*ith* ane voce, þai sall nothir falȝe to revenge þis displesir, nor ȝit to defend h[is] liberte. quhe*n* þe citeȝanis þat come out of rome [2]with Virginius mixit togidd*er* w*ith* þe remane*n*t army, & had schawin all thingis Done & sene be þame *con*cerning þis [3]outragus treson of appi*us* in sort þ*a*t my*ch*t move þe army to maist indignat*ion* þ*air*of, & had schaw[in] alss how þe truble wes sa gret be occasion þ*air*of in rome, [þat] appi*us* wes al mast slane be p*er*sewt of peple, & for feir þ*air*of fled in exile, þai perswadit þe army be þis wise þat þai come all atanis to harness, & pullit vp þ*air* baners & vent [to] rome. (fol. 38; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 315) [emphases added]

Although his renderings of 'eadem illa querendo docendoque quanto visa quam audita iadigniora potuerint videri' and 'insecutis' deviate from the original meaning, in general, Bellenden follows and conveys Livy's narrative flow. In the margin and elesewhere on this page, Bellenden puts corrections to the underlined passages as follows: 1. beand said [be] virgin*ius*; 2. in þ*air* govnis; 3. treson. Bellenden incorporates these corrections in the second draft with many other revisions:

alss sone as [4]þir wourdis war said be Virginius, [5]all þe army cryit w*ith* ane voce þai sal nothir failȝe to revenge his displeseir nor ȝit to defend his liberte. quhen þe citeȝanis (quhilkis come w*ith* him [6]in þ*air* govnis out of rome) war mixit togidd*er* w*ith* þe romane army, & had schawin [7]all þ*ir* thing*is* Done & sene be þame *con*cerning þis [illegible] of appi*us*, [8]in sik sort þ*at* my*ch*t move þe army to mast indignat*io*nn, & had schawin alss how sa gret truble wes in rome be motioun of þis vikit attemptat, þat appi*us* wes nere slane be [illegible] of peple aganis him, & finaly for feir þ*air*of wes fled in exile. þus wes þe army movit be [illegible] þat þai cryit all at ans [9]to hernis. [illegible] up [10]þ*air* [illegible], & vent to rome. (fols 41v-42; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 323) [emphases added]

[31] *Livy: With an English Translation*, pp. 164-67.

Those passages which were added or altered by Bellenden from the first draft are shaded here. Besides them, further corrections are added to the underlined passages as follows: 4. þir wourd*is* beand said on þis vise be virgini*us*; 5. þe army; 6. in beltit govnis; 7. every thing*is* as þai var sene; 8. þat; 9. harnis; 10. ban*er*is. Noticeably, Bellenden is not satisfied with the corrections he makes in the first draft, and he further alters them along with other changes. The meticulous revisions Bellenden makes here reveal that he seeks to put emphasis on two things: the atrocity of Appius and the vigorous army united against him. Bellenden alters each passage on Appius's villainy; from 'outragus treson of appi*us*' to 'tresonable ded of appius', from 'þe truble wes sa gret' to 'sa gret truble wes', and 'be motionn of þis vikit attemptat' is newly added. Bellenden also expands the description of raising an army. He is impressed with Livy's dynamic description of this scene, and tries to reproduce its spirit in his vernacular text. The word 'cryit' is newly added as an equivalent to 'conclamaretur'. The additional passages 'þus wes þe army movit be *com*ploratio*un* of þis pietus ded' and 'incontinent' show how strongly the army is united against their enemy with their commiseration for Viginius and how promptly they commenced the action. In the final version, these passages are further revised with other alterations of the text. The final version reads:

> Thir wourdis being said be Virgineus, all þe army cryit w*ith* ane voce, þai sall nowthir failʒe to revenge his displesere nor ʒit to defend his liberte. quhen þe citeʒanis (quhilk come in þare beltit gownis w*ith* Virgineus to þe armye) had schawin euery thing*is* on þe sam*m*yn maner as þai war sene be þame concernyng þe wikkit dede attempit be Appius, eftir þai had movit þe armye to extreme Indignatioun, and schewin to þame how sa huge effray & troubill was in rome be occasioun of þis wikkit cruelte, þat Appius was nere slane be feirss co*n*iuration of pepill, and for fere of his life fled in exile, all þe army was sa movit þat þai cryit atanis, 'harnes, harnes;' and but ony mare tary þai rasit þare ensenʒeis to pas to rome. (*Livy's History of Rome*, II, 13)

Here, Bellenden succeeds in demonstrating how atrocious Appius is with such passages as 'wikkit dede attempit be Appius', 'how sa huge effray & troubill was' and 'þis wikkit cruelte'. The description of raising an army becomes more concise, but more dynamic with the direct speech, 'harnes, harnes'.

Note that Bellenden revises the phrase 'sa gret truble wes' into 'sa huge effray & troubill'. Bellenden has several favourite words which he frequently employs in his translation. He tends to use these favourite words at an early, intuitive, stage of his translation. Later, during his revision work, Bellenden scrupulously

removes these words or substitutes them with another. The word 'great' is a representative example.[32] In the BL MS, there are at least seven places where the word 'great' is either removed or replaced with another word. For instance, immediately after the scene examined above, the decemvirs are surprised to learn of the trouble in Rome. Bellenden, in his first draft, employs the word 'great' where there is no Latin equivalent for it. Livy reads: 'Decemviri simul iis quae videbant iisque quae acta Romae audierant perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt.' (The decemvirs, troubled alike by what they saw and by what they heard had taken place in Rome, rushed through the camp, one this way, another that, to still the rising.)[33] Bellenden renders this in the first draft: 'þe x men perturbat no*ch*t onlie w*ith* sic thingis is [effray] p*rese*ntlie sene be þa*me* in the army, bot alss for þe gret tru[ble] þat þai hard wes in rome, Ilk ane vent ane sindry gait am[ang] þe tent*is* to meiss þis p*rese*nt truble.' (fol. 38; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 315) In the second draft, the word 'great' is still retained: 'þe x men p*er*turbat no*ch*t onle w*ith* þis effray p*rese*ntle sene be þame in þe army, bot alss war astunist for þe gret effray & truble þat þai hard in rome, Ilk ane of þame vent ane sindry gait amang þe tent*is* to [pacify and] meiss þis p*rese*nt truble.' (fol. 42; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 323) In the final version, however, the word 'great' is removed: 'The ten men war no*ch*t perturbit onelie with þis effray presentlie sene be þame in þare armye, bot als astonist for þe huge effray þai herd in rome, and war sa full of dredoure þat euery ane of þame went ane sindri gait amang þe tentis to pecify and meiss þis trubill.' (*Livy's History of Rome*, II, 13) Similarly, 'gret multitude' in folio 25^{v} is altered into 'multitude', 'gret tranquillite' in folio 27^{v} is altered to 'gud tranquillite', 'gret nuvmer of fowlis' in folio 29 is revised into 'huge novmer', 'gret Incursionn' in folio 33^{v} is revised into 'feirfull Incursionn' and 'gret deligence' in folio 35^{v} is changed into 'huge desire'.

Significantly, the very same treatment of the word 'great' can be found throughout the *Chronicles*. Regardless of original Latin words used by Boece, Bellenden frequently employs the word 'great' in his first translation version, and later he carefully removes it or replaces it with another. An example comes from chapter 3 of Book 1, where Hermoneus, Ptolemeus and Hibert, three sons of Metellius in Spain, go to Ireland accompanied by an army and conquer the inhabitants there. Boece reads: '[T]res filios

[32] Bellenden is also known for his frequent employment of transition, 'in the mean time'. See above Chapter 2, p. 50, footnote 19.
[33] *Livy: With an English Translation*, pp. 166-67.

Hermoneum Ptolemaeum and Hibertum delecta cum militum manu in Hiberniam mittit: vbi non sine atroci pugna Aboriginibus.' (Metellius chose his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus and Hibert, and sent them with an army of soldiers. There they conquered the inhabitants with harsh battle.)[34] Bellenden employs the word 'great' when he renders this scene in MS M: '[Metellius] send his thre so*n*nis hermoneus ptolomeus and hybert W*ith* Ane grete army of wailȝeant me*n*n in Ireland / quhair þai w*ith* gret difficulte dantit all þe ald inhabitant*is* of the said Ile.'[35] He renders 'militum manu' with elaboration as 'ane grete army of wailȝeant men', and 'non sine atroci pugna' as 'w*ith* gret difficulte'. In the printed version, on the other hand, neither of them is retained: 'And thairfore [Metellius] send his thre sonnis Hermone*us* Ptolemeus and Hibert, with ane army of vailȝeant men in Jreland, quhair thay with richt dangerus battal vincust the auld inhabitantis of the said Jle.'[36] Probably, Bellenden found that 'ane army of vailȝeant men' sufficiently expresses the powerfulness of the army, and 'richt dangerus battal' is better equivalent to 'non sine atroci pugna'. Similarly, 'ane grete novm*er* of his Nobillis' in MS M (p. 21) is altered to 'ane certane of his nobillis' in the printed version (fol. 10), 'ane grete cumpany' in MS M (p. 418) is changed to 'ane army' in the printed version (fol. 179) and 'grete Malancoly' in MS M (p. 421) is revised into 'malancoly' in the printed version (fol. 181[v]).

In addition to this common pattern of altering vocabulary, there is an ideological alteration to the text common in the *Livy* and the *Chronicles*. As is discussed elsewhere in this thesis, it has often been suggested that Bellenden's idea of kingship is influenced by the imperial ideas nurtured by Renaissance humanists.[37] In the *Chronicles*, there can be found an evolving notion that the idea of kingship should be expressed in imperial terms such as 'empire' or 'emperor'. For instance, in chapter 6 of Book 1, in the scene where Fergus is chosen a king, Bellenden employs an imperial term for the rendition of the authoritative power, or headship, of the king, only in the printed version.[38] Significantly enough, exactly the same ideological textual alteration is found in chapter 17 of Book 3 of the *Livy*. This is the scene

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34 Hector Boece, *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine libri xvii* (Paris, [1527]), fol. 3.

35 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 527, pp. 5-6.

36 Hector Boethius, *Chronicle of Scotland*, trans. by John Bellenden, The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile, 851 (Amsterdam: Theatrum, 1977), fol. 3.

37 For detailed discussion of Bellenden's employment of imperial ideas in the *Chronicles*, see above Chapter 2, pp. 53-59, Chapter 3, pp. 90-94 and Chapter 4, pp. 136-38.

38 See above Chapter 2, pp. 51-52.

where two people are chosen to exercise supreme command when two armies, one led by Virginius and the other led by Icillius and Numitorius, are joined in the City of Rome. Livy reads: 'Ibi coniuncti alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt ut ex suo numero duos crearent qui summae rerum praeessent. M. Oppium Sex. Manilium creant.' (There they joined the other army, and directed the twenty military tribunes to appoint two of their number to exercise supreme command. Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius were appointed.)[39] In the first draft, Bellenden renders this: '[Virginius and Icelius] mengit þ*air* armys to gidder, thai gaif power to þir xx tribunis to creat ij amang þa*m* to haf þe autorite & gou*er*nance abonn þe laf; & þai but more delay creat M. Oppi*us* & sex. manili*us*.' (fol. 38ᵛ; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 316-17) Noticeably, 'summae rerum' in Livy is rendered as 'autorite & gou*er*nance' here. In the second draft, it is further revised: 'quhen baith þe ost*is* war mengit *on* þ*is* vise to gidd*er*, þai gaif power to þir xx Tribunis to creat be þar reson two mast qualifit p*er*sonis chosin of þe bosu*m* of all þer army to haif empire & senȝorie abon þe laf; & þai but more delay creat M. Oppi*us* & sext*us* manili*us* to þe said effect.' (fol. 42ᵛ; *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 325) The 'autorite & gou*er*nance' in the first draft is now altered to 'empire & senȝorie'.[40] It is the very same process of ideological tailoring of the text as found in the *Chronicles*. What is more intriguing is the fact that the the passage 'to haif empire & senȝorie abon þe laf' in the *Livy* is the almost perfect echo of one passage found in chapter 5 of Book 1 in the *Chronicles*. An old man suggests that Scots people should choose one leader among them in MS M: 'Best Is to cheiss Ane of Ws / To haiff Autorite / Abone The Laiff' (p. 10) In the printed version, the word 'empire' replaces the word 'autorite': '[B]est is to chese ane amang ws to haue empire aboue the laif.' (fol. 5ᵛ)[41]

In his discussion concerning Bellenden's translation practice in the *Livy*, MacQueen claims: '[T]he method mainly adopted is the equation, wherever possible, of Livy's Rome with Bellenden's Scotland and Europe.'[42] If Bellenden does equate Livy's Rome with his Scotland, it would be no wonder that the very same imperial ideas are employed in these two translations of historical works. Bellenden started to work on the *Livy* right after the completion of the *Chronicles*. He must have had a fresh memory of his

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39 *Livy: With an English Translation*, pp. 170-71.
40 The final version also has 'empire & senȝorie'. See *Livy's History of Rome*, II, 15-16.
41 For a detailed description of Bellenden's revision of this passage, see above Chapter 2, p. 55.
42 MacQueen, p. 11.

translation work and revision work in the *Chronicles*. Bellenden seems to have worked on the *Livy* with a quite similar purpose and practice to that he had in the *Chronicles*, though with more confidence in his skill.

APPENDIX II: LIST OF EXTANT COPIES OF THE *CHRONICLES*

1. EXTANT MANUSCRIPT COPIES

No	Library	Shelf mark	Date
M-1	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York	MS M. 527	1531-33
M-2	University College, London	MS Angl. 1	1533
M-3	Trinity College, Cambridge	MS 0.3.21	1533
M-4	Longleat House, Bath	no shelf mark	1537 or later
M-5	National Archives of Scotland	MS RH 13/10	1533
M-6	Edinburgh University Library	MS Laing III. 205	late 16th century
M-7	National Library of Scotland	MS Adv. 33.4.15	early 17th century
M-8	National Library of Scotland	MS 5288	after 1565
M-9	National Library of Scotland	MS 2766	1641
M-10	National Library of Scotland	MS 3146	1650
M-11	National Library of Scotland	MS 21244	1636

2. Extant Printed Copies

No	Library	Shelf mark	Material
P-1	British Library	187.c.18	paper
P-2	Bodleian Library, Oxford	Gough Scotl. 126	paper
P-3	Bodleian Library, Oxford	Mal. 18	paper
P-4	Bodleian Library, Oxford	S. Seld. D.37	paper
P-5	Magdalen College, Oxford	Arch.B.III.3.13	paper
P-6	Corpus Christi College, Oxford	delt.21.13	paper
P-7	University Library, Cambridge	Sel.3.174	paper
P-8	University Library, Cambridge	SSS.41.10	paper
P-9	St John's College, Cambridge	A.1.16	paper
P-10	Magdalene College, Cambridge	Pepysian Lib. 2170	paper
P-11	National Library of Scotland	BCL.S147	paper
P-12	National Library of Scotland	H.33.b.6	paper
P-13	National Library of Scotland	H.33.b.7	paper
P-14	John Rylands University Library	18935	paper
P-15	Edinburgh University Library	Df.2.11	vellum
P-16	Glasgow University Library	Sp Coll Bn6-d.17	paper
P-17	Glasgow University Library	Sp Coll Bn6-d.18	paper
P-18	King's College, Aberdeen	pi f9 (41) Boe 6	paper
P-19	King's College, Aberdeen	pi f9 (41) Boe 7	paper
P-20	King's College, Aberdeen	Boyndlie 16.40	paper
P-21	Chetham's Library, Manchester	Mun.7.B.3.8	paper
P-22	Drummond Castle	I.6-7	paper
P-23	Innerpeffray Library	no shelf mark	paper
P-24	Private Collection (formerly Ham House)	no shelf mark	vellum
P-25	Takamiya Collection, Tokyo	no shelf mark	paper

P-26	PBA Galleries, San Francisco	no shelf mark	paper
P-27	Huntington Library, San Marino	39760	paper
P-28	University of Illinois, Urbana	Uncat. Boece. Hystory. Ca 1540	paper
P-29	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York	W 02 C	vellum
P-30	Yale University, New Haven	Beinecke Bz5 013t	paper
P-31	Folger Shakespeare Library	HH29/7 Deck B-STC Vault	paper
P-32	Folger Shakespeare Library	HH29/8 Deck B-STC Vault	paper
P-33	Newberry Library, Chicago	Wing folioZP 543. D285	paper
P-34	Chapin Library, Massachusetts	stc 3203 folio	paper
P-35	Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg	missing	paper
P-36	Signet Library, Edinburgh	missing	paper
P-37	Brechin Castle	missing	paper
P-38	University College, London	missing	paper

APPENDIX III: TABLE OF THE CHAPTER DIVISIONS IN BOOK 1

	MS M		The Printed Version
1	how Gathelus oure first progenitoure, Left þe Land of grece and come in egipt and marijt Scota dochter to King pharo *and* of his cu*mm*yng to Spanȝe. (p. 1)	1	Hovv Gathelus our first p*ro*genitour left the land of Grece, and come in Egipt, *and* maryit Scota dochter to king Pharo, and of his cumyng to Spanze, Capitulo. (fol. 1)
2	how gathelus beildit the Ciete of Brigance / And namyt all his pepill Scottis and how he send his two sons To conquess that Ile That Is now clippit Irelannd and of his decess And of his so*m*nys gouernance. (p. 3)	2	Hovv Gathelus beildit the ciete of Brygance *and* namit all his pepyll Scottis. Hovv he send his tvvo sonnis in Ireland. And of his deceis. (fol. 2)
3	how eftir the Decess of hemecus / the Scottis and the ald Inhabitantis of Ireland war devidit In sindry opinions contending for the sup*er*iorite of the samyn / how symon brek was chosin king of þe said Ile / of his Empyre / and successioun / And how þe Scottis war brocht In þe Ile of Albyoun. (p. 5)	3	Hovv Hemecus gouernit Irland. And hovv Symon Brek vves maid king efter his deith. (fol. 2^{v})
4	Off The first Cu*m*yng of the Pychtis In Albyon / of þair maneris / polecy / and alliance maid w*ith* the Scottis. (p. 7)	4	Of the gret Posterite of Scottis regnand in Ireland efter Symon Brek. Of the first cumyng of Scottis and Pichtis in Albion, and hovv the Pichtis vvar alliat vvith the Scottis. (fol. 4)
5	how the Britonis be quent slichtis dissoluit the band of amite / betuix Scottis and pichtis / and of the dispesouris [*sic.*] and slauchter following thairupon. (p. 9)	5	Hovv the Britonis be thair quent slichtis dissoluit the band of allyance betuix the scottis and Pichtis. Of the trubyll that fell thairthrovv. (fol. 4^{v})
6	how ferquhard king of Ireland send fergus his son with ane strang army In support of þe Scottis of Albion / And how þe said fergus was chosin king abone the Scottis In albione. (p. 11)	6	Hovv the Pichtis and Scottis maid thair ordinance to inuade othir be battell. Hovv Ferquhard kyng of Irland send his sonne Fergus vvith ane army in support of Scottis aganis the Pichtis, and hovv the said Fergus vves maid kyng. (fol. 5^{v})
7	how the Scottis and Pichtis arrayitt in vther sycht / herand the slycht of Britonis devisit for the perdicioun of thame baith / tuke Trewis / and wer aggreit apoun all debaittis. (p. 12)	7	Hovv kyng Fergus come vvith gret ordinance aganis the Pichtis. Hovv þe dessait of Britonis vves discouerit baith to Scottis and Pichtis. And of the orison maid be Fergus to the kyng of Pichtis. (fol. 6)
		8	Of syndry consultationis maid be Pichtis. And hovv thay vvar recounseld vvith the scottis. (fol. 7)

8	How Coilus king of Britonis Come with ane strang army Jn scotland and how eftir mony extorsiouns *and* crewelteis done be him he was slayn and his army disconnfist / of þe wisdome manheid and orisone of King fergus eftir his Returnyng in Argile. (p. 15)	9	Hovv Coyll kyng of Britonis vvas slane and his army discomfist be scottis and Pichtis. (fol. 8)
		10	Of king Fergus oriso*n* to his nobillis, and hovv the croun of Scotland vvas tailzet to hym *and* his successouris. (fol. 8ᵛ)
9	How king fergus efter the parting of the Landis of Scottland amang the Capitanis of the Tribis and vther þe wourthiast personis for that tyme wes chosin ane frendfull compositoure apon certane hye debaittis fallin amang þe princes of Ireland / And how he pereist returnyng be þe Ireland seyis. (p. 18)	11	Hovv kyng Fergus partit the landis of Scotland amang the nobyllis of his realme. And of the maneris of brigandis. (fol. 9)
		12	Hovv king Fergus maid concord betuix the princis of Ireland. And hovv he perist returnand be the Ireland seis. (fol. 10)

APPENDIX IV: CHAPTER DIVISIONS IN THE *CHRONICLES*

	number of chapters in MS M	text per chapter	number of chapters in the printed version	text per chapter	amount of text in each book (folio)
Book 1	9	1.05	12	0.79	9.5
Book 2	12	1.12	19	0.71	13.5
Book 3	15	0.9	16	0.84	13.5
Book 4	19	0.86	21	0.78	16.5
Book 5	14	0.785	16	0.68	11
Book 6	16	1	19	0.84	16
Book 7	11	1.136	18	0.69	12.5
Book 8	15	1.133	21	0.8	17
Book 9	29	0.75	30	0.73	22
Book 10	20	1.12	22	1.02	22.5
Book 11	18	0.94	19	0.89	17
Book 12	17	0.97	18	0.91	16.5
Book 13	21	0.76	21	0.76	16
Book 14	17	0.88	17	0.88	15
Book 15	16	0.81	16	0.81	13
Book 16	21	0.59	20	0.62	12.5
Book 17	10	0.5	8	0.62	5

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