



GEORGE
BUCHANAN



1506 - 1906

A MEMORIAL

S.M.



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GEORGE BUCHANAN :

A Memorial.



George Buchanan

FROM A CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT PRESERVED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

George Buchanan:

A MEMORIAL

1506-1906.

Contributions by various writers, compiled and edited by

D. A. MILLAR

*(on behalf of the Executive of the Students' Representative Council of
St. Andrews University).*

Facies non omnibus una

Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.—

Ovid. Met. II. 14-15.

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DA
757,
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TO
JAMES DONALDSON, Esq., M.A., LL.D.,
VICE-CHANCELLOR AND PRINCIPAL,
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED
BY THE
STUDENTS OF ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY,
WITH AFFECTIONATE REGARD
AND IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS
SYMPATHETIC ZEAL FOR THEIR INTERESTS.

1385/161

PREFACE.

THIS volume is the result of the request specially made that there should be some permanent memento of the reverence paid by the University of St. Andrews to the memory of one of her greatest *alumni*. It was considered by some of those who inspired the Quater-Centenary Celebrations held in St. Andrews in July, that the students of the present day should play their part in acknowledging the greatness of him who was imbued with 'the St. Andrews spirit' and, in the words of Gibbon, celebrated with elegance the unviolated independence of his native country. It was further suggested that their acknowledgment be made in the form of a *Festschrift*. These pages then form their contribution, which is offered to the public in the year when the Quater-Centenary should have been held. Many difficulties stood in the way of anything serviceable being produced; now that these have been overcome, it is to be hoped that the work involved has not been in vain or valueless.

After such a work as that of Professor Hume Brown, it seemed at first impossible to say anything more on the subject; nevertheless the enthusiasm shown in Scotland by the Quater-Centenary Celebrations held here and at Glasgow have somewhat roused the bulk of the Scottish people to inquire into the real work and genius of Buchanan. Hitherto his name and reputation have been shrouded in the native mist, and the thrust has often been made—"The Scots are more given to boast of Buchanan's name than to read his writings." The main object of this volume has been to enable Scotsmen to deflect this, and to give them—what has hitherto been difficult to obtain—an insight not merely into Buchanan's life and habits, but into the times in which he lived and the part he played in the light of Scottish history and European thought. There is also given a taste, if but a taste, of Buchanan's poetic genius, and it is hoped that Part II. of the volume will prove of interest

not only to scholars, but to all who were prevented by Buchanan's Latinity from estimating his gifts.

Some of the translations may not be of great poetic merit, while there may be some unnecessary repetition of translations. It is to be remembered, however, that some of these have been made by students in their few odd moments, while the Steele Prize Translations were generally of equal merit. Other translations, however, seem of great value, and testify to much talent.

Another purpose maintained in the compilation has been to penetrate to the truth about Buchanan, and to enable readers to estimate his real position in the Scotland and Europe of his age. For that purpose, various distinguished writers kindly undertook to discuss the aspects of Buchanan's life and work which were pointed out as worthy of emphasis, and for such kind compliance I am greatly indebted. There may at times seem incongruities in this treatment, but it is to be remembered that the truth was only sought. Not after all are there any real collisions of opinion, nor has it been denied that he who took all Latin for his province, who made fewer mistakes than modern Latin scholars (although great emphasis has been laid in some of these pages on the very few he did make), had the learning of Erasmus and the humour of Rabelais. Though in virtue of his poetic instinct and gift of verse he excelled both, yet with these and other Humanists he sought to substitute scholarship for scholasticism. The force of his personality was revealed to Scotsmen in his advocacy of political liberty, and consequently he is one of the greatest characters in the national history. All these points and more have been brought out in the following pages. There are one or two other aspects which have been more fully dwelt upon than in other biographies of Buchanan. It was my intention to insert a chapter on "Buchanan as an Educational Reformer," but Lord Reay has, in the Oration which was printed in the Appendix to this volume, dwelt at length upon the main facts of Buchanan's educational work. Nevertheless there are to be found throughout his writings many other truths and hints which could be appreciated by teachers and disciplinarians, and which have not here been set forth.

In a work on Buchanan it has not been deemed inappropriate that some of the contributions should be written in French—a

language which he must have known well. The chapters written by a successor of Buchanan at Bordeaux—Professor De la Ville de Mirmont—formed part of a memoir written for the benefit of the two or three thousand members of the “*Société Philomathique de Bordeaux*,” and afterwards printed in the *Revue Philomathique*, 1906. Permission was readily given to me by Professor De la Ville de Mirmont to abridge this memoir and to adapt it so that two very interesting chapters are added to this volume. To the learned Professor I am further obliged for his aid in securing the two photographs of old Bordeaux.

Some new biographical matter is furnished by the contribution of Senhor G. J. C. Henriques of Carnota, whose sympathy in this work has been manifest. His researches among the Inquisition records have proved successful, and in this volume all that has recently been discovered is set forth. Great assistance in this matter has also been given by Rev. R. M. Lithgow of Lisbon. In securing the photographs of the Inquisition papers, Mr. Lithgow's services were invaluable, and necessitated months of correspondence and endless trouble in interviewing Government officials. It is, however, to Lord Guthrie that I am mainly indebted for the use of these photographs, as it was only his enthusiasm that prompted the securing of them. Likewise in this same work the good offices of Sir Maurice de Bunsen and H. O. Beaumont, Esq., are recognised as of value. To C. L. Chandler, Esq., who discovered the excised passages in the copy of Buchanan's Works in the Library of the Royal Palace (see Appendix I. c), and to M. Bettencourt who allowed Mr. Lithgow to copy them out, there is due much gratitude.

In the production of this volume I stand in great debt to many. Mr. D. Leslie Hatten of Kingston Hall, Surrey, has very kindly added the artistic touches, the cover-designs especially requiring some time. Through the courtesy of Messrs. T. C. and E. C. Jack, Edinburgh, I have been able to print the frontispiece from a photogravure plate of the portrait which, on the authority of Mr. J. L. Caw of the National Portrait Gallery, is authentic. To Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh; Mr. Henderson, Maybole; Mr. Middleton, Curator of the Wallace Monument; to all those publishers and to Messrs. Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee, who have given the use of portrait blocks and permitted me to use their

photographs, my thanks are due. Various contributors to the volume who have interested themselves in the work have given assistance and advice which have lightened the labour: to them and especially to Miss L. P. Steele-Hutton, M.A., London, J. Maitland Anderson, Esq., Librarian to St Andrews University, Mr. A. S. Ferguson, Univ. Coll., Oxford, and J. W. Munro, Esq., B.A., H.M.I.S., Dundee, my best gratitude is extended. In the work of revising the proof-sheets valuable help has been rendered by Mr. C. Guthrie Cooper, M.A., St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and Mr. A. Cassels, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford. The whole work has, however, been inspired by Dr. Steele of Florence, whose learning and enthusiasm have been exhibited in his zeal to pay homage to his great compatriot and Humanist, George Buchanan, while our respected Rector—Dr. Carnegie—has sympathised with this work of his constituents.

The nature of this publication has led to some variety in method—some contributors demanding their own methods on the subject prescribed—but an endeavour has been made as far as possible to secure uniformity. In Part II. and Appendix the introductions and footnotes have been inserted, so that the variants in the text of Buchanan's poems may be seen, and his compositions be understood in a clear and strong light.

Apart from its being a souvenir of a great occasion and of a memorable scene in St. Andrews, this volume is put forth in the hope that Buchanan's versatility and genius may be more fully recognised than hitherto. He is placed on no special platform,—his disposition and temperament prevent that,—but it is at least believed that his fame will remain along with the memory of the Latin language and the Scottish nation. This work will serve its purpose if it helps in some way to bring all Scotsmen as well as St. Andrews students to realise that Buchanan was not mainly a Latinist, but more-over a poet, a wit, a statesman, a churchman, an educationist; for of him who held all knowledge in reverence, it may truly be said in Chaucer's words—

“And gladlie wolde he lerne and gladlie teche.”

D. M.

ST. ANDREWS,
February 1907.

ERRATA.

P. xviii, Illustration of "Ruins of Palais Gallien, Bordeaux," on p. 44, not p. 51.

P. 19, line 20, read *paedagogia* for *paedogogia*.

P. 71, line 18, read *gadezim* for *dadezim*.

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AD
GEORGIUM BUCHANANUM
SCOTUM

POETARUM SUI SAECULI FACILE PRINCIPEM

SALVE, Georgi! Romuleas ferunt¹
Olim Severo sub duce copias,—
Scotis triumphatis tuaque
Heu patria bimari subacta,—

Munimen illud nobile Termino
Sacrare, et artes Indigenis bonas
Inferre moresque, ac latentem
Pectoribus Genium ciere,

Cum quo, capaci mentis idoneae
Ad summa, summos gens superat tua,
Princepsque fis cultus Latini
Discipulus simul et magister.

Quid si, Georgi, stirpe sato tibi
Leviniana saccula quattuor
Longinqua fluxerunt? Per ora
Vivis adhuc hominum venusta,

¹ Videsis Buchanani *Res. Scot. Hist.* IV 37-8 et *Silv.* IV 199.

Georgium Buchananum

Vivesque semper, donec habere
 Dis carus ipsis, utpote qui pius
 Priscas retractaris salubri
 Arte tua ingenioque Musas,

Quae te fovendum sic vice mutua
 Curant, ut adstes aede nova sibi
 Gratus sacerdos, non honorem
 Tempore depositurus ullo.

Nec te secundat Melpomene magis
 Custode Clio praeteritae rei,
 Per quam, redintegrans tropaea
 Scotigenis Patavina nervis,

Nostros labores militiae et domi
 Motusque miros ceu tabula refers
 Spirante verum, qua fruetur
 Posteritas animosque pascet

In majus auctos, dum manet Arx tui
 Britannoduni se speculo videns
 Clotae gubernatoris undae
 Imbrifera regione natae.

Sed cur, Georgi, tot tua tantaque
 Incepta dicam semper ad exitus
 Perducta claros, cum vel ipsae
 Marte gerunt dubio Camenae

Certamen, an te plus decoret stilus
 Magnum tyrannis iniciens metum,
 An grata testudo, an supellex
 Qua simul Uraniae propinquas

Simplex amator? Nos potius juvat,
 Hac luce festa, te veteris loqui
 Virtutis auctorem decusque
 Grande, Caledoniaeque semper

Pubi colendum, quippe domabilem
 Nullis Palati laudibus aut minis
 Sicisve, dum, justis Catonis
 Instar, agis sine labe vitam.

Tu, sive potes Sequanam et Orbili
Fungare duro munere ; seu valens
Praeceptor ad latum Garumnam
Vasconidas renoves Athenas ;

Seu Lusitanae de cathedra Scholae
Pulsus maligno crimine, carceris
Sub nocte prospectes in horas
Supplicium nece pejus ipsa ;

Seu propter undas Eridani ducem
Gallum sequaris Palladaque inferas
In castra Mavortis, remixtis
Carminibus lituo strepenti ;

Seu missus Aulac nuntius Anglicae,
Regisve doctor sis vigil alite
Nati sinistra ; seu Supremo
Concilio moderere Cleri ;

Tu semper idem, nec pede devio
Rectum relinquens, dotibus uteris
Sic mentis ut, vultu sereno,
Æquus cas per iniqua rerum.

Si mordearis dentibus aulicas
Partes tuentum spe sine, quid tua
Refert, Georgi ? Te minorem
Dis Patriis geris ; hinc resurgens

Vili tyranno major et asseclis
Quicumque malunt utile quam bonum,
Securus exspectas ab aevo
In melius properante laurum.

I.

Notes on Buchanan's Ancestry.

Biographers¹ claim for Buchanan descent from Sir Walter Buchanan of that Ilk who, they say, married a daughter of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, by his wife Isobel—the co-heir of her father, the last Earl of Lennox of the old creation. To this relationship some have ascribed the historian's approbation of the conduct of the Regent Lennox, his sympathy with Darnley, and his antagonism to the rival house of Hamilton. The claim, however, to the royal and Lennox descent made by his biographers for George Buchanan is not supported by anything he himself wrote, and is erroneous.

Murdoch, Duke of Albany, married Isobel, the eldest of the three daughters of Duncan, Earl of Lennox. The Duke and his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were suspected by James I. of treason, and were executed in Stirling in 1425. The widowed Duchess died about thirty years later, and on her death, the Lennox was partitioned between the descendants of her two sisters. It is plain from the record of the partition that the Duchess left no legitimate grandchildren. If she had a daughter who had been married to Buchanan of that Ilk, that daughter must have predeceased her mother without issue. Patrick, the son and heir of Sir Walter Buchanan, did not claim to be one of the co-heirs of the Earldom of Lennox: it was not suggested that he was the grandson of the Duchess of Albany. It is therefore right that George Buchanan should be absolved from the charge of having been actuated by the pride and prejudice of family when he fearlessly and honestly took the side of the Earl of Lennox and exposed the crime of the murderers of Darnley.

In the middle of the fifteenth century a Thomas Buchanan—a brother of Patrick Buchanan of that Ilk, who was the

¹ Buchanan of Auchmar in his *Essay*, Guthrie Smith in *Strathendrick*, and Hume Brown in his *Biography of Buchanan*.

grandson of Sir Walter—bought a considerable number of estates in Stirlingshire and Perthshire. Guthrie Smith says,¹ 'a charter in his favour, granted by Patrick Buchanan of that ilk of the lands of Gartincaber . . . is dated at Buchanan 1461.' He had also a charter dated at Torphichen, 3rd Feby., 1461-62, of the Temple Lands of Letter. On the 2nd October, 1472 . . . the bailie of Halden of Glencagles gave sasine to 'Thomas Buchanan and Robert Makealpyn of the lands of Ballvol and Camquhele.' In 1476 he purchased from Haldane of Glencagles the lands of 'Kepdory, Carbeth, Ballawoul,' etc. In 1482 he conveyed Carbeth to his son Thomas, 'Ballyvow' to his son Walter, and Kepdory to Robert—his eldest son and heir apparent. In 1477 he acquired the Temple lands of Ballikinrain, in 1484 he had a charter from William, Lord Graham of Middle Ledlewan (the Moss). Besides these lands he bought Drumikil, half of which he gave to his son Robert in 1496. These charters and others prove that Thomas Buchanan was a successful money-making man.

Though he was a brother of the Laird of Buchanan, there is some reason for believing that he was illegitimate. There is a Crown charter of 1463² confirming an entail of the lands of Buchanan on Patrick Buchanan of that ilk and on Patrick's son, Walter, whom failing, on the Buchanan of Leny and his six sons in succession, failing all of whom, on the brother of Buchanan of Leny. Thomas Buchanan (though the brother of Patrick, the laird of Buchanan) is not mentioned. If legitimate, he would have been the next heir after Patrick's issue, but he was passed over in favour of Buchanan of Leny,—a cousin. The inference that Thomas was illegitimate is, I think, irresistible. Robert Buchanan, to whom his father gave Kepdory, half of Drumikil, and probably Middle Ledlewan, was extravagant and insolvent. His son Thomas lived at the Moss, married Agnes Heriot, but died while still a young man, leaving a family of five sons and three daughters. The famous George Buchanan was the fifth son. He says he was born about the 1st of February, 1506. The year then began on the 25th March, and the 1st of February, 1506, corresponds to 1st February, 1507. Perhaps the quater-centenary should not have been held until next year.

¹ *Strathendrick*, p. 309.

² Reg. Mag. Sig., No. 761, p. 162.

³ *Vita Sua*—"anno salutis Christianae millesimo quingentesimo sexto, circa Kalendas Februarias."

Agnes Heriot, George Buchanan's mother, is said by all his biographers—but on slight authority—to have been a daughter of Heriot of Trabroun, East Lothian, and so related to George Heriot who is well-known as the founder of Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh. On her husband's death she left the Moss, and in 1513 she took a lease of a farm in Menteith making all her boys (including George, not yet eight years old) joint tenants. The year in which they got that lease in Menteith was the fatal year of Flodden, when most of the great men of the Lennox fell. Mathew, Earl of Lennox, William, Earl of Montrose, Edmondstone of Duntreath, one of the Buchanans of Leny, Napier, one of the co-heirs of Lennox, and others were killed, and a new generation, who had not known George Buchanan's father, succeeded to their titles and estates. A few years afterwards George Buchanan went to France. Though as "Magister Georgius" he appears in 1531 as a joint tenant with his mother and brothers of the Perthshire farm, his connection with the Lennox ceased so early in his life that he could impartially estimate the worth of the Earl of Lennox and others who played great parts in the history which Buchanan afterwards wrote.

It may seem invidious and ungracious to say that there is no evidence that the great historian was descended from the royal house of Stewart and the old Earls of Lennox, and still more ungracious to throw doubt on the legitimacy of his great-grandfather, but George Buchanan would have disdained to be credited with a false pedigree, and it is right to try to be accurate, even in such matters.

A. C. L.

II.

Early Surroundings and Associations.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, though a native of Lennox, and a kinsman of its hereditary lords, spent the best part of his life in other lands. It was in France, Portugal, and Italy, that he won reputation as the enlightened champion of education, and "the first poet of his age." With the exception of what he owed to his early home, to his schools, and to the University of St. Andrews, where he took the degree of Bachelor, his own land, with its Cardinal and Cordeliers, did not greatly help him on the road to fame. Buchanan was too patriotic either to remember the bitternesses of the past or to forget the claims of the present. He finally returned to Scotland during the chaos of the Reforming struggles; and, for the last twenty years of his life, devoted himself unweariedly to the national service. In this respect he presents a notable contrast to some other Scottish scholars of the time. Wilson, Alane, Serymger, and, possibly, Turnbull and Holywood, went abroad, disguised their names under Latin forms, won fortune and fame, and never returned.

The public services which Buchanan rendered to his country are well known; for they form part of the history of the new era which he and others helped to create. Not so much, however, can be said of his private and personal life during this closing period in his career. He had no biographer among his contemporaries. In this, it seems, Peter Young missed his chance of immortality: missed it, too, with his eyes open. He had been urged by Sir Thomas Randolph, who may have been a former pupil of Buchanan, to write a life of the celebrated scholar,— "being a thinge so common unto all famous Personnes, and most peculiar to the best learnid."¹ The advice was not taken;

¹ Letter of Thomas Randolphe to the right worshipfull Maister Peter Yonge, 1579. *Epistola 23, Georgii Buchanani Opera*, vol. 1.

and much in the public and private life of Buchanan, while at Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Stirling, and elsewhere, has gone into the void, possibly beyond recovery.

This paper is chiefly concerned with the earlier and later stages of Buchanan's connection with the West of Scotland. After four hundred years facts do not lie about like leaves in autumn. Yet one or two references have been found which are certainly not without interest: and may ultimately lead to a solution of some of the disputed points in the personal history of the distinguished Scottish humanist and reformer.

George Buchanan's birthplace was the old mansion-house of the Moss, pleasantly situated on the Blane, near Killearn, in Stirlingshire. It was an unpretentious building, thatched with straw, and stood somewhat nearer the river than the present modern building. Wodrow, writing in 1732, describes it as "a little house, still remaining, in a mossy ground, in the parish of Killearn."¹ A table and chair, made from the oak beams of the original house, are all that now remain to connect us directly with the venerable dwelling where Buchanan first saw the light. The lands of Moss, then called Middle Ledlewan, came into the possession of the family through the grant given, in 1484, by William, Lord Graham, to Thomas Buchanan of Bultoune—the founder of the Drumkil branch—"in virtue of counsel, assistance and services cheerfully rendered in times past." A condition of tenure stipulated that "the said Thomas Buchanan, his heirs and assignees should, if asked, pay annually, at the feast of Pentecost, to Lord Graham, at his three head courts of the lands of Mugdock, a silver penny, in the name of *blanch farm*."

It was while farming Moss—a 40 shilling land of old extent, or a property of about 104 acres—that Thomas Buchanan, eldest son of Robert, the second of Drumkil, and grandson of the above mentioned Thomas of Bultoune, married Agnes Heriot. She is supposed to have been one of the Heriots of Trabroun. William Buchanan of Auchmar, not always too reliable, was the first to give currency to the view.³ It is known that James Heriot, Canon of Ross, and Justiciar of Lothian died in 1522; the year in which George's maternal uncle and benefactor died.⁴

¹ Wodrow's MS. Life of Buchanan, vol. 16.

² Cross Buchanan Writs.

³ Historical and Genealogical Essay, p. 70.

⁴ Selections from the Old Records regarding the Heriots of Trabroun, by W. G. B. ; printed at Haddington, 1894, for private circulation, pp. 11-19.



THE MOSS (near Killearn),—where Buchanan was born.

By kind permission of James Macdouglass & Sons, Glasgow.

Auchmar could scarcely have been aware of this fact. Yet, as there were Heriots in the West as well as in the East, the Trabroun descent rests, meantime, on a somewhat slight basis. Better, however, than any Trabroun lineage is the reference by her son George: "such was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Heriot, that she brought up her five boys and three girls to the estate of manhood and womanhood,"¹—clearly a shrewd, capable woman, who fought bravely the battle against adverse circumstances. Buchanan, always reticent, and no sentimentalist, certainly owed more to her than is expressed in the self-restrained, if appreciative, words that have immortalized her name.

Although nothing definite is known regarding the daughters of Thomas Buchanan and Agnes Heriot the genealogists have tried to fill in the *lacunae* with picturesque details; which need not here be mentioned. One of them, it may be inferred, became the wife of a certain Mr. Morison; for it is known that an Alexander Morison published an edition of his uncle's paraphrase of the psalm.² As to the sons, Robert succeeded his father at the Moss in 1513; and, three years later, became, on his grandfather's death, laird of Drumkil. Robert died before 1525.³ He is said to have been succeeded by his brother Thomas; but this has not been conclusively established. If, for example, Thomas were the second son, it is curious that while his name does not appear in the lease of the lands of Offeron of Gartladdirnack, in Cardross of Menteith, granted in 1513, to Agnes Heriot and her sons Patriek, Alexander and George, it does appear in the renewal of the lease in 1531. He was then, presumably, laird of Drumkil; yet his name comes last on the list: the order being, Alexander, Patriek, Mr George and Thomas.⁴ Alexander, better known as of Ibert, apparently went to the Moss when his brother Robert died, or sometime later. The name of "Alexander Balquhannen in Mos" appears as a witness to a deed of date 21st October, 1553.⁵ Patriek

¹ *Vita Sua*.

² This ed. (1582-1610?) not known in Scotland, or to the British Museum. Jos. Scaliger wrote an ode in its praise, *Opuscula*, p. 287. Paris 1610.

³ *Acta Dom. Conc.*, vol. XXXVI., fol. 91.

⁴ Erskine of Cardross Charters. An abstract of the deeds relating to Buchanan is given in Mr. J. Guthrie Smith's *Strathentrick*.

⁵ *Protocols of Glasgow*, vol. I., protocol 166.

became a scholar, whose fame would have been considerable had it not been eclipsed by his still more famous brother George.

The Moss is about one and three-quarter miles south-west of Killearn. For some time, up till the age of seven, Buchanan may have attended the village school. His family, "never too prosperous, had," as he tells us, "been reduced almost to extremity of want";¹ and it is not likely that he, a lad of five or six, should be sent to a school outside the parish. Killearn, then a prebend in the Chapter of Glasgow, had been annexed, in 1506, by the Archbishop to "the College of his University." Patrick Graham, brother of the Earl of Montrose, was, from 1504, rector of the parish, and Canon of the Metropolitan Church. In 1513, and during the two following years, he was Rector of the Glasgow University.² Though the parson of Killearn took no direct part in teaching, his influence, as a man of culture and of birth, must have had some educative effect on the school. Yet, whatever the efficiency of the Killearn school, it could have done little for Buchanan; for we know that his family left the Moss for Offeron when he was in his seventh year.

Mr. A. F. Hutchison, M.A., late Rector of the Stirling High School, suggests that his next school was at Stirling.³ The old pre-Reformation Grammar School, in that ancient burgh, was the nearest, of any consequence, to his new home in Menteith; and had, at that time, a master of some repute. As early as 1732, though Mr. Hutchison was seemingly unaware of the fact, Wodrow made the same suggestion. "It is probable," he wrote, "that Buchanan was initiated in the Latin tongue in the Grammar School of Stirling, that lying near the place where he was born; unless his uncle Trabroun carried him somewhere else."⁴ An objection that is fatal to this view is the fact that Yule, the personal friend of Buchanan, and a former master of the Stirling Grammar School, makes no mention of George's name in connection with that school, even when enumerating some of the celebrated men who were educated there.⁵

¹ *Vita Sua*—"familia ante tenuis pene ad extremam inopiam est redacta."

² *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. 2, pp. 42, 127-9; also *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, vol. 2, p. 76, etc.

³ The High School of Stirling, pp. 273-5.

⁴ Wodrow MS., vol. 16.

⁵ *Ephrasis Paraphraseos Georgii Buchanani*, Dedic. Epist. London, 1620. The ephrasis, Yule says, was partly sketched by Buchanan.

If Killearn and Cardross of Menteith did not greatly contribute to Buchanan's mental culture, they did much for him in another way; they made him acquainted, from his youth, with the Gaelic tongue, and the traditions and romance of the Highlands. He might bewail that he was born "amidst the British mountains, in a land and an age that was unlearned"; but even these conditions had their compensations. He was drawing, unconsciously it may be, from the fine hills of Perthshire and the west; from the exquisite beauties of Loch Lomond; and the splendid statuary of the Firth of Clyde, that inspiration which helped to build up the future poet of the age. From the people, too, he was learning, as a youth can only learn, their ancient tongue, and its wealth of old world and imaginative lore. We know from the *History* that he spoke Gaelic when a child.¹ He was, from the first, bilingual; and that, in itself, implies a mental discipline of no mean order. Even after he knew, and could speak, many languages he did not forget the old Celtic speech and the light it can throw on the place names of Europe. His ethnological and philological investigations, in the first two books of the *History*, are still interesting; not only as showing his native insight and sagacity, but the thoroughness of his acquaintance with the language and customs of the Celts. His work here has, in great part, been superseded; but, at the time, and for long after, it was the first intelligent attempt in that direction.

The early home surroundings and education could not thus have had much direct significance in building up the mental structure and equipment of George Buchanan. The true centre of educational influence must be sought for elsewhere. On the somewhat slender authority of Mackenzie it has been asserted that the Dumbarton Grammar School was the institution where he received his first real academic training.² The records of Dumbarton, which have been repeatedly searched, have yielded not the slightest reference. No doubt, Buchanan's knowledge of the rock, and especially of its magnetic properties, does seem to indicate that intimate acquaintance that is associated with the intelligent schoolboy. But it is not safe to draw conclusions from such evidence. Buchanan knew about many things that

¹ *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, 1, 8.

² *Lives and Characters of the most eminent writers of the Scots Nation*, vol. 3, p. 156.

few, even now, know: as, for instance, the wall of Severus and the marble deposits of Sutherland. All that one is justified in inferring from special lore of this kind is the accuracy and range of Buchanan's marvellous knowledge. Mackenzie may have mistaken Cardross, near Dumbarton, for Cardross, in Perthshire; and may, thus unwittingly, have helped to perpetuate an error which has since obtained the currency of a fact.

Principal Robert Baillie, in a letter written, May 23, 1660, to Professor William Douglas, Aberdeen, says that Buchanan was educated at Glasgow: "George Buchanan, born in Strathblane (Killern), seven miles from Glasgow, bred in our Grammar School, much conversing in our College, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James."¹

These statements of Baillie are of first-rate importance. He was born at Glasgow twenty years after Buchanan's death, and was educated at the City Grammar School, and the University of which he afterwards became professor and Principal. As a chronicler of the time he is observant and trustworthy. It is true that the Moss is more than seven miles from Glasgow. Wodrow, writing seventy-two years later, gives the distance as ten miles. In those days, land measurements, even in charters, were indicated somewhat loosely. When, however, he says that Buchanan was "bred in our Grammar School" he stands on different ground. He is giving expression to what was then a living tradition about which there could be no uncertainty. Andrew Melville, Yule, and others, who enjoyed the friendship of Buchanan, were still alive when Baillie was a student at Glasgow. He may have got his information from them; or from sources that have now ceased to exist. Nor is the fact, otherwise, unlikely. Patrick Graham, the parson of Killcarn, was a Canon of the Cathedral; and, from 1513 to 1516, Rector of the University. He would naturally be interested in the clever lad whom he knew at the Moss; and it may, possibly, have been through his influence that he was helped to study at the chief educational institution in the West of Scotland.

The Glasgow Grammar School, originally situated near where the buildings of the Central Fire Brigade now are, grew up under the care of the city and the Cathedral. After the 14th century it is frequently mentioned; but it existed long anterior

¹ *Letters and Journals* of Robert Baillie, A.M., 1841-2, vol. 3, p. 402. This letter was first published in the 1830 edition of McUre's *History of Glasgow*, p. 363.

to that date. It was, according to the custom of the time, under the immediate supervision of the Chancellor of the Diocese.¹ In early youth, King James IV. was created a Canon of Glasgow; and, it would seem, as if his zeal for education had imparted itself to the school. The famous Act of 1496, passed in his reign, ordained "that all barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sons and heirs to the schules fra they be six or nine yeirs of age, and till remaine at the Grammar Schools, quhill they be competentlie founded and have perfite Latine." Hallam thinks that this Act must have been inoperative because it was too vague for execution.² On a point like this, Heeren is, perhaps, a more reliable guide when he asserts that "the need of public instruction and the betterment of the same were felt earlier and more keenly in Scotland than in England."³ No one claims that, during Buchanan's school days, any Scottish scholar wrote or spoke perfect Latin—such Latin, for example, as was spoken and written by Bembo or Sadoletto. Yet the language was known, taught, and written with more or less elegance. In the best schools much care was bestowed on its teaching. The teachers spoke in Latin; and the scholars, even while at play, were compelled, under severe penalties, to make use of that tongue as the medium of their thoughts. French was also taught and spoken; and, in some of the Scottish schools, pupils had the option of speaking either French or Latin during play hours.⁴

Unfortunately no records known to me give the scheme of lessons then taught at the Glasgow City School. Thomas Jack, who was favoured with the friendship of Buchanan, and who afterwards became minister of Eastwood and of Montgomery, is one of the most noted of its headmasters. He tells of a visit he paid to the aged scholar in the hope he might revise the MS. of his *Onomasticon Poeticum*, and of the kindness he received, then, as on former occasions. "I found him," he says, "in the royal palace of Stirling, diligently engaged in writing his *History of Scotland*. He was so far from being displeased with my interruption that he cheerfully took my work into his hands, and after continuing to read two or three pages of it, he collected

¹ *Munimenta*, vol. 1, p. 37; *Reg. Episcop. Glasg.*, pp. 490-1.

² *Lit. of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, p. 273.

³ *Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften*, vol. 2, p. 139.

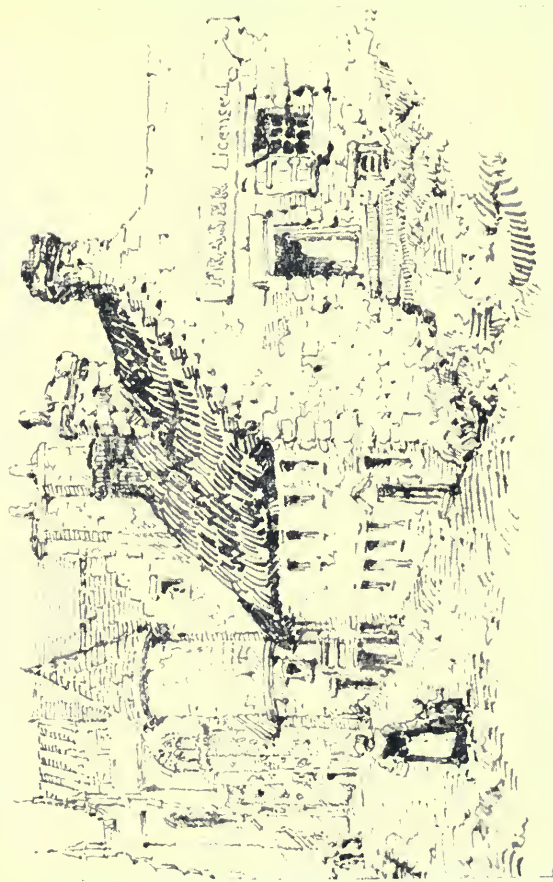
⁴ McCrie's notes on *Lives of Knox and Melville*, Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, and P. Hume Brown's *Buchanan*.

together his own papers, which were scattered on the table and said that he would desist from his undertaking till he had done what I wished. This promise he accurately performed; and, within a few days, gave me a paper written with his own hand, and containing such corrections as he thought necessary." It may, perhaps, be too much to construe this incident as if it were an act of homage done by a former pupil of the Grammar School to its then headmaster. In any case, it is a proof of his unflinching courtesy and kindness.

In Buchanan's time the school seems to have been in a flourishing condition. One of its masters, then, was Matthew Reid, M.A. He is first mentioned in 1511, among the *incorporati* of the University. *Incorporatus*, in this sense, may mean a student who matriculates for the first time; or, one who, having studied elsewhere, desires to continue his studies at the College of which he becomes a member. Reid was evidently appointed to the mastership of the school as soon as he took the higher degree; for, in 1520, he was, as a man of whose discretion and capabilities the faculty had some experience, elected Treasurer of the University. Two years later, he was chosen one of the deputies of the Rector¹—perhaps the first time this honour was conferred on a schoolmaster.

Buchanan was from the first a scholar. It was his early aptitude and skill in the Latin tongue which, as he tells us, he "learned with much pains in boyhood," that appealed with such good results to his uncle and benefactor. At fourteen, when he left school, he must have known much, at least in the matter of Latin, that Matthew Reid could teach him. At the age of sixteen, Melanchthon lectured on the classical authors of antiquity. At fourteen, Andrew Melville, fresh from the Greek School at Montrose, entered the College of St. Mary, in the University of St. Andrews, and astonished, not a little, the professors there by using the Greek text in his study of Aristotle. Buchanan, with all his capacity and diligence, was no prodigy; yet, we can well believe that when he started for the University of Paris, in 1520, he knew and spoke the languages of old Rome and fair France as well as any who had ever left our shores for that famous seat of learning. The glory of being the first thus to lay the foundations of that Latinity in which he afterwards so greatly excelled, and to foster in him the real love of knowledge,

¹ *Munimenta*, vol. 2, pp. 126, 139, 149.



THE CASTLE VENNAL, STIRLING, 1834.

(From a drawing by J. S. Fleming, F.S.A., after Sir George Harvey.)

The turreted house is alleged to have been Buchanan's "lodging."

By kind permission of Mr. John Jamieson, Publisher, Stirling.

must, perhaps, be assigned to the Scottish schoolmaster, Matthew Reid, whose name has lain, for nearly four centuries, hidden but not unhonoured, in the annals and muniments of his Alma Mater.

The "parcel of good books," which Buchanan presented to the College Library consisted of twenty volumes, all written in Greek: possibly it was a compliment to his friend Andrew Melville, an accomplished Greek scholar, and then head of the Glasgow University. The books still exist, with the exception of a volume of Plutarch's works, which is amissing. They were given to the University, in 1578—the year of the 'Erectio Regia'—"ex dono viri optimi et doctissimi Georgii Buchanani, regii magistri."¹ George's name does not appear on any of the volumes. That of his brother, "Patricius Buchanan," is neatly written on the title page of Strabo's *Geography*. Above this signature is that of Jacobus Goupylus, presumably a former owner of the book; for the name is slightly scored through by the same pen that wrote "Patricius Buchanan." In this folio there are numerous jottings, which consist, chiefly, of a kind of index of the names occuring in the text. These were not made by Buchanan. A few notes, of an explanatory kind, as at pages 344, 352, are, almost certainly, in his handwriting. He makes frequent use of Strabo, in the opening chapters of the *History*; and many of the names there given, on the authority of Strabo, are underlined in the body of the original, or written on the margin. Five of the volumes: the works of Demosthenes, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, the *Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric*, and volumes two and three of the *Commentary on the Iliad and Odyssey* by Eustathius: have no notes of any kind. In Euclid one note occurs: but it is not in Buchanan's hand. The remaining volumes contain many notes in different types of calligraphy. Alexander Tral appends his name to one in Greek, and there is another in shorthand. Those which can be said to be by Buchanan are few. Annotations in volume one of Eustathius' *Commentary* are certainly in his handwriting (v. pp. 32, 79, 80, 83, 123). This is a specimen of the marginal references:

Ἄπολλων δῖctus ἀπολεῖν τοὺς ἐν κατοχῇ κακώσεων.

Plato's works have many titles and references, such as "anima

¹ Munimenta, vol. 3, p. 407. Irving gives the list in his *Memoirs of Buchanan*, pp. 393-4.

pura," "anima contagio corporis infecta," "philosophia nihil melius a diis data," "oculorum utilitas," "origo justicie"—which appear to be by Buchanan. Some slight corrections of the text, different readings and allusions are written on the margin of Stephanus of Byzantium, Manuel Moschopolus, Aristophanes and Basil. They are of the same general type as those referred to, and betray the hand of the practised scholar—a feature which is not so apparent in the insertions by other writers. An interesting, if modern, entry, in fine, clear caligraphy—given in Basil's works, at page 5—is in Greek and Hebrew.

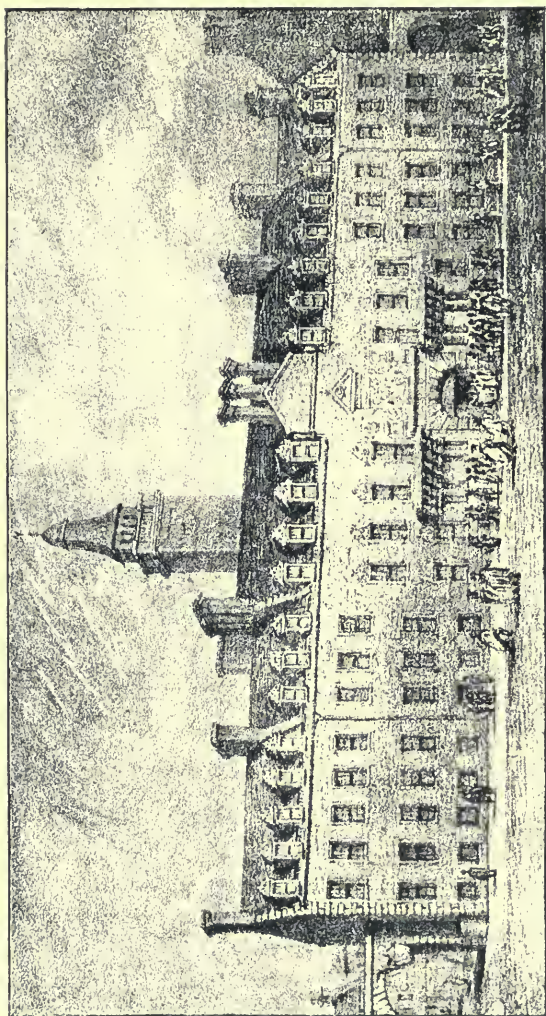
Of the sixteen Greek authors whose works Buchanan presented to the Glasgow University five, at least, are familiarly referred to by him in the *History*. The inquiries of Plato, in the *Cratylus*, as to the origin of words, are criticised in a sentence; Stephanus of Byzantium, "Concerning Towns and Peoples"; and Suidas, "no mean grammarian among the Greeks," are quoted once; while Strabo, as already indicated, is often quoted. Plutarch is mentioned in connection with the opinion that the word Cimbri was not the name of a nation but of a pursuit or employment, because robbers were so designated by the Germans. Here the reference is to be found in Plutarch's *Marius*, and suggests the inference that Buchanan was acquainted with the *Lives* as well as the *Moralia* of that entertaining and philosophic writer.¹ The pseudo-Plutarch—"he who wrote the small treatise on rivers"—is also referred to in the *History*.² In a letter, written by Gifanius to Buchanan, mention is made of Lycophron—another of the authors in the list of gifted books—in a way to indicate that the Scottish scholar was familiar with that obscure poet. It is also noteworthy that, in 1578, the year of the donation to the University, Serranus sent to Buchanan a copy of his fine edition of Plato, in three volumes.³ It would thus seem that, apart from his translations of *Medea*, and *Alcestis*, and epigrams from the poets, Buchanan's knowledge of Greek literature was much more extensive than is generally supposed.

What Baillie says about Buchanan's relation to the Glasgow College is also deeply interesting as suggesting the part he acted

¹ Missing vol. of Plut.—the *Lives*—found since above in print. On fly-leaf, in Buchanan's hand, is the motto: "Omnia mea mecum porto." This saying of Bias is recorded in Cicero's *Paradoxa*, I. 8.

² *Rev. Scot. Hist.* 1. 3: 2. 31, 45, 33.

³ *Epistolæ* 4 and 19, *Buchanan's Opera*, vol. 1.



OLD COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

in procuring certain grants and foundations from the Crown and the Magistrates. The Reformation threatened the extinction of the Western University. Its revenues were unjustly seized or alienated. New professors could not be appointed owing to the lack of funds. The College buildings were in an unfinished state; so that the institution resembled more "the decay of a University than an established foundation." This disorganization and impoverishment must have grieved the soul of the enthusiastic educationist. It has, therefore, not unreasonably been inferred that the gift of Mary, the grant by the Town Council of Glasgow in 1572, and the new foundation, known as 'Ereectio Regia,' were obtained mainly through his influence.¹ We know that Buchanan was in the Queen's retinue, during her stay at Glasgow; when, on the 13th of July, 1563, she granted to the University, under her Privy Seal, certain lands and revenues of the Preaching Friars of the city for the support of five poor scholars during the time of their education. On the very day of the Queen's gift Mr. George Buchanan, "within the house of James Graham, dwelling in Glasgow, resigned in favour of John M'Lawchtlane and Katherine Galbrayth, spouses, the half of the lands of Auchintroige, extending to a two merkland, of old extent, with the pertinents, lying in the Earldom of Levenax."² The M'Lauchlans had been, for centuries, in possession of Auchintroige—there is a confirmation of one of their charters in 1394—and, it is probable, as Mr. Robert Renwick, the learned editor of the *Protocols*, suggests, that Buchanan's interest in the lands may have been of the nature of a wadset or mortgage.

Buchanan's connection with the lands of Auchintroige raises a further point of some importance in the same relation. The date of his final return to Scotland has not been definitely ascertained. Strangely enough the first reference to him, after his return, is in a charter granted, at Glasgow, 8th Nov. 1561, by William Cunninghame of Craigends, by which he acquired an annual rent of 20 merks payable out of the lands of Yoker. On the following day John Galbrayth in Balgair, as attorney for, and on behalf of *Magister Georgius Buchquhannen*, appeared at Yoker, and took sasine on behalf of his principal.³ That the

¹ P. Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, pp. 242-3.

² *Protocols of Glasgow*, vol. 3, protocol 756.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, prot. 1420.

famous scholar was then in Scotland is certain. He may have come back even earlier; for the deed of assignation by which he held part of the Auchintroige lands, whether as wadset or otherwise, has not yet been discovered. The Yoker annual rent which may have been held in security for a temporary loan, was resigned, on the 10th November 1563, by William Gilbrayth, "acting as procurator for Mr. George Buchquhannen."¹

That Buchanan was thus much "conversing" in Glasgow and the western shires is evident. He was, above all, a man of public spirit, exerting himself in every kind of way to advance the real interests of the nation. Nor is there lack of evidence as to his personal and social influence. Contemporaries like Queen Mary: of scholarly tastes and brilliant conversational powers: Julius Caesar Scaliger, Hubert Languet, and Sir James Melville, were even more profoundly impressed by the charm of his manner and conversation than by the range and depth of his consummate knowledge. Self-revelation was not much in Buchanan's line; although he does occasionally draw aside the veil. A fine, if curious, epigram on the Entertainment given by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, is as creditable to his social instincts as it is worthy of his honoured and learned host. In the West of Scotland, at least, the influence of George Buchanan, in public and private, is a pleasant memory, an eternal possession, which all the years, with their unslumbering antagonisms, can neither depreciate nor take away. "Est primum sapientis officium, bene sentire, ut sibi vivat; proximum, bene loqui, ut patriae vivat."

R. M.

¹ *Ibid.* vol. 3, prot. 761.

III.

Buchanan's Student Days.

THE natural step for a youth from the banks of the Blane, where, according to a poetical eulogist, Buchanan early conned his "metred book," would have been to enrol himself as a student of Glasgow University. But Glasgow University during the first quarter of the sixteenth century was at the lowest ebb of its fortunes; and James Heriot, Buchanan's uncle, resolved to send him to the University of Paris, a place of study which was attracting some of the ablest Scottish youth. Indeed ever since a Scots College had been founded in Paris in 1325, Scottish youths regarded attendance at Paris University as an essential means of attaining intellectual culture. It is probable that he had student companions on the journey; at that date youths proceeding to Cambridge University from the remoter districts of England went in a body under the care of a "fetcher"; so Prof. Hume Brown's surmise that some such arrangement may have existed in Scotland in connection with France is quite reasonable.

At the University of Paris, where Buchanan entered as a student in 1520, the students were mainly resident within the colleges, or they might board at *paedagogia* (better known as *pensionnats*); those who were less wealthy lived in private lodgings, and were known as *martinets*. In all likelihood Buchanan was a non-resident student, and it is thus possible that he associated with the German Nation, which section had been well-equipped with schools at one time at the University.

He tells us himself that his favourite study during his stay at Paris was the composition of Latin verse. "Partly of his own choice," he says, "and partly of compulsion, the writing of Latin verse, then the one subject prescribed for boys, made the chief part of his literary studies."¹ One illustrious teacher

¹ *Vita Sua*.

graced the French University about this time—Lefèvre d'Étaples, esteemed especially as an expositor of philosophy and theology. Buchanan lauded him in later years as a leader in mental enlightenment. Breadth and intelligence were the outshining characteristics of Lefèvre's teaching. These qualities of so admirable a teacher, which were the talk of all the schools, would have their own particular effect upon Buchanan, whose mind was inherently receptive of rational opinion. It looks somewhat incongruous that, after experiencing the influence of so progressive a thinker as Lefèvre, he should have been attracted to St. Andrews by Major, a prominent representative of the decaying scholasticism. But so it was. The conclusion is fair that in doing so he was paying a concession to the fashionable cult of dialectic, an art in which Major was a recognised adept.

John Major, although a schoolman, also to incur the ridicule of Buchanan as formerly he had been visited with the satire of Rabelais, was a man of European reputation as a teacher of logic. As a regent in the University of Paris, he had enjoyed much fame among the learned. Distinguished pupils award him cordial praise. Louis Coronel speaks of him as one "whose learning will commend him not only to posterity but to eternity." Robert Senalis calls him "that incomparable master in Arts and Philosophy." It has been surmised that he owed his transference to a Scottish chair to Gavin Douglas, who, during an official visit to Paris, prevailed upon him to accept a post in a Scottish University. It was to the University of Glasgow that he was first to devote his ability. In 1518, Major was incorporated principal regent of the College and Paedagogium of Glasgow. The promotion of James Beaton from the Western see led to Major's removal to the University of St. Andrews.

It is noteworthy that Patrick Hamilton, a representative of the New Learning, was incorporated into the University on the same day (9th June 1523) as Major, a representative of the old learning. Major presided over the Paedagogium, and lectured on Logic and Theology, his favourite subjects. A special theme was the philosophy of Aristotle. He is admitted to have discussed with vigour the important arguments of Aristotle's philosophy; but he also applied himself with zest to the marvellously futile speculations beloved of the schoolmen. This element, to judge from Buchanan's summary

of his teaching, unduly predominated in his prelections. "John Major," he remarks, "at that time taught Dialectic, or rather Sophistic, in extreme old age at St. Andrews." And his epigram is yet more scathing:—

Cum seateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum, titulis quod se veracibus ornat;
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.¹

When he proclaims himself thus clearly
As "Major" by cognomen merely,
Since trifles through the book abound,
And scarce a page of sense is found,
Full credit sure the word acquires,
For Cretans are not always liars!

Major is said to have been one of those who, in 1539, accused Buchanan of heresy because of his having persuaded James V. to break the Lenten fast; and this may have increased the bitterness of the pupil's scorn. But, despite such sarcasm, Major's influence upon Buchanan had, it appears certain, a good deal of weight. The careful marshalling of the factors of discussion in his philosophical treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, bears every evidence of an insight derived no less from training than from original discrimination. And doubtless the very opinion embodied in this powerful political pamphlet had a stimulus from Major, to whose idea of a state its pronouncement has an interesting resemblance. Major's name and fame became more and more known; and, after a second residence at Paris, he returned in 1529 to St. Andrews as Principal of St. Salvator's College, and continued in that charge until his death. Buchanan matriculated as a student at St. Andrews at the beginning of the session of 1525.² His name on the register of the Paedagogium is written beside that of his brother Patrick. After the names of many of the seventy-six students who became *Cives Universitatis* at this date is written the word *pauper*, which implies that they were unable to pay the usual fee. Buchanan, however, was not now reckoned *pauper*, because, according to Prof. Hume Brown, he paid the matriculation

¹ Epigrammata, I.-41.

² Buchanan states in *Vita Sua* that after having been two years in Paris he had, on account of ill-health and the cessation of supplies on the death of his uncle, to return home—*intra biennium avvenio mortuo, et ipse gravi morbo correptus, ac nulliquè inopia circumventus, redire ad suos coactus*. He spent a year of convalescence, probably at Cardross.

fee of sixpence. It seems that students in those days, more fortunate than their successors, paid in keeping with their means, for others paid eightpence.

The Paedagogium stood on the site now occupied either by the University Library or St. Mary's College, and was only erected after some trouble had been occasioned regarding the unsettled state of the young University. The first building which formed the nucleus of the University had been granted in 1418 by Robert of Montrose as a College of Theology and Arts, and was dedicated to St. John. Bishop Wardlaw, however, gifted another tenement in 1430, and this was so planned that the system should be "residential." Hitherto hostels had been opened; but the same difficulties arose as in the Paedagogia at Paris, students breaking the laws by continually removing from hostel to hostel, and by otherwise indulging in conduct which would now be characterised as "unworthy of a student and a gentleman." The tenement which Bishop Wardlaw gave was to be a common hall or paedagogium, but did not quite correspond to the institution of this name in which Buchanan studied at Paris. Thereafter peace may have been within the walls of learning at St. Andrews; but this could merely have lasted until St. Salvator's College was founded in 1450, for the study of Theology and Arts. The Arts students and masters in the Paedagogium considered the new college as a rival; and the struggle between them to attract students was for some time keen. But ere long the fame of the older institution diminished, and it was finally superseded, when, in 1537, Cardinal David Beaton and Archbishop Hamilton completed the work of Cardinal James Beaton by raising on the site of the Paedagogium a new college under the title of "The Blessed Mary of the Assumption." Thus in Buchanan's time the Paedagogium must have been in a poor and languishing condition—it certainly was not at its best—and it would have been more fitting to associate Buchanan with the new college of St. Leonard's, which was founded in 1512, and which was more in sympathy with the New Learning.

Buchanan's student days at St. Andrews were not many. In October 1525 he graduated with what might be called "Second Class Honours," his distaste for Major's logic no doubt affecting his examination results. Nevertheless, along with most of his fellow-graduates, he escaped the payment of the registration fee. This evasion was not to go unnoticed, for the

word *pauper* was placed opposite the names of these struggling graduates.

Soon Buchanan was to return to France to continue his studies. He followed thither his former teacher, Major, and sought as that scholar had once done to take his final degree to qualify for a professional certificate. So far, by taking his Bachelor's degree, he had completed only a part of his training in order to become a Regent. He required to take the Master's degree before such an appointment could be secured, and with this object in view he would doubtless never have broken his course of study at Paris, had not indifferent health and ultimately Major's European fame attracted him to St. Andrews in order to study the subject of Logic—then alone necessary to him for the Bachelor's degree. Under the existing conditions this was possible, for the studies and the degrees of the University were recognised by all other universities.

At the Scots College, Paris, Buchanan renewed his academic studies in France. He owed his nomination as a bursar to Major—a circumstance which has sometimes been pointed to as hardly appreciated by Buchanan, if his severe criticisms of his teacher are rightly to be weighed against it. The two facts are, at least, not inconsistent. Although as a bursar he would receive his board and education free, he tells us that the first two years of his life were passed in “hard struggle with untoward fortune.”¹ Very obviously he shared the somewhat unpleasant lot of the majority of the students at the Paris Colleges. The accommodation was small and ill-provided; the food meagre and not of the best description. To add to the troubles of mere living, the amount of study requisite was very exacting. Early morning saw the students at work, and, after the mid-day interval, they were equally engrossed throughout the afternoon. Buchanan took his Master's degree in March 1528, and was thereupon appointed a Regent in one of the most successful Paris Colleges, that of St. Barbe. There, during a residency of three years, he became, as he was to be to the last, a teacher of exceptional power.

A pleasing corollary to Buchanan's career as a student at St. Andrews was his later association with this University. Forty-one years after his studentship he was appointed Principal of St. Leonard's College, a post which he held for four years. During the time of his office as principal Buchanan's person-

¹ *Vita Sua*.

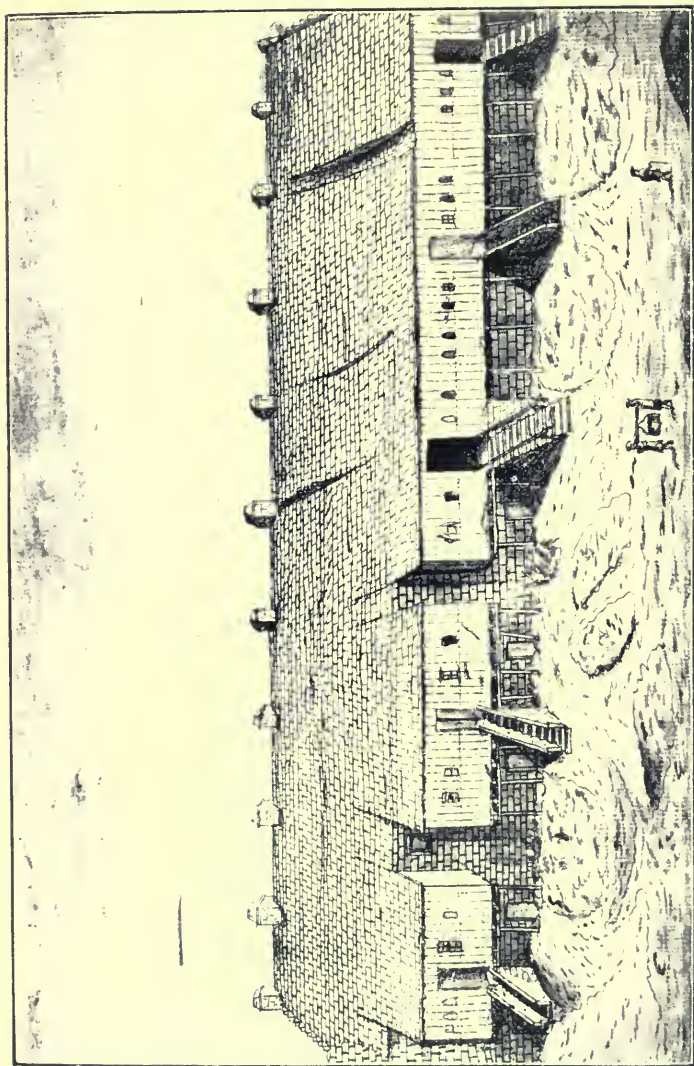
ality stamped itself upon the history of St. Andrews. At that period his own character was of significant and distinctive note; while several of the events with which his career as principal is bound up were of very great interest. Then it was that the Stephensens published at Paris two new editions of some of the best of his verse; the one including his *Elegiæ*, *Silvæ*, and *Hendecasyllabi*, the other the same pieces, with the addition of the *Franciscanus*; and still greater matters, matters of national importance, distinguished his official life at St. Andrews. Then he was Moderator of the General Assembly. Then he consulted at York as a fellow-commissioner with Moray in regard to the reception which Queen Elizabeth ought to give to Mary, Queen of Scots, a fugitive from Langside. And, above all, he then wrote his *Detectio Mariæ Regina Scotorum*, one of the most notable and effective indictments ever written as the medium of a momentous constitutional charge. The St. Andrews Town and University records are singularly destitute of references to Buchanan. Professor Lee's researches into these, contributed to the second edition of Irving's *Memoirs* of Buchanan, remain the sole authority for details of his sojourn in the city.

It is not hard to think of Buchanan, both as a student and principal, as an appreciative inhabitant of St. Andrews. A willing exile in France, he not only admired and sang the fair scenery of the land of his adoption, but also its excellent learning, especially as evinced at the University of Paris. Enthusiastic as is his praise of the smiling meadow-lands and noble rivers of France, their attraction perceptibly fades beside the glory of the halls of learning at Paris, the Lutetia and the Amaryllis of his verse. The pastoral sweetness of hill and dale round St. Andrews, the flashing estuary of the Eden at full tide, the unrivalled traceries of sunset above the autumn-tinted Fife hills, were not indeed perfect amends for absence from "*Ligeris formosus*," and its accompanying splendours:—

Francigenas inter Ligeris pulcherrimus annis.

But they might, though faintly, be reminiscient. The University of St. Andrews, situated brightly, if not so enchantingly as that of the Lutetia of his "*fond imagination*" would of itself, with its conjoined accomplishments of admirable learning and earnest thinking, well sustain the charm which France had had for him, a charm hardly equalled by that of his own land.

W. B.



ST. LEONARD'S COLLEGE.

(From an old Print in St. Andrews University Library.)

By kind permission of Mr. G. A. Morton, Publisher, Edinburgh.

IV.

Buchanan and Continental Thought.

THE poor little backward kingdom of Scotland, a century or two behind central and southern Europe in civilisation, felt the throb of a three-fold influence during the sixteenth century, and the impulsion came naturally from France. For the small northern land had been for centuries a satellite of its great neighbour beyond the sea. The French alliance had been the most stable element in its shifting political life; the Scottish body-guard of the kings of France had attracted the younger sons of the turbulent Scottish barons for generations; and to reach the University of Paris, to settle there as a student, whether as an inmate of the Scots' College or as a lodger in an obscure room in the *Rue d'Écosse*, was the ambition of every young Scot of pregnant parts who longed to live a scholar's life.

France of the sixteenth century was seething with new ideas.

There was a movement for the reformation of the Church and of the religious life, which passed through three stages. The first has been called *le protestantisme fabrisien*, and began with the publication, in 1512, of notes on the Pauline Epistles by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis) and received a great impulse from the same author's translation of the Scriptures into French—the New Testament in 1523 and the whole Bible in 1525. It is inseparably associated with Marguerite d'Angoulême, Briçonnet and with the "group of Meaux." Marguerite, writing to Briçonnet in 1521, could say that her brother and mother (Francis I. and Louise of Savoy) were keenly interested in the spread of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and in the hope of a reformation of the Church.¹ The second was caused by the diffusion of Luther's writings throughout France. As early as May 1519 we read

¹ Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, i., 78, 84.

of the eagerness with which Luther's books were welcomed there by all scholars, "even the least enlightened," and on to 1537 the common name for all advanced reformers in France was Lutherans.¹ The third began in 1537, when the whole of the French Protestants rallied round the young Calvin and accepted his *Institutio* (1536) as a manifesto, which was for them a scheme of doctrine, a code of morals, and a mode of worship.

The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. (1494-5) dates the beginning of the second infusion of new ideas. Italy conquered its invaders and held them captive by a thousand dainty spells. The French troops returned to their own land laden with books, pictures, objects of art of all kinds. Charles brought with him to Paris Italian scholars, artists, architects, artificers, men skilled in perfumery, even tailors. The French Renaissance came to maturity almost at a leap. From the first it inspired men and women alike. Anne of Brittany, the queen of Louis XII., was a constant patron of artists and men of letters and strove to cultivate herself in order to be able to understand sympathetically their work. Marguerite d'Angoulême, in her own person, carried this movement of the end of the 15th century into the 16th, and set the fashion for the learned ladies who came after her. This French Renaissance was a curious combination of old French artistic feeling, with that of Italy and the revived spirit of classical antiquity. It developed into something quite national, which France has never lost. The leading spirits of the time, men and women, were intoxicated with a new sense of beauty of form and colour, which appeared not only in painting, architecture and gardening, but in household decoration and even in dress. The movement was naturally aristocratic, and clung to the royal court and to the courts of the great princes scattered over France. It had no sympathy with the democratic fervour of the religious reformation.

In its company came the New Learning, producing erudite Frenchmen. From the first it had a character of its own. Its inspiration came from Germany and the Low Countries as well as from Italy; and it was comparatively free from the elegant trifling into which the latter Italian Humanism had degenerated. If some date the beginnings of

¹ *Ibid.*, i., 47.

the New Learning in France from the journey of Lefèvre to Florence, Padua, Rome and Venice (1488-89), it must be remembered that Erasmus had made several visits to Paris, that Beatus Rhenanus had expounded the political writings of Aristotle there in 1502, and that scholars from Germany and the Low Countries had taught in many of the colleges in Paris. From the beginning Frenchmen put the New Learning to modern uses. They applied themselves to the study of Roman jurisprudence and they cultivated the art of writing history. Of course almost all the men of the New Learning wrote what were called *Juvenilia*—short Latin poems after the fashion of Horace, Ovid, Catullus, etc. But these were acknowledged to be trifles, of value only in practising the authors in their use of classical latinity.

All three influences came to Scotland from France during the 16th century. John Knox represents for us the first; Mary Stuart the second; and George Buchanan the third. All remain with us as part of our national heritage, and our land would be much poorer than it is to-day had it failed to receive any one of them.

Buchanan spent a great part of his life in France. He was sent there in 1520—a boy of fourteen—and did not finally leave the country until he was a man of fifty-five. It is scarcely likely that the lad, whose time, as he himself informs us, was chiefly occupied in constructing Latin verses, and who no doubt lived in some obscure garret,¹ knew much about the intellectual movements which were stirring France; but he could not avoid hearing the cries of the hawkers who went through all the streets, especially in the students' quarter, selling a pamphlet entitled *Adversus furiosum Parisiensium Theologastrorum decretum Philippi Melancthonis pro Luthero Apologia*. This was in 1521. The Elector of Saxony had asked the Sorbonne (the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris) to give him their opinion upon the theology of Luther. Noel Beda, the strenuous supporter of mediæval theology and the bitter antagonist of the New Learning, had been asked by his

¹ Rents in Paris were comparatively very high. Jacques Dryander says that he had to pay more for one room—small and dirty—in Paris than was needed for the whole expenses of a student who lived luxuriously at Louvain: *cf. Illustrium et clarorum virorum Epistolæ . . . scriptæ vel a Belgis vel ad Belgas* (1617), pp. 60-61.

colleagues to report on the request, and the result was a furious condemnation, in which Luther was called another Mahomet and in which it was declared that the fire and sword were the only arguments to be used against him. Melanchthon wrote a sarcastic reply, which was rapturously received in Paris. The *Parlement* had come to the help of the Sorbonne, and had interdicted the publication and sale of any book not authorised (June 13th), with the effect of greatly stimulating the sale of Melanchthon's pamphlet: *impune enim proclamitari libellum Philippi Melanchthonis pro Martino Luthero*.¹ The most incurious lad could scarcely avoid hearing a good deal about Luther and Melanchthon through such an incident as this.

Buchanan's two years in Paris, devoted, as he tells us, to the acquisition of facility in the composition of Latin verses, saw the beginning of the training which made him one of the most distinguished Humanists of his generation. He was distinctively a Humanist, and nothing more. For we must always distinguish between the Renaissance and Humanism. The former was the revival of the ideas, the spirit and the decadence of Imperial Rome; while Humanism was the appreciation of the precision and linguistic delicacies of ancient classical literature. A man steeped in the spirit of the Renaissance did not need to be a Humanist. Rabelais was not. Still less was it necessary for a Humanist to surrender himself to the Renaissance movement. Neither Erasmus nor Buchanan did. Humanism displayed itself in the care to imitate the best models of ancient literary excellence, to acquire a supreme command over the art of literary expression as that was exhibited in the great classical authors, frequently to apply to modern uses the old classical modes of composition—epigram, ode, letter, etc. The genuine Humanists used this literary instrument to express whatever ideas they wished to share with their fellow men. Erasmus, the greatest of the Humanists, put the ancient vehicle of expression to thoroughly modern uses. He employed it to depict all sorts and conditions of men and women—theologians, jurists and philosophers, monks and parish priests, wives, nuns and courtesans, pilgrims and pardon-sellers, peasants, artizans and vagrants—and his vehicle was

¹ Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, etc., i., 70.

Latin prose. Buchanan has nothing of his range, keeps more strictly to his classical models, and uses Latin verse. But both were typical Humanists.

Humanism created a literature in the 16th century which was that of a coterie and had almost nothing national about it, powerful within its own limited area, but of small effect upon the masses. Buchanan had all the strength and the limitations of Humanism. During the first half-century of his life he did not belong to the Renaissance as did Rabelais; nor to the Reform movement as did Calvin; he was simply a Humanist, whose love for antiquity consisted in his admiration of its literature, or rather of its forms of literary expression, who could belong to any or none of the new movements which were disturbing the time, but who hated to loathing the bad latinity and the endless arguments about trifles which seemed to him to be the sum of Scholastic Theology.

Leaving France, partly from ill-health and partly from lack of means to support himself, he spent four years in Scotland. Having attended with little profit and with less enthusiasm the lectures of John Major—one of the most distinguished of the later scholastic teachers—Buchanan in 1526 was back in Paris determined to be a scholar and a man of learning,—nothing more. He graduated probably in 1528, and his appointment soon after to the teaching staff of Ste Barbe—one of the most liberal colleges attached to the University of Paris—proves that his marked abilities had been recognised by discerning persons. Having become procurator of the "German Nation,"¹ he was chosen in the following year the representative of his Nation in the election of the Rector of the University.

For some years after he led the life of a wandering tutor. In 1542 or 1543 Buchanan was again in Paris,

¹ In the sixteenth century the University of Paris had four faculties—of Theology (the Sorbonne), of Medicine, of Law, and of Arts. The students belonging to the faculties of Law and Medicine were comparatively few. The first three faculties were ruled by Deans; the fourth, the faculty of Arts, was divided into four nations—the nation of France (students from the Midi and from a large part of Europe), the nation of Germany which included students from England and Scotland, the nation of Normandy, and the nation of Picardy. At the head of each nation was, not a Dean, but a Procurator who was appointed for one month only, but who might be re-appointed. Buchanan was Procurator four successive times.

a regent, Mr. Hume Brown conjectures, at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine. We next hear of him accompanying André de Gouvea, his old Principal at Bordeaux, when the great Portuguese Humanist, at the command of John III. of Portugal, organised a college at Coimbra on humanist principles. The new college started with fair prospects, which were soon clouded. The great reactionary Society of Jesus had by this time been firmly established and was everywhere engaged in combating not only the Reformation, but all learning which was not avowedly subservient to the Roman See. On the death of Gouvea, the Jesuits gained possession of the College. Some of the professors were seized by the Inquisition and endured long confinement, among them being Buchanan. It was during his long confinement that he made his celebrated translation of the Psalms into Latin verse. Soon after his release he made his way to England, then to France. He may have become regent in one of the colleges at Paris; he was certainly protected by influential persons.¹

During all these years Buchanan's fame as a Humanist was increasing. From the first his power of writing Latin verse was manifest. His biting epigrams on obscurantist teachers made him known, feared and disliked. As the years passed his fame grew steadily. The elder Scaliger declared that in poetry Buchanan left all Europe behind. The learned French printers, Henri and Robert Estienne, said that he was the first of the poets of the age. His translation—transformation perhaps it should be called—of the Psalms of David into odes after the fashion of Horace made him famous in every European land.

The life which Buchanan led abroad, wandering from college to college, varied by engagements as tutor or private secretary, was a common one among the Humanists of the 16th century. The greater educational prizes were beyond their reach unless they succeeded in obtaining an ecclesiastical position within the Roman Catholic Church—a thing which

¹ Marguerite d'Angoulême was probably one. She was an assiduous protector both of Humanists and Reformers, and frequently enrolled learned men among her 'valets-de-chambre' to give them the security of her household: "les voyant a l'entour de ceste bonne dame, tu eusses dit d'elle que c'estoit une poule, qui soigneusement appelle et assemble ses petits poulets et couvre de ses ailes." (Genin, *Lettres de Marguerite d' Angoulême*, p. 51.)

had become increasingly difficult after 1530, when that Church had awakened to the danger which threatened it from erudition and free enquiry. In France it was perhaps more difficult than elsewhere, owing to the influence of the Sorbonne and the conservatism of the *Parlement* of Paris, which was always ready to support the decisions of the great theological Faculty.

The Sorbonne, during the greater portion of Buchanan's life in France was practically ruled by Noel Beda. This extraordinary man, of no great intellectual capacities, who hated everything which seemed to menace mediæval theology, was able by his profound conviction that he was in the right, by his determination, by his unexampled courage, to wage a pitiless war against both the New Learning and every appearance of religious reform. Francis I., partly because he liked new ideas, partly influenced by his sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, partly because he had a grudge against the Sorbonne for its action in the matter of the concordat of 1516, favoured the New Learning and even gave his protection to such advocates of a religious reform as Lefèvre and his followers. He was by taste and training a man of the Renaissance; it pleased him to be called and to imagine himself to be the patron of men of letters. At the same time he felt galled and irritated by the real power which the Sorbonne possessed and which he felt to be an infringement on his kingly prerogative. He was at heart an anti-sorbonnist, who feared the Sorbonne. He had long dreamed of a *Collège de France*, a free association of learned men, who could teach the New Learning and form a counterpoise to the Sorbonne, which dominated the University. The project took many forms and never came to fruition until long after Francis' time, but the very thought of it was sufficient to irritate the Sorbonne and determine them to resist all such innovations. Noel Beda, whose whole struggle against the New Learning and Reform, was an anticipation of the later League, brought all the resources of fanaticism to bear against the resolve of the king. The consequence was that all throughout the years of Buchanan's residence in France there was an embittered quarrel between the Sorbonnists and the students who sided with the New Learning. The conservatives made little or no distinction between a Humanist and a Reformer, between a follower of Erasmus and a disciple of Luther. A knowledge

of Greek was a mark of heresy; to discard Alexander de Villedieu's Latin Grammar and to teach from Linacre's awakened suspicion. The Sorbonnist students went about singing:

Prions tous le Roi de Gloire
 Qu'il confonde ces chiens maudicts,
 Afin qu'il n'en soit plus mémoire,
 Non plus que de vielz os pourris.
 Au feu, au feu ! c'est leur repère !
 Fais-en justice ! Dieu l'a permys.

The others replied in the famous song:

La Sainte Ecriture toute
 Purement se preschera,
 Et toute doctrine sottte
 Des hommes on oubliera.
 La Sorbonne la bigotte,
 La Sorbonne se taira.

It was almost inevitable that in such circumstances Humanists like Buchanan and reformers who were the disciples of Luther, or who had been taught to think by his writings, should be drawn together although the former had not adopted the views of the latter. Humanists naturally associated with those whom Buchanan calls "Lutheran sectaries," and the intimacy did not imply that they had embraced the cause of the reformation. They both rejoiced in the influence which Marguerite d'Angoulême exercised over her volatile brother, in the almost unvarying confidence which Francis had in the great French Humanist Guillaume Budé, who, though never a "royal lecturer" himself, was nevertheless mainly instrumental in securing the appointment of the distinguished scholars, "liseurs du Roi en l'Université de Paris"—Danès, Toussain, Vatable, Oronce Finé, and others. They both thought of the discomfiture of the Sorbonne when they read, posted on the University boards by royal command, such intimations as, "To-morrow at 7 o'clock, Agathias Guidacerius will, at the College de Cambrai, continue his lectures on the Psalms by commenting on Psalm XX."; or, "P. Danès, royal professor of Greek, will, on Monday at 2 o'clock, continue his commenting on Aristotle." They jubilated when Beda, after his daring attack on Marguerite's book, *le Miroir de l'âme pecheresse*, was banished, recalled, and prosecuted for *lèse-majesté*; or when the *Parlement* of Paris refused the interdict which Beda had

asked to prevent Danès and Vatable expounding the Holy Scriptures within the University without having first received the permission of the Sorbonne. Everything combined to link together Reformers and Humanists in the days of Francis I. The Reformers as well as the Humanists enjoyed the biting Latin epigrams which the young Scotch regent circulated attacking the Sorbonne, its teachers and its antiquated methods, which were alone supposed to be orthodox. There is no need to suppose that because Buchanan consorted with "Lutheran sectaries," that he had adopted the tenets of the Reformation, or that he had seriously studied the principles involved. But from the year 1556 the indifference was exchanged for an earnest endeavour to know the truth lying in the contending claims of the mediæval Church and the Reformation. Buchanan began to study the Scriptures carefully. He repeated in his experience what many a distinguished Humanist had done in Germany forty years earlier. Eobanus Hessus, crowned poet-king, had abandoned his Horace for the Erchiridion of Erasmus and the Holy Scriptures; Jodocus Koch of Nordlingen (Justus Jonas) had forsaken classical Greek to busy himself with the Epistles to the Corinthians; and even the wicked satirist Curicius Cordus had betaken himself to the New Testament. So Buchanan, leaving his latinity, devoted his time to the study of the Holy Scriptures "that he might be able to arrive at a more definite opinion on the controversies which were then distracting the greater part of mankind." The result was that when he returned finally to Scotland in 1561, he joined the Reformed Church. It is interesting to note that no period was more dangerous for "those of the religion" (as Protestants were called in France) than the years when Buchanan slowly, as became a scholar, resolved to take the side of the Reformation. Protestantism in France was no longer a Christian mysticism supplemented by a careful study of the Holy Scriptures; it had advanced beyond the stage of individual followers of Luther or Zwingli; it had become united, a solid phalanx rallied round a manifesto, the *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, and obedient to a leader, the young Calvin. On the other side the vacillating policy of Francis I. had given place to the steadfast determination of Henry II. to crush the Reformation. The young king himself, his all-powerful mistress, Diane de Poitiers, the great Constable

de Montmorency, the Guises—all the king's favourite councillors—were strong supporters of Romanism and were resolute to destroy the growing Protestantism of France. Their declared policy was to slay the Reformation by attacking its partisans through every form of legal oppression that could be devised. All the repressive measures introduced during the latter years of Francis I. were retained, and a series of new edicts, culminating in the Edict of Chateaubriand, were published, which aimed at uniting all the forces of the kingdom to extirpate the reformed faith. A second court, the *Chambre Ardente*, had been added to the *Parlement* of Paris to deal with cases of heresy. Armed with this legislation, aided by a numerous body of ecclesiastical police, the work of hunting out all suspected of holding the new doctrines was strenuously carried on. Certain prisons were specially reserved for the Protestant martyrs—the Conciergerie and the Grand Châtelet—and they soon overflowed. The cells of the one were below the level of the Seine and water oozed in through the walls; the Grand Châtelet was noted for its terrible dungeons, so small that the prisoners could neither stand upright nor lie at full length on the floor. Diseases decimated the victims; the plague slew sixty in one year in the Grand Châtelet alone. Few were acquitted; almost all, once arrested, suffered torture and death. It was in the midst of these surroundings that Buchanan, an unprotected scholar, resolved to adhere to the Reformation.

T. M. L.

V.

George Buchanan à Bordeaux.

IL semble que Buchanan, qui rédigeait ses souvenirs en 1580, deux ans avant sa mort, se trompe sur la durée de son séjour à Bordeaux : il dut y demeurer plus de trois ans.

On sait que, vers la fin de 1539, François I. avait offert à Charles-Quint de passer par la France pour aller d'Espagne aux Pays-Bas réduire la sédition de Gand. Le 20 novembre, l'empereur traversa la Bidassoa ; il fut salué à Bayonne par le dauphin, le duc d'Orléans et le connétable de Montmorency, qui avaient mission de l'escorter dans son voyage. Ordre était donné à toutes les villes de recevoir Charles, "comme on reçoit les rois de France à leur joyeux avènement." Bordeaux lui rendit, le 1 décembre, les honneurs souverains que la plume seule contraria ; les jurats lui présentèrent les clefs de la ville travaillées en argent ; il délivra des prisonniers et tint dans la cathédrale le chapitre de la toison d'or.¹

Le Collège de Guyenne vint offrir ses hommages et ses vœux à l'empereur. En décembre 1539, Buchanan avait déjà dans l'établissement une place assez importante pour être chargé de haranguer et de complimenter Charles-Quint en vers latins au nom de la "Schola Burdegalensis." On trouve dans le recueil de ses *Silvæ* une pièce de soixante-dix hexamètres dont l'éloquence un peu emphatique fait moins penser aux *Silves* de Stace qu'aux *Panegyriques* de Claudien : le poète dit combien Bordeaux s'enorgueillit de recevoir un hôte aussi illustre ; il conjure l'empereur de ne pas mépriser l'hospitalité bordelaise, quelque mesquine qu'elle puisse lui sembler ; dans le palais d'aucun roi, il ne trouvera pareil dévouement, pareille fidélité.²

¹ Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, Paris (édition de 1857), t. VIII., p. 258-259.—C. Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1895, p. 334.

² *Ad Carolum V Imperatorem, Burdegale hospitio publico susceptum, nomine Scholæ Burdegalensis, anno M.D. XXXIX. (Buchanani Opera omnia, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 324-326.*

Cf. v. 19 : Burdegalam tamen ille tuam, tua tecta, Garumna
Ingens hospes init.

La *Chronique* de Gabriel de Lurbe rapporte que François I. s'arrêta à Bordeaux, en 1542, alors qu'il allait apaiser la révolte de La Rochelle.¹ Nous ne voyons pas qu'on lui ait rendu les honneurs qui avaient été rendus trois ans auparavant à Charles-Quint traversant la France pour aller réduire la rébellion de Gand. Nous ne trouvons dans les œuvres de Buchanan aucune *Silva* "ad Franciscum I Regem." Mais le professeur écossais était encore à Bordeaux quand François I. y passa ; il appartenait encore au Collège de Guyenne quand il apprit que le roi Jacques V était mort, le 16 décembre 1542. Cette mort, qui le délivrait de tout sujet de crainte de la part du cardinal Beaton,² lui permettait de rester sans danger dans notre ville. Il assista, sans doute, au succès de sa seconde pièce, la *Médée*, qui fut jouée au Collège de Guyenne en 1543,³ puisque c'est ce succès qui l'incita à donner encore plus de soin à la composition du *Jephthé* et de l'*Alceste* qu'il écrivit aussi à Bordeaux.

Buchanan dit, dans son autobiographie, qu'il a composé ses tragédies pour détourner la jeunesse des allégories où la France prenait alors un plaisir extrême. Depuis que le *Roman de la Rose* avait donné la vie à des personnages appelés *Jalousie*, *Faux-Semblant* et *Bel-Accueil*, ces personnages s'étaient intro-

v. 50 :
 Burdegalaë exignos ne dedignere penates
 Hospitio saneire tuo : quæ dispare quamvis
 Fortunæ splendore tuo, parvoque paratu
 Te capit hospitio, studio in te forte fideli
 Atque animo Regum ingentes aquaverit aulas.

¹ *Burdigalensium rerum Chronicon*, auctore Gab. Lurbeo. Bordeaux, Millanges, 2^e édit., 1590, recto du feuillet 23.

² Nous n'avons aucun renseignement sur la peste qui, d'après la *Vita*, aurait envahi l'Aquitaine au moment de la mort de Jacques V., c'est-à-dire à la fin de 1542 ou au commencement de 1543. La *Chronique* de Gabriel de Lurbe mentionne seulement à la date de 1546 une peste dont les progrès forcèrent le Parlement à se réfugier à Libourne, pendant les mois de septembre et d'octobre.

³ La Bibliothèque municipale de Bordeaux possède un exemplaire de l'édition de 1543 : MEDEA *Euripidis poete tragici Georgio Buchanano Scoto interprete*. PARISIIS. *Ex Officina Michaelis Vascosani, in via que est ad divum Iacobum, sub Fontis insigui*. M.D. XLIII. *cum privilegio*. Le privilège est daté de "Parisiis, xv. Calend. Maii M.D. XLIII." Au verso du feuillet 32 et dernier du volume, on lit : "Acta fuit Burdegalaë. an M.D. XLIII." Dans la Préface adressée au très illustre Prince Jean de Luxembourg, abbé d'Ivry (*ad Illustrissimum Principem Joannem a Lucemburgo, Iveriaci abbatem*), l'auteur s'excuse modestement d'avoir osé, après Erasme, mettre en latin les pièces d'Euripide.

duits au théâtre avec les *Moralités*. Le public s'amusait aux subtilités naïves des allégories ; il goûtait fort les discours contradictoires de *Bien-avisé* et de *Mal-avisé*, de *Bonne-Fin* et de *Male-Fin*. Nous ignorons quels étaient les proverbes pédagogiques dont le Collège de Guyenne faisait ses délices au moment où Buchanan fut appelé à y enseigner ; mais nous savons que, dès ses origines, il se préoccupait de représentations théâtrales.

Le 9 avril 1526, en l'honneur du passage de François I. à Bordeaux, on offrait au roi, sur un théâtre élevé au fond de la place de l'Ombrière, le spectacle d'une pièce allégorique, œuvre de quelque professeur du Collège des Arts, qui mettait en scène les *Vertus théologiques*.¹

Quand le Collège des Arts, qui végétait depuis 1441, fut remplacé par le Collège de Guyenne, le premier principal du nouvel établissement, Jehan de Tartas, exigea que les régents fussent capables de " composer et prononcer oraisons, harangues, dialogues et comédies." Il paraît que les représentations que l'on organisait alors eurent peu de succès.²

Gouvéa, qui estimait que le théâtre scolaire était un élément indispensable de l'éducation de la jeunesse, excita Buchanan à écrire des pièces à l'usage des élèves du Collège de Guyenne. Peut-être, pour prouver aux lettrés de Bordeaux que des tragédies savantes composées à l'imitation des modèles classiques remplaceraient avantageusement les pièces vulgaires où la populace s'empressait, *Baptistes sive Calumnia* fut-il représenté au Collège, le 24 juin, en ce jour de la fête de saint Jean-Baptiste où les tonneliers se promenaient en cortège à travers la ville, célébrant sur des théâtres élevés en divers quartiers les mystères du baptême de Jésus, " à la grande joie du populaire qui accourait en foule."³ L'anniversaire de la Nativité de saint Jean-Baptiste était au nombre des jours fériés où, suivant les statuts du Collège de Guyenne, rédigés par André de Gouvéa, les classes et les travaux étaient interrompus.⁴

Malgré le mérite des œuvres théâtrales de Buchanan et, sans doute, aussi de celles des autres régents qui écrivaient comme lui des tragédies antiques, la vogue des représentations classi-

¹ Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 20.

² Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 253-254.

³ Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, p. 356.

⁴ *Schola Aquitanica*, édit. de L. Massebieau, Paris, 1886, p. 44.

ques, toujours restreinte dans les murs du Collège de Guyenne, n'y fut pas de longue durée.

Montaigne nous dit son succès comme acteur des tragédies latines qui se donnaient au Collège de Guyenne vers 1545 :

Mettray-ie en compte cette faculté de mon enfance : vne assurance de visage, et souplesse de voix et de geste, à m'appliquer aux rolles que l'entrepreneois ? Car, auant l'aage,

Alter ab vndeimo tum me vix ceperat annis,

J'ai soustenu les premiers personnages ès tragedies latines de Bucanan, de Guerente¹ et de Muret,² qui se representaient en nostre college de Guienne avec dignité. En eela Andreas Goueanus, nostre principal, comme en toutes autres parties de sa charge, fut sans comparaison le plus grand principal de France ; et m'en tenoit-on maistre ouurier.³

Ce passage des *Essais* réfute l'opinion de Patin qui affirme, sans preuves, que Buchanan eut, "au Collège de Bordeaux, Montaigne pour écolier sinon pour acteur."⁴ Montaigne a été l'acteur des pièces de Buchanan ; il a été son écolier, sinon l'élève de la classe qui était dirigée par l'humaniste écossais et qui correspondait à ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la "rhétorique supérieure." Le plan d'études de la *Schola Aquitanica* indique l'existence de dix classes régulières depuis le *decimus ordo*, où l'on apprenait à lire, jusqu'au *primus ordo*, où l'on déclamaient en particulier et publiquement. Ces classes furent au nombre de douze pendant la période de grande prospérité du Collège où il avait été nécessaire, à cause de l'affluence des

¹ Le rouennais Guillaume de Guérente, compatriote, condisciple et ami de Nicolas de Grouchy, avait commencé par exercer la médecine. Quand Grouchy quitta Rouen pour aller professer à Sainte-Barbe, Guérente le suivit et enseigna dans le même collège d'où Gouvéa les amena tous les deux à Bordeaux, en 1534. Grouchy fut professeur de dialectique à la *Schola Aquitanica* ; Guérente, professeur d'humanités : nous ne savons rien de ses tragédies.

² Mare Antoine Muret n'a été professeur au Collège de Guyenne que sous le principat de Gélida, vers 1548. C'est, sans doute, dans le *Julius Caesar*, qu'il composa en 1543 ou en 1544, étant professeur à Auch, que Montaigne a soutenu le premier personnage. Il est probable que les collègues de Buchanan ne se conformaient pas aussi exactement que lui aux prières de Gouvéa, qui réclamait de chacun de ses régents une tragédie par année, puisque l'on devait recourir aux pièces d'un humaniste étranger au Collège.—Ou trouve dans l'édition des *Juvenilia* de Muret, publiée à Paris, en 1553, cinq distiques élégiaques de Buchanan, très élogieux, in *Julium Cesarem, tragediam M. Antonii Mureti*. Cf. *Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 169.

³ Montaigne, *Essais*, I., xxvi.

⁴ Patin, *Études sur la tragédie grecque*, vol. III., p. 221.

élèves, de subdiviser en deux sections le *septimus* et le *sextus ordo*.¹

Montaigne nous donne les dates de sa naissance et de son entrée au Collège de Guyenne :

Le nasquis entre vnze heures et midi le dernier iour de Feburier mil cinq cens trente trois.²

Feu mon perc . . . m'enuoya, enuiron mes six ans, au College de Guienne, tres-florissant pour lors, et le meilleur de France. Et là, il n'est possible de rien adiuster au soing qu'il eut, et à me choisir des precepteurs de chambre suffisans, et à toutes les autres circonstances de ma nourriture, en laquelle il reserua plusieurs façons particulieres contre l'vsage des colleges.³

Entré en 1539 au Collège de Guyenne d'où il devait sortir en 1546, Montaigne n'a pu évidemment avoir pour professeur de Rhétorique Buchanan qui n'appartenait plus au personnel de la *Schola Aquitanica* quand il arriva lui-même au *primus ordo*. Mais l'auteur des *Essais* cite en termes précis Buchanan parmi les "precepteurs de chambre" que son père lui avait donnés, "reseruant plusieurs façons particulieres contre l'vsage des colleges." Il se vante, en effet, de son habileté à "latiniser," habileté qui lui venait de sa première éducation domestique, et qui était admirée par les régents du Collège :

Nicolas Groucchi, qui a escrit "de comitiis Romanorum,"⁴ Guillaume Guerente, qui a commenté Aristote,⁵ George Bucanan, ce grand poëte escossois, Marc Antoine Muret que la France et l'Italie reconoit pour le meilleur oratur du temps, mes precepteurs domestiques, m'ont dict sonnet que l'auois ce langage, en mon enfance, si prest et si à main, qu'ils craignoient à m'accoster. Bucanan, que ie vis depuis à la suite de feu monsieur le Mareschal de Brissac,⁶ me dit qu'il estoit apres à escrire de l'institution des

¹ *Schola Aquitanica*, p. 4-24, note 9 de la p. 58.

² Montaigne, *Essais*, I. xx.

³ Montaigne, *Essais*, I. xxvi.

⁴ *De comitiis Romanorum libri tres*, Paris, 1553. Le résumé de l'enseignement que Grouchy donna au Collège de Guyenne pendant treize ans (1534-1547) est contenu dans son livre de *Preceptiones dialecticæ* (Paris, 1552), que Vinet appréciait et recommandait. Cf. *Schola Aquitanica*, p. 26.

⁵ Guérente n'a pas commenté Aristote. "On a de lui un avis au lecteur en tête d'un ouvrage de Grouchy sur la *Logique* d'Aristote, et, dans le même volume, une pièce de vers adressée par Guérente à son ami." (Gaulhier, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 91.)

⁶ Buchanan fut précepteur de Timoléon de Brissac, de 1554 à 1560. Lieutenant général du roi en Piémont du 9 juillet 1550 au 31 mars 1559, le maréchal de Brissac ne vint à la cour que pendant l'année 1556. A partir de 1559, il fut gouverneur de Picardie. Montaigne quitta, en 1559, Bordeaux, où il était conseiller au Parlement, pour faire un grand voyage à la cour. C'est pendant ce voyage qu'il retrouva son ancien "precepteur de chambre" à la suite du maréchal de Brissac, gouverneur de Picardie. Nous ne connaissons pas d'ouvrage de Buchanan sur "l'institution des enfans."

enfants, et qu'il prenoit exemplaire de la mienne : car il auoit lors en charge ce Comte de Brissac que nous auons veu depuis si valeureux et si braue.¹

On sait ce qu'il faut entendre par "precepteurs de chambre" ou "precepteurs domestiques." Les colleges du xv^e siècle possédaient, en même temps que les boursiers et les *portionistes* ou pensionnaires, un certain nombre de *caméristes*, jeunes gens riches qui étaient en chambre, se nourrissant à leurs frais et travaillant sous la direction d'un *pédagogue* ou précepteur particulier.² Les régents amélioraient ainsi leur situation pécuniaire qui était fort médiocre,³ en se faisant les "precepteurs de chambre" de *caméristes* qui pouvaient ne pas appartenir à leur classe. C'est ainsi que Montaigne eut pour "precepteurs domestiques," au même titre que l'humaniste Guérente, dont il fut sans doute l'élève, Buchanan dont il ne fut pas le disciple dans le *primus ordo*, et Muret, qui était probablement autorisé à se charger d'éducatons particulières avant d'être pourvu d'une nomination officielle de professeur.

Trompé par l'expression "precepteur domestique," dont il ne comprend pas le sens exactement, Th. Ruddiman suppose que Buchanan, qui, d'après son autobiographie, aurait enseigné trois ans seulement au Collège de Guyenne, fut, de 1542 à 1544, précepteur de Montaigne dans sa famille.⁴

Cette hypothèse a servi de prétexte à Gaullieur pour imaginer un petit roman qui a passé dans la plupart des ouvrages de seconde main où, depuis une trentaine d'années, on s'est occupé de la biographie de Montaigne. L'auteur de l'*Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* prétend que, effrayé par les persécutions dont les luthériens étaient l'objet à Bordeaux, en 1541, Buchanan prit la fuite :

Il trouua d'abord un asile dans la famille de l'un des plus jeunes élèves du Collège de Guyenne, dont le père possédait à quelques lieues de la ville, sur les bords de la Dordogne, une propriété seigneuriale appelée *Montaigne*, qui relevait de l'archevêque de Bordeaux, "au devoir d'un baiser sur la joue."

¹ Montaigne, *Essais*, I., xxvi.

² J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*, t. I., p. 74.

³ Gaullieur cite (*Hist. du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 82), un arrêté de la Jurade qui fixe les traitements annuels des professeurs à des sommes variant entre soixante et trente livres tournois. En 1548, les appointements d'un régent de première, logé et nourri, étaient au Collège de Guyenne, de trente écus à la couronne. Un édit de 1533 avait fixé à quarante sous et six deniers la valeur de l'écu à la couronne. Voir R. Dezeimeris, *De la Renaissance des Lettres à Bordeaux au XVI^e siècle*, Bordeaux, 1864, note 5 de la p. 34.

⁴ *Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit de 1725, t. I., note 40 de la *Vita*.

Ainsi, chose singulière, ce fut sur les terres de Charles de Grammont que Buchanan chercha d'abord un refuge contre les poursuites de ce prélat.

. . . Il ne dut rester que peu de temps chez le père de son élève dont la maison seigneuriale était trop voisine de Bordeaux : il quitta l'asile dans lequel, en ces temps difficiles, il avait trouvé une généreuse hospitalité, et partit pour Paris. C'est là que le retrouva, en 1542, son ami Élie Vinet.¹

En 1542, Buchanan n'était pas à Paris : c'est à Bordeaux qu'il apprit que le roi Jacques V était mort, le 16 décembre 1542. Son séjour se prolongea au Collège de Guyenne, puisque c'est à la suite de sa *Médée*, jouée en 1543, qu'il travailla avec soin son *Alceste* et son *Jephthé*. Il ne quitta Bordeaux qu'après y avoir écrit ces deux pièces dont la composition dut lui coûter un certain temps. Il n'avait aucune raison de se dérober aux poursuites de l'archevêque de Bordeaux, qui l'avait protégé contre les persécutions du cardinal Beaton. Charles de Grammont mourut en 1544 : c'est probablement après la mort de son protecteur, au moment où les Jurats donnaient à son ami André de Gouvéa l'autorisation de quitter la *Schola Aquitanica*, que Buchanan partit lui-même pour Paris. Et, quand il eut cessé d'appartenir au Collège de Guyenne, on continua d'y représenter ses tragédies, puisque c'est à l'âge de douze ans—c'est-à-dire en 1545—que son ancien *camériste*, Michel de Montaigne, soutenait "les premiers personnages ès tragedies latines de Bucanan."

Buchanan ne parle jamais de Montaigne, qui fut son "élève de chambre" et l'un des principaux acteurs de ses tragédies. Aucune des nombreuses pièces, petites ou grandes, légères ou sérieuses, qui composent les divers recueils des *Élégies*, des *Silves*, des *Hendécasyllabes*, des *Iambes*, des *Epigrammes* et des *Miscellanées* n'est dédiée à l'auteur des *Essais*. Le régent du *primus ordo* ne nomme, d'ailleurs, nulle part aucun des écoliers du Collège de Guyenne qui furent élèves dans sa classe ou qui tinrent un rôle dans ses pièces.

Pendant qu'il enseignait à Sainte-Barbe, le poète écossais se consolait des ennuis et des servitudes des professeurs parisiens en les racontant en jolis vers latins ; plus heureux, sans doute, à Bordeaux, Buchanan ne consacre aucune élégie à déplorer la condition des régents du Collège de Guyenne.

Il se conformait, sans murmurer, au programme établi par

¹ *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 164-165. Gaullicur ne cite pas le passage de Ruddiman auquel il a dû emprunter le thème de cette amplification.

André de Gouvéa. Le matin, à huit heures, il commentait devant ses élèves du *primus ordo* les préceptes de l'art oratoire d'après Cicéron et Quintilien. A neuf heures, il faisait expliquer un discours de Cicéron, pour confirmer ces préceptes par la pratique des anciens. A midi, il enseignait l'histoire des Grecs et des Romains d'après Tite-Live, Justin, Sénèque, Eutrope et Pomponius Méla. Le soir à trois heures, il présidait à l'étude de la poétique latine d'après Virgile, d'abord, puis d'après Lucain et Perse, enfin d'après Horace, Ovide, Juvénal, dans les passages de ces auteurs assez convenables pour être mis sous les yeux des jeunes gens. A cinq heures, le maître dictait le sujet d'une courte pièce de vers latins qui devait être composée et remise avant la fin de la classe.

Le lendemain, les élèves portaient la rédaction de ce qui avait été enseigné la veille et récitaient les passages qui avaient été expliqués aux leçons du matin et du soir. Ils "déclamaient" leurs compositions littéraires en particulier, dans leur classe, le samedi matin; en public, dans l'"*aula*," devant tout le collège réuni au son de la cloche, chaque dimanche, à une heure de l'après-midi, à partir du 1 novembre.

La déclamation était le seul exercice du dimanche; le lundi, le mercredi, le vendredi et le samedi, il y avait classe de huit à dix heures du matin, de midi à une heure, et, le soir, de trois à cinq; le mardi et le jeudi, il n'y avait classe que de trois à quatre heures. Les jours fériés de la ville de Bordeaux—*festi dies civitatis Burdegalensis*,—qui étaient au nombre de quarante-trois, on interrompait les leçons. Les vacances proprement dites étaient fort courtes: les congés de Pâques commençaient le mercredi matin de la semaine sainte et se terminaient le soir du mardi qui suit le dimanche de la Quasimodo; les congés d'automne duraient du 20 septembre au soir au 1 octobre. Pendant ces dix jours, les élèves étaient envoyés chez eux pour les vendanges: *pueri dimittuntur vindemiaturi*.¹ Et alors, dit Buchanan, dans un de ses poèmes, "quand les vacances des vendanges ferment les écoles, les jeunes gens regagnent les pénates paternels; en ville, c'est la solitude; dans les demeures, un morne silence."² Aucune

¹ *Schola Aquitana*, p. 24; p. 42, 44, 46; p. 34.

² *Iambon liber*, v. (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 352).
es pièces ii.-v. du livre des *Iambes* ont été composées à Coimbre (cf. ii., v. 29-30). Gouvéa mettait en usage dans le collège portugais les règlements qu'il avait rédigés pour la *Schola Aquitana*.

distribution de couronnes scolaires ne précédait ces vacances de septembre. "Ce n'est que beaucoup plus tard, et par imitation de ce qui se pratiquait chez les jésuites, que l'Université consacra la solennité des prix annuels dans les collèges."¹

Buchanan ne fait allusion dans ses poèmes à aucun épisode de sa vie scolaire à Bordeaux. Les *Miscellanées* contiennent une très belle ode de huit strophes saphiques dans le goût d'Horace, qui mérite d'être comptée parmi celles de ses pièces lyriques que le père Rapin jugeait "dignes de l'antiquité."² Cette ode, adressée à la jeunesse bordelaise, fut peut-être lue à la solennité des *Ludovicalia*, qui réunissait le 25 août, jour de la fête de Saint-Louis, au Collège, dont la grande cour était ornée de tapisseries, la foule accourue de tous les quartiers de Bordeaux, et, au premier rang, Messieurs du Parlement et de la Jurade, personnages graves et doctes.³ Le poète, après avoir chanté, à la manière du chœur de l'*Œdipe à Colone*, les louanges de la Gascogne, mère des héros, productrice du vin excellent, favorisée de Pallas, rappelle aux écoliers que, seul, le culte des lettres donne à une ville l'immortalité :

Si tu n'honores pas les doctes Muses, si tu ne donnes pas un soin fidèle aux bonnes lettres, c'est en vain que tes espérances tendent vers l'avenir.

. . . Seuls les monuments des savants poètes échappent à l'empire de la sévère destinée; seuls, ils dédaignent le Phlégéthon et les droits du tyrannique Orcus.⁴

"Il serait difficile," dit avec raison M. Dezeimeris, "de montrer plus élégamment comment on doit imiter Horace."⁵

Ces vers sont les seuls dont on puisse affirmer avec certitude qu'ils ont été composés par Buchanan à Bordeaux, pour le Collège de Guyenne. Il ne se plaint nulle part d'avoir retrouvé sur les bancs de la *Schola Aquitanica* des élèves semblables à ceux qui faisaient son désespoir à Paris, où les uns manquaient la classe, les autres, qui se présentaient sans bas ou en souliers percés, ronflaient, se plaignaient d'être malades, écrivaient à leurs parents, au lieu d'écouter le maître.⁶

¹ J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*, t. I., p. 91.

² Rapin, *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote*, Paris, 1674, 2^e partie, p. 166 : "Buchanan a des Odes dignes de l'Antiquité."

³ *Schola Aquitanica*, p. 32.

⁴ *Miscellancorum liber*, ix. *Ad Juventutem Burdegalensem*, v. 9-12, 29-32 (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 414).

⁵ R. Dezeimeris, *De la Renaissance* . . . , note 5 de la p. 25.

⁶ *Élegiarum liber*, i., v. 49-54 (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 302).

Buchanan se plaît à célébrer dans ses vers latins les calendes de mai, ce moment de l'année où le ciel est dégagé des nuages, où la brise murmure dans les feuilles nouvelles des arbres, où il est bon de faire sortir des ténèbres de la cave le vin généreux que les grappes donnent au sol sablonneux de la Gascogne.¹ Le 1 mai, on plantait un pin devant la porte des écoles; le poète écrit des *Epigrammes* en l'honneur de cet arbre sacré:² il ne nous dit pas si ses vers lui sont inspirés par le pin planté devant les classes du Collège de Guyenne.

En fait d'arbres du Collège, nous ne connaissons que les douze ormes qu'Elie Vinet, pendant son principalat, planta de ses propres mains dans la grande cour de la *Schola Aquitanica*.³ C'est dans cette "area," qui n'était pas encore ombragée par les arbres de Vinet, que, du temps qu'il enseignait à Bordeaux, Buchanan se promenait avec ses collègues après le repas du matin. Cette promenade fut interrompue un jour par la visite d'un secrétaire de l'évêque d'Angoulême, qui se présentait dans la cour, porteur d'une inscription grecque gravée sur une plaque de plomb. Le prélat, incapable de la déchiffrer, avait recours à l'érudition des régents du Collège de Guyenne. George Buchanan et Elie Vinet, alors chargé de l'enseignement des humanités et des mathématiques, réussirent à lire et à traduire les sept lignes dont l'interprétation était réclamée.⁴

C'est à Elie Vinet que nous devons ce renseignement, le seul qui, à notre connaissance, se rapporte à la vie de Buchanan dans la *Schola Aquitanica*. Nous ignorons si les élèves du Collège de Guyenne, devant lesquels il expliquait, à la seconde

¹ *Ellegiarum* liber, ii., *Maiæ Calendæ* (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 304-308), v. 45 et suiv.

Cf. v. 101 : *Nec tenebris claudat generosum cella Lyæum
Quem dat arenoso Vasconis uva solo.*

Miscellaneorum liber, xi., *Calendæ Majæ* (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 415) :

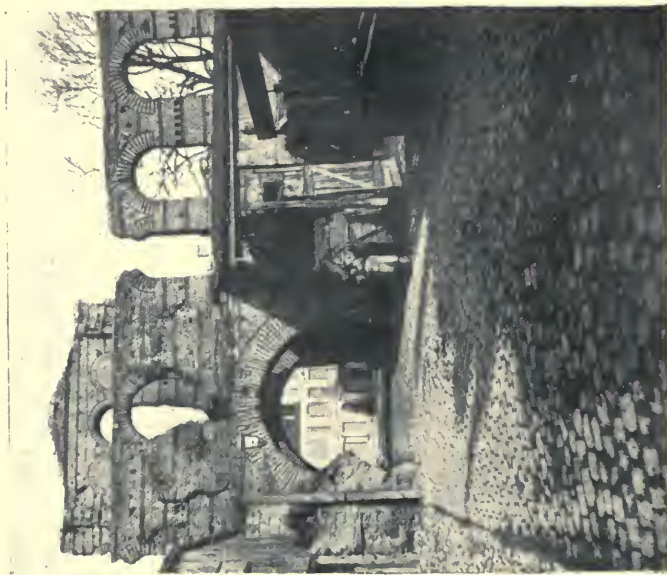
V. i. : *Salvete, sacris deliciis sacra
Majæ Calendæ, lætitiæ et mero,
Ludisque dicatæ, jocisque.*

² *Epigrammatum* liber I. vii., viii. *In pinum pro foribus scholarum Calend. Majis—erectam.—In eandem* (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 361).

³ "Duodecim ulmos, quæ singulari commodo et ornamento sunt loco, in area, sua manu plantavit." (*Vita Eliæ Vineti*, à la fin des *Ausonii Opera*, édition bordelaise de 1590.)

⁴ *Eliæ Vinetus in Ausonii Epistolam* xi. (*Ausonii Opera*, édition bordelaise de 1590, section 463 F).

BUCHANAN AT BORDEAUX.



The ruins of the old Roman amphitheatre—commonly known as " Palais Gallien"—much frequented by all the Bordeaux scholars of the 16th century—who there indulged in archaeological research.



The gateway of St. Eloi—near the College of Guienne—through which Buchanan must often have passed in his walks into town.

classe du matin, l'un des discours de Cicéron, eurent la primeur de cette correction au texte du *Pro Caecina* que Lambin adoptait, "*Georgii Buchanani, Scoti, viri cum omni doctrina prestantis, tum Poetæ optimi auctoritatem secutus.*"¹ Nous ignorons si c'est alors qu'Antoine de Gouvéa, frère du principal, et Jacques de Teyves étaient ses collègues à Bordeaux qu'il leur adressa la pièce des *Hendécasyllabes* que J. Quicherat qualifie de "jeu d'esprit charmant."² Une étroite amitié, qui devait durer toute la vie, s'était formée à Sainte-Barbe entre George Buchanan, Antoine de Gouvéa et Jacques de Teyves. Ce dernier,—*Diogo da Teyva*, en latin *Jacobus Tevius*,—originaire de Braga, en Portugal, avait été, en 1534, amené au Collège de Guyenne par André de Gouvéa qu'il suivit plus tard à Coïmbre où il devait lui succéder comme principal.

Si le régent du *primus ordo* ne nous révèle rien de sa vie de professeur à Bordeaux, il nous donne, par contre, dans ses poèmes, de nombreuses indications sur ses actes en dehors des murs du Collège de Guyenne et sur ses relations avec les personnages notables de la société bordelaise. Pendant tout le temps de son séjour à Bordeaux, Buchanan eut l'honneur de porter la parole au nom de ses collègues. A peine faisait-il partie du personnel du Collège, on le chargeait d'adresser des vers de bienvenue à l'empereur Charles Quint, le 1 décembre 1539. Au moment où il allait quitter définitivement les bords de la Garonne, on lui confiait encore, en 1544, la mission de se faire l'interprète des doléances du Collège auprès du chancelier de France.

Mais, durant ces cinq années de vie bordelaise, Buchanan ne se contente pas d'être le poète scolaire et officiel, uniquement occupé à traduire du grec ou à composer des tragédies qui seront jouées par les élèves du Collège, à mettre en vers éloquents ou ingénieux une *Silve* qu'il déclamera lui-même devant l'empereur Charles-Quint, une *Élégie* et une *Ode* où le chancelier de France trouvera l'expression très littéraire des justes plaintes, et ensuite celle de la gratitude du savant maître de la *Schola Aquitanica*.

Les classes faites aux écoliers du *primus ordo* n'occupent pas toute la journée; et, à l'heure de la récréation qui suit le repas du matin, les amis de la maison et des régents franchissent

¹ *Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 170.

² J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*, t. I., p. 135.

sous le regard protecteur du concierge, surveillant impitoyable des allants et des venants, le seuil de la porte unique dont les règlements voulaient que fussent percés les murs du Collège,¹ à la *Schola Aquitanica*, comme à Sainte-Barbe.

Tous ceux des notables de Bordeaux qui ont le culte de l'antiquité—membres du Parlement, avocats, médecins ou Jurats—pénètrent dans cette cour où le secrétaire de l'évêque d'Angoulême portait son inscription grecque pour en obtenir la traduction. Ils prennent part à la promenade des régents et s'entretiennent avec eux doctement. Les jours fériés, qui sont nombreux, c'est le tour des professeurs du Collège d'aller, par les rues étroites qui environnent leur maison, rendre visite aux hôtels des parlementaires ou aux logis plus modestes des médecins et des avocats. Un commerce assidu de poésie latine unit tous ces philologues de la Renaissance, professionnels et amateurs, qui rivalisent d'habileté dans l'art, si apprécié au xv^e siècle, de composer de nobles hexamètres ou de tourner une fine épigramme.

On s'étonne de trouver parmi ces pièces une épitaphe qui n'est qu'un long jeu de mots, dépourvu de grâce et de mesure, dont le nom d'Innocent de la Fontaine fait tous les frais. Né le jour des saints Innocents, envoyé à Paris en mission, il a été l'hôte de la paroisse des Innocents; il y est mort le jour des Innocents; son corps fut enterré dans l'église des Innocents, près de la fontaine des Innocents. Comme sa vie s'écoula dans l'innocence, son âme habite le ciel au milieu de celles des Innocents.²

Innocent de la Fontaine était un avocat bordelais, ami du Collège de Guyenne.³ Nous ne savons pas si le Conseil de Ville, dont il faisait partie, le chargea d'une mission à Paris, au cours de laquelle il serait mort et aurait été enterré dans l'église des Innocents: il semble qu'en ce cas Buchanan lui aurait consacré une épitaphe sérieuse et émue, comme il fit pour Belcier et pour Briand de Vallée. Il est permis de supposer que les vers "Innocentio Fontano Burdegalensi Poëtæ et Caussidico" sont un simple *ludus*—quelque peu lourd, suivant notre goût moderne qui le qualifierait volontiers de *scie*—déclamé par l'auteur dans une intime réunion de

¹ J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*, t. I., p. 78.

² *Epigrammatum*, liber II., xix. (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 381.)

³ Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 133.

latinistes, régents et hommes de loi, en présence du destinataire disposé à rire tout le premier de sa bizarre oraison funèbre. Les austères sourcils de Buchanan ne restaient pas toujours froncés, et sa physionomie, rude à l'ordinaire,¹ s'égayait volontiers à des plaisanteries qui nous paraissent excessives.

En 1544, après avoir cessé d'être professeur au Collège de Guyenne, Buchanan avait passé au Collège du Cardinal-Lemoine à Paris; il y tomba malade. Alors qu'il souffrait cruellement de douleurs rhumatismales, triste, découragé, il écrivait dans une *Élégie* adressée à deux de ses amis de Bordeaux :

O Ptolémée, toi qui es une partie de mon âme, ô Jacques de Teyves, toi qui en es l'autre, vous désirez tous les deux savoir ce que je deviens. Je vis; si l'on peut dire que l'on vit, quand on n'est plus autre chose qu'un corps, poids inerte, dont l'esprit a fui.²

Si Jacques de Teyves est bien connu, il semble, d'autre part, très difficile d'établir quel était l'autre destinataire de l'*Élégie*. Du temps qu'il était encore professeur au Collège de Guyenne, Buchanan envoyait à ce "Ptolemæus Luxius Tastæus" une *Silve* qui lui disait tous les regrets causés par son absence,³ qui lui reprochait de s'attarder au milieu des pierres et des broussailles du Poitou, loin de la Garonne, fleuve de sa patrie,⁴ et de ne plus se soucier des collègues qui habitaient la même maison que lui et s'occupaient du même troupeau.⁵ Ce Tastæus était donc un Bordelais habitant le Collège de Guyenne, comme Buchanan, et chargé, comme lui, de diriger les élèves de la *Schola Aquitanica*. Nous ne trouvons dans les listes de régents données par Gaullieur aucun nom tel que *Tastes*, *de Tastes*,

¹ David Buchananus, *De claris doctrina Scotis (Buchanani Opera omnia*, éd. de 1725, t. I., *Testimonia*). "Erat austero supercilio, et toto corporis habitu (imo moribus hic noster) subagrestis."

² *Elegiarum liber*, iv. *Ad Ptolemæum Luxium Tastæum et Jacobum Tevium, cum articulari morbo laboraret*. M.D. XLIV. (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édité de 1725, t. II., p. 314-316), v. 1-4.

³ *Silva*, ii. *Desiderium Ptolemæi Luxii Tastæi (Buchanani Opera omnia*, édité de 1725, t. II., p. 326-329).

⁴ *Silva*, II., v. 1 :

Usque adeo patrii sordet tibi ripa Garumnæ,
Pictones ut scopulos, atque horrida tesqua frutetis
Durus ames ?

⁵ *Silva*, II., v. 3 :

. . . nee te socium pecorisque larisque
Cura tenet.

Tastet ou *La Taste*, dont le mot latin *Tastæus* puisse être la traduction.

Entre 1548 et 1554, Jehan Gélida, chargé de la direction du Collège de Guyenne, où il avait été professeur en 1536, adresse de nombreuses lettres à un jeune Bordelais nommé Jehan La Taste, qui faisait ses études de médecine à Paris et que le principal chargeait de recruter des maîtres pour son établissement.¹ Le 15 décembre 1554, de retour après sept années d'études, Jehan La Taste passait, conformément aux statuts, son examen devant les jurats de Bordeaux; il répondait aux questions posées par quatre médecins. A la suite de cette épreuve, soutenue avec succès, il recevait l'autorisation d'exercer la médecine dans sa ville natale.² Peut-être le jeune médecin bordelais, qui débutait à la fin de 1554, est-il le fils du professeur bordelais "Ptolemæus Luxius Tastæus," qui avait été le collègue de Buchanan entre 1539 et 1544. Mais nous devons répéter ce que disait Ruddiman, en 1725: "Quis hic fuerit Ptolemæus Luxius Tastæus indagare nondum potui."³

Dans cette *Élégie*, où il dépeint d'une manière saisissante ses souffrances physiques et ses angoisses morales, Buchanan parle avec reconnaissance des soins et de l'affection dont l'entourent le médecin Charles Estienne, fils du premier Henri Estienne, et ses collègues du Collège du Cardinal-Lemoine, Gélida et Turnèbe.⁴ Mais ses amis de Bordeaux ne sont pas auprès de lui; et plusieurs des noms de ceux dont il regrette l'absence nous sont inconnus.

Jusqu'à sa mort, Buchanan entretient des relations avec la ville où il a enseigné pendant sa jeunesse. Le plus illustre des anciens élèves du Collège de Guyenne, Montaigne, n'oublie pas son ancien "precepteur de chambre." Vinet, principal du Collège depuis 1556, entretient un commerce de lettres avec le collègue qui a débuté dans la maison la même année que lui, en 1539.

Il a déjà été rappelé que Montaigne, pendant le voyage qu'il fit à Paris en 1559, eut l'occasion de voir Buchanan, qui était alors "à la suite de feu Monsieur le Mareschal de Brissac."⁵ Les *Essais* prouvent qu'il s'inquiétait de lire les ouvrages

¹ Voir R. Dezeimeris, *De la Renaissance* . . . , p. 34-35.

² Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 222, n. 2.

³ *Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 314, n. 1.

⁴ *Elegia* iv., v. 65-70.

⁵ *Essais*, I., xxvi.

publiés après 1559 par l'auteur de *Baptistes* et de *Jephthes*. Il le met au nombre des plus grands poètes latins contemporains :

Il me semble aussi de la poesie qu'elle a eu sa vogue en nostre siecle. Nous auons foison de bons artisans de ce mestier la : d'Aurat, Beze, Buchanan, L'Hospital, Montdoré, Turnebus.¹

Il cite, inexactement d'ailleurs, un passage du *Franciscanus* :

Pauvre vaisseau que les flots, les vents et le pilote tiraissent à si contraires desseins !

In tam diversa, magister,
Ventus et unda trahunt.²

Il ne se contente pas de lire les poèmes : il s'intéresse aussi aux traités politiques de Buchanan. A propos du métier de roi, qui lui semble " le plus aspre et difficile du monde," il écrit :

Je fenilletois, il n'y a pas un mois, deux liures Escossois se combattans sur ce subject : le populaire rend le roy de pire condition qu'un charretier ; le monarchique le loge quelques brasses au dessus de Dieu en puissance et souveraineté.³

L'un des " deux liures Escossois " est le *Dialogus de Jure Regni*,⁴ publié en 1579. Montaigne devait se plaire à la lecture de cet ouvrage élégant et bien écrit, dont l'auteur semble être un élève de Platon, d'Aristote et de Cicéron, animé de l'esprit philosophique et littéraire de la Renaissance, plutôt qu'un disciple de Calvin ou de Knox, esclave des austères doctrines de la Réforme.⁵ En novembre 1579, Daniel Rogers, dans une lettre à l'auteur du *De Jure Regni* exprimait l'admiration que l'on éprouvait à voir avec quelle dextérité un vieillard parvenu

¹ *Essais*, II., xvii.

² *Essais*, III., x.—On lit dans le *Franciscanus* :

V. 12 : Non secus ac navis lato jactata profundo,
Quam venti, violensque æstus, canusque magister
In diversa trahunt.

Boileau semble s'être souvenu du commencement de ce poème.

V. 1 : Unde novus rigor in vultu ? tristisque severis
Frons caperata minis, tardique modestia gressus ?

Satires, III., v. 1 :

Quel sujet inconnu vous trouble et vous altère ?
D'où vous vient aujourd'hui cet air sombre et sévère ?

³ *Essais*, III., viii.

⁴ *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, Dialogus. Anctore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto ; 62 pages à la fin du tome I. de l'édition de 1725.

⁵ Voir sur le *De Jure Regni*, Paul Janet, *Histoire de la science politique*, Paris, 1872, t. II., p. 173.

à l'hiver de la vie maniait le dialogue platonicien.¹ Buchanan se donne, en effet, quelque chose de la bonhomie de Socrate et aussi de l'indulgente austérité que Cicéron attribue à Caton dans ses dialogues philosophiques; son jeune interlocuteur a l'aimable ingénuité des adolescents que Platon montre tout disposés à se laisser persuader par la parole et convaincre par les raisonnements du maître.

Nous ignorons quel est l'autre des "deux liures Escossois" que Montaigne prenait plaisir à feuilleter. Il ne peut être évidemment question du plus connu des essais de réfutation des théories de Buchanan, le *De Regno et regali potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium et reliquos monarchomachos*, que le juriconsulte écossais William Barclay publia après la mort de l'auteur des *Essais*. Il s'agit probablement de l'*Apologia pro Regibus contra Buchananum*, œuvre du théologien écossais Adam Blackwood.²

"M. de Thou—dit Bayle, dans son article sur Buchanan—nous apprend (Thuanus, *De Vita sua*, lib. II., ad annum 1582) que, tous les ans, Elie Vinet recevoit des Lettres de Buchanan par les marchands Ecossois qui venoient charger du vin à Bordeaux. Vinet montra ces Lettres à M. de Thou." De l'abondante correspondance échangée pendant de longues années entre les deux amis, nous ne connaissons que trois lettres, une de Buchanan, deux d'Elie Vinet, datées toutes les trois de 1581.³

¹ *Epistolæ*, xxvi. (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 751).

² Blackwood naquit à Dunfermline en 1539 et mourut en 1613. Ses œuvres complètes n'ont été éditées qu'en 1644, à Paris, par les soins de Naudé. Mais l'*Apologia*, qui avait suivi de près le *De Jure Regni*, était évidemment publiée avant le troisième livre des *Essais*, qui se trouve pour la première fois dans l'édition de Montaigne de 1558. Dans une de ses lettres, Vinet écrivait à Buchanan, le 9 juin 1581, qu'un conseiller de Poitiers se préparait à publier une réfutation du *De Jure Regni*. Après avoir étudié, puis enseigné la philosophie à Paris, Adam Blackwood était, en 1581, conseiller au présidial de Poitiers. Ruddiman (édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 767) dit que l'*Apologia pro Regibus* fut publiée à Poitiers, en 1581. La *Præfatio* de l'édition de 1725 des *Opera omnia* de Buchanan cite beaucoup de "liures Escossois" composés pour réfuter le *De Jure Regni*, "tot libros a Blacvodaø, Winzeto, Barelaio, Turnero, G. Burnetio, episcopo Sarisburiensi, D. Maekenzæo, aliisque popularibus suis adversus eum Dialogum conscriptos." La plupart d'entre eux sont postérieurs à la publication du troisième livre des *Essais*.

³ *Epistolæ*, xxxvii., xxxviii., xl. (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 765, 766, 768).—Gaullicur, qui fait allusion à la lettre xxxvii. (*Hist. du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 361), dit, à tort, qu'elle fut écrite en 1582.

Mais l'histoire du Collège de Guyenne pendant que Vinet en était le principal permet de comprendre quelle action Buchanan exerçait sur les progrès de cette *Schola Aquitanica* dont il avait été l'un des régents et aux succès de laquelle son affection pour Vinet l'intéressait non moins que ses souvenirs de jeunesse.

Il semble, en effet, que vers 1570 le Collège de Guyenne comptait plusieurs écoliers venus d'Ecosse. La plupart des documents relatifs au Collège ayant été détruits dans l'incendie des Archives municipales, le 13 juin 1862, nous n'avons aucune indication précise à ce sujet. Mais, dans les actes de notaires conservés aux Archives départementales, on trouve les noms de divers "escolliers escossoys d'Aberdeen." L'un d'eux, Guillaume Fergusson, prête de l'argent à un marchand de Bordeaux. Certains commerçants d'Aberdeen, les Brown, les Oulson, ont placé leurs fils à la *Schola Aquitanica*.¹ Il est probable que Buchanan, dont l'influence était grande en Ecosse, conseillait à ceux de ses compatriotes que leurs affaires appelaient en France de mettre leurs enfants dans une maison dirigée par un homme dont il se plaisait à recommander le savoir et l'honnêteté. C'est au Collège de Guyenne que l'on envoyait d'Aberdeen ou de Glasgow les jeunes gens destinés au négoce, qui pouvaient se créer à Bordeaux d'utiles relations commerciales. Certains même n'attendaient pas d'avoir quitté les bancs de l'école pour s'occuper d'affaires : tel ce Guillaume Fergusson, "escollier escossoys," qui prête de l'argent à un marchand de Bordeaux par acte notarié en date du 16 août 1568.

Vinet est, en quelque sorte, à Bordeaux, le chargé d'affaires et l'homme de confiance des compatriotes de Buchanan. Le père de Guillaume Fergusson lui donne, en 1573, la mission d'opérer pour lui le recouvrement de créances importantes sur des marchands bordelais. Le vieil érudit, malgré son extrême bonté, juge que l'on abuse un peu de sa complaisance ; et il répond "qu'il ne peut vacquer à la dite charge, tant à cause de la malladye en laquelle il est détenu que aussi à cause que la dite charge ne luy estoit convenable à cause de son estat de régent² au dit Collège de Guyenne, et autres considérations."³

¹ Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 284.

² Dès 1570, absorbé par la préparation de son *Commentaire* sur Ausone, Vinet avait obtenu d'être relevé de ses fonctions de principal ; il n'était plus officiellement que régent.

³ Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 349.

C'est un compatriote de Fergusson, André MacRedor, qui se chargea de recouvrer les créances. Ce personnage, que les actes nomment *Macrodor*, *Macredor* ou *Machredor*, était maître ès arts et licencié en droit. Après avoir fait ses études à l'école de médecine de Bordeaux, qui prenait une grande importance, il s'établit dans notre ville où il parvint à une position officielle. Le *Registre de la Comptabilité royale de Bordeaux*, année 1593, enregistre un paiement fait à "Maître André Macredor, docteur en médecine et médecin ordinaire de la Geollerye de Guyenne."¹ A la fin du xvi^e siècle, une petite colonie écossaise prospérait à Bordeaux.

L'Université de Bordeaux ne doit pas oublier que la réputation légitime dont jouit le Collège de Guyenne en France et à l'étranger, pendant près d'un siècle, de 1534 à 1627, est due en grande partie aux professeurs écossais qui avaient été attirés dans notre ville par l'exemple et souvent par les conseils de George Buchanan.

H. DE LA V. DE M.

¹ Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 351, n. 2.

VI.

Buchanan and the Franciscans.

“WHO will give me before I die to see the Church as it was in the ancient days, when the apostles cast their nets to catch souls, not silver and gold?”—these were the words of Bernard of Clairvaux in his eagerness for a purified Church. In the century after Bernard, who, though a monk, was also an ecclesiastic, there came in Francis of Assisi, one who cared more for Christ than for the Church, and more for obedience to His words than for the keeping of all the commandments of Rome. Francis made the supreme renunciation of the world, having not even where to lay his head; and from the sacred era of the Incarnation, when Jesus walked in Galilee and suffered in Jerusalem, to the opening years of the thirteenth century, none more than Francis tried to be like unto his Lord, and to be as the Christ made flesh again.

In the Mendicant Revival led by Francis there was no policy to change papal Rome, and no scheme to reform the doctrine and ritual of the Church; but men and women were to be brought into the presence of Christ and made better. Friars went forth from Assisi to preach the gospel as it came from the lips of Christ, and to lead the life which He had consecrated; but before the tale of many years was told, the professed followers of the Saint, in at least one of the sections of the Order, fell away from his simplicity. Again and again, however, in the history of the Franciscans reformers rising in their midst sought to go back to that simplicity and to restore the primitive grace which adorned the first Poor Men of Assisi. In the fifteenth century the Observants by their foundation witnessed to the search for a lost ideal; and friars of their reformation were settled in Edinburgh, while others were established in St. Andrews by Bishop Kennedy, the founder of the College and Church of the Holy Saviour, and were enriched by Patrick Graham, the first Archbishop in the Scottish Church. The history of the Franciscans, indeed, bears record of reforms within the Order; yet

the age of the Renaissance witnessed Erasmus lashing the vices of mendicants and monks, and mocking their ignorance and idleness, as the age of the Reformation saw Buchanan exposing their folly and hypocrisy.

Buchanan, where there was a straight road to trouble, knew how to find it. During a residence in Scotland with Lord Cassilis, after a sojourn at one of the Colleges of Paris, he adapted or imitated Dunbar's poem with the title, *How Dunbar was desyrit to be ane Fryer*; and giving it a Latin dress sent it forth under the name of *Somnium*. Dunbar had been a Franciscan, but had thrown off the habit of the Order before attacking the Brothers Minor. While he did not enlist in the noble army of the martyrs, he encountered danger by his scorn of hypocrites and his hatred of the tricks and frauds of the religious life. His poems and satires were written in the most excellent Scottish tongue of his day; but fierce though his attack on the friars was, it wrought little harm to them or to the Church, for the day of the Reformation in Scotland was not yet. When, however, Buchanan wrote, the Scottish Reformation was not far off; and those in Scotland who bore St. Francis' name knew that in other lands the sins of the Brothers had found them out. The Latin form of the poem, on the other hand, appealed to the world beyond Scotland, and the pride of the Order was lost.

The *Somnium* delighted at least one reader, and that man was the King of Scotland. James V. hated the Franciscans, thinking they had devised plots against him, and was ready to welcome the enemy of his enemies. Moved by royal persuasion or commanded by royal authority, Buchanan returned to the attack of the men whose poverty was a pretence and whose humility was but hypocrisy. The two poems, each styled *Palinodia*, are literary enigmas. He wished to serve his king, and yet not further to provoke the Franciscans. It may be that the poems as we have them are not in their first forms, or it may be that he attributed to the friars an ignorance passing the ignorance of even the monks and priests, and counted that his words would not be understood. Yet to the insult of the *Somnium* he added the injuries of the *Palinodia*.

The Franciscans were angry, and yet James was not satisfied with the measure of their wrath. His word to the poet was that he should prepare something "which should not only prick the skin, but probe the vitals." Impelled once more to the attack, Buchanan wrote *Franciscanus*, the most skilfully constructed of his poems

and the fiercest of his satires. Wit, humour, raillery, banter, sarcasm, irony were each pressed into the service of the satirist. The vices of the spiritual criminals were recounted, and their baseness exposed.

But what of the weapon used in the attack? Should the sword or rapier of satire have been used in the battle of religion? There is a nice ethical and also an æsthetic question regarding the right of coarseness to find a place in satire. When men and their manners are coarse are they to be painted with realistic details? Realism of this fashion will, indeed, do no hurt to those who for their bad habits must be thrashed, but none the less the satirist may be dealing in filthy communications which corrupt the good manners of innocence and shock the prejudices of respectability. History, however, must know how to be tolerant in its judgments, and must not charge with indecency and condemn as injurious to the public welfare satires which in their own day and generation did not violate refinement. Buchanan, with his pictures of the Franciscans, which in the twentieth century might perhaps have dragged him before the bar of a police court, offended the taste of none with wit to understand his Latin; and history on its judgment seat may dismiss him without a stain on his character.

Buchanan used satire and used it with brilliant literary effect. Was he justified, since, by attacking an Order established within the Church, he was really fighting an holy war? It is urged that he himself, when he wrote his poems against the friars, was not consumed with zeal for religion. None the less he was doing battle for the things which belong to religion, and the question of his use of satire remains. As an humanist he knew the attacks on men and manners made by the satirists of the Roman world, whose words were enshrined in the literature which appeared to the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the scripture of a new revelation; and a son of the Renaissance Buchanan, fascinated by the Latin satirists, followed their methods of attack, even within the province of religion which they could not have entered. He was but a boy when the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* were published; and, precocious though he was in his youth, there is no incredible tale of his enjoyment of their fun. The cleverness and wit, however, of these letters, which aided the enfranchisement of learning, and helped to prepare the way of the New Faith in Germany, were more than the joke and humour of an idle day, and

he saw in their effects the uses to which satire could be put. Erasmus, in the age before the spiritual passion of Luther transformed the German Church, laughed at the folly and ridiculed the ignorance of priests and monks and friars, and dared to blast the memory even of a pope. His attacks on the priestly multitude were openly confessed; and though he repudiated the *Julius Secundus Exclusus*, there was no other Erasmus with cleverness and skill to write it. The greatest of all the humanists, through writings read by the scholars of Europe, had made satire justified of her children; and if Buchanan required to shelter himself under high authority, he could point to Erasmus as a master in satire who had not spared the most illustrious as well as the meanest representative of the Holy Roman Church.

One thing the Franciscans could not do in replying to Buchanan. They could not give him the lie direct or indirect, and bid him go to the poor and the outcast for a testimony of merciful service. In the second canto of *Franciscanus* the poet had shown the beggar standing at the door of the convent, haggard, weak, trembling, distressed, forlorn, and wasted with grief. The suppliant, diseased in limb, tells the tale of his distress to the comfortable friar who laughs at disease and jokes at the ills of humanity. The friar who, with a message of divine love to man, should make known the precepts of Christ, who should clothe the naked and feed the hungry and succour the stranger and visit the prisoner, is deaf to the stories of sorrow and spurns the pauper from his door, and then, seeking the comfort of his couch and placing the glass to his lips, tastes the pleasures of the passing hour.

The Brothers Minor, even the Observants of the Franciscan reformation, could not repudiate the poet's verse as a vile aspersion on the fair fame of their Order. Francis dying, prostrated on the bare earth for the last contest with the spiritual adversary, but with face uplifted to heaven, said to his brethren around him, "I have done my part: may Christ teach you to do yours." The centuries passed and the friars of the last generations of the medieval Church did not do the parts to which they had been consecrated in the name of the Saint. The men who had taken that name had fallen from the high estate in which their Order had been created. They had become infidels to the spirit and strangers to the kindly charities of their founder. Humility they had none, in which to take as wholesome lessons the rebukes of satirists; and never were

the Scottish friars further away from the gentleness and meekness of the Saint than they were on the day when they sought the aid of Cardinal Beaton to destroy their enemy.

Fortunately for the cause of religious progress in Scotland there was no Holy Office to superintend the extinction of heretics. Laurence of Lindores, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, had the title and held the office of Inquisitor ; but the Inquisition as an organization was not established in Scotland. Pope Gregory IX., in the year 1233, issued bulls which mark the foundation of the Inquisition, and one of these bulls associated the Dominicans with the machinery for protecting the dogma. The two chief Mendicant Orders were ever jealous of each other, and in 1237 the privilege granted to the Dominicans were extended to the Franciscans. Innocent IV., dividing the honours between the two companies, parcelled out Italy as an arnea for the Inquisition, giving one part to the Brothers Preachers and another to the Brothers Minor. Eventually, however, the Preachers obtained control of the holy office ; but neither of the Orders succeeded in establishing the Inquisition in Scotland, where, consequently, the martyrs for the new faith were few. Yet Cardinal Beaton, Prince of the Church, Legate a latere, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had power to remove disturbers of the spiritual slumbers of priests or monks or friars ; and Buchanan would have died like Patrick Hamilton had not the royal authority interposed.

Tradition has been pitiless to the memory of Beaton. He was the first and he was the last Scottish prelate who was elevated to the rank of cardinal, and in an age when Germany and England were delivering tragic blows, he was commissioned, as his title shows, to protect Scotland from the assaults of the enemies of the Ancient Faith. The old enmity between Scotland and England was not dead in the first half of the sixteenth century ; and had there been no religious question at issue, the policy of Beaton, to save his country from English domination, would have ranked him among the patriots of his land. There was, however, the supreme religious question ; and Beaton, an ecclesiastic with the pride and immorality which have marked and stained so many of the prelates of the unreformed Church, has been remembered, not as the advocate of his country's political independence, but as the upholder of a Church that had left undone many things that make for the welfare of the people. The cardinal was a statesman, and neither religion nor learning was his passion. Nothing in his history suggests that

he could have been concerned with the grievances of the Franciscans who sought his aid against Buchanan. What had this prince of the Church in common with the idle and useless mendicants who served no cause of religion and brought no distinction to the Church? He did listen to them; and for the simple reason that they were in peril within the Church, which was itself in danger, he turned to their help. For Buchanan, on the other hand, he cared nothing. There may be pardon for the statesman who had no leisure for the Latin exercises of the Humanists, in the years when his Church and his country's freedom were assailed; and the prelate is not to be blamed who did not turn from official duty to save a man of letters who, to his thinking, was touching the Lord's anointed. Pius II., the Humanist Pope, would have discussed with Buchanan the metre of the *Somnium* or criticized the epigrams of the *Franciscanus*, and would then have sent him to the stake, not for the quality of his Latin verse, but that the Holy Roman Church in any of its members might suffer no injury. Beaton more than probably had not the skill to read and the wit to enjoy the Latin of Buchanan. He had, however, the eye to see in the poet an enemy of established order and a disturber of the things which ought not to be shaken.

The Franciscans appealed to Beaton; and Beaton turned to the king for the authority which would enable him to seize Buchanan, and add him to the number of the Church's victims. As the cardinal was forced to seek the royal permission, it is evident that the poet was under protection, and that Rome's representative, who after the fashion of his kind was not wont to let the secular left arm know what the spiritual right arm was doing, was loath to thwart a king who might at any hour declare for the new Faith. The later Stewart kings had persistently curbed the Papal power in Scotland, grasping for the Crown the patronage of abuses which had enriched the treasury in Rome; and James V. was favouring Sir David Lindsay with his *Satire of the Three Estates*, and had incited Buchanan to attack the friars. Beaton knew, indeed, that if James followed the example of Henry VIII., and defended a Faith repudiated by the pope, the cause of Rome was lost in Scotland. The king, on the other hand, who, unless he separated from the Ancient Church, could not openly defy the cardinal's request, had no mind to deliver the poet into the merciless hands of the prelates. He accordingly devised the excellent plan of laying hold of Buchanan and committing him to a prison, in which the door or the window was defective as the door or the window of a

house of detention. Buchanan, in the consciousness of innocency or the pride of offended dignity, made no protest about unmerited punishment or illegal incarceration. Like a wise man he girt up his loins, and fled by the way the royal providence had opened for him. When well away he was pursued by the king's servants, and was not taken.

Wandering to England and then to France Buchanan reached Paris, where he learned that Cardinal Beaton was in the city. As Beaton was not the prelate to forget or forgive, prudence induced Buchanan to leave Paris and to accept the offer of a professorship in the college at Bordeaux. He went to Bordeaux and remained in the college for three years, and then, writing a poem on the enforced entrance of girls into nunneries, he found himself in trouble with his ecclesiastical masters. Beaton was still living and was powerful in Scotland, and the fugitive from the Church's discipline could not return to his own land. In course of time another professorship was offered to him, and he taught for a short period in Coimbra in Portugal. He and his colleagues, however, came under suspicion of heresy, and the Jesuits, who obtained control of the university, handed him over to the Inquisition. Charges were preferred which, if proved, were sufficient to condemn him to death, and among these was the accusation that he had written against the Franciscans. This accusation he could not deny, though he was able to satisfy his judges that he was not guilty of the spiritual crimes alleged against him. He was not able, however, to convince them that it was safe to leave him without special aid in his religious life; and he was accordingly sent to a monastery, where he might obtain instruction in theology.

After passing from the keeping of the monks Buchanan paid special heed to the Bible, and a study of the sacred Book transformed him into a Protestant. As a Protestant he returned to Scotland in 1561, where the policy of Beaton was frustrated, where the ancient Church was in ruins, and where the Franciscan friars were no longer begging for bread they did not desire or for alms they did not deserve.

J. H.

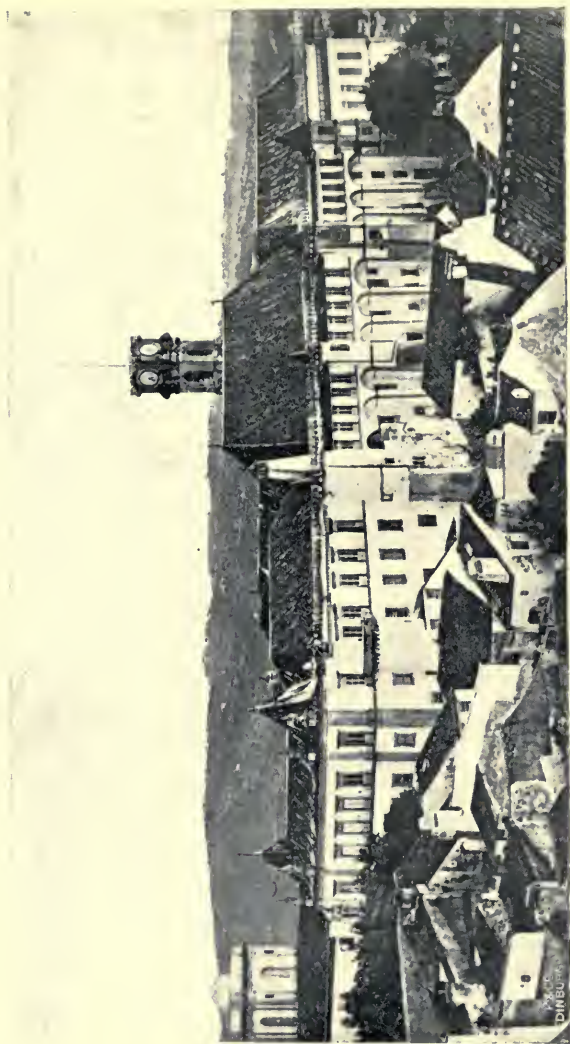
VII.

Buchanan in Portugal.

IN all the biographies of this celebrated Humanist and Reformer, down to and including the one written by Professor Hume Brown—*George Buchanan, a Biography*, Edinburgh 1890—there is a period of five years about which very little is said, because very little was known of it. It is stated that the beginning of the year 1547 found him living in France, supporting himself by teaching, and that proposals were then made to him to go to Portugal as Professor in a new scholastic establishment, called the 'Real Collegio das Artes,' which had been recently founded by the King of that country, Dom John III., at the university city of Coimbra. He accepted the offer and is supposed to have started for Portugal in March 1547.

The only source of information which his biographers possessed as to what took place while he resided in Portugal was about one page octavo of a short autobiographical sketch in Latin, supposed to have been written by him shortly before his death, evidently in 1580.¹ In this sketch it is stated briefly that he was imprisoned in the Lisbon Inquisition for a year and a half, and then detained in a monastery for some months, so that he might be more accurately instructed by the monks who did not prove to be unkind, though they were utterly ignorant of religious truth. It was mainly at this time that he translated the Psalms into various measures. After his restoration to liberty, he asked permission to return to France; but Dom John III. requested him to remain, and supplied him with means sufficient for his daily wants. Becoming sick of delays and of uncertain hopes, he embarked in a Cretan ship at Lisbon, and sailed for England.

¹Sir Thomas Randolphe's letter to Sir Peter Young in 1579 was, according to Ruddiman, the cause that prompted Buchanan to write this account of his own life.



UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRA, PORTUGAL.

The scantiness of these details is explainable in two ways: first, that owing to the secrecy with which the Holy Office surrounded its proceedings Buchanan himself knew but little of the causes of his imprisonment, and, secondly, that old age and his experience of the power of that dread Tribunal may have led him to speak with prudent brevity of its treatment of him.

In one thing he seems to have been mistaken, and that was in attributing to Joannes Ferrerius¹ and Joannes Tolpinus,² as he does in the said sketch, any active part in his misfortunes. Their testimony against him was comparatively unimportant.³

For some three hundred years Buchanan's experiences of Portugal and its Inquisition remained buried in the Archives of the Holy Office, together with those of many others of equal or less importance. It is strange that those Archives should have been preserved for so long a period in spite of the ravages of time and of such a terrible catastrophe as the great Earthquake of 1755; but they were so, and when the establishment of constitutional liberty brought about the extinction of the Inquisition, the secrets were laid bare, and some 36,000 records of the proceedings against the unfortunate victims were taken to the National Archives, where they have been inventoried and preserved, and some of the important ones have been published in a more or less complete form.

A short time before the publication of Professor Hume Brown's biography of Buchanan, while I was examining the records of the proceedings against Damian de Goes, Father Gabriel de Malagrida, and other victims of the pitiless Tribunal, I came across the Records of George Buchanan's trial and caused a copy to be made of them, without having any definite object in view. Hearing that the *Biography* had been published, I called the attention of its talented author to the fact of their existence, and forwarded to him a translation of them which supplied the material for an article published by him in the *Scottish Review*, No. xlii., April 1893.

Since then the sentence passed upon Buchanan has appeared

¹ Ferrerius was a native of Liguria and had at one time visited Scotland. He was connected with the monastery of Kinloss, and was well-known as the author of many books.—Dr. Irving's *Memoirs*, Page 72.

² "Talpin was a native of Normandy, and is the author of various works in the French language."—Irving's *Memoirs*, page 72.

³ See Appendix I. (a)—footnotes.

in a Portuguese work, *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, Coimbra 1899, by Dr. Antonio José Teixeira; and the entire Records have been published in the monthly magazine *O Archivo Historico*, owned and edited by Senhor Anselmo Braamcamp Freire who, for many years, has devoted his talent and fortune to the publication of the documents of historical interest which, almost unknown, abound in the Archives of his country.

At the time when I first drew the attention of Professor Hume Brown to the proceedings against Buchanan in the Inquisition, the Records struck me as being incomplete, for, although they commenced with the delivery of the prisoner in the Prison of the Holy Office, there was no order for his capture or any ground for the proceedings. In other Records, the proceedings are based upon a species of "finding of a true Bill" against the culprit, such finding being the consequence of an information more or less secretly given against him by some one and preliminary testimony taken thereon.

Further investigation shewed me that, simultaneously with Buchanan, the Principal of the College at Coimbra, Joam da Costa, and another of its Professors—Diogo (or Jacobus) de Teive, had also been tried by the Inquisition with precisely similar results. An examination of the proceedings against these prisoners supplied the missing documents and many interesting details.

Commencing with Buchanan's departure from France, we learn that it was in consequence of the high terms in which Friar Jeronymo de Padilha and Friar Jorge de Santiago spoke to the King of Portugal of the College at Bordeaux, upon their return from a visit there, that His Majesty resolved to send for the Professors. They came from Bordeaux to Portugal, by land, in two groups. The first was composed of the four foreigners—Masters Nicolas Gruchy, Guillaume Garante,¹ George Buchanan, and Fabricius; the second consisted of Costa, Teive, Elias Vinetus, and Antonio Mendes.

They appear to have rested a short time at Salamanca, and there was committed one of the most important of the offences with which Buchanan was charged: he and his fellow travellers ate meat upon certain days of abstinence, their excuse being

¹ Professor Hume Brown gives the name as "Guillaume Gaérente," whilst Buchanan in *Vita Sua* gives "Gulielmus Garentalus."

that they were all more or less suffering internally, and that the Spanish bread disagreed with them. Upon arriving in Portugal they went first to Almeirim, a town some forty-seven miles to the north-east of Lisbon, where the Court was then staying; and from thence we may presume that the Professors went to the College at Coimbra where Buchanan appears to have boarded with the Principal Costa—if he did not actually live under the same roof.

As regards the period of his residence at Coimbra it is worthy of note that in no part of the Records do we read the slightest insinuation against Buchanan's secular character. No one accused him of immorality, turbulence, or any other of the vices which, it is plain, were prevalent among the Professors. He was only accused of a leaning towards the doctrines of Luther, and of the disobedience to the Church of Rome which was the consequence of that tendency.

It is most pleasing to be able to assert this when we consider the nature of his surroundings. Very interesting details of the habits, customs and morality,—both of the regents and the students—at the Scots College and Sainte Barbe have been given; but the state of affairs at Coimbra was, in some respects, worse.

Buchanan said nothing against any one in his defence, but his fellow prisoners, Costa and Teive, were not sparing of their denunciations against every one to whom, rightly or wrongly, they attributed their imprisonment; and from the Records of their trials we glean the following information.

Buchanan, it appears, was succeeded in the First Class at Bordeaux, which was the highest, by one Langlois, a Frenchman. Costa states that he turned him out "because the students were not satisfied with him, and because he did not deserve that Class. And because Master Diogo de Teive was put in his place and a brother of mine was a pupil of that Class, this Professor said that I, together with Teive, and by means of my said brother, turned the students against him and made them discontented, so that I might have an excuse for discharging him and putting Teive in his place. He had a law-suit with me, and said a thousand bad things of me."

Of Professor Dr. Eusebio, Costa says that he turned him out of the College at Coimbra because he was addicted to evil practices; and a youth named Brandão, a brother of the wife of Balthazar de Faria (who was, at that time, Portuguese

Ambassador at Rome), and who boarded and lodged with Eusebio, had found it necessary to quit the house and go to live with a relation in Coimbra. Eventually he entered the Jesuits' College. Costa alleges that, upon hearing of this, he severely reprimanded Eusebio and discharged him. The latter was again accused of a similar crime, and was summoned before the ecclesiastical authorities.

Manoel de Mesquita, the Chaplain of the Royal College, was said by the Principal to be "a perfect plague, as all in Coimbra know."

Another Professor, Master Belchior Beliogo, was given to falsehoods. At Paris he had acquired the nick-name of "Maquignon"—the horse dealer. Costa had taken from his house and care the Duke de Aveiro's son who boarded with him, and had reprimanded him for taking the students out of bounds without the permission of the Principal, which he was bound by the King's Regulations to obtain. This Beliogo had spread a rumour in Coimbra, that the French Professors who had left that city to return to France went straight on to Geneva. The report reached the King's ears, and when His Majesty appointed Costa to be Principal, he asked him how far it was true. Costa denied that this had happened,—and, in truth, it had not. Beliogo then told people that the said French Professors had written to the King, denouncing Diogo de Gouvêa, and had so brought about the dismissal of the aged Professor,—which was also false. In short, Beliogo was so utterly bad, that he was known in Coimbra by the nick-name of "Belial."

Jorge de Sã, another Professor at the College, when teaching his Class, carried a sword under his gown, telling people that it was for the purpose of murdering the Principal. Master Antonio Calado was known at Coimbra by a nick-name, the translation of which is "Mouth of Hell." Alvaro Lobato, a Dominican, who lectured on Cato to the students, had been reprimanded several times by Principal Costa on account of improper conduct and because he used to buy the scholars' clothes which they sold to him in order to obtain money for gambling and other forms of vice. He was their Father Confessor.

Both Principal Costa and Diogo de Teive had fought duels in their time.

Teive accuses a certain Manoel de Araujo, who appears to have been connected with the College, of stealing a sword and its hangings from him, and goes on to say that under the pretext of calling to see Master George and himself, Araujo was endeavouring to seduce a visitor of theirs, the daughter of a Scotsman and a relation of Buchanan. One day he left in her hands a purse containing ten cruzados, and withdrew. She complained to her husband whose name was Robert Granjoun, and he spoke to Teive and Buchanan about it. Teive also accused Master Jean Talpin, Antoine Langlois, and Antoine Leclerc of being seditious and bad, and for that reason they were expelled. "I fought with them many times," naïvely adds Master Diogo de Teive.

Marcial de Gouvêa, another teacher, went repeatedly to the Class-rooms, sword in hand, to prevent Costa and Teive from teaching. A similar course was taken by Diogo de Gouvêa, the Elder, to obstruct his nephew André (then Principal) and his friend Costa in the teaching of their Classes.

These were the persons with whom Buchanan was in contact, and whose enmity he was most liable to incur. According to Teive, the professors, who had originally taught Humanities at Coimbra before the new men came, were furious at their coming and at their being so well treated by the King who allowed them mules as well as servants, and gave them much more power and authority than their predecessors had. The latter separated themselves entirely from the recent arrivals, adopting the name of 'Parisiens' and calling the others 'Burdegalenses.'

Unfortunately Buchanan himself heedlessly supplied them with the means of satisfying their hatred. Apart from the fact of his being a foreigner, and his past life having caused him to be suspected in religious matters, he was careless in his acts and speech and in the selection of his friends,—all of which was carefully scored up against him.

Manoel de Mesquita, of whom I have just spoken, asserted that he had heard a relation of Teive say that a certain Countess or Duchess, in the Lutheran country, had sent for Teive and Buchanan, and had remitted money for their travelling expenses with an allowance of five hundred cruzados (£50) for each of them. Mesquita said that he had seen Buchanan playing at bowls and eating and drinking before

Mass. Others had seen him eat meat on days when it was prohibited by the Church of Rome.

Antonio de Cabedo, the Bishop of Tangier's nephew, deposed that, about two years before, he had borrowed of Master George Buchanan a book of verses from which to copy some lines which he had written upon one of the Psalms of David. He found in the book certain written matter, but he could not swear whether it was in the handwriting of Buchanan or not. It was as follows:—*Vix datus est tumulus Codrum si rere fuisse forte Lutheranium falere pauper erat.* According to Cabedo the meaning of this was:—"If thou thinkest that Codrum was refused burial because he was a Lutheran, thou art mistaken; he was refused it because he was poor."

By the discussing of these petty details publicly and privately at Coimbra and in Lisbon, a feeling was created against the Professors who had been engaged in France, and it is probable that the development of that feeling was fostered by the Jesuits, although they did not take any openly antagonistic action. They had a College of their own at Coimbra, and it answered their purpose that the orthodoxy of the professors of the Royal College should be questioned so that they might have a plausible argument for inducing wealthy parents to withdraw their children from that school and place them in theirs.

At last the storm burst,—but it was brought on by means unsuspected until these Records were discovered, and not by the direct action of the Religious Orders as has been supposed.

Doctor Diogo de Gouvêa, called the "Elder" to distinguish him from a learned nephew of the same name, after having been a Professor at the University of Paris, Principal of Sainte Barbe and latterly of the College of Bordeaux, was made Principal of the Royal College at Coimbra. Later on he was deprived by Dom John III. of that office, and was succeeded by André de Gouvêa,—another of his nephews. Diogo de Gouvêa was most irascible and withal a very cunning man. He resolved to be revenged upon his nephew, but, to avoid the imputation of bringing his own flesh and blood to disgrace, he seems to have resolved to work destruction secretly, viz., by means of the Inquisition which was at that time beginning to extend its power and influence. Diogo spread reports that André had Lutheran tendencies, and probably had succeeded

in arousing the suspicions of the Holy Office, when André died, after a few days' illness, without the Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church. André was succeeded as Principal by his friend, Joam da Costa, who, in consequence, inherited the enmity which Diogo had been unable to assuage upon his nephew.

Costa had already incurred the hatred of a Dominican, Friar Joam Pinheiro, by having, years before at Bordeaux, publicly flogged him after he had attained to manhood,—for which flogging the young man had sworn to be revenged. Pinheiro was then at a Convent of his Order at Paris, and Diogo de Gouvêa was also living at that city. How the action of the Holy Office was immediately brought about is not made clear. Costa and Teive both attribute it to Diogo de Gouvêa in the first instance, and assert that Friar Joam Pinheiro was only his instrument. What we know took place was as follows:—On the 17th of October, 1549, a Commission was issued by order of the Cardinal Prince, Dom Henrique, as Inquisitor General, and signed by him (although it does not necessarily follow that it originated with him) by which the Judge of the Lisbon Court of Appeal, the Licentiate—Braz d'Alvide, and Friar Duarte—an Augustine Priest, were ordered to examine a certain witness, then in Paris, together with such other witnesses as he might suggest, with regard to the characters of the Portuguese and the foreign Professors who were then teaching in the Royal College at Coimbra.

The Inquest was opened on the 22nd of the following November in the apartments of Braz d'Alvide who acted as Registrar, Friar Duarte being the Examiner. The Licentiate appears to have been sent specially to France for the purpose.

The first witness examined and the only one mentioned in the Commission was Friar Joam Pinheiro. Owing to his evidence, Diogo de Gouvêa, the Elder, was summoned, and, after them, in consequence of their depositions, Joannes Ferrerius, Simon Simson, Joannes Talpinus, Alvaro da Fonseca and Sebastian Rodrigues were heard. The last witness was examined on the 21st of December, 1549; but it was only six months later, on the 27th of June, 1550, that the Notary at the Lisbon Inquisition forwarded the Depositions to the Cardinal Prince who, with others of the Supreme Council of the Holy Office, signed the finding of a

true bill against all of the accused, with which the Records were returned to the lower Court on the 1st of August.

The proceedings then went rapidly forward. Joam da Costa was captured in Lisbon where he then was, having either gone to the Capital upon business, or having been sent for purposely. Teive and Buchanan were arrested at Coimbra, on the 10th of August. They were requested to attend at the Bishop's Palace, and were there detained by one of the high dignitaries of the Lisbon Court who had been sent for the purpose. They were called upon to give up their keys, their rooms and boxes were searched, and they were handed over to an inferior officer who accompanied them to Lisbon. The Minutes of the search at their lodgings give some curious details of their books and pecuniary possessions. Buchanan was even allowed to retain his money and valuables without any record of their amount being kept; and permission was granted him to leave part of his goods in the possession of his friend, Nicholas Grouchy.

It has been supposed that Cardinal Beaton was the cause of Buchanan falling into the clutches of the Holy Office, but the evidence of Joannes Ferrerius shews that this was not so. It was brief and, without quoting any positive facts, simply, to the effect that he held Buchanan to be a Lutheran at heart.¹ That he was not directly influenced by Cardinal Beaton is shewn by Braz d'Alvide's preface to his evidence, when he speaks of Ferrerius as being, at that time, tutor to the nephews of the Cardinal of Scotland, "*a quem Deos haja*—to whom may God be merciful,"—implying that he was already dead. Simon Simson, a Scotsman, deposed, briefly, to the same effect.

These witnesses did not present themselves voluntarily. They were called upon to give evidence in consequence of the reference made to them by the first two witnesses. Consequently, I cannot but think that Cardinal Beaton contributed very little to the misfortune which fell upon Buchanan after his (the Cardinal's) death, however great may have been the ill-will which he bore him while living. The Franciscans, also, had little or no responsibility in the

¹ Buchanan seems to have been informed many years afterwards of the nature of the evidence of both Talpin and Ferrerius:—"dixerunt se ex pluribus hominibus fide dignis audivisse, Buchananum de Romana religione perperam sentire" (*Vita Sua*).

matter. Nothing of any importance was deposed by any Franciscan witness against Buchanan, either in the preliminary proceedings or afterwards.

On the 15th of August, 1550, Master George Buchanan was delivered by the officer, who had brought him from Coimbra, to Ignatius Nunes, Chief Gaoler of the Lisbon Inquisition. Three days later he was examined for the first time by the Bishop of Angra¹ and Friar Jerome Oleaster.² The only item of importance in the deposition is his declaration that he was *about* fifty-five years of age.

On the 21st of the month he was again examined at great length by Jerome Oleaster, Dr. Emmanuel, and Friar Ambrosius Campello. He then asked that writing materials should be given him that he might write out a full statement as to the various matters upon which they had examined him. His request, which was granted, is contained in the concluding sentences of the record of his examination, drawn up by the Notary or Registrar of the Court.³ The official caligraphy of the sixteenth century is so peculiar that, to the unpractised eye, it may be and has been taken for short-hand. Its meaning in English is:—

“. . . but he has no recollection of any articles in particular; he only remembers that, when he heard some Catholic preacher, the Faith of the Church appeared to him to be the right one, and when, later on, he again heard some Lutheran, the opinions of Luther seemed to him to be correct; and he was in these doubts all the time he was in England, which was five or six months. *Items*:—Being examined upon some other Articles and also upon some things which were necessary for the explanation of that which he has said, he replied that, as he could not now narrate those things in their proper order, he begged them to order paper and ink to be given to him, to enable him to draw up his confession in an orderly way: and they ordered them to be given to him, admonishing him, by the Love of our Lord, to thoroughly unburden his conscience and ask pardon for all, because, if he did so, he would be received with much mercy. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. =*Friar Hieronimo d'Azambuja*=*Manuel docteur*⁴=*Georgius Buchananus*=*Ambrosius*.”

¹ Bishop of Angra or Azores was a deputy of the Inquisition.

² This is the same person as signs himself “Friar Hieronimo d'Azambuja.”

³ See Plate I. Buchanan also refers to his treatment by the Inquisition in *Vita Sua*: “In Buchananum certe acerbissime insultabant, ut qui peregrinus esset, et qui minime multos illic haberet qui incoluntate gauderent, aut dolori ingemiscerent, aut injuriam ulcisci conarentur.”

⁴ Doctor Emmanuel (or Manuel) Antunes and Doctor Ambrosius Campello were deputies of the Inquisition, the former being an Apostolic notary.

On the 23rd of August he, on oath, affirmed the truth of the statements contained in a Defence,¹ written in Latin, which he then placed in the hands of Oleaster and the Licentiate Jorge Gonsalves Ribeiro.² In order to show the clearness of Buchanan's hand-writing at this period, the first page of the manuscript of this Defence, ending with the words "et qui a veterû institutis destiuisent," has been reproduced by photography (Plate II.) and is here given in English:³—

"I, George Buchanan, by nationality a Scot, of the diocese of Glasgow, say as follows:—

When criminal proceedings were ordered against the Lutherans in 1539, I had some fear for myself on several accounts. In the first place, nearly two years before, I had a dispute with a certain Franciscan as to the Scots form of process in capital offences, specially heresy. As I had recently returned from France and was better acquainted with the practice of French courts, I expressed my surprise that in Scotland men were liable to be condemned on testimony given by persons who were not disclosed to them, and sometimes even by their personal enemies. No one, however innocent, could escape being entrapped, if he had enviers or enemies. I had in my mind a recent example. An accused merchant had craved his judges to reject certain persons who were his deadly enemies, but his plea had been disallowed.

As the Franciscan's conduct of this discussion failed to satisfy those who were present, he began to scatter many injurious suspicions of me among the common people. By way of retaliation, I translated into Latin verse an old Scots epigram, the meaning of which I have already explained. After that we fought it out on both sides with hatred and abuse, and many insults were banded to and fro, but without any attack on anything which touched religion.

Meanwhile it happened that a conspiracy at Court was being investigated, and the king made up his mind that the Franciscans were in its secrets. In his anger against them, not ignorant of the footing of hostility on which they and I stood, he commanded and, as some most eminent persons well know, and the Franciscans themselves are well aware, compelled me to write a satire against them. As the Franciscans had never ceased from traducing me in all manner of ways, I made my satire somewhat more sharp than I had intended, but I certainly cast no reflection on the Christian religion, and I expressly protested that against the Order or against good Franciscans of the type of older times I said nothing, but attacked only the dissolute members of the Order who had broken away from the ancient rule."

¹ The whole Defence is to be found in Appendix I. of this volume.

² Friar Jorge Gonsalves Ribeiro was connected as assessor with the Holy Office in Lisbon for thirty years.

³ The following translations of parts of the Defence are by Professor Kennedy of Aberdeen.

41

Ego Georgius Buchananus natione Scotus, doctoris Plasquensis, auctum
 Cum anno domini 1578. quaestio in Lutherianos decreta esset, mihi tenuisse
 ob has causas. primū biennium fere ante fuit mihi disputatio
 cū franciscano quodam de forma iudicij rerū capitaliū in scoto
 et praecipue in causa haereses. Nā cū e gallia tū venirem
 ac magis gallicas quam nostrorū mores tenerem, mirabar tū primū
 hōres dānari testibus ignotis, atq; etiam interdū a hostibus
 neminē eū esse tam innocentem quā cricūmōri possit si med.
 timens, aut mīdos haberet. recens erat exemplū ob oculos
 mercatoris cuiusdam, qui petierat a iudicibus ut certi hominū
 timens, capitales sui reijceretur, nec dānū erat ei reuertens
 locus. Is igitur franciscanus cū cōstantib; in ea disputatione
 nō satisfecisset, multaq; de me in vulgus suspitoseo^{se} seminabat
 Ego inuicem ut me ulcisceret, epigramma veteris nostrate lingua
 scriptum in Latinos versus transtuli, cuius sententiam nobis
 ante retuli. post id tempus odij, et cōiurij res utraq;
 acta est, multa probra utraq; iactata extra ullā rē, quae
 ad religionis cultū attineret. Incidit interea in aula crimi
 cōiurationis, de qua multa scire franciscanos rex arbitratur
 Itaq; iraris illis, eū nō ignoraret mihi eū illis esse inimicis
 me iussit, atq; etiam coegit, ut scriberem unū aliquot clarissimū, nec
 ipsi franciscam ignorant, carmine in eos scribere. Illi interea nō
 cessarunt omnibus modis me traducere Itaq; paulo etiam quam
 desinatueram accedens, sed certe extra religionis christianaē contumelia,
 etiam cū illa protestatione me nihil aduersus ordinē dicere
 aut in bonos franciscanos, quales veteres fuerunt, sed in hōres nostrū
 temporis dissolutos, et qui a veterū institutis desinissent.

First page of Buchanan's first statement of his DEFENCE to the Inquisitor.

+ *possunt ea quae a deo peti debent, quae postulantur ad veram vitam afferre, non
 ut aduersus vulnere, febri.*
 Orationes ad sanctos veteri more semper probavi quibus vel oramus
 ut intercedam pro nobis, vel per memoria eorum aliquis a deo petamus
 multa noua mihi in se sunt superstiosa. ut quae sanctis simpliciter
 + *primitias uarias in Anglia uidi quas in Gallia inuendi per epm sancti
 exoptentibus e quibus aliquas in secula delatas uidi per epm sancti
 dauidis anglu cum esset legatus in secula qua nomillos comouit.*
 De imaginibus probavi id quod tu eundi fieri in anglia ut ha
 velint imago quae superstitiosi colebantur, tollerentur cetera permanerent
 crucifigi quae *et q. quater in anno ad minimum sacerdos interpretaretur
 multu risus et alios affe populo quid sibi uellent imagines ac cetera ceremonia quae
 no frangebar uidebantur populo necessariae.*
 + *et imago datus De Iudaismo inq. cogitari Anabaptistam quae sit, secula adhuc
 gaudem: genoro*
 Epicureos in eorum seruentia semper detestatus sum nec uerbo solu
 sed etiam eorum criminibus inuendi.
 Libros nec habeo uelosi nisi ueritas nec alia est de religio
 aduocato scholasticis in eorum loco quam ut a lectio
 recentu libroru in omni genere doctrine absint donec uerit
 plane perlegerint.
 Babylonem quae describitur in apocalypsi aliqui Roma
 putant, ac eam etiam designari per mulierem uerit
 tu metu reputari in prophetis de re futura omnia
 interpretationem esse periculosam quippe tu maxima
 partem in ea re suspensio sententiam ac facti passus
 sum me tu malis id ignorare.
 + *peritura comparatio pontificis tu Chro qui no moritur per ostium et
 Omnis arbor non faciens fructum et resurrectio Christi in qua
 religiosi omnium ordinu custodunt sepulchru, ac dolent ubi
 senserunt Christum surrexisse*
 } Georg. Buchanan me manu
 sua scripsi et signauit

The last page of the same Defence, beginning at the words "petunt ea quae a deo peti debent," is also reproduced (Plate III.) and has been translated as follows:—

[“Of prayers to Saints, according to ancient custom, in which we either entreat them to intercede for us, or in remembrance of them ask anything of God, I have always approved. But many of these prayers seemed to me superstitious, in which those who pray] ask from the Saints alone what ought to be asked of God,—things which are supposed to be a remedy against various evils, for example, wounds and fever.

¹ In England I saw pictures of various kinds, which I sometimes explained, while in France, to those who asked about them. Some of these I had seen in Scotland, which the Ambassador from England, the Bishop of St. David's, had brought with him, and which disturbed the minds of not a few.

With regard to Images, I approved of what I saw being done in England, namely, that such Images as were being worshipped superstitiously (for example, an image of the Crucified One,² which went through the motions of nodding, laughing, and expressing other feelings, and the image *darvel dadezim* ³) should be removed, but that all others should remain, and that at least four times a year the priest should explain to the people the true meaning and use of Images and other ceremonies which were deemed necessary for the people.

Of Judaism I have not thought at all. As to the sect of Anabaptists, I do not yet know what it is.

Epicureans I have always, in every society, testified against, not only in converse, but by my poems.

As to books, I have none which are not old. There is nothing which, in every place, I have been more careful to impress upon my scholars than that they should abstain from reading new books in any department of knowledge until they have first thoroughly perused the old.

That by Babylon and by the woman in the Apocalypse, Rome is signified, I was at one time inclined to think. But when I reflected with myself that all interpretations of prophetic references to the future were dangerous, and that for the most part these could not be understood until the event made them clear, I instantly suspended my judgment and was easily content, like many others, to remain, on this point, in ignorance.—I, George Buchanan, have with my own hand written and subscribed.”

On the 1st of September 1550 he was again examined at great length by Jerome and Ambrosius Campello as to his religious doubts and errors, the result being that he filed an Appendix to his first statement.⁴

¹ Omitted here is the translation of a passage which it is difficult to fit into its proper place. It refers to certain pictures.

² Probably the Crucifix of Boxley in Kent.

³ Probably the famous image at Dovercourt in Suffolk.

⁴ See Appendix I.

Ten days later Oleaster and Jorge Gonsalves Ribeiro again sent for him and sought to persuade him to accuse other persons. They repeated their efforts on the 17th of September, but each time without result, and then he was left in peace until the 11th of October when he underwent a short examination by the same Judges, as to eating meat on days of abstinence.

Two other examinations took place, on the 12th of December 1550 and the 7th of January 1551, the first before Ambrosius Campello, and the second before Friar Jorge de Santiago, but the prisoner was again left to his reflections until the 15th May 1551, in the interval and without his knowledge some evidence being taken with reference to a pardon from the Pope, of which he alleged that he had availed himself when in France. Eventually, at the suggestion of one of the Judges—the Bishop of Angra, he withdrew his claim to this Pardon, a copy of which the Inquisitors appear to have obtained, as it is filed on the Records. It is manifestly only a secular pardon from Francis, King of France.

In July 1551 sentence was pronounced upon Buchanan, condemning him to make public abjuration of his errors before the Inquisitors and their Officers, and to be confined during the pleasure of the former in a Convent which they would appoint, where he was to occupy himself in things for the good of his salvation.

This sentence, of the latter part of which a facsimile is given in Plate IV., has been fully translated from the Portuguese:¹—

“The Commissioners of the Holy Inquisition and the (Judge) Ordinary concur, that, whereas having seen how by these documents and the confession of the culprit, Master George Buchanan, a Scotsman, it is shewn that he, a Christian, was departing from our Holy Catholic Faith and from the Holy Mother Church, hesitating and doubting in matters of faith for the space of three years, frequently resting in Lutheran opinions, holding that the body of our Lord was not present in the Sacrament of the Mass, except as a symbol and not in reality, and often doubting and wavering in regard to this, doubting also as to the Mass being any sacrifice, and also doubting and hesitating in the Article of Purgatory, holding, as it were, that we are justified by faith alone, holding also and believing that it was no sin if one did not confess at the seasons appointed by the Holy Mother Church, there being no offence in this, and holding that the Ordinance of Confession was human and not divine,

¹ This has been translated by Rev. R. M. Lithgow of Lisbon, whose kind services in securing the photographs of the documents necessitated much time and trouble.

and that it surely was no sin to disobey human laws, there not being any offence or injury to another in this; it also seeming to him that he need not obey the ordinance of the Church in regard to abstention from meat on the forbidden days, and that it was better to go direct to God than to the saints, all which errors are disallowed as Lutheran heresies and condemned by Holy Mother Church. Seeing all which, with what more is set forth in the documents, and seeing besides how he, the culprit, moved by true and sound counsel, came at length to recognise his errors and, with many signs of repentance, to beseech for them pardon of our Lord and the mercy of the Holy Mother Church, with whatever else appears from the said documents—the culprit, Master George, be received to the Reconciliation, Union, and Mercy of Holy Mother Church as he requests, and that he be required in penance to make public formal abjuration of his errors before the Inquisitors and their Officers at an audience, and to stay within the convent prescribed as his prison for such time as appears good to the said Inquisitors, where he shall occupy himself in certain devotional exercises and things necessary for his salvation, and they decree that this shall be made absolute in the ecclesiastical form of excommunication which has been incurred.

THE BISHOP OF ANGRA.

AMBROSIUS, DOCTOR.

FRIAR GEORGIUS SANCTI JACOBI.

FRIAR HIERONYMUS D'AZAMBUJA.

IMANUEL, DOCTOR.

FRIAR JORGE GONSALVES RIBEIRO

MARTIN LOPEZ LOBO." ¹

On the 29th of that month he made abjuration, and was absolved from the Excommunication which he had incurred.

The first monks who were requested to receive the Scottish Humanist excused themselves on the ground that the only accommodation they could offer was poor. The Convent selected for his period of penance was that of Saint Bento, belonging to the Secular Canons of Saint John the Evangelist, in the locality formerly known as Xabregas, but now called Beato Antonio. After the extinction of the Religious Orders, it was converted into a steam flour mill owned by Senhor Joam de Brito. Friar Peter of Saint John, the Prior of that House, expressed in the following letter to one of the Inquisitors his willingness to receive and lodge the penitent to the best of his ability:—

“REVEREND FATHER,—Your Reverence must not be surprised if the accommodation for this penitent is not very comfortable, as the House itself and the division thereof will allow of no better. As your Reverence assures that his residence will not be for long, the monks and myself have agreed to obey the Cardinal Infante and your good selves, and to do what you have

¹ Martin Lopez Lobo was a deputy of the Inquisition, and an assessor to the Court.

ordered. You can send him whenever you like, and he will have to put up with whatever there is in the way of lodging because we can do no more for our Lord."

Buchanan was sent there, where he remained until the 17th of December 1551. That day Friar Jorge de Santiago went to the Convent and informed him that the Cardinal Prince had been pleased to grant him permission to reside in Lisbon, but that he was not to leave the city. On the last day of February 1552, Buchanan attended at the Inquisition to receive his final order of freedom. The letter, signed by the Cardinal Prince, in which Master Friar Jorge de Santiago was ordered to acquaint Buchanan that he was to be allowed to leave the Convent, can be seen (Plate V.). It reads, when rendered into English, as follows:—

"Master Friar Jorge de Santiago,

The Cardinal Prince sends you much greeting.

It is my pleasure to release Master Joham da Costa and Master George Buchanan, so that they may quit the monasteries in which they now are, and go to the city; but they will not leave it without my further orders. I therefore charge you to make this known, and to cause that it be so done. Should you and the other Deputies think fit to release them, and allow them to leave the City, you may order the permits to be drawn up in such form as you think best, and send them to me to be signed.

Written at Evora, on the 13th of December, Joham de Sande did this in 1551.

THE CARDINAL PRINCE."

The Final Warrant for Release, which is among the documents, is thus expressed:¹—

"On the last day of February, 1552, at Lisbon, in the Despatch House of the Inquisition, there being present the Reverend Senhor the Master-Priest, Friar George de Santiago, Inquisitor, and the Deputies of the Inquisition, they ordered Master George Buchanan to be brought, and told him that the Senhor Cardinal Prince, Inquisitor General, had seen fit to grant him a full dispensation, so that he might go away; and they recommended him that ever in his work he should associate with good and pious Christians, and should confess himself often, and so live to our Lord as a good Christian; and he said that he would do so.

ANTONIO RIAZ, *Secretary.*"²

The conclusions at which I arrive, after a careful examination of the three Records, are that the Inquisition, in view of the evidence sent from Paris and the reports which

¹ Translated from the Portuguese by Rev. R. M. Lithgow.

² Antonio Riaz was an Apostolic notary.

BUCHANAN IN PORTUGAL—PLATE V

fui Jorge de Santiago, o Cardenal ~~ff~~^{re} vos emno muyto saudade
 e a es por bem de dispensar com mestre ~~ff~~ Sam da Costa ~~ff~~
 Jorge Buchanan, para que possam saber dos mochos em que se
 esta a saida da cidade. E por em nam saiam della em quanto
 eu não ordenar outra coisa. E por lo que vos encomendo que
 vos lo mandeis a esse publicar e o dizeis como se faga esse
 publicandoos com a esse e os mais deputados e dispensarse
 com velle. E se poderem saber da cidade podereis mandar fazer
 as provisões da isso na maneira que parecer. E mas manda
 eis para saber dasinas. ~~ff~~ Em o dia de xxij.
 dias de dezembro de Sam de Lande. ~~ff~~ ffz de esse. ~~ff~~
~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~ ~~ff~~

Intimation of Release.

had undoubtedly reached the Judges, both from Coimbra and Lisbon, had sufficient grounds (according to the usages of that period) for proceeding against the three professors. Buchanan's nationality did not influence his Judges against him, for his sentence was precisely the same as those of the other two defendants; and it cannot be said that it was severe. From the standpoint of the Inquisition his own confessions were sufficient to condemn him; but the fact of his confessing rendered him more deserving of mercy.

The Records of Buchanan's trial shew that his behaviour throughout that painful period was prudent and proper. Compared with his earlier imprudences, it even creates the impression that some one privately advised him as to the best course to follow. He acted properly because, from the first examination to the last and in spite of all the efforts which, as was the custom, were made to induce him to denounce others to the Court, he steadfastly declined to do so.

He was prudent because he, at the outset, disarmed the prosecution by confessing how he had doubted and wavered, and how he had strengthened himself in the Faith, and obtained pardon for his errors, before coming to Portugal. All through the proceedings, he gave proof of admirable coolness, astuteness and courage. He compromised neither friend nor enemy. He did not bluster at the commencement—as Costa did, or abjectly pray for mercy afterwards—as both Costa and Teive did. Either he had great courage or he had reason to believe that the Inquisition was favourably disposed towards him, and that the most he had to fear was detention for a longer or shorter term.

It is said that Buchanan asked for and received a promise from the King of Portugal that he would protect him while in his dominions; but I presume that no proof of this exists. He alleged nothing of the kind in his pleadings. In fact, the Royal Authority, in any Catholic country, could only avail him as regarded the pains and penalties of the Civil Law; the King of Portugal was as powerless as the King of Scotland in ecclesiastical matters.

* * * *

As a fitting conclusion to this chapter, a short notice of Buchanan's fellow-prisoners and of the Inquisitor who took the most active part in his trial will be of some interest.

JOAM DA COSTA was born at Villa Nova de Portimão. He made abjuration of his errors on the same day as the others, the 29th of July 1551; he obtained permission to leave the Convent of Saint Eloy, in Lisbon, on the 17th of December 1551, and was finally released on the 4th of February 1552. At the time of his decease which took place a short time before the battle of Alcacer-Kibir, fought on the 4th of August 1578, he was Prior of the Mother Church of the town of Aveiro, dedicated to Saint Michael.

DIOGO DE TEIVE abjured on the 29th of July 1551, entered the Convent of Belem near Lisbon on the 31st of that month to perform his penance, left it on the 14th of the following September, by permission of the Cardinal Prince granted in consideration of his state of health and because the monks required the room which he was occupying, and was finally set free on the 22nd of September. Eventually he seems to have returned to the Royal College of Coimbra, for it was to him, as Principal, that Dom John III. addressed, on the 10th of September 1555, the Order to hand over that establishment to Diogo Mirão—the Provincial of the Jesuits.

He was a native of Braga,—the 'Bracara Augusta' of the Romans. He wrote several works in Latin, a collection of which, edited by José Caetano de Mesquita, was published at Paris in 1762. In a short biography with which Mesquita prefaced his book he says: "Jacobus Tevius Bracaræ Augustæ in Lusitaniâ natus, humanioribus litteris et Jure civili instituendus Parisios se contulit; ubi quantum in his studiis profecerit vividi elegantisque ingenii adolescens, facile ex eo intelligitur, quod Burdigalenses suam in urbem eum adsciverint, ut una cum Mureto et Buchanano (quibus viris!) humaniores litteras publicè profiteretur." It was upon one of Teive's works, the *Commentarius de Rebus apud Diem gestis*, Buchanan wrote these lines:—

Cum tua sceptrâ Asiae gens Europaeque timeret,
 Et tremeret fasces terra Lybissa tuos:
 Jamque jugi patiens Indus, nec turpe putaret
 A Domino Ganges poscere jura Tago:
 Inque tuis Phoebus regnis oriensque cadensque
 Vix longum fesso conderet axe diem:
 Et quaecumque vago se circumvolvât Olympo,
 Luceret ratibus flamma ministra tuis:
 Gaudebat tibi devictus, sibi redditus orbis,
 Nosse suos fines, justitiamque tuam.

CONVENT OF SAINT BENTO, XABREGAS, LISBON.

(Where Buchanan was imprisoned).



FRONT VIEW.



BACK VIEW.

Una aberatque oberatque tuis Mors sacva triumphis,
 Carpere victricem scilicet ausa manum.
 Et comes huic tenebris nisa est oblivio caecis
 Fortia magnanimùm condere facta ducum ;
 Donec Apollineis se Tevius induit armis,
 Et spolia e victâ Morte superba tulit ;
 Victurisque jubet chartis juvenescere vitae
 Prodigâ pro Patriac pectora laude suae,
 Proque aevi paucis, quos Mors praeciderat, annis
 Reddit ab aeternâ posteritate decus.
 Jure ergo invictus Rex es : quando omnia vincens
 Accessit titulis Mors quoque victa tuis.¹

The CARDINAL INFANTE or CARDINAL PRINCE HENRY was a younger son of Emmanuel, King of Portugal (1495-1521), brother of that King John III. (1521-1557) who to the ruin of his country set up the Inquisition in it, and uncle of Sebastian (1557-1578), upon whose death in Africa on an expedition against the Moors, this Henry succeeded as last King of Portugal (1578-1580) prior to the Spanish usurpation under Philip II. The Cardinal was Grand Inquisitor during the reigns of his brother and nephew, and only succeeded to the throne when an old dotard.

FRIAR HIERONIMO D'AZAMBUJA, the Judge most often referred to in the Records, is known to foreign writers as Jerome Oleaster, the latter name being the Latin equivalent of his surname of Azambuja—'the wild Olive tree'—but which really is the name of the place at which he is said to have been born. A curious point of this monk's parentage was discussed by me in Vol II. of my *Ineditos Goesianos*, page 183 *et seq.*

He was a Dominican and took the vows of that Order, in the Batalha Monastery on the 6th of October 1520. Having shewn signs of exceptional ability, he was admitted to the College of St. Thomas in Coimbra on the 8th of December 1525, to teach Humanities and Theology in which he held the Degree of Doctor. Having been selected by Dom John III to take part in the Council of Trent, he arrived there on the 19th of December 1545, and created some sensation at the sitting which was held on the 7th of the following January. Upon his return he was offered the See of St. Thomas, but declined it. In 1551 he was unanimously elected Provincial of his

¹ These verses are to be found in *Opera Buchanani* Tome II., P. 102,—there included in the *Poemata Fragmenta* "quae nunquam antea cum aliis ejus operibus edita fuerant."

Order, but was requested by his Royal Master not to accept the post. The following year, while Prior of the Batalha Convent, he was named by the Cardinal Prince to be Inquisitor of the Holy Office of Evora, which post he occupied from the 2nd of September, 1552, until the 11th of October, 1555, when he passed to the Lisbon Inquisition with the same rank. The documents of Buchanan's trial and, in fact, many others shew that he acted as Inquisitor in Lisbon long before that year. On the 11th of June, 1557, he had the honour, with an Augustine Monk, of putting the shroud upon the mortal remains of his King and master; and, in 1560, he was again elected Provincial of his Order for two years. He died at the beginning of 1563, in the Lisbon Convent of Saint Dominic.

Herculano, the celebrated author of the *Historia da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, says of him, in Vol. III., page 329:—

“As a matter of fact, the converted Jews were not only taken prisoners, but were put to the torture without sufficient *prima facie* evidenee. The celebrated Oleaster, or Friar Jerome of Azambuja, a man of high literary reputation, had distinguished himself in this species of rigour, and disputed with Joam de Mello the palm of cruelty. So great had been his excesses, that the Princee found himself forced to dismiss him. Dom Henrique confessed to the Nuncio that Oleaster had gone beyond all bounds of moderation.”

This was the man who, according to Buchanan, took some pains to instruct him in religious matters.

Edited from the MS. of G. J. C. H.

VIII.

Buchanan and Mary.

THE relationship which existed between Buchanan and Mary has puzzled nearly every biographer of the Queen. During her early days in Scotland the poems and epigrams addressed by Buchanan to Mary imply the tender solicitude of a teacher towards his pupil, who was dear to him as much because of her personal qualities as her exalted rank. Then came the tragic incident of the murder of Darnley, and at once the loving pedagogue became the virulent accuser, not over-scrupulous in his assertions of her guilt, and even, as Sir James Melville states, "cairless" as to the truth of the facts which he boldly alleged against her. This change of front—almost as great as any inconsistency which he alleged against Lethington in *The Chamaleon*, has divided Buchanan's critics into opposing camps. There are those who maintain that only overwhelming evidence of Mary's duplicity and turpitude could have effected such a change; and the mere fact of her old friend Buchanan turning against her is advanced as a convincing proof of her guilt. But there are also those who allege that Buchanan was a mercenary time-server, ready to place his venal pen at the command of the highest bidder, and with a decided preference for the cause of his feudal chief, the Earl of Lennox. Probably the truth lies between these extremes. To reconcile the eulogistic verses of Buchanan, addressed to Queen Mary before and after her marriage to Darnley, with the vitriolic spleen against her displayed in the *Detectio*, one must carefully consider the positions of the two parties. Buchanan was a humanist of wide experience, in touch with the leaders of thought on the Continent, and able to hold his own among the most learned. But, as John Hill Burton remarks, "his rich genial mind was coated with a sort of crust of austerity. It was not in his nature to be a fanatic, but he took to the Presbyterian side as the opponent of royal preroga-

tive and a vainglorious hierarchy." More than this is necessary to explain Buchanan's apparent animosity to Queen Mary. Beneath all his culture there was the old Scottish notion of the absolute duty of fidelity to his feudal chief. This was engrained in the Scottish spirit of the time; and by its predominance alone can Buchanan's revulsion from Queen Mary be explained.

Fundamentally, Buchanan accepted the Athenian doctrine of the right of the people to remove by violence an obnoxious ruler; yet he did not perceive that the thralldom of a vassal to his superior, or of a clansman to his chief, involved a far worse form of tyranny than could be exercised by a crowned head. And to that thralldom, with eminently human inconsistency, Buchanan was himself enslaved. Admitting the existing fact of Mary's hereditary right to rule, yet somewhat subdued from active opposition by her mental gifts and the graces of her charming personality, he did not raise his voice directly against her when he returned to Scotland; nay, he wrote numerous eulogies upon her, never once hinting at the Republican notions that lay at the back of his brain. As a Protestant, Buchanan theoretically should have been as violently opposed to Mary's marriage with Darnley as was Knox and the Lords of the Congregation. To them the proposed union appeared as a prelude to the restoration of Catholicism and the destruction of the Protestant Reformation. Why did Buchanan not join with them in denouncing this marriage as hateful to the people, and perilous as threatening their eternal welfare? True, he had celebrated her marriage with the Dauphin in the famous *Epithalamium*, which is one of the memorable examples of Scottish Latinity of the time; but that was in a Catholic country, and addressed to fervent Catholics. Here, in Scotland, when Catholicism had been deposed (with Buchanan's aid), from its proud pre-eminence, it seemed like treachery to the Protestant cause for him to commend the union in similarly deathless strains. Why did he do so?

Professor Hume Brown has caught a glimpse of the only reasonable explanation, though he has not carried out the argument to its conclusion. He writes:—"There was a reason, which must have had a weight of its own in determining the view which Buchanan took of Mary's second marriage. Darnley was the son of the head of the Clan Lennox, and in his exaltation to the throne Buchanan would see the glorification of the clan to which he himself belonged. Buchanan would



QUEEN MARY.

(From the engraving in Volume II. of the 1722 edition of Buchanan's
'History.')

have been no good Scotsman had he not been susceptible to such feelings, and Buchanan was a Scotsman to the core." No doubt this is true, and largely accounts for the poet's apparent inconsistency. But it has not occurred to Professor Hume Brown that this very clan-instinct, which made Buchanan approve of the elevation of the chief's son to the throne, was equally potent in turning Buchanan's devotion to the Queen into violent and unreasoning animosity at a later stage. He saw Darnley raised to eminence, and he joyfully approved. Possibly he did not know, as we do, how utterly unworthy Darnley was of the position, or he was blinded by clan-partiality to the defects of the young chief, as many a gallant Highlander was at Sheriffmuir and Culloden. Buchanan must have known of the bickerings in the royal household, and probably blamed the Queen rather than his own kinsman. And when the tragic episode of Darnley's murder occurred, with all the mystery by which it was surrounded, Buchanan's first thought was that it was the outcome of an old clan-feud by which the Hamiltons sought to remove Darnley, slay the Queen and the infant Prince, and clear the way for their own succession to the throne. A careful examination of Buchanan's partisan pamphlet *Ane Admonitioun direct to the Trew Lordis maintainars of Iustice and obedience to the Kingis Grace*, first published in 1571, will show the progress of his reflection upon the incident of the murder. Finding that his "Hamilton" theory did not fully explain the murder, and hearing the false rumour that the Queen had attempted to poison her infant son at Stirling, Buchanan plainly began to suspect Mary of the double crime, and associated Bothwell with her as an accomplice.

Another circumstance which must have weighed with Buchanan in turning him against the Queen was the outspoken animosity of his chief the Earl of Lennox, and of Mary's kinswoman, the Countess of Lennox, against their daughter-in-law. Here the clanship influence became predominant. As a vassal, it was no part of Buchanan's duty to question the wisdom of his chief; it was his to make no reply, but to devote all his literary powers towards the avenging of the murder of his young master. It is not necessary to suppose that a bribe was offered to purchase his pen. For Buchanan it was enough that his dream of Darnley's kingly position had been dispelled, and it was his duty to save Darnley's son—his own possible chief—from the dangers that

threatened. He believed that could best be done by proving that the Queen had consented to the murder of Darnley, and was therefore no fit person to be entrusted with the care of Darnley's son. Here the Republican notions which he had suppressed during his personal intimacy with Mary broke forth in full force. His *Detectioun of the Doings of Marie, Quene of Scots*, as the first translation of his Latin pamphlet is called, was an attempt to vindicate the deposition of the Queen as a murderess and adulteress, and plainly claims the right to remove such a ruler from power. By a strange and wilful blindness, Buchanan did not see that he was confuted by his own arguments. If Mary should be removed with violence because of murder and adultery, then surely Darnley, the murderer of Riccio and one of the worst libertines in a dissolute Court was equally worthy of death. But the Earl of Lennox thought differently, and Buchanan followed his chief. Without agreeing with Mr. Hosack in his denunciation of Buchanan as "the prince of literary prostitutes," or believing, with him, that Buchanan, was "first the sycophant and then the slanderer of his Sovereign, his pen was ever at the service of the highest bidder," one may admit that there is some truth in Hosack's remark that "Nothing can be more finished than some of his laudatory verses upon Mary; nothing can be more ridiculous than the gross exaggerations of the 'Detection.'" These, after all, are merely further proofs that perfect consistency is not to be expected from any human being.

The marriage of Mary and Francis, the Dauphin of France, took place at Paris in January, 1558-9. At that time Buchanan was tutor to the son of the Maréchal de Brissac, and was probably in Paris; indeed, it has been asserted that some of the inscriptions on the wedding-banners were written by him. His famous *Epithalamium* while extolling the bold and hardy Scottish race, revives the memory of the traditional alliance with France which dated from the time of Charlemagne; and claims that the Scots had ever maintained their freedom:—

So was it, when of old each land,
A prey to every spoiler's hand,
Its ancient laws and rulers lost,
The Scot alone could freedom boast !
The Goth, the Saxon, and the Dane
Poured on the Scot their powers in vain ;
And the proud Norman met a foe
Who gave him equal blow for blow.

At this period Buchanan was a supporter of Catholicism. In a few years he returned to Scotland, joined the Protestant party, and did his best to break up the French Alliance which he had so strongly commended. When Buchanan's name next appears in connection with Mary, in January 1561-2, she was a young widow on her ancestral Scottish throne, and he was acting as her tutor, reading Livy with her daily, as Randolph, the English resident at the Scottish Court, declares. It was quite natural that Mary should be attracted towards Buchanan, though he was then over fifty-five years old, and somewhat ill-favoured. Buchanan had long been in touch with the best literary circles of France and Italy; he could discourse upon literature, ancient and modern, could write graceful and complimentary verses to the Queen and her Four Maries, and supplied a link with her happy early days in France. Her own poetic gifts, inherited from her ancestor, James I., were not to be despised, even when some of the poems wrongly assigned to her are deducted. French was the language of her childhood, and she learned Italian at the Court of Katherine de Medici, and could indite verses in both tongues, while Latin was familiar to her. It has been suggested that, at a later date, the secret of Bothwell's success with Mary was his knowledge of French literature and customs. Buchanan, therefore, could take a much wider range, and from the literary side was more desirable than the bold Earl. Certainly, Buchanan was on the best of terms with the Queen and Court.

It has been urged against Buchanan that he was a mercenary poet, measuring out his lines according to the gold paid for them. This accusation is hardly fair. He certainly wrote begging poems; but so did Dunbar to James IV., and Sir David Lyndesay to James V. It was the fashion of the time; and, indeed, the formal Dedications of books, which survived till the beginning of last century, were simply a dignified form of begging.

Two emotions acted upon Buchanan when he wrote his poem on the baptism of James VI. in December, 1566,—his respect for the Queen, and his feudal duty to the infant grandson of his chief, the Earl of Lennox. These feelings had already brought forth his more impassioned poem on the birth of that Prince, in which he plainly declared the duty of the King as the ensample to his people. But the finest and best known of Buchanan's

poems addressed to Queen Mary is the dedication which he prefixed to his Latin version of the Psalms of David, the first edition of which was printed in Paris about 1565. The opening lines and the expressive translation, by Dr. Hutchison, Rector of the High School, Glasgow, are as follows:—

*Nympha, Cæcloniae quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptræ tucri avos ;
Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus,
Accipe (scd facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.*

O Lady of an ancient race,
Who Scotia's throne dost nobly grace,
Surpassing by thy merits great
Thy royal dignity of state :
Thy virtues far beyond thy years,
Thy mind above all woman's spheres,
And high as is thy royal birth,
How far beneath thy native worth !
Accept the noble gift I bring—
The Psalms of Israel's prophet-king
Set forth in numbers erewhile sung
By masters of the Latin tongue.
No polished odes from Grecian hand
Expect from this far northern land.
Yet ventured I not to disdain
The puny offspring of my brain :
Since thou hast pleasure found in these
My verses, me they'll not displease.
But though scant praise bestowed be
On graces of my poetry,
My verses still perchance will show
How much to a kind heart they owe.

Buchanan was not allowed to go unrewarded for his literary labours at the Court of Queen Mary, though the poet—as is often the case with members of that irritable genus—died in poverty. If he sold his pen to the highest bidder, as some of his detractors assert, and betrayed the Queen who had befriended him, then the price of his treachery was little profitable to him. Whether he assisted John Wood in “faking the Casket Letters” cannot definitely be known, though he certainly had a share in preparing the so-called evidence against the Queen. These later years of Buchanan's life are not attractive to some people. More pleasant, however, is it to remember the learned

“ Scot abroad ” writing verses to the young Dauphiness in Paris ; or to picture the middle-aged scholar at St. Andrews, with his queenly pupil, now deeply engaged in the study of Latin history, and anon gaily capping verses with each other, and grinding gerunds and irregular verbs into the form of epigrammatic gems that have retained their lustre till the present day.

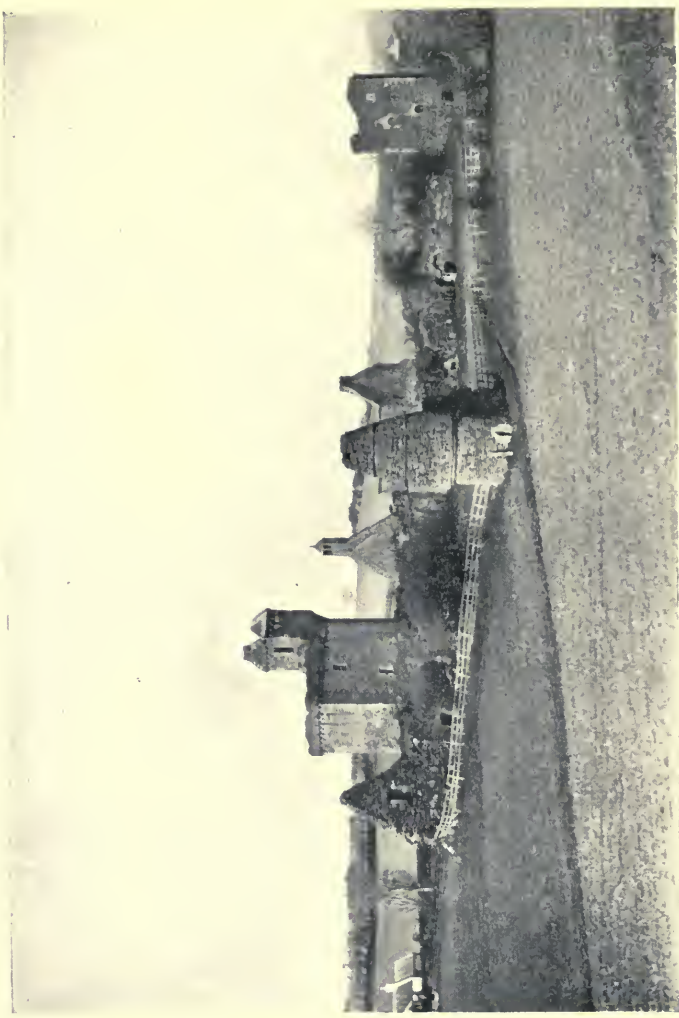
A. H. M.

IX.

George Buchanan and Crossraguel Abbey.

IN the muniments pertaining to the Abbey of Crossraguel, most of which are in the Charter Chest of the Marquis of Ailsa at Culzean, and were, through the courtesy of that nobleman, reproduced twenty years ago in the publications of the Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association (an association now, alas! defunct), there are several references to George Buchanan. There is no evidence that he ever resided in that Ayrshire monastery, but he was, as he styles himself, "Pensionarius de Crossraguel," and was practically owner of it. It was in the year 1564 that Queen Mary rewarded his great literary attainments, and personal services to her, by this gift. The document conferring it is interesting, and may be quoted in full:—

"Ane Lettre maid to Maistre George Buchquhannane, for all the dayis of his life, of the Gift of an zeirliche pensionne of the soume of fyve hundreth pundis usuale money of this realme, to be zeirliche uptakin be him, his factoris and servitouris in his name, at twa termes in the zeir, Whitsunday and Martimes in Winter, be equale portionis, of the reddiest fruttis and emolimentis of the Abbay of Corsragwell now vacand and being in hir Majesties handis throw the deceis of umquhile Master Quintene Kennedie last abbot thair of. And for payment of the said zeirliche pensioun, assigns to him the haill temporalitie of the said Abbay, with the place, manss, orchardis, mains, woodis, coilheuchis, and the pertinentis quhatsumevir pertaining thairto: with power to him to set and rais the said temporalitie, outputt and imputt the tennentis thair of, and otherwise to use the samyn als frelie and in all sortis as the said umquhile abbote mycht have in his lifyme. And gife the samyn sall not be fundin sufficient and enouch for zeirliche payment of the same soume of fyve hundreth poundis, in that case hir Majestie assignis to him sa mekle as he sall inlaik of the said temporalitie, of the



RUINS OF CROSSRAGUEL ABBEY, AYRSHIRE.

reddiest teyndis and fruitis of the spiritualitie of the said Abbaye, viz., of the Kirkis of Girvane and Kirkoswald belang- and thairto. And that the said Lettre, etc.

“ At Halirud hous the nynt days of Octobre the zeir of God, M.Vc Lxiv. zeris.”

But George Buchanan, or “ his factoris and servitouris,” never saw much of the money involved here. Their first trouble was with the Earl of Cassilis, the head of the great house of Kennedy, whose relationship with the Abbey was close, not only through his maternal descent from the Earl of Carrick, who founded it, and because the last two Abbots, William and Quentin, were nearly related to him, but because his territory lay all around it, and

“ From Wigtown to the toune of Ayr,
Portpatrick to the cruives of Cree,
Man need not think for to bide there
Unless he court with Kennedie.”

Buchanan was well acquainted with this family. He had been tutor for several years to Earl Gilbert, resided with him in Paris for some time, and later dwelt under his roof in Ayrshire, where he wrote the *Somnium*. Buchanan had a high opinion of this nobleman—he died in 1558 on his way home from the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, under strong suspicion of having been poisoned by the Guises—and now it was his son he had to contend with for the payment of his income. On October 16th, 1564, he brought an action or “ complaint ” against him before the Privy Council, and won his case. We give here the “ Order ” in his favour, a document interesting in itself, apart from its connection with George Buchanan:—

“ Apud Edinburgh, xvj Octobris, anno M.Vc Lxiiiij
Sederunt: Jacobus Moravie Comes, Archibaldus
Ergadie Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius
Joannes Atholie Comes, Patricius dominus Ruthven,
Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus
Justiciarie, Advocatus.

The quhilk day, anent the complaint maid be Maister George Buchquhannan, makand mentioun that quhair he hes be gift of our Sovrane Lady for all the dayis of his lyff, ane yeirlie pensioun of the soum of Vc li to be yeirlie uptaken of the frutis and emolumentis of the Abbay of Cors-

ragwell, and for payment thair of thair is assignit to him the hail temporalitie of the said Abbay with the place, manis, wod, and pertinentis thair of; nevertheles, Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis hcs, sen the deceis of the last Abbot of Corsragwell, entirit within the place and abbay thair of, withholdis, and on na wayis will deliver the samyn to the said Maister George, without he be compellit, lyke as at mair lenth is contendit in the said complaint. The saidis Erle of Cassilis and Maister George comperand bayth personallic, the Lordis of Secreit Counsall ordanis lettres to be direct simpliciter to charge the said Gilbert Earl of Cassilis to deliver the said abbay and place of Crosragwell, with the orchartis and yardis thair of, to the said Maister George, or ony in his name havand his power in his name to ressave the samyn within six dayis nixt eftir the charge, undir the pane of rebelloun: and gif he failze, the said six dayis being bipast, to put him to the horne. And as to the remanent pointis of the said complaint, referris the samyn to the decisioun of the Lordis of Counsal and Sessioun; ordinand the said Maister George to persew befor thame or uther ordiner jugeis as he thinkis caus."

But soon another trouble emerged for Buchanan, for in July 1565 Queen Mary, in all likelihood annoyed at his Protestantism—by this time he was a regular member of the General Assembly and on important Committees there—revoked her deed of gift by handing over Crossraguel to Allan Stewart, the son or younger brother of James Stewart of Cardonald, a stout adherent of hers, and of her mother, the Queen Dowager, before her. She styles him in her deed "our lovit clerk, Maistre Allan Stewart," and though he is generally spoken of as the Commendator of Crossraguel, it is also correct to speak of him as the Abbot. He was not a layman, but a priest, and his Abbacy was confirmed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews as Primate and Legate, and further ratified by the Pope himself, Pius V. Still the grant from the Queen was purely secular, and might with equal effect have been made to a layman *in commendam*. We need not say anything further about this Commendator or Abbot, except that he appears to have been a somewhat cantankerous man, and very anxious to turn as much of his property as possible into ready cash. He was at daggers drawn with the Earl of Cassilis, who somehow the very next year obtained a lease of the Abbey from the Queen and Darnley, and the bickerings between the Abbot and the Earl led to the roasting of the former in the Black

Vault of Dunure, a method of torture adopted by the Earl to get the Abbot to sign certain documents. Curiously enough Buchanan himself was in danger of "roasting" or other rough treatment from this ghoulish lord of Carrick, for in the narrative of "The Imprisonment and Rescue of Abbot Allan from Dunure" in Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, we read that when the Privy Council took the matter up and came to a decision they "ordained and commanded Gilbert Erle Cassilis to find cautione and sovertie—that he or none that he may lett, sall invaid, molest, nor persew the said Mr Allane Stewart in his bodie; nor yit meddle or intromett with his place and leving of Crosraguell, or uptak the fructis rentis proffeitis or dewiteis therof otherwayis nor be ordour of law and iustice under the paine of two thousand pundis. And also ordained the said Erle to find the lyk cautione and sovertie, and under the same paine, to Mr. George Buchquhannan pensioner of Crosraguell, being personallie present, and cravit the same alsweile *for his awin persone* as his pensione."

The disposal of the Abbey to Allan Stewart placed Buchanan in a very awkward position, and he thought the best way out of the difficulty would be to compromise with Stewart for a yearly payment of £500, which was agreed to. But it does not appear that this payment was ever made. Doubtless, as a means of securing it, he assigned his rights in the property to the Earl of Cassilis on the Earl agreeing to pay him 980 marks. That a portion of that was paid is evident from a Discharge dated 12th September 1569 in which we read: "Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres the Maister George Buchquhannan, pensioner of Crossraguel to haif tane and ressavit fra ane nobill and potent Lord, Gilbert Earle of Cassilis, . . . the soume of three hundreth merkis usual money of Scotland in part payment" etc. But in order to get more of the actual cash due him, Buchanan must have sent a complaint to the Government, or at least applied to those high in authority, for we read in a document of 1572—a letter of the Earl of Mar, Regent of the Kingdom, to the Earl of Cassilis—"farder we pray your Lordship to remember Maister George Buchanan, and to bring with you sumquhat for his satisfaction of his pensioun." The Earl of Cassilis, though he had fought at Langside for Queen Mary and was "put under waird" for it, was now a warm adherent of the Regent's party. This party was now somewhat depressed—the Castle of Edinburgh

and many other strongholds being in the hands of the Queen's forces—and the Regent Mar writes the above letter from Leith beseeching the Carriek Earl to come to his aid as speedily as possible. Whether he brought with him a sum of money for George Buchanan, history sayeth not. Eventually Buchanan sold the pension to the Laird of Bargany for the annual sum of £400. He would be glad to be relieved of the trouble and expense of collecting it. It had been pretty much of a white elephant to him. The grant originally might seem a splendid one, for the Abbey of St. Mary, Crossraguel, was a great regality extending over eight parishes, with temporalities such as farms on the banks of the Girvan and the Doon, salmon-fishings, collieries ("coalheughs" and "coal-pottis"), multures, brewings ("brewlands" and "brew-houses"), timber sales ("wood-hags," *i.e.*, annual wood cuttings), and spiritualities such as teinds and other revenues accruing from ecclesiastical dues; but the upheaval of the Reformation and the greed of the nobles—with much local turbulence, especially in the "Kingdom of Carriek," to which the long arm of the law scarcely reached—left uncommonly little of this rich heritage for poor George Buchanan.

K. H.

X.

Knox and Buchanan : a Study in Method.

EXCLUDING from our view the work of Knox and Buchanan as writers of history and political theorists, we find that Knox's life still remains full of matter, but that of his great contemporary Buchanan is comparatively uneventful and quiescent. The activity of Knox was indeed essentially religious. If he travelled into the sphere of historical and political discussion, it was only as an interlude. His *History*, and his *First Blast of the Trumpet* are alike parerga. His serious preoccupation from the first was the formulation and dispersion of what he deemed to be sound doctrine. Three things he considered to be utterly corrupt in Scotland,—the preaching of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, and the regulation of morals through Church discipline. The testimony of unbiassed witnesses bears out his judgment in this respect. Preaching was well-nigh extinct. The Sacraments were buried under a weight of base and avaricious customs. The morals of the clergy and people were alike licentious. In the Scots Confession, we can trace Knox's hand at many points, but at none more certainly than where, in describing the true Catholic Church, the Confession boldly abandons the conventional "notes" of Unity, Holiness, and the like, and substitutes the triad of a pure gospel, sacraments, and discipline. In such a statement we may see revealed the broad lines of Knox's purposes and methods as a religious reformer. His great aim was to cleanse the morals of Scotland. Knowing how vain, for that end, any merely civic or political movements must prove, he put these in the background. It is probable that he even regretted his former incursion into the sphere of political argument, which had rather prejudiced than helped the Reformation. What he had truly at heart was to secure such free and Scriptural presentation of the truths of religion, as would raise his countrymen out of the slough of error

in opinions and corruption in morals for which the Scot was notorious. It is not with him primarily a question of intellectual enlightenment, but rather of spiritual and moral regeneration. The religious passion which marked his utterances is moved by moral obliquities, rather than by literary or political solecisms. His methods were accordingly levelled to the capacity of the general mind and heart.

It is as a great preacher of righteousness that Knox stands out most clearly after 1560. As a theologian, his acquirements were not small, and he had profited by personal intercourse with Calvin and other leading thinkers. When time permitted, he could draft a dogmatic monograph as well as most; in illustration, we have only to refer to his work on Predestination. But neither his time nor his inclination led him to do the task of the systematic theologian: it is possible also that the great spirit of Calvin overshadowed him here; for close contact with experts often breeds a disinclination to venture into their special fields. But as a preacher of doctrines which both Calvin and he found in Scripture and in human nature, Knox stands unrivalled. To this vocation he was loudly summoned by his natural temperament and by the needs of his time. The orator stood confessed in him who had borne the sword for Wishart, who had burst into tears when called to preach in the Castle of St. Andrews, and who to the last bade fair to "ding the pulpit in blads and flee out of it." For such a man, publicity, utterance, vehement passion, were a necessity. The scholar's patient toil among ideas, calmly neglectful of the popular passion and bidding his time in a future age, would never have contented Knox. His nature was thrilling at all times to the contemporary emotions; and he found a needed vent for his pent-up fires in the pulpit. It may be true that his sermons at last became political forces; certainly, he never shrank from preaching "to the times"; but in their fundamental motive they had the didactic and practical ends of a Christian preacher. If he appeared to have a hand in State affairs, it was as one who represented no party or cabal, but the eternal righteousness founded on the Word of God.

The accidental influence of Knox on political events may be seen in the fact that, more than once, he was surprised by the effect of his own words. He was not conscious of overstepping the limits of the pulpit and the religious censor. In his inter-



JOHN KNOX.

(From the bust in Wallace Monument.)

By kind permission of Mr. William Middleton, Curator, Wallace Monument.

views with Mary, we always note a certain ingenuous inability to understand why the Queen should take umbrage. In ecclesiastical politics, Knox's aloofness and even inexperience may be seen in such a clumsy arrangement as the Concordat of Leith. Such a scheme betrays a prentice hand. Knox's real strength lay not in administration or in the moulding of political forces for a Churchly end, else the history of the Scottish Church would have run far otherwise; but in the application of a Bible system of doctrine, worship, and discipline to the disorganised religious life of Scotland. There were others who did the work, sometimes very shady and disreputable, of Scottish statecraft and churchcraft, as these crafts then obtained. Knox ought to be cleared of complicity in their "knaivish tricks," and he cannot claim all the credit of their occasional successes. For him, the one great office to be coveted and filled was that of being the voice of the Righteous God resounding in the wilderness of Scottish faith and morals.

Confronted with Buchanan, Knox bulks in popular life as a figure overtopping the Scottish humanist. It is hardly possible to represent Buchanan as a religious reformer in the same sense as Knox. For Buchanan declined the battle of the Church, and subsided into literary and philosophic pursuits, varied by the exercise of a considerable poetic talent. Buchanan has no history as a theologian or as a religious teacher. Politically and philosophically he stood on the same ground as Knox; but his temperament restricted him to fields of study and taste.¹ He made no profound mark on the religious life of Scotsmen. He came back to his native land as soon as it was safe for him to do so, and casting in his lot with the Reformers he accepted such administrative work as was offered him.² He sat in General Assemblies, and even presided over the Assembly of 1567, layman as he was. But to be Moderator of the Assembly did not necessarily mean absolute importance in the Church's counsels, either then or now. Rather, a quiet and safe man was chosen,

¹ Compare Hume Brown's *Biography*, p. 191. In method and discretion Buchanan seemed to stand on an entirely different footing in the country from Knox and the ministers of the congregation,—"*they were reformers and nothing else.*"—Ed.

² "Buchanan approved of the same cause; but he had other interests, and the memory of a life behind him which made genial intercourse possible with those who differed most widely from himself on the deepest questions."—Hume Brown's *Biography*, p. 191.

under whom the stronger spirits might exercise their wits. Although Buchanan's name is found also on many Church committees, we do not hear that he was a commanding influence. Knox himself speaks of him in terms which rather suggest a kindly tolerance of one who was not regarded as a very prominent ecclesiastic or a very zealous worker in religion. "This notable man remains," he writes, "to this day, in the year of God 1556 years, to the great glory of God, to the great honour of the nation, and to the comfort of those who delight in letters and virtue." It is not so that men describe a religious reformer. At the same time, Buchanan had very early satisfied himself that the position of Rome was untenable: he had attacked the vices of the monks; and by the time he finally returned home from the Continent, he had made a prolonged study of the points at issue between the Roman Church and the Reformers. His decision was in favour of the latter; but it is not in this deliberate and intellectual mode that a Luther or a Knox is made, and Buchanan remained to the last a cool and dispassionate critic of both extremes.¹ He took no prominent part in the organisation of the doctrinal and religious life of Scotland. He continued to be a silent member of the Reforming party. He preached no rousing sermon against Court or Church iniquities, although a layman like Erskine of Dun was held fit to be both preacher and superintendent. To him, the Reformation was a needed current helping on the Renaissance, clearing away débris which hindered sound learning from advancing, and overthrowing powers in Church and State which frowned on freedom of thought.

It has been suggested by some writers that Buchanan's abstinence from special religious activities was due to his superior breadth and liberality of mind. He could not be an active propagandist in spheres with which his scholarly culture and broad learning unfitted him to sympathise. As a Humanist, he loved freedom and gracious forms of culture more than creeds or fervent religious expression; and hence he avoided the strenuous tasks of men like Knox who had to build up Confessions and organise the Church. All this may be accepted as an

¹ "He was the man to be a cautious, judicious reformer, not the man to be an impetuous frantic destroyer, too rash and unrestrained to discriminate between the entirely and partially unsound."—Dr. Campbell Smith in Dr. Wallace's "George Buchanan," p. 141. The aesthetic was not lacking in Buchanan, as in Knox.

apology for Buchanan's comparative supineness as a reformer, if it be also remembered that, for his own time, Knox was the man who was needed, and he chose the better part. No doubt, temperament should be taken into account. Knox was bold, impulsive, and fond of publicity: Buchanan was a student and a courtier, who preferred quiet and gentle ways and hated the uproars of controversy. But temperaments must not be allowed to obscure the facts of duty and patriotic faith. Knox recognised these facts and faced them nobly; Buchanan on the whole took them coolly and with many grains of salt. He was "of good religion for a poet," says Sir James Melville of Halhill. The religious reformer is not made of such stuff. While Buchanan has exercised influence on Scottish literature and on political theories, he cannot fairly be described as a great force in the Scottish Reformation. In his way, he offers the Humanist foil to Knox, as Erasmus did to Luther.

H. M. B. R.

XI.

Buchanan as a Political Philosopher.

DOES Buchanan deserve a place among political philosophers?— was the question I asked myself on receiving the urgent request of the editor to deal with this subject in this memorial volume. On reflection, I had no difficulty in answering the question in the affirmative,— with certain reservations. The influence as well as the contents of his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* amply justifies his biographers in adding this to his other claims to distinction. The *De Jure* is one of the few specimens of political reflection which was as popular with the reading public of its time, and for several generations afterwards, as is to-day a volume of Scott, Macaulay, or Carlyle. It was, indeed, written in Latin, but it found several translators, although it ran into numerous editions in the original; and, whether in its Latin or English form, it became, especially in the seventeenth century, a *Vade Mecum* to those who in Scotland and England were engaged in the struggle for political rights against the Stewart kings. Mere popularity is not necessarily the test of true distinction in an author, but it is at least significant of the influence of his work, and from this point of view Buchanan certainly merits a very distinguished place among writers who have discussed the principles of politics. The *De Jure* was an inspiration to political action, as well as a text-book of political science, to several generations of Scotsmen and Englishmen. It furnished both Covenanters and Puritans with theoretic arguments in vindication of the rights which they defended or the demands they made. All through the Covenanting struggle it was quoted as a sort of oracle by many a strenuous, though long-forgotten pamphleteer, and even Milton has been accused, with exaggeration no doubt, of stealing his *Defence of the People of England* from its pages. On its publication in 1579 it was hailed by Buchanan's literary friends both at home and abroad with enthusiastic commendations. A still more emphatic evidence of its importance in the eyes of

contemporaries is the depreciation which it earned in rich measure from the champions of absolutism. Its author came in for a liberal share of vituperation, as well as refutation, at their hands throughout the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century. Nay, it encountered the bitter hostility not only of James VI., for whose benefit it was more particularly written, but of his three successors on the Scottish throne down to the revolution of 1688. It was signalled out for condemnation in more than one Act of the Scottish Parliament and Privy Council throughout these hundred years, and from these Acts alone we might adduce sufficient proof both of the eminence of its author as a political writer and the practical power of his work. If only in view of this fact, Buchanan must be assigned a place of honour in every history of modern political thought alongside that of the author of the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, with whom, in respect of numerous editions and readers, he may fairly compete.

Nevertheless, his place is not exactly beside that of Bodin or Hobbes or Montesquieu. I have said that I think him entitled to distinction as a political philosopher,—with certain reservations. What reservations? He possessed neither the historic erudition nor the scientific spirit of Bodin or Montesquieu; he had not the philosophic penetration or depth (or for the matter of that, the sophistry) of Hobbes. Bodin, and especially Montesquieu, could also rejoice in many editions. They were, like Buchanan, widely read and extensively quoted, whilst Hobbes sank into a long and undeserved obscurity. They, too, like Buchanan, exerted in their own generation a powerful influence on political thought, even of the practical kind. But their greatness as political thinkers was entirely independent of the factor of many editions and readers. They were great enough, in respect of originality and profundity, to rank with these giants of thought who, like Hobbes and Spinoza, were little read or ignored by an unsympathetic or conventional age. Like them, they could afford to wait throughout the silence and contempt of the centuries for that recognition of real grandeur, which is sure to come sooner or later, but which is too often denied to profound genius in its own day. To this kind of superlative greatness in the domain of political thought Buchanan could lay no claim. What he succeeded in doing was to provide a theoretic vindication of the revolution of 1567, which had the fortune to express in forcible language the strong points of the policy of a certain party, and to contribute in this way to the assertion and the

ultimate triumph of the principles which that party represented in the struggle against the impossible rule of Queen Mary and the equally impossible rule of Charles I., Charles II., and James VII.¹ This was, indeed, a notable achievement, worthy of generous commemoration, and Buchanan is entitled to an enthusiastic tribute for the message to Scotland and to humanity which enabled him, being dead, to speak to generation after generation of his struggling countrymen. But he was hardly an original genius in political speculation. He was indebted to others for many of the thoughts which he forcibly applied to the occasion, and which came to him from the mediæval thinkers through John Major. The schoolmen, I suppose, he, as an emancipated humanist, had not the patience to read, and no sane mortal, who values his time and hates mediæval dry-as-dustism, will blame him for this lack of patience. To Major he seems to have been more directly indebted for the bold democratic ideas to which he gave so fearless and trenchant expression, though it is to be regretted that he allowed his impatience of the dry-as-dust lucubrations of his worthy St. Andrews professor to make him forget the fact in his caustic pleasantries at his expense. His performance has high merits, keeping in view the object of it. It made a tremendous and long-sustained impression. It exposed, in pointed and nervous argument, the fallacious Stuart assumption that a people is bound to obey a ruler, even if he rules against its interest and governs the nation to ruin, as Queen Mary, with her impulsive temperament, threatened to do. But to assert that it did more than this, as some of his panegyrists do, is to impair his reputation by assuming a purpose which he himself would have disowned. Dr. Irving, for instance, opines that the *De Jure* is "a most profound and masterly compendium of political philosophy." Nay, it is "an immortal production." To one who has studied Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, Montesquieu, such judgments are sheer extravagances. Moreover, they are unfair to Buchanan, who would only have failed of his purpose had he attempted to write a compendium of political philosophy, and who was bent mainly on showing the untenableness and the absurdity of the theory which assumes that the king is above the law and denies the right of the subject to call him to account in case of tyranny. In this purpose he succeeded admirably, for the *De Jure*, if not a monument of political speculation, is one of the most effective working theories ever penned. He himself in his prefatory epistle to King James is

¹ i.e. James II. of England.

careful to emphasise its practical character. "This treatise," he says, "I have sent you not merely as a monitor, but also as an importunate and even impudent dun, that in this critical time of life it may guide you beyond the rocks of flattery, and not only give you advice, but also keep you in the road which you so happily entered, and in case of any deviation, replace you in the line of your duty." In the exordium we learn that his purpose was, further, to exculpate his countrymen from the indignant aspersions of hostile foreign critics by setting forth the principles underlying the action of the revolutionists of 1567.

The *De Jure* bears evident traces of the humanist sympathies of its author. It is not only the work of an elegant Latinist; it is inspired by the noblest traditions of ancient liberty. Buchanan might be described as an enthusiastic champion of the political rights of man, who, if he borrows many of his ideas from the schoolmen, draws his inspiration largely from the classic writers. He loves to hold up the picture of ancient simplicity in the midst of what is to him the tinsel of a modern court. His model king is taken from Claudian, while Cicero and Seneca, Plato and Aristotle supply him with some of his arguments against tyrants. He thinks as an ancient, and his thought is kindled by the noblest utterances of the mighty literature which he has assimilated so sympathetically. And yet he is sanely modern. Unlike many of his fellow-humanists, he does not despise or under-rate the traditions and the history of his own country. The legends of the obscure period of Scottish history, in which he believes too credulously, furnish him indeed with more forcible arguments against tyranny than even the historians and philosophers of Greece or Rome. He is a humanist, but he is a Scotsman as well, and he does not deem it beneath his dignity to cite Robert Bruce as well as Philip of Macedon, or some humble native chronicler, who wrote monk Latin, as well as Cicero, to prove that the people is the virtual sovereign of the state.

The *De Jure* is in some respects a notable example of the emancipating influence of the Renascence on political thought. Though its author takes many of his ideas from the scholastic writers and cannot, therefore, be regarded as an original thinker, his horizon is by no means bounded by the middle ages. Like Machiavelli and More, he has shaken himself free from the baneful method of looking at politics through theological spectacles. The schoolmen appealed largely to the Scriptures and to canon law in their discussions of political questions. To them the Bible was a

text-book of political science as well as a revelation. They assumed that it was the supreme arbiter on questions of politics as well as theology, and that history and reason were subordinate judges in these matters. Even the Reformation did not materially affect this assumption, and Protestant writers on politics, like the author of the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, continued to draw their arguments in favour of the right of resisting a persecuting prince largely from Scripture. Humanists like Machiavelli and More, on the other hand, who wrote on politics, strove to emancipate themselves from the scholastic conception which saw in the Bible what the Bible does not profess to be—a criterion of political and philosophical questions. In Buchanan, too, this free tendency is very marked. Though, as I have said, he borrowed, evidently through Major, a number of ideas from the schoolmen, he emancipated himself from their narrowness and their pedantry. Like them, indeed, he is not a strictly scientific political thinker in the sense of the more modern historic school, of which his contemporary Bodin is the first great representative. The first part of the *De Jure* is, for instance, greatly weakened by an unfortunate proneness to substitute mere analogy for scientific research. It is by way of analogy, not of historic investigation, that he reaches the institution of the kingship. As the human body, reasons he, is liable to disease, so is the body politic to dissolution, and to forestall this fate, it, like the human body, requires the care of a physician. This is the function of the king. Hence the kingship. Moreover the relation of king and people is of the same nature as that of physician and patient, and if we understand the business of a physician, we shall rightly know the duty of a king. This may be good analogy; it is very lame political philosophy, and in this respect it must be admitted that the argumentation of the *De Jure* is not convincing. Buchanan, in fact, does not, in such reasonings, carry us one step beyond the scholastic habit of merely philosophising or moralising on politics, instead of investigating in accordance with the historic, truly scientific method.

But this weakness is not preeminent, and as he proceeds he displays the spirit of critical independence characteristic of Renaissance writers like Machiavelli and More. He gives full rein to his reason, and his reasonings, though at times savouring of mere syllogisms, are often acute and forcible. Space will not allow me to enlarge on this point. Take, however, as an example of the appeal to reason,—the tendency to subject traditional political dogma

to the test of common sense,—the query whether a number of men, in resolving to institute a king, could ever have been so mad as to subject themselves to one man with unlimited power to do them harm ; or take the query why good kings should resent the punishment of a tyrant any more than a fraternity of craftsmen that of an unworthy member.

Equally characteristic is the appeal to history. He does not, indeed, systematically investigate and compare historic data, for his purpose is not to write a scientific treatise on politics like the *Republic* of Bodin, or the *Esprit des Loix* of Montesquieu. But he does attempt to substantiate his arguments by appeals to history, and in this respect he shows at least that he can discriminate between arguments based on analogy and arguments based on historic fact. His early Scottish history may be to a certain extent fabulous, but he is on the right track when he appeals to the old Scottish chronicles to strengthen his argument that the early kingship was elective and not hereditary, and that the power of the king was "circumscribed and confined to fixed limits." And even if we must strike off a good many of the Celtic kings from that bulky list which, in his *History of Scotland*, enables him to boast of an origin of the Scottish kingdom several centuries before Christ, we should not forget that recent modern research has tended to substantiate his contention that the primitive kingship among the Celts (or among the Teutons or other Aryan peoples, for that matter) was, as a rule, elective and strictly limited. As an example of his use of the historic method, take the following passage in which he labours to persuade Maitland of the truth of the grand thesis of his work, viz., that the king is inferior to the law and, as the maker of the law and the virtual sovereign of the state, is responsible to the people : " We contend that the people, from whence our kings derive whatever power they claim, is paramount to our kings ; and that the commonalty has the same jurisdiction over them which they have over any individual of the commonalty. The usages of all nations that live under legal kings are in our favour ; and all states that obey kings of their own election in common adopt the opinion that whatever right the people may have granted to an individual, it may, for just reason, also re-demand. For this is an inalienable privilege that all communities must have always retained. Accordingly Lentulus, for having conspired with Catiline to overturn the republic, was forced to resign the praetorship ; and the decemvirs, the founders of the laws, though invested with the supreme magistracy,

were degraded ; and some Venetian doges, and Chilperic, King of the Franks, after being stripped of every imperial badge, grew old as private persons in monasteries ; and not long ago, Christian, king of the Danes, ended his life in prison twenty years after he had been dethroned. Nay, even the dictatorship, which was a species of despotism, was still subordinate to the power of the people. . . . I could enumerate twelve or more of our kings, who, for their villainy or flagitiousness, were either condemned to perpetual imprisonment or escaped the punishment due to their crimes by exile or death. But that none may allege that I produce antique and obsolete precedents, if I should mention the Calens, Ewens, and Ferchars, I shall go back for a few examples no further than the memory of our fathers. James III. was, in a public assembly of all the orders, declared to have been justly slain for his extreme cruelty to his relations, and for the enormous turpitude of his life," etc.

Not less suggestive of the humanist spirit is the absence of the theological element which mars the wearisome disquisitions of the schoolmen. He does not altogether ignore the evidence of Scripture. Maitland, for instance, appeals to the Bible as teaching that submission is due even to a tyrant, and instances Paul who commanded Christians to pray even for such tyrants as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero. Buchanan digresses in order to meet this objection. To pray for even a bad prince, retorts he, does not oblige us not to resist him. Besides Paul (and Milton subsequently borrows the argument) meant not to inculcate submission to tyranny, but to controvert the extreme views of those who denied that Christians owed allegiance to the civil power. This might or might not be scientific exegesis. It was at all events reasonable, and Buchanan, though he speaks with reverence of the testimony of the sacred writers and takes account of it, evidently does not believe that Scripture gives any conclusive decision in such matters. At anyrate he rightly assumes that it is at the bar of national history in the first place, and general history in the second place that the true decision must be sought, and the *De Jure* deserves the merit of being a skilful plea from both these sources in favour of limited, legal government as against tyranny.

Buchanan's unpardonable sin, in the eyes of his royalist opponents, is his doctrine of tyrannicide. It was this that more particularly excited the ire of James VI. and provoked the repeated condemnation of the Scottish Parliament under Stuart auspices.

His teaching on this point is indeed very explicit, but it was not intended to justify anarchy or assassination. Buchanan in fact felt a sincere reverence for monarchy, though he had no patience with kingly misgovernment, or anything but the hottest indignation for the slavish theory of divine right, irresponsible rule. He extols a good king, whom he allows in some sort to represent the divine majesty. He reveres his office, though he dislikes the extravagant parade of royal pomp, and bids Maitland remember the kings of Macedonia and Sparta who would not appear at a levée "dressed in idle show, like a girl's doll, in all the colours of the rainbow." He exalts in a passage of lofty eloquence the noble function of a truly great monarch, who has nothing to fear from subjection to the laws, which he administers for the people's interest, and gains thereby the loyalty and affection of his subjects. In contrast to this model ruler he pictures the tyrant, and, in his insistence on the right to kill a tyrant, he conceives a ruler who drives his subjects to desperation by his oppressions, and is, in fact, in a state of war with regard to them. Granted the compact between ruler and subject, which Buchanan, like all sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, assumes, its systematic encroachment by a king who becomes a tyrant frees the people from its obligation. This tyrant then becomes an enemy, and the people are justified in waging war against him. Nay, even the individual may kill him. His type of tyrant, it must be borne in mind, was evidently a Caligula, a Nero—that is, an incorrigible and infatuated oppressor. Maitland expostulates on the dangerous import of this teaching, and adduces the evils of anarchy. Legitimate kings, returns Buchanan, have nothing to fear from this doctrine. "Besides," he adds, "I here explain how far our power and duty extend by law, but do not advise the enforcement of either." He was not, in fact, solely responsible for the doctrine, for it had exponents in both ancient and mediæval times. With him tyrannicide is the theoretic remedy applicable to the contingency of the flagitious contravention of the contract between ruler and ruled, as exemplified by a Nero, a Caligula. In such a case, the nation being in a state of war, the sooner the tyrant is despatched the better. The party which Buchanan championed had at all events stopped short at the deposition of their queen, and James VI. need not have felt his life or his throne in jeopardy because his old tutor taught that a Nero or a Caligula might legitimately be put to death by an outraged people. The modern dogma of the responsibility of ministers might have suggested a

safer and an equally effective mode of procedure. The idea does not seem to have suggested itself to him, for in this matter his mind moved more in the realm of ancient than of modern thought.

A word in conclusion on the general tendency of the work as indicative of the moral and mental elevation of the writer. No one can read it without being thrilled by the fine spirit of independence, the glowing appreciation of political liberty, the hatred of injustice, the dislike of courtly sycophaney, the high sense of the importance of the popular welfare, which breathe throughout its animated pages. If this is a specimen of Buchanan's conversation on this high theme, it must indeed have been a rare privilege to be counted among his intimate friends. That James VI. did not relish it is not surprising, but this lack of appreciation is to be attributed to the Stuart tendency to resent constitutional control and even well-meant advice, rather than to anything justly offensive to limited monarchy in the book itself.

J. M.



JAMES I.

(From the engraving in Volume I. of the 1722 edition of Buchanan's 'History'.)

XII.

Buchanan as a Historian.¹

IF we expect to find in the pages of George Buchanan's *History* the treatment of history after the manner of a Gibbon or a Lecky, we shall most certainly be doomed to meet with disappointment. We must bear in mind that in his day history had not been converted into a science, and in all justice we must make liberal allowances accordingly; but in no disparaging spirit, be it said, for we are ever conscious that we are regarding the work of a great scholar.

Buchanan is more of the chronicler than the historian in the present day acceptation. The value of his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* depends on its accuracy as a chronicle, and that is the point of view from which we must regard it. In such a case we have to take the character of the author into our consideration; granted an unwarrantable proceeding if applied to modern historical work, where the personal equation should not intrude. Here we have the most learned Scotsman of his day, a man with a recognised European fame, the friend of most of the outstanding men of the period at home and abroad, occupying an exalted position in his own land as the outcome of his own worth. Is it not but just, under these circumstances, to assume that he would in his *History* give the best of his knowledge, and keep veracity full in his view, especially when dealing with the period which fell within his own ken? Buchanan must have been conscious that the eyes of Europe would be directed to his work; in fact we can be sure of it when he elected to write in Latin and not in the vernacular. It has been said that Buchanan modelled his *History* upon that of Livy and Sallust; only to a limited extent is the statement true, for Buchanan had distinctly his own style. Even Bishop

¹ Where extracts have been given from the History, the Translation by Aikman has been used.

Burnet made the statement "that his style is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things so solid, that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors."

The Epistle Dedicatory to King James the Sixth says: "I have considered it my next duty to apply to that species of writing, calculated to improve the mind, that I might, as much as possible, supply my own deficiency, by sending to you faithful monitors from history, whose counsel may be useful in your deliberations, and their virtues patterns for imitation in active life." It is interesting to observe the value Buchanan placed upon history when he suggested that it was no uncertain guide to those at the head of a state. This is in rather sharp contrast with the recent attack on history by a distinguished scientist who spoke with something akin to contempt of those who 'still believing that the teaching and sayings of antiquity, and the contemplation, not to say the detailed enumeration, of the blunders and crimes of its ancestors, can furnish mankind with the knowledge necessary for its future progress.' The opinion of one who was a historian and also played his part in the affairs of state commands greater respect.

The first book of Buchanan's *History* consists of a general description of Scotland. This book has no doubt a marked value through its being the personal observation of one who has had his eyes opened by the view of other lands and is made conscious of the particular features of his own. In the description of the Western Isles, he states, he was assisted by Donald Munroe, "a pious and diligent man." Some of the passages in this book have a notable charm,—for instance, in the reference to the Shetlanders' manner of living:—"They are unacquainted with inebriety, but they invite each other, once a month, to their houses, and spend these days cheerfully, and moderately, without those quarrels, and other mischiefs, which usually spring from drunkenness; and they are persuaded, that this custom tends to cherish and perpetuate mutual friendship. An instance of their firm vigorous health was exhibited in our own day, in the person of a man named Lawrence, who married a wife in his hundredth year, and who, at the age of one hundred and forty, braving the roughest sea, was accustomed to go to the fishing in his own skiff. He died but lately, not cut off by the stroke of any painful disease, but dismissed gently by the gradual decay of old age."

The second book deals with the problem of the origin of the Scottish race. Perhaps Buchanan would never have written this book in such detail if it had not been for his burning desire "to slay with ink" the Welsh antiquary, Humphrey Lloyd. The fight in our eyes now-a-days is most amusing; in it Buchanan proved, whatever else he lacked, that he was the master of invective. Subsequent history furnishes the underlying purpose. Buchanan and Hector Boece and others sought to prove the antiquity of their nation, as they desired the reverence due to Age; they resented the claim of their English neighbours to an origin as early. Buchanan in the third book, by an appeal to classic authors, puts his enemies to flight.

The fourth book starts the *History* proper. Here Buchanan follows in the wake of Boece, but shews more discretion in dealing with the long line of legendary kings of Scotland. Much severe criticism has been expended on this list of kings, but perhaps all that can be pronounced in way of a safe verdict is "Not Proven." We have to remember that Buchanan had doubtless access to manuscripts, of the existence of which we know nothing to-day; this also applies to other parts of his work. How we would view the material used by Buchanan in the present day is another matter, as it would be rash to assert that he only borrowed from Fordun and Boece. If, for instance, the MSS. of Adamnan concerning Saint Columba had been lost, how gloriously sceptical some historians would have been with regard to any tale about him, and in the account of these kings how much is false, how much true, may never be known.

We shall pass over the succeeding pages till we arrive at the period of Wallace and Bruce. These great heroes lose nothing of their greatness at this historian's hand. Their story is told with vivid force. The hero-worship of Wallace and Bruce in our own time is largely due to the influence of Buchanan, who, by his able pen, securely shrined them in the just affection of their fellow-countrymen. His summing-up of the character of Wallace and of Bruce will remain classic in the history of our country. Of Wallace he writes:—"About the same time, Wallace, betrayed by his own familiar friend, John Monteith, who had been corrupted by English money, was taken in the county of Lanark, where he then lurked, and sent to London,

where, by the infamous command of Edward, he was quartered, and his disjointed members hung up in the most remarkable places of England and Scotland, as a terror to others. Such was the end of a man, by far the most pre-eminent in the times in which he lived, who for greatness of soul in undertaking, and wisdom and fortitude in conducting perilous enterprises, may be compared with the most illustrious leaders of antiquity. In love of his country, inferior to none of the most eminent ancient patriots, amid the general slavery, HE stood alone unsubdued and free, and neither could rewards induce, nor terrors force him to desert the public cause, which he had once undertaken, and his death was the more grievous, because, unconquered by his enemies, he fell, betrayed by those from whom it was least to be expected." Of Bruce he says:—"Robert Bruce, to express much in few words, was undoubtedly, in every point of view, a great man, and one to whom, from the heroic ages even to these times, we shall find few comparable in every species of virtue. As he was brave in war, so he was moderate in peace; and although unexpected success, and a constant flow of victory, after fortune was satiated, or rather fatigued with his sufferings, elevated him to the most splendid pinnacle of glory, yet, he appears to me far more admirable in adversity. What strength of mind did he display, when, assailed at once by so many misfortunes, he not only was not broken, but not even bent! Whose constancy would it not have shaken, to have had a wife captive, four heroic brothers cruelly murdered, his friends afflicted with every species of distress, they who escaped death robbed and driven away, and he himself, not only stripped of an ample patrimony, but of a kingdom, by the most powerful, active, and ablest prince of the age? Yet, beset with all these calamities at once, and reduced to the extremity of want, never did he despair, or do or say any thing unworthy of a king. He neither, like Cato the younger, nor Marcus Brutus, offered violence to himself, nor did he, like Marius, enraged by his misfortunes, wreak his vengeance on his enemies. But having recovered his pristine station, he behaved towards those who had caused him so much travail, as if he only remembered that he was now their sovereign, not that they had ever been his enemies; and at last, at the close of life, when a grievous distemper was added to the troubles of old age, he retained so much self-possession, that he arranged the present state of the

kingdom, and consulted for the tranquillity of his posterity! With justice was his death lamented by his people, not only as that of an upright king, but of a loving father."

Reference has been made to the speeches Buchanan places to the credit of some personages in his *History*; of this a very notable instance may be found in the speech of Bishop Kennedy to the nobles against the expediency of appointing the queen-mother as the Regent during the minority of James III. The oration consists of a lengthy reasoning why women are unfit to govern a nation. He taunts the nobles with being mere flatterers who desired the queen as Regent, and with concealing their real sentiments. "To assist in the public deliberations of parliament, to preside in the courts of justice, to enact or to abrogate laws, these duties, although each important in itself, yet form only a small portion of a public administration. Why, therefore, do they not bring their wives to consult with us? to sit in judgment? to draw up, or oppose our statutes? Why do they not stay at home themselves to manage their domestic affairs, and send their ladies to the camp?" Kennedy (?) then proceeds to make it quite clear that he speaks not of the queen in particular, but of her sex in general to whom he pays a gallant tribute. "When I say a woman, lest any should imagine I speak contumeliously, I mean one on whom nature has bestowed many enchanting qualities, and most delightful accomplishments, allayed, it is true, as all her loveliest and most precious gifts are, by a delicate weakness, which, rendering her less able to protect herself, doubles her claims upon the protection of another, and, therefore, our laws, in obedience to the dictates of nature, instead of burdening the female with the fatigue of government, has intrusted her, during life, to the successive care of fathers, brothers, and husbands. Nor is this intended as a reproach, but as a relief; for to be prevented from undertaking tasks for which they are unfit, is a tribute paid to their modesty, not an affront detracting from their honour." The learned Bishop then proceeded to make an appeal to history, in support of his various arguments. "If any of you imagine that I suppose a fictitious case, let him recollect what disturbance the reign of Joan lately occasioned at Naples. Look into ancient history—I shall not mention Semiramis of Assyria, nor Laodice of Cappadocia, these were monsters, and not women—see the

celebrated Zenobia of Palmyra, victorious over the Parthians, the rival of imperial Rome, at last vanquished, and carried in triumph, and the kingdom which had been increased and adorned by her husband Odenatus, overturned in a moment!" The deliverance seems to have borne fruit in the amicable settlement of the question. Was this speech made for Kennedy by Buchanan, and if so was it justifiable to do so? As we look on things to-day, the answer must be an emphatic 'no.' There is justice, however, looking at the matter from Buchanan's point of view. In the days of Kennedy there were no press reporters, and Buchanan could argue the matter that the facts were these: that the queen wanted to become Regent in this and was supported by some of the nobles, the Archbishop of St. Andrews made a speech against such an arrangement, his line of argument must have been that the queen was unfit by reason of her sex for the post. Then the speech was easy,—for Buchanan. The strongest objection lies in the fact that the address reflects too markedly the personal opinions of the recorder. Buchanan shared the views of Knox regarding the "*Monstrous Regiment of Women*" and their incapacity to rule. Perhaps, four hundred years after the birth of Buchanan, statesmen may be found inclined to pray that another Kennedy of persuasive eloquence might arise.

When Buchanan's *History* reaches the period from the reign of James IV., it holds for the reader a new interest, as it is, more or less, a contemporary account of events with which the writer was familiar; it is the story of one of the most momentous epochs in Scottish history.

Buchanan has given us a most interesting account of the fatal Field of Flodden, which cost Scotland a king and the best of her nobility; he was seven years old at the time, and would most likely remember listening to the news of the disaster. Often has the story of that day of woe been retold, in legend and in song, but never with much more pride and sorrow, than Buchanan evinced when he said: "Such was the celebrated battle of Flodden, remarkable among the few overthrows of the Scots, not so much for the number of the slain—for often double the number perished in their battles—as for the destruction of the king and the principal nobility, which left few remaining capable of governing the multitude . . . James, as he was greatly beloved while alive, so when dead his memory was

cherished with an affection beyond what I have ever read, or heard of being entertained for any other king."

The charge has often been laid to Buchanan of being far too partisan in his estimates of his contemporaries; Cardinal Beaton is a favourite showpiece to prove the contention. Buchanan was but human, and nothing else should be claimed for him. Let a historian be driven from pillar to post by a Jesuit 'gang' and get a turn of the joys of the Inquisition; if he could write of the man that was responsible for his troubles, as though they had not been, then we could safely say of him 'he is a god and not a man.' Recent facts which have come to light all tend to show that Buchanan was not so frequently in error as his critics have often sought to prove.

The chief point of interest in this history has always centred round the account of the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots. It is not to be looked for that this battle-ground will soon be deserted, we might say never as long as Reformed and Unreformed faiths remain. You cannot look for an appreciation of Buchanan's History from those who would fain hail her as "St. Mary of Scotland, the Martyr," or yet, from those who seem to regard the Reformation as a "sort of mistake," or again, from sentimentalists whose enthusiasm for the "fair queen" is usually in inverse ratio to their knowledge. Some enlightened beings tell us that Buchanan by his *History* and *Detectio* proved how basely ingrate he was to his queen. Why? The question usually causes some confusion. Of a truth, he read Latin with her and did some translating for the court; it is reasonable to expect he would get payment. He got that payment from the Abbey of Crossraguel to the amount of four to five hundred pounds Scots (£41 13s 4d stg.); that was due to him at least, but not always did he get it paid to him. There is thus no evidence that Buchanan was under any obligation to Mary.

Whatever faults Buchanan had, he was no time-server, and what he wrote in his history, or in "ANE DETECTIOUN of the DOINGIS of MARIE QUENE of Scottis, twiching The Murther of hir Husband; And hir Conspiracie, Adulterie, and pretensit Mariage with the Erle Bothwell," he wrote what he felt convinced was true. We cannot suspect Archbishop Spottiswood of being unduly favourable to Buchanan, yet, his

estimate is singularly just when he says:—"His bitterness also in writing of the queen and troubles of that time all wise men have disliked. But, otherwise no man did better merit of his nation for learning, nor thereby did bring it to more glory." The Archbishop is right; it may be a question of manners, it is not one of truth. The *Detectio* has been incorporated with the *History*, and therefore falls within the scope of our subject. A recent writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* states: "A scholar and a humanist should not stoop to collect the tittle-tattle of the kitchen. He should not listen with an avid ear to the voice of malice. It is consonant neither with learning nor chivalry to insult a woman and a queen. The guilt or innocence of Mary does not palliate or enhance the crime of Buchanan." We take notice of this, as such statements regarding Buchanan are frequently made, and the example given furnishes the point of their usual trend and weakness also. We have to measure the work in the light of, not the twentieth century, but of the sixteenth century; most important of all we must keep in mind the purpose of the book. The *Detectio* was an official publication, and the relation of Buchanan to it is that of a counsel for the prosecution; therefore with equal relevancy we may bring home the charge of 'malice,' lack of 'chivalry,' etc., to any counsel who strives to bring proof of guilt against any woman, calling at the same time his carefully reasoned indictment the 'tittle-tattle of the kitchen,' as though he were responsible for the want of moral cleanness in the charge. If Buchanan were unjust and biased against Mary, why did he write the long, clear account of her dispatch to France after her marriage to Bothwell, which forms the best vindication of her in existence?

With the death of the Regent Lennox, Buchanan's *History* draws to a close. We could well wish that it had continued into the time of Morton, as our historian would doubtless have had something of note to say regarding that statesman.

We have endeavoured to give an account of the principal features of Buchanan's work, and shall now strive to find its place in the historical world. The *History* had not long seen the light, when James the Sixth, of blessed memory, found it necessary to publish an Act of Parliament regarding it, which was as follows:—" . . . Attoure, because it is understand and to his Hienes, and to his three Estaites that the buikes of

the Chronicle, and *De jure regni apud Scotos*, made umquhile, Maister GEORGE BUCHANANE, and imprented sensine, conteinis sindrie offensive matters, worthie to be delecte: IT IS THEIRFORE statute and ordained, that the havers of the saidis twa volumes in their handes, inbring, and deliver the same to my Lord Secretare, or his deputes, within fourtie daycs, after the publication hereof, to the effect, that the saidis volumes may bec perused, and purged of the offensive, and extraordinarie matters specified theirin, not meete to remaine as Recordes of tructh to the posteritie, under the paine of twa hundreth pundes, of evcrie person failzieing heirin. And quhair ony ar not responsal to pay the said summe, to be punished in their persones, at OUR SOVERAINE LORDIS will. And to the effect, that this ordinance may cum to the knowledge of all OUR SOVERAINE LORDIS Lieges, ordainis publication to be maid heirof, at the mercat croce of the head Burrowes of the Schires, and utheris places needeful, That nane pretcnd ignorance theirof; And the penaltie contened theirin, to be executed with all rigour against the havers of the saidis buikes, the said space of fourty dayes being by-past, after the publication, and proclamation of the said Act in every Schire, as said is." Government again took notice of Buchanan's Writings in the year 1638, when in front of Oxford University they were burnt by the common hangman; this must be regarded as an honour and a testimony to the truth they contain; kings and states do not give orders to have books destroyed unless they have reason to fear the TRUTH. Scotland may feel justly proud of two of her sons, George Buchanan and Samuel Rutherford, who by their teaching influenced the nation, and which ultimately led to the formation of our present model British Constitution.

The testimony of nearly all Buchanan's contemporaries is one of enthusiasm for his *History*, though an adverse criticism was expressed by Sir James Melville in the words that 'in his (Buchanan's) auld dayes he was become slepcric and cairless.' The value of this judgment is answered by the *History* itself, which does not show the alleged faults. In the generations following, the principles embodied in the *History* had the warm approval of such men as Milton and Dryden. It was but natural that the succeeding years, in harmony with the spirit of the age, should adopt a more critical standpoint with

regard to the *History*. We find it therefore under a somewhat severe review at the hands of such men as Lord Hailes and Pinkerton. The nineteenth century being *par excellence* the era of critical research, the discriminating erudition of Tytler and Burton was brought to bear on the subject without very much astray being discerned. Burton, in his *History of Scotland*, sums up his opinion thus:—"It has become the practice with some writers to disbelieve everything said by Buchanan. Great part of his *History* is doubtless fabulous, and when he comes to the controversies in which he took part, he was too strong a partisan to be impartial." We can well believe that the shade of Buchanan, if speech were possible, would, not without justice, apply to his critics the phrase he used to Lloyd:

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

If historians in their judgments of other historians are not generous, who should be?

We have now to try and form an estimate of the value of Buchanan's *History* at the present year of grace. We have said that last century was the period of criticism, and to that we might add, of the desire for scientific exactness in all the various forms of human thought and activity,—the application to Holy Writ or to the life of a microbe. If we judge thus early of what the temper of this century shall be, we might call it one of precision, though we may be conscious that life may become a soulless thing if we become too analytical in our modes of thought. Pygmalion may carve the form so nearly divine, but it requires the god to give it life. We may be able to construct a history, a very exact history, from State Papers, but when it is done, surely it will lack something—colour or life, shall we call it? We cannot do without Buchanan's *History*, or any other record which faithfully delineates the period which has fallen under the recorder's personal knowledge; its worth lies in the individual note which is struck and which nothing impersonal can supply. In our age and in succeeding time, Buchanan's *History* must find an honoured place, in so far as it is the account of a great period of history seen through a great man's eyes. He, doubtless, would be bold who asserted that the *History* was without fault, for there are errors of chronology, a want of due sense of proportion between detail and the main theme, but, surely, we can overlook all that by reason of its greatness otherwise.

XIII.

Les tragédies religieuses de Buchanan.

BUCHANAN dit lui-même, dans une de ses *Lettres*,¹ qu'il avait traduit la *Médée* d'Euripide, non pour la publier, mais pour se perfectionner dans l'étude du grec, et qu'il dut, pour céder aux importunes sollicitations de ses amis, la faire paraître, alors qu'il enseignait les lettres latines à Bordeaux et qu'il était forcé de fournir chaque année une pièce qui devait être représentée par les élèves. Il ajoute que, bon nombre de négligences lui étant échappées, il remania sa tragédie quelques années plus tard, guérissant certaines blessures, mais de telle sorte que les cicatrices paraissent encore çà et là (*quedam in ea vulnera ita sanavi ut adhuc cicatrices alicubi appareant*). La *Médée*, corrigée, parut avec l'*Alceste* chez Henri Estienne, en 1567.

L'*Alceste* avait déjà été publiée seule, en 1557, chez Michel Vascosan, précédée d'une préface très laudative à l'illustrissime princesse Marguerite, sœur d'Henri II., roi de France. L'auteur ne dit rien de l'année où l'*Alceste* fut représentée au Collège de Guyenne.

Il n'est pas utile d'insister sur les deux tragédies empruntées par Buchanan à Euripide : ce sont " d'élégantes traductions," dit Patin, bon juge en la matière.²

Les pièces originales méritent qu'on s'y arrête plus longuement. La première œuvre de Buchanan, composée à Bordeaux et jouée au Collège de Guyenne, ne fut publiée qu'en 1578. Thomas Ruddiman, qui a procuré l'édition complète des œuvres de Buchanan donnée à Leyde en 1725, ne connaît que le *Baptistes* imprimé à Edinburgh en 1578.³ La Bibliothèque

¹ *Epistola* xxvii. Georgius Buchananus Danieli Rogersio, Edinburgi, 9 Nov. 1579 (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 755).

² Patin, *Etudes sur les tragiques grecs*, Paris, édit. de 1866, vol. III., p. 221.

³ *Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. I., note 36 de la *Vita*.

municipale de Bordeaux possède un exemplaire d'une édition publiée à Londres la même année.¹ Dans une dédicace de quelques lignes, écrite à Stirling le 1^{er} novembre 1576, et adressée au jeune Jacques VI., âgé de dix ans, dont il était alors le précepteur, Buchanan expliquait à son illustre élève que le *Baptistes* était la première pièce qu'il eût composée, jadis, pour d'autres élèves, des jeunes gens qu'il s'agissait de ramener à l'imitation de l'antiquité en ranimant chez eux les sentiments d'une piété très attaquée en ce temps-là. Il ajoutait que de cette tragédie se dégage un enseignement précieux pour un roi qui ne doit pas s'abandonner à de mauvais conseillers.

En 1586, Brisset, sieur de Sauvage, faisait preuve de saine critique littéraire en réunissant dans un même volume de traductions, publié à Tours, l'*Hercule furieux*, l'*Agamemnon* et le *Thyeste* de Sénèque, l'*Octavie*, œuvre d'un imitateur inconnu du poète philosophe, et le *Baptiste* de Buchanan. Cette tragédie procède, en effet, aussi bien que l'*Octavie*, de la manière théâtrale de Sénèque.

Le spectateur voit, tout d'abord, s'avancer sur la scène un personnage qui développe les théories et expose les plaintes du poète. C'est le *Prologus*, cet acteur que Térence chargeait de défendre ses pièces où il ne lui donnait aucun rôle. Dans ce discours polémique, rédigé suivant la formule des prologues de l'écrivain latin, Buchanan se plaint aigrement des critiques, plus clairvoyants que Lyncée à découvrir les défauts de la tragédie d'un auteur, incapables eux-mêmes d'en composer une. Qu'on remette au théâtre un sujet ancien, que l'on imagine une fable nouvelle, les censeurs blâment et désapprouvent toujours. Dédaigneux de ces envieux sans loyauté, le poète s'adresse à l' " *æstimator candidus* " ; celui-ci pourra voir, à son gré, dans *Baptistes* une pièce moderne ou une pièce antique ; car, si l'action de la tragédie se passe il y a bien des siècles, la calomnie qui en fait le fond se renouvelle chaque jour.²

¹ BAPTISTES, sive Calumnia, tragoedia, auctore Georgio BUCHANANO SCOTO, LONDINI. Et prostant Antuerpiæ, apud Iacobum Henricium, MDLXXVIII. (64 pp. in-16).

² *Baptistes* (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., pp. 215-252).

V. 42 :

Porro vocare fabulam veterem aut novam
Per me licebit cuique pro arbitrio suo . . .

V. 48 :

Nam, donec hominum genus erit, semper novæ
Fraudes, novæque suppetent calumniæ.

Puis, entrent en scène les deux pharisiens Gamaliel et Malchus, suivis du Chœur composé de Juifs. Malchus déplore les malheurs du peuple d'Israël, accablé par la tyrannie de Rome, désolé par une impiété nouvelle qui fera périr, qui fait périr, qui a déjà fait périr toute la sainteté de la foi antique.¹ L'auteur de ce désastre n'est autre que Jean-Baptiste, ce faux prophète qui vit dans le désert, revêtu d'un costume étrange, qui a imaginé le rite nouveau du baptême, qui incite au mépris de l'ancienne religion; il faut se défaire de cet homme dangereux.

Gamaliel répond à cette violente diatribe avec une mansuétude digne de Micion, le vieillard bienveillant des *Adelphes* de Térence; il prêche le calme et la modération: ne peut-on pas accorder quelque indulgence à la témérité des jeunes gens?² Malchus ne veut rien entendre; les objections courtoises de Gamaliel ne font qu'exaspérer l'intransigeance de son orthodoxie étroite. Comme Tomas de Torquemada, il estime que la corde, le fer et le feu doivent avoir raison de l'impiété; il regrette de ne pouvoir disposer de moyens de torture plus cruels;³ et, puisqu'il ne trouve aucun appui auprès des rabbins et des pharisiens, il aura recours au bras séculier: il va demander l'aide du roi Hérode.⁴

Fort de l'approbation du Chœur,⁵ Gamaliel développe dans un long monologue des considérations dignes d'un disciple de Luther: il invoque le droit de chaque fidèle au libre examen⁶ et fait responsable des progrès de l'impiété les pharisiens—

¹ *Baptistes*, v. 107 :

. . . illa celebris orbi sanctitas
Brevi peribit, imo perit, imo periit.

² *Baptistes*, v. 111 :

Juvenum temeritati dari venia potest.

³ *Baptistes*, v. 190 :

Curanda non est ista plaga molliter,
Sed fune, ferro et igne; vel si quid scias
Quod fune, ferro et igne sit crudelius.

⁴ *Baptistes*, v. 215 :

Et quando apud vos nil reperio praesidi,
Contra ruinam regium auxilium petam.

⁵ *Baptistes*, v. 217 :

Recte Gamaliel admonet, me judice.

⁶ *Baptistes*, v. 272 :

Interpretetur quisque pro ingenio, ut lubet.

ces Franciscains du temps de Jean-Baptiste—qui trompent le peuple par l'apparence de la sainteté.¹

Le Chœur déplore les malheurs auxquels sont exposés les innocents, qui ne peuvent jamais être à l'abri des méchants.

Voici maintenant la reine qui reproche au roi de ne pas faire acte de vigueur contre Jean-Baptiste—*concitator iste vulgi*—et Hérode qui répond par de nobles et vagues maximes sur la misérable condition des rois réduits à craindre les misérables.² Peu satisfaite de ces *sententiae*, dignes d'un élève qui aurait mieux profité que Néron de l'enseignement du philosophe Sénèque, la reine s'en va furieuse, en s'écriant qu'Hérode n'a pas l'âme d'un roi.

Celui-ci s'empresse de constater, comme un mari de comédie que sa femme est réellement partie;³ il profite de ce départ opportun pour s'entretenir avec Jean-Baptiste qu'il a fait mander: dans un discours très amical, il prie le prophète d'excuser les violences de langage d'une femme, d'une reine outragée;⁴ il lui rappelle l'appui qu'il lui a toujours prêté et lui montre avec douceur tout ce qu'il y a de répréhensible dans ses propres prédications: promesse d'un royaume nouveau qui excite les soldats à désobéir à leurs chefs, le peuple à désobéir à César; attaques publiques contre le mariage du roi lui-même. Tout sera oublié, si Jean-Baptiste met un terme à ses funestes déclamations; il obtiendra du roi tout ce qu'on peut espérer d'un juge ami et bienveillant.⁵

Le Chœur approuve: en persévérant dans ces sentiments, Hérode continuera à être chéri de son peuple; sa modération le rendra illustre à jamais.

Mais le prophète est intraitable: il poursuivra son œuvre; il a pour devoir de dénoncer au grand jour les crimes publics et privés. Qu'Hérode rentre en lui-même: vaut-il mieux plaire

¹ *Baptistes*, v. 228 :

Nostrique cœtus vitium id est vel maximum
Qui sanctitatis plebem imagine fallimus.

² *Baptistes*, v. 367 : *Conditio regum misera, si miseros timet.*

³ *Baptistes*, v. 404 : *Jamne abiit ? Abiit.*

⁴ *Baptistes*, v. 408 : . . . *læsa mulier, nobilis, dives, potens,*
Regina denique . . .

⁵ *Baptistes*, v. 440 : . . . *quicquid favor*
Judicis amici et benevoli poterit dare,
Tribuetnr a me liberaliter tibi.

au roi que d'accomplir la volonté de Dieu ?¹ Hérode fait sortir Jean-Baptiste ; le Chœur est plein d'inquiétude ;² et le roi déplore—comme l'Œdipe de Sophocle—les angoisses inséparables de la fortune royale :³ s'il décide la perte du prophète, il s'aliène son peuple ; s'il l'épargne, il ruine son autorité et il s'attire l'inimitié dangereuse de Malchus.

Le Chœur adresse une fervente invocation à l'Éternel : que le Dieu d'Israël n'abandonne pas son peuple !

Malchus a décidé d'avoir un entretien définitif avec Jean-Baptiste. Alors que tous hésitent, il saura, seul, venger la dignité outragée des pharisiens. Dans un monologue passionné, il résume la situation : le peuple adore le faux prophète ; les rabbins murmurent ; le roi incline à l'impiété ; les grands sont indifférents.⁴ Réduit à ses seules forces, il va essayer de gagner par de bonnes paroles cet homme dont il trompera sans peine la simplicité—*animi simplex homo*—. S'il ne réussit pas, il le fera périr et s'arrangera de manière à ce que le peuple ne le soupçonne pas de la mort de son prophète.

Mais, le voici lui-même, escorté d'une foule de fidèles, alors que les rabbins sont abandonnés. Malchus se met à l'écart pour écouter ce que dira le prophète ; et il entend une éloquente prédication, qui commence par une action de grâces adressée à l'Éternel, dont les bienfaits ne cessent de se répandre sur ses créatures, et qui se continue par une attaque violente contre le roi ennemi de Dieu—Malchus approuve en aparté⁵—, contre le peuple infidèle qui ose se dire le peuple de Dieu—Malchus continue à approuver⁶—, puis contre les hommes plus coupables que le peuple, ces lévites resplendissants dans leurs longues robes blanches, ces docteurs de la loi gonflés de leur science, ces vieillards hypocrites qui dépouillent la veuve et l'orphelin—Malchus furieux se contient à peine⁷—, enfin contre les rabbins, ces mauvais bergers du troupeau qui leur est

¹ *Baptistes*, v. 492 : . . . id ipse tecum cogita,

Utrum placere tibi sit æquius, an Deo ?

² *Baptistes*, v. 523 : Sed ominari metuit animus quæ timet.

³ *Baptistes*, v. 524 : Fortuna regum quam misera sit et anxia,
Nec fando poterit explicare oratio,
Nec cogitando mentis acies assequi.

⁴ *Baptistes*, v. 660-662.

⁵ *Baptistes*, v. 718 : Principia recte sese habent tibi hactenus.

⁶ *Baptistes*, v. 725 : Sane locutus enncta vere es hactenus.

⁷ *Baptistes*, v. 734 : Disrumpor ira : tacitus hæc ut audiam ?

confié: " Les loups hurlent autour des bergeries, et vous ne les écartez pas. Les loups, ai-je dit? Mais c'est vous qui êtes les loups; c'est vous qui dévorez le troupeau. Sa laine vous habille, son lait vous abreuve, sa chair vous rassasie. Vous ne paisez pas le troupeau, vous vous en paisez!¹ " Malchus ne peut plus se contenir. Il interpelle violemment Jean-Baptiste dont les réponses calmes et dignes réfutent ses injures forcenées. Vaincu, fou de rage, le pharisien se retire en annonçant que la mort punira sans retard les blasphèmes sacrilèges de l'impie.

Le chant indigné du Chœur flétrit l'infamie des "*severi hypocritæ*."

Malchus s'est calmé; il peut apprécier les choses d'un esprit plus rassis. Pour sévir contre l'impie, il n'a rien à attendre du peuple dévoué à son prophète et du roi dont la faiblesse craint d'exciter la colère du peuple. Tout son espoir se fonde sur la reine: depuis que Jean-Baptiste a blâmé publiquement son union incestueuse et adultère avec Hérode, elle ne cesse d'être en fureur comme une tigresse à qui on a enlevé ses petits² . . . Mais elle arrive à propos.

Pendant que la reine s'approche, le Chœur se lamente:

Voici la flamme qui vient vers la flamme, le poison qui s'unit au poison. Un péril extrême est instant.³

Malchus n'a pas de peine à exciter le courroux de la reine, mais il sait le maîtriser; il démontre—en multipliant les maximes et les comparaisons à la manière de Sénèque—qu'il faut employer la patience et l'adresse:

L'effort continu vient à bout de ce que la violence ne peut accomplir. Le chêne élevé ne tombe pas du premier coup; le bélier dont on se sert à la guerre ne renverse pas les murs au premier choc.⁴

Que la reine use donc de larmes et de prières; qu'elle se confie aux ruses perfides.

Le Chœur, qui pleurait la victoire des méchants sur le "*pius vates*," interrompt son triste cantique. Il a aperçu Jean-Baptiste; il lui dit le danger qui le menace. Aux

¹ *Baptistes*, v. 750: . . . gregem non pascitis, vos pascitis.

Cf. Fénelon, *Sacre de l'Electeur de Cologne*, ii. 2: Ils ne paissent point le troupeau, c'est du troupeau qu'ils se paissent eux-mêmes.

² *Baptistes*, v. 886: Regina tigris orba ceu catulis furens.

³ *Baptistes*, v. 894-895.

⁴ *Baptistes*, v. 953-956.

paroles affectueuses du Chœur, le prophète répond avec l'héroïsme enthousiaste d'un Saint-Genest ou d'un Polyeucte : si le roi Hérode le menace de mort, le roi des cieux lui dit de ne pas craindre la mort et lui prépare sa récompense.¹ Le Chœur est persuadé par l'éloquence de Jean-Baptiste ; comme lui, il aspire à s'évader de la prison de la vie pour jouir dans le séjour céleste des félicités éternelles.

La reine a réussi : sa fille a charmé par sa danse Hérode, qui s'est engagé par serment à lui accorder ce qu'elle demanderait. Elle a exigé qua sa fille demandât au roi de lui faire présenter sur un plat la tête de Jean-Baptiste. La demande n'a pas encore été faite. La reine redoute toujours les indécisions de son mari. Elle le voit, anxieuse, s'avancer avec jeune fille.

Dans une scène très bien conduite,² le roi rappelle sa promesse ; après lui avoir fait renouveler son serment, la jeune fille exige la tête de Jean-Baptiste. Hérode est frappé de stupeur ; il essaie de prétexter qu'un pareil présent ne convient pas à une jeune fille ; il dit quelle sera la colère du peuple. La fille de la reine a réponse à tout ; la reine elle-même a recours aux pires maximes que les tyrans du théâtre de Sénèque se plaisent à répéter pour prouver qu'un roi a le droit absolu de faire ce qu'il lui plaît. Hérode est lié par son serment. Il se résigne à livrer le prophète aux deux femmes, en les suppliant de ne pas le mettre à mort, en les avertissant que si elles le condamnent à un châtement cruel, toute l'horreur de l'acte qu'elles auront commis retombera sur elles.

Le Chœur ne peut comprendre une telle barbarie. Le sang des prophètes crie vengeance. Hérode sera puni. . . Mais voici un messager qui cherche les amis de Jean-Baptiste pour leur annoncer une triste nouvelle. Il a été tué ; sa tête a été présentée à la fille de la reine ; mais à quoi bon les larmes ? Qu'a-t-il à craindre de la mort, celui qui a bien vécu ? . . . Le Chœur cesse de se lamenter en réfléchissant qu'une longue vie n'est autre chose qu'une longue chaîne de malheurs dont les anneaux se terminent à la mort. . . Mais l'imbécillité humaine qui ne comprend pas la servitude de la vie a horreur de la mort libératrice.³

La tragédie de Buchanan met habilement en scène l'épisode

¹ *Baptistes*, v. 1026-1030.

² *Baptistes*, v. 1184-1263.

³ *Baptistes*, v. 1356-1360.

de la mort de Jean-Baptiste, tel qu'il est raconté dans l'*Évangile selon Saint-Marc* (vi., 17-28), où il est également parlé du respect qu'Hérode Antipas professait pour Jean, qu'il savait être un juste et un saint et qu'il consultait volontiers.

Mais les personnages de la pièce semblent des contemporains connus de l'auteur du *Franciscanus*. Le pharisien Malchus n'a aucun rapport avec le serviteur du souverain sacrificateur Caïphe, ce Malchus à qui, dans son zèle imprudent, Pierre coupe l'oreille d'un coup d'épée:¹ mais il ressemble comme un frère au cardinal Beaton, dont les calomnies persécutaient le poète de *Baptistes sive Calumnia*. Gamaliel, le rabbin pieux et bienveillant qui protège Jean-Baptiste, peut être à la rigueur identifié avec le célèbre pharisien Gamaliel dont saint Paul s'honore d'avoir été l'élève:² mais il nous fait penser à Charles de Grammont, archevêque de Bordeaux de 1530 à 1544, gouverneur de la province de Guyenne en l'absence du lieutenant-général Henri de Navarre. Protecteur des lettres, Charles de Grammont s'intéressait particulièrement au Collège de Bordeaux; très puissant—il fut pendant longtemps une sorte de vice-roi de Guyenne³—il pouvait protéger et il protégea efficacement Buchanan contre la haine du cardinal Beaton.

Quant aux acteurs du drame qui ont joué réellement un rôle dans l'histoire des Juifs, les admirations ou les rancunes de Buchanan doivent les avoir profondément modifiés pour les faire ressembler à des héros de l'histoire d'Ecosse au XVI^e siècle.

Ce Jean-Baptiste, prophète enthousiaste et orateur habile, comme un futur martyr qui aurait passé par les Universités avant de monter sur le bûcher, ne doit-il pas avoir pour type Patrick Hamilton, le premier apôtre de la Réforme en Ecosse? Né à Glasgow en 1503, étudiant à Paris et à Louvain, professeur dès 1523 à Saint-Andrews où Buchanan, qui suivait les cours de John Mair en 1524, dut le connaître et l'admirer, Hamilton prêchait les idées nouvelles avec une ardeur qui attira l'attention des prêtres. Convaincu d'hérésie dans un conseil d'évêques présidé par le cardinal Beaton, il fut condamné et mourut sur le bûcher, en février 1527. *L'Histoire*

¹ *Évangile selon Saint-Jean*, xviii., 10-11.

² *Actes des Apôtres*, xxii., 3.

³ Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1895, p. 334.

d'*Ecosse*, rédigée par Buchanan à la fin de sa carrière, rendait un hommage ému à cette noble victime d'un complot ecclésiastique—*juvenis ingenio summo et eruditione singulari, conjuratione sacerdotum oppressus*.¹ Il se peut que sa première tragédie ait voulu faire revivre l'apôtre de l'Ecosse en la personne du Précurseur.

L'audace des allusions explique pourquoi l'auteur de *Baptistes sive Calumnia* retarda si longtemps la publication de sa pièce. En effet, sans prétendre assimiler à la femme d'Hérode Marie de Guise, l'ennemie impitoyable de quiconque était suspect de luthéranisme, on ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer que bien des traits du caractère de ce pusillanime roi des Juifs, qui a peur de sa femme et qui cherche par tous les moyens à ne pas perdre l'affection de son peuple, qui respecte Jean-Baptiste et le laisse mettre à mort, conviennent parfaitement au faible Jacques V., qui se consumait en efforts continuels pour plaire au peuple et mériter le titre de "King of Commons," qui abandonnait Buchanan aux colères de Beaton, après lui avoir demandé de composer une satire contre les Franciscains, qui, docile aux instigations de la reine, faisait brûler les hérétiques à Glasgow et à Edinbourg.

Tous les personnages de la tragédie sont bien vivants. Jean-Baptiste parle avec une éloquence admirable et agit comme Polyeucte. Malchus fait penser au Mathan d'*Athalie* et au Narcisse de *Britannicus*. L'empereur Claude est traité moins durement dans le *Ludus* de Sénèque le philosophe que le roi Jacques V. dans le *Baptistes* de Buchanan. Hérode n'est plus même Prusias, qui tremble devant sa femme Arsinoé et qui a toujours peur de se brouiller avec les Romains; c'est le bonhomme Chrysale des *Femmes Savantes*, qui sacrifie, tout en plaignant la "pauvre enfant," Martine, la servante de cuisine, aux indignations grammaticales de sa femme Philaminte et de sa sœur Bélise.

On peut, sans doute, reprocher à ce drame, si fort et si intéressant, bien des défauts qui procèdent d'une imitation trop attentive du théâtre de Sénèque. On note l'abus des déclamations et des monologues; rien ne prépare et ne rend nécessaire l'entrée en scène des divers personnages. Les chants du Chœur sont trop longs et leurs digressions s'éloignent

¹ *Rerum Scotticarum Historiæ*, lib. XIV. cap. xxxii. (*Buchanani Opera Omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. I., p. 489).

souvent beaucoup du sujet de la pièce. Il n'y a aucun souci de la "couleur locale." L'érudition profane des Juifs contemporains d'Hérode est parfois étrange. Le Chœur, qui emprunte des comparaisons savantes à l'école des déclamateurs dont Sénèque a été après Ovide un brillant élève, parle trop de la flamme du Vésuve, des monstres nés sur les bords du Gange et dans les antres du Caucase.¹

Jean-Baptiste, qui connaît lui aussi les frimas du Caucase,² possède une science mythologique qui conviendrait mieux à Patrick Hamilton qu'à un prophète hébreu : il disserte sur les Euménides à la chevelure de serpents, sur l'avidé Cerbère, sur Tantale qui souffre toujours de la faim et de la soif, sur les Sirènes puissantes par leurs charmes magiques.³

Mais il ne faut pas oublier que Buchanan écrivait *Baptistes sive Calumnia* pour les élèves du Collège de Guyenne ; au XVI^e siècle, toute cette mythologie avait droit de cité dans les écoles. Il est intéressant de noter que, dans la prédication où il célèbre, longtemps avant Racine et presque avec les mêmes termes, la bonté de Dieu qui commande au printemps de parer la campagne de sa peinture de fleurs, à l'été de faire naître les fruits,⁴ Jean-Baptiste proclame que, conformément aux ordres divins, Diane donne sa lumière à la nuit, Phébus sa lumière au jour.⁵ Quand, dans sa traduction des *Psaumes*, Buchanan parlera en son propre nom, il dira plus exactement : "A toi est le jour, à toi est la nuit ; c'est toi qui pares de rayons d'or l'éclat du soleil."⁶

Composé comme *Baptistes sive Calumnia* pour être joué au Collège de Guyenne, *Jephthes sive Votum* abonde lui aussi en comparaisons mythologiques et en allusions géographiques peu convenables au milieu où l'action se passe.⁷

¹ *Baptistes*, v. 296, 320, 322.

² *Baptistes*, v. 1087.

³ *Baptistes*, v. 1126-1129, v. 1133.

⁴ *Baptistes*, v. 701 : Jussu tuo ver pingit arva floribus,
Fruges dat aestas, fundit autumnus merum.

Cf. *Athalie*, I., iv., v. 323 : Il donne aux fleurs leur aimable peinture,
Il fait naître et mûrir les fruits.

⁵ *Baptistes*, v. 706 : Noctem Diana, Phœbus incendit diem.

⁶ *Psalm.*, lxxxiv., 16 (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 83) :
Tuus dies est ; nox tua est ; solis jubar
Radiis adornas aureis.

⁷ Je me contente de citer ce passage où le Chœur, composé de jeunes filles Israélites, s'occupe des peuples qui boivent les eaux du Tage.

Mais, si la forme des deux tragédies est la même, puisqu'elles sont écrites l'une et l'autre suivant le modèle fourni par le théâtre de Sénèque, le fond est loin d'être le même.

Je ne crois pas que l'on puisse relever dans *Jephthes* rien qui se rapporte à des personnages contemporains de l'auteur; le traducteur d'*Alceste* et de *Médée* emprunte beaucoup à l'Iphigénie et à la Polyxène d'Euripide pour établir le rôle de la fille de Jephthé. Il serait trop long de faire minutieusement la liste de toutes ces imitations dont l'analyse de *Jephthes* donnera une idée.

Les deux sujets offrant beaucoup de traits communs, il n'est pas étonnant que l'on trouve de nombreuses ressemblances entre la tragédie latine de Buchanan et *Abraham sacrifiant*, tragédie française de Théodore de Bèze, qui fut imprimée en 1550. Buchanan connaissait Théodore de Bèze: il lui envoyait—nous ne savons à quelle époque—ceux de ses poèmes qu'il avait composés en Ecosse, recommandés par une dédicace très modeste.¹ Peut-être, avant d'écrire sa *tragédie française*, l'auteur d'*Abraham sacrifiant* avait-il lu *Jephthes sive Votum* en manuscrit.

On peut aussi trouver un certain nombre de ressemblances entre le *Jephthes* et l'*Iphigénie* de Racine. Mais, comme les deux pièces s'inspirent l'une et l'autre de la tragédie d'Euripide, il est difficile de discerner si le poète d'*Iphigénie* a parfois imité directement le latin de Buchanan.²

L'*Evangile selon Saint-Marc* donnait les événements et les héros du *Baptistes*; l'auteur n'avait qu'à imaginer les personnages de Malchus et de Gamaliel. Pour le *Jephthes sive Votum*, le chapitre xi. du *Livre des Juges* offrait plutôt le sujet

V. 396 : . . . quique bibit Tagum
Fulvo gurgite nobilem.

Ces vers n'auraient-ils pas été ajoutés pour une représentation de *Jephthes* donnée au Collège des Arts de Coimbre, alors que Buchanan y était professeur ?

¹ *Hendecasyllabon liber*, x. (*Buchanani Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 348). *Ad Theodorum Bezam*.

V. 3 : Ad te carmina mitto, nec Latino
Nec Grajo sale tineta, sed Britannis
Nata in montibus horrida sub Arcto.

² Dans son édition classique d'*Iphigénie* (Paris, Delagrave, 1881), N. M. Bernardin indique les passages de *Jephthes* qui se rapprochent le plus du texte de la tragédie de Racine. Voir les notes 3 de la page 38, 3 de la page 70, 2 de la page 105, 1 de la page 108, 2 et 3 de la page 111, 3 de la page 130, 2 de la page 134.

d'un développement épique ou élégiaque que la matière d'une tragédie.

Au moment de passer dans le pays des Hammonites qu'il va combattre, Jephthé promet à l'Éternel que, s'il est vainqueur, il lui offrira en holocauste ce qui, lorsqu'il reviendra de la guerre, sortira des portes de sa maison au devant de lui. Quand il rentre victorieux à Mitspa, en sa demeure, sa fille unique s'avance à sa rencontre. Instruite du vœu imprudent de son père, elle se soumet et demande seulement qu'il lui soit accordé d'aller pendant deux mois pleurer avec ses amies sa virginité sur les montagnes. Au bout des deux mois, elle retourne vers son père qui la sacrifie, suivant le vœu qu'il avait fait.

Le texte de la Bible ne donne que les deux personnages du père et de la fille. Buchanan a dû imaginer ceux de la femme et d'un confident de Jephthé; il a eu l'étrange idée de leur imposer des noms grecs,—*Storge* et *Symmachus*—ainsi d'ailleurs qu'à la jeune fille qu'il appelle *Iphis*.

Le prologue explicatif est dit par un ange qui annonce le sujet et les péripéties du drame: si l'Éternel a décidé de contraindre Jephthé à ce cruel sacrifice, c'est pour qu'il n'attribue pas à son mérite une victoire qui appartient à la puissance divine, c'est pour que le succès n'enorgueillisse pas son cœur.

Storge entre en scène avec *Iphis*. La mère est accablée de tristesse: elle a vu en songe un loup qui arrachait une jeune brebis de ses bras pour la dévorer; si ce songe est un présage funeste pour sa fille, que Dieu daigne la faire mourir elle-même avant qu'elle ait vu se produire le malheur qu'elle redoute! *Iphis* essaie de consoler sa mère: qu'elle attende avec confiance le retour de Jephthé, victorieux de ses ennemis. *Storge* ne veut pas se laisser rassurer; depuis son enfance, elle a été témoin des misères du peuple d'Israël; il lui est impossible de ne pas craindre quelque désastre plus affreux encore.

Le Chœur, composé de jeunes filles du pays, supplie Dieu de mettre un terme à la servitude des Juifs soumis depuis longtemps aux Hammonites. . . Mais les jeunes filles aperçoivent au loin un messager qui arrive, sans doute, de l'armée; elles interrompent leurs chants, et attendent, anxieuses. Le messager s'informe de la demeure de Jephthé.

— C'est ici la maison de Jephthé, et voici sa fille. Mais, si tu le peux, dis-nous quelle espérance tu nous apportes!

— Je suis justement envoyé pour faire le récit des événements. Les ennemis ont été dispersés, mis en fuite. C'est une grande victoire, une grande gloire. Notre armée est saine et sauve. Voilà le résumé de ce que j'avais à annoncer.

— C'est beaucoup dire en peu de mots ! Mais explique-nous si tu connais la victoire par oui-dire ou si tu l'as vue toi-même.¹

Le messager s'empresse de faire un long récit de la bataille à laquelle il a pris part. Le Chœur chante les louanges de l'Éternel qui a permis aux enfants d'Israël de vaincre les Hammonites. Jephthé arrive. Il commence par prononcer une longue action de grâces, abondante en pieuses maximes ; il s'engage de nouveau à tenir sa promesse envers Dieu, qui a exaucé sa prière et lui a donné la victoire. C'est alors qu'Iphis, pleine de joie, vient se jeter dans les bras du vainqueur qui se détourne d'elle. La scène entre le père et la fille est très bien menée ; elle a une véritable grandeur tragique ; Buchanan se souvient heureusement de l'Agamemnon et de l'Iphigénie d'Euripide. La jeune fille supplie son père de songer au sacrifice qu'il faut offrir à Dieu.

— Puisque le succès de ton expédition a été si heureux, mon père, il convient de prier et d'accomplir tes vœux.²

Jephthé essaie de congédier Iphis dont les paroles le mettent à la torture :

Veille à ce que tout soit en bon ordre à la maison ; obéis à ton père. Tu reviendras bientôt vers nous. Car il faut que tu assistes au sacrifice dans un instant.³

Il se retire lui-même. Iphis ne peut comprendre la froideur de son père ; qu'a-t-il à lui reprocher, de quelle faute la soupçonne-t-il ? Mais le meilleur remède aux angoisses qui l'étreignent, c'est de jouir d'une conscience pure.⁴ “ Bien parlé, digne fille d'un père vainqueur et d'une chaste mère,⁵ ” dit Symmachus, qui vient féliciter son ami. Sur les instances du Chœur, il promet qu'il aura vite fait d'apprendre le secret de la tristesse de Jephthé et qu'il se hâtera de le dire à Iphis.

Le Chœur déplore la sévérité des parents qui se laissent aller à soupçonner injustement leurs enfants.⁶

¹ *Jephthes* (*Buchanan's Opera omnia*, édit. de 1725, t. II., p. 173-213), v. 227-233.

² *Jephthes*, v. 530-531.

³ *Jephthes*, v. 546-549.

⁴ *Jephthes*, v. 567-568.

⁵ *Jephthes*, v. 569-570.

⁶ *Jephthes*, v. 593-617.

Symmachus a rencontré Jephthé; il s'étonne de la désolation de son ami en un jour où sa victoire devrait le mettre au comble de la joie. Après avoir développé de nombreux lieux communs sur la "*grata sortis intimæ securitas*" et les malheurs inséparables de la gloire que le vulgaire envie,¹ le vainqueur des Hammonites se décide à découvrir la blessure qui le tue. Symmachus essaie de lui prouver qu'il n'est pas engagé par un vœu téméraire. Le Chœur, qui comprend maintenant le motif de la tristesse inquiète de Jephthé, le supplie d'être docile aux avis d'un sage conseiller, car le repentir accompagne les actes accomplis à la légère.²

Restées seules, les jeunes filles expriment l'espoir que leur compagne échappera à la mort dont elle est menacée par l'imprudence de son père.

Jephthé va consulter un prêtre. Dieu, lui est-il déclaré, ne demande pas le sang des victimes; il exige comme offrande un esprit pieux et une conscience pure.³ Existe-t-il, d'ailleurs, une loi qui ordonne aux pères d'immoler leurs enfants? Il en existe une, réplique le malheureux père, qui ordonne d'accomplir les vœux auxquels on s'est engagé.⁴ La discussion est longue et ardente; toute la casuistique du prêtre, qui argumente mieux que ne pourrait le faire un Franciscain, échoue en face de la ferme résolution de Jephthé:

— Il vous plaît d'être regardés comme les ministres de la sagesse. Quant à moi, je préfère la simple, la brutale vérité à toute cette science brillante du fard de l'impiété.⁵

Le Chœur se lamente sur le sort malheureux de Storge, qui va voir périr Iphis.

La famille désolée entre en scène; la mère pleure sur son enfant. Jephthé est inébranlable.

— Seul, je suis forcé de commettre cette action atroce et d'en souffrir.

— Mais c'est volontairement, de ton plein gré, que tu te forces à la commettre.⁶

Jephthé doit soutenir une discussion semblable à celle qu'il a déjà eue avec le prêtre. La dialectique de Storge est faible; mais son cœur maternel a des arguments irrésistibles. Le père

¹ *Jephtes*, v. 649 : Præclara dictu res honor, victoria,
Decus, triumphus, parva bello gloria.

² *Jephtes*, v. 782-783.

³ *Jephtes*, v. 898-899.

⁴ *Jephtes*, v. 910-911.

⁵ *Jephtes*, v. 1053-1055.

⁶ *Jephtes*, v. 1159-1160.

doit repousser les supplications de sa fille qui ne veut pas mourir. Il prend sur lui toute la responsabilité du crime qu'il doit commettre et qu'il commettra, puisqu'il s'y est engagé devant Dieu. Vaincue par cet héroïsme, sûre de la tendresse profonde de son père qui la voue malgré lui à la mort, Iphis se soumet aux conséquences de la promesse téméraire de Jephthé avec une sublime résignation qui excite l'enthousiasme du Chœur.

La mère voudrait espérer encore : un messager vient lui faire un long récit de la mort héroïque de sa fille où elle doit trouver une consolation.¹ Storge repousse cette consolation : le courage d'Iphis en face de la mort ne fait qu'exaspérer la douleur qui angoisse son âme.²

¹ On voit que Buchanan se soumet par avance aux rigueurs de l'unité de temps, telles que le XVII^e. siècle devait les imposer. La fille de son Jephthé ne demande pas un délai de deux mois pour aller pleurer sur les montagnes. Sa tragédie montre "en un jour un seul fait accompli." C'est sans raison que Vossius (Inst. Poet. II., III.), lui reproche de prolonger l'action pendant une durée de deux mois au moins.

² *Jephtes*, v. 1445-1450.

H. DE LA V. DE M.

XIV.

Buchanan's "Baptistes": Was it translated by Milton?

The Rev. Francis Peck, Prebendary of Lincoln, made a literary suggestion that was certainly apposite when he described the translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes* which he edited as the work of Milton. Milton and Buchanan had various literary characteristics in common, and a work in which these characteristics on the part of Buchanan were remarkably illustrated might readily have induced Milton to render it into English. The Prebendary also conveyed a sincere compliment to Buchanan in the course of his researches on the subject. It was only after his investigations were well advanced that he was led to consider the original author to be Buchanan. He entered upon his scheme of editorial exposition under the belief that the drama was an original composition of Milton's. He elaborated his theory of Milton's translation of the piece with an ingenuity great as his prefatory boldness. Of this skilfulness it must be said that it shows an uncommon innate faculty for conjecture. The concluding link of his glistering chain of evidence may be regarded as somewhat the most dazzling if not the strongest of the series. Here he proceeds upon the daring assumption that it is fair to think of Milton in the wholly new character of a literary juggler. Regarding the words on the title-page of the pamphlet—*And presented to the King's Most Excellent Majesty by the Author*—which form a veiled summary of Buchanan's dedication to James I., he speaks as follows:—"Which crafty trick of his makes the *translator* to pass for an *author*; and, if he was found out, furnished him with a very ready salvo, that it was the author (Buchanan), and not him the translator (Milton) who presented it to the King's most excellent majesty." The attitude here depicted is quite un-Miltonic.

The appropriateness of Milton's acting as a translator of a poem by Buchanan is undoubtedly considerable. Buchanan's

mind had two distinct phases: the one was in close affinity with the genius of Dryden, the other had an equally intimate resemblance to the genius of Milton. Like Dryden, he was practical, witty, an expert critic of human folly. Like Milton, he was austere, idyllic in thought, and also an accomplished exponent of the inner meaning of words. The individual examples of his mental similitude to Milton are striking. The *Maie Calendæ* of the "Elegies" almost at once suggests *L'Allegro*. The outline of the elder poet's narrative has the same vividness; the personages, the scenic effects, the true pastoral fashion of its events, are all coloured with a natural magic which re-appears in Milton's song of the earth's gladness. And the festive burden of the story is handed on from the one poet to the other:—

Carpe rosas et, ni carpas, peritura ligustra,
Et vitæ credas hæc simulacra tuæ.

Gather the rose, the privet's faery flower,
Emblems alike of man's too transient hour.

The structural art at work in *Samson Agonistes* is also that of the *Baptistes* and *Jephthes*. Again, Milton pursued the general argument of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* when he wrote the *Defence of the People of England*. And although the detailed discussion is very dissimilar in the two treatises, there is complete unison of thought on the subject at issue. The conjunction of two such minds as those of Milton and Buchanan in the rendering of the story of the Baptist would have been an episode in our literature of rare interest. Unfortunately, there seems good reason to think that the sole commendation of the view is its character as a charming romance developed from the brain of a zealous antiquary.

Mr. Peck gives an unvarnished account of the rendering of the *Baptistes* which he published as Milton's. He says that having become a keen student of both Cavalier and Puritan pamphlets, he was brought to the discovery of this particular work. Its primary title was *Tyrannical Government Anatomized: or, a discourse concerning evil counselors, being the life and death of John the Baptist*. The date was 1642. The original form of the translation was singular enough. It was printed as if it were prose. The fact that it was a poem occurred to the editor, he says, before he had read six lines. The

perusal of ten lines more convinced him that it was a tragedy. Not much further on he decided that before him lay a poetical achievement by Milton. The peremptoriness of the verdict affords a very appreciable contrast to the lengthened list of reasons which he states on behalf of Milton's authorship of this version of Buchanan's drama. The chief of these reasons are concerned with comparisons drawn between Milton's style and that of the *Baptistes* translator. External evidence is reduced to a vanishing point: it takes shape only with the mention of Milton's own projected poem on the subject of John the Baptist. Certain items of the internal evidence also are curiously inept. The editor seeks, for example, to support his plea by citing as Milton's certain features that are actual constituents of the original. Among such elements may be named these:—"The Choice of the Heroes," "The bitter aversion for the Clergy of all sorts discovered in it"; and "The great spirit of Liberty which runs through it." And to this sort of mistake there is added the sweeping declaration that "there was no one else but he then living (at least of that party) who could have done it in such a masterly way as here we see it."

The only parts of the writer's argument which have pertinence are those in which he sets forth various resemblances between Milton's art and this translator's. They are three in all:—

1. The peculiar Way of Spelling.
2. The whole Manner and Turn of the Style.
3. The resemblance in structure between *Samson Agonistes* and the *Baptistes*.

As both Prof. Masson and Canon Beeching have perfectly established, Milton had a system of spelling peculiarly his own. But this system was not developed till the composition of *Paradise Lost*. As a test instance under this head there may be taken the spelling employed by Milton for the personal pronouns in *e*. The spelling of these pronouns with a double *e* is frequent in *Paradise Lost*; it occurs also from time to time in the *Baptistes* translation attributed to him. But there are two definite arguments against this usage in the translation being his. First, the spelling of these words in *Comus*, which was written almost contemporaneously with the English version of Buchanan's drama under notice, is totally unlike that of this translation, being in fact, virtually conformed to modern usage. The

probability is that had Milton been the author of the translation, the orthography adopted would have been the orthography of *Comus*. Second, when Milton did write the double *e* in the pronouns, he was carrying out a distinct system, a system having some resemblance to the practice of Habington in his *Castara*. He differentiates between the spelling of these pronouns in such a way as to suggest that emphasis was intended. The employment of the double *e* by Buchanan's translator is indiscriminate, as it was by the later Elizabethan prose writers. A well-defined instance of Milton's practice regarding these pronouns is subjoined, *Paradise Lost*, Book V., ll. 893-7:—

So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithless, faithful only *hee*,
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshak'n, unseduc'd, unterrif'd,
His Loyaltie *he* kept, his Love, his Zeale.

It may be urged that the pronoun orthography of the translation may mark a transition stage of Milton's system of spelling. Such an idea would be far-fetched.

2. The contention that the whole turn of the style of this *Baptistes* translation argues for Milton's workmanship is not supported by any illustrations on the part of the editor. He simply affirms it. The true Miltonic hall-marks do not stamp the rendering. Four of these are of particular importance—the character of Milton's blank verse, his use of inversion, the nature of his language, and his use of particular metres. The quality of the first of these is individual and alone. Keats despaired of imitating it. In Milton's hand it maintained a uniform power. Something of its fulness and wealth appears even in the metrical fragments which he translated from Greek and Italian. The blank verse of this *Baptistes* translation has never such a richness of quality. While the epithets of one of our greatest definitions of poetry—"deep, majestic, smooth, and strong"—are admirably suitable to Milton's blank verse, only one of them, and that the least significant, can be fairly applied to the blank verse of the Buchanan translation imputed to him. The use of inversion,¹ too, is wanting in the metrical art of Buchanan's

¹Mr. Robert Bridges in his volume on "Milton's Prosody" deals carefully with the question of Milton's "Inversion of Rhythm." What he says on this point tallies as proof with the result stated in the present article, where only Milton's use of linguistic Inversion is considered.

anonymous translator. Inversion, like other literary devices, Milton employed at greater length in his mature works than in those of his early career. But *Comus* is occasionally marked by it effectively. No parallel to the following example and others is to be met with in this *Baptistes* translation:—

Against the opposing will and arm of heaven,
May never this just sword be lifted up.

The argument from diction is also adverse to Milton's authorship of this translation. The diction of the translation, though always accurate and well-minted, compares but ill with the phrasing of Milton. *Comus* is thus a splendid mosaic. It would be fruitless to search the translation for lines comparable to these:—

The grey-hooded Even
Like a sad votarist in palmer's weeds
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phoebus wain.

Or to this:—

Storied of old in high immortal verse.

Further, there is in the piece a remarkable difference from Milton's work in regard to peculiarities of metre. Both *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*—the second drama may here be fairly considered for the sake of fuller comparison—have metrical usages altogether different from those of this *Baptistes* translation. The set use of rhyme occurs in the lyrical passages of the earlier work, and in the concluding lines of the later one. The practice is opposed to the custom of Buchanan's translator. He generally writes in blank verse, but concludes each important speech with a rhymed couplet, exaggerating a fashion of the Elizabethan dramatists. The mere fact that the lyrical passages in *Comus* are all rhymed, whereas Buchanan's translator keeps invariably to blank verse for his choruses, militates against Milton's being held the translator. *Samson Agonistes*, written on the same model as the *Baptistes*, has a chorus. But here again the practice of Milton and that of the unknown translator are at variance. Milton employed for his choruses those irregular measures which, thoroughly pleasing and successful, virtually introduced a new element into English lyrical verse. Milton, it is true, wrote the peculiar

irregular measures of his *Samson Agonistes* in his later years. But the absence from both his dramas of the use of the blank verse in his lyrical monologues largely precludes the supposition that he would at any time have selected blank verse as his method of expression in choric writing.

3. That Milton in his *Samson Agonistes* imitated the structure of Buchanan's two dramas is no evidence of his having translated the *Baptistes*. It proves that they were of one mind on a point of literary art; but it does not prove more than this. It might be said with very similar justice that Pope had a hand in the composition of *The Medal* because he wrote *The Dunciad*. Admiration Milton had for Buchanan, and he did not hesitate to declare it. It may be also admitted that he to some unimportant degree imitated Buchanan's dramatic work when he composed his *Samson Agonistes*. But neither admiration nor imitation implies that he actually translated one of his dramas. The view that he did so from either motive is practically baseless.

On the side of the advocate of Milton's authorship of this translation, it must be granted that its general literary merit is high. It is accurate yet imaginative, while the verse has vigour as well as music. Its literary excellence and its strange history unite to give it a fascination which at the time of its discovery might well have tended to deceive an observant student. Who the nameless translator may have been, it were vain to attempt to settle. A satire of much excellency long associated with the genius of Dunbar is now recognised as the work of an unknown poet. What is the record of Scottish lyrical verse before Burns but the computing of nameless gifted writers? Anonymous, too, must be the work under discussion. To the admirer of Buchanan, however, it is at all events of value that, while the rendering cannot be Milton's, it is not unworthy of being regarded as his, nor of the poetical fame of the great Scottish humanist.

W. B.

XV.

Buchanan's Psalms—An Eighteenth Century Controversy.

MANY translations, of the Psalms into Latin verse were made in the period of the Reformation and for a century after it; and these differed very much from each other. The Reformers who took up this piece of work were more faithful to the original, Beza's Psalms being based on the Hebrew, and accompanied by a literal Latin translation thereof. The Humanists who translated the Psalms seem to have worked from the Vulgate, and they naturally treated their original with more freedom and aimed at producing correct and elegant Latin verse. Thus treated the versified Psalms of more than one Humanist became a school-book, enjoying on the one hand the approval of leading Reformers, and on the other qualified not at least to corrupt the Latin of schoolboys. Buchanan's Psalms formed a schoolbook in Scotland from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Principal Donaldson, as the readers of this book know, has a lively memory of this feature of Scottish education.¹

It is curious to know that the pre-eminent excellence of Buchanan's Psalms, acknowledged by many of the leaders of the Reformation and by many great scholars in his own day has not always been undisputed either in England or in Scotland. The translation of the Psalms into Latin verse did not cease in Scotland with Buchanan. I have before me a number of volumes belonging to the eighteenth century, which contain attempts of the kind by a considerable number of Scottish scholars. And in the middle of the eighteenth century a regular attack was made on the use in schools of Buchanan's Latin Psalms, and another book of Latin Psalms was proposed to be substituted for it, at

¹ [See Appendix IX.—*Ed.*]

least for the lower forms of schools. The version thus favoured was that of Arthur Johnston; and a controversy took place as to the respective merits of Buchanan and Johnston, conducted with considerable acrimony and on neither side very conclusively. Of that controversy this volume may fittingly contain some short account.

Arthur Johnston was a man of very great eminence in his day and had a curious career. He was born at Keith Hall in Aberdeenshire, in 1587, five years after the death of Buchanan, gave very early strong evidence of talent and made his way to the University of Aberdeen. After a course there in which he no doubt attained great proficiency in Latin, he went abroad, travelled through Italy and took a course of medicine at the University of Padua, graduating M.D. there. He then passed through other countries of Europe, especially Germany, Holland, and France. In the last named he settled, being well received there on account of his reputation as a poet, and liking the country as Buchanan had done. In fact he married a French lady and stayed in France twenty years. In 1632 he returned to his native country, and at once took such a position that in 1637 he was made Rector of Aberdeen University. It was the Professors who elected him to that office. Nor was this the crowning act of his history. He migrated to the English Court, where he became physician to Charles I., and died in the year 1641.

Arthur Johnston's version of the Psalms became a popular book and was printed several times. His Psalms are all written in one metre, the elegiac hexameter and pentameter, except the 119th, which, as if to show that the writer did not require to limit himself to the Ovidian stanza, is written in as many metres as the Psalm has parts, viz., twenty-two. The translation is closer on the whole to the original, and while the whole work shows a very elegant command of Latin verse with much true feeling, it is undoubtedly easier to read, as no doubt it must have been to write, than Buchanan's. It is quite intelligible how it came to be thought that Johnston's Psalms were a better book than Buchanan's, at least for beginners. It may also be the case that Buchanan was altogether somewhat out of favour in the early eighteenth century. Various attacks were at that time made on him as a historian, and neither the high Tory politics nor the strict orthodoxy of the day could incline men to the rugged old

scholar. However that may be, the middle of the eighteenth century saw the Assembly recommending Johnston's Psalms for use in schools. In the Acts of Assembly of the year 1740, the Assembly is found to have before it a petition of Mr. William Lauder, Teacher (i.e., Professor) of Humanity in Edinburgh, craving the Church's recommendation for having taught in schools Dr. Arthur Johnston's Paraphrase of the Psalms of David in Latin verse, etc.; and this recommendation was afterwards granted. This caused the friends of Buchanan's Psalms to bestir themselves and to set to work to pick holes in Johnston's Psalms in order to discredit them. The controversy thus begun in Scotland soon crossed the border, and in 1741 Mr. William Benson, one of the Auditors of the English Exchequer, who had shortly before edited a new edition of Johnston's Psalms, with a Prefatory Discourse on post-classical Latin poetry—a somewhat pretentious and very inadequate treatment of the subject—issued a Supplement to his Prefatory Discourse, in which he throws aside all reserve—he had not formerly depreciated Buchanan—and declares that “ Johnston's translation of the Psalms is in every respect greatly superior to Buchanan's.” This challenge was met with little delay by the great Latinist, Thomas Ruddiman (writer of a Latin grammar, parts of which perhaps still live in schools) then keeper of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, who was in the best position to write on the subject as he had edited and published handsome editions both of Buchanan and of Johnston, a few years before.

Other contributions were made to the subject. Mr. John Love, schoolmaster at Dalkeith, published, in 1740, Buchanan's and Johnston's Paraphrase of the Psalms compared, and in the same year appeared *Calumny Displayed* by Mr. William Lauder, who also wrote a Preface to a volume of Scottish Musae Sacrae (1739), containing Johnston's Psalms and other translations of parts of the Bible into Latin verse. The controversy, however, is only fully developed in the writings above mentioned of Benson and Ruddiman. Though I find it impossible now to find any spark of heat in its ashes, it affords several matters of interest to the historical student.

In the first place Johnston's friends appear to have done for him what he had not dreamed of doing for himself, when they compared him with Buchanan. In his *Ad Lectorem Elegia*, a somewhat charming poem prefixed to his Psalms, he admits that



ARTHUR JOHNSTON, M.D.

(Physician to King Charles I.)

Who also translated the Psalms into Latin verse.

people may naturally be surprised at seeing a thing done again which Buchanan had done so well and it might almost be thought had done once for all.

“Cur ego Grampigenae relego vestigia Vatis
Cur Buchananaeae fila resumō lyrae?”

he asks, and he replies that he would not dream of comparing himself with Buchanan who has shown himself as great a poet as Homer or as Horace, and that he has translated the Psalms in quite a different manner. Buchanan has treated David as King and clothed him with royal robes, Johnston is to treat him as prophet, and to set him forth in homelier dress, not by any means comparing himself with so great a poet but hoping that by his humbler labours the fame of Buchanan will shine all the brighter. He had also, when in France, defended Buchanan against the challenge of a would-be rival, a Dr. Eglisemius (Eaglesham?) physician to the King, who had asked the Paris Medical Faculty to decide on the merits of his Paraphrase of Psalm civ. as compared with that of Buchanan. On this aspirant to poetic fame Johnston pours out some three hundred lines of invective, exhausting the resources of the Latin language in calling him fool, madman, and quack. The episode shows clearly how high Buchanan's fame stood at that period. When Johnston's Psalms were produced, however, they also found warm admirers in various lands, being introduced into schools in Holland and calling forth eloquent tributes in Latin verse from scholars both at home and abroad. Johnston also came to be called by men of eminence the *facile princeps* poet of his day. That his Psalms were placed in competition with Buchanan's as we have seen is not after all unnatural.

Auditor Benson goes more thoroughly to work than any other of the writers in question in his disparagement of Buchanan's Psalms; and for one thing undertakes to show that the circumstances in which they were produced explain their inferiority. Buchanan's own account of the matter in the *Vita Sua* is to the effect that it was when he was shut up by the Inquisition for several months in a monastery in Spain, at that time mainly, that he translated the Psalms into various measures. He was thus shut up in order that he might be more accurately instructed by the monks who, he says, proved neither unkindly nor ill-disposed, though they were utterly ignorant of religious truth.

Benson amplifies this account of the matter, taking from MacKenzie,—a Scottish historian who wrote several volumes called *Lives of Scottish Writers*,—the statement that the translating of the Psalms was a penance imposed on Buchanan in the monastery. From this he infers that the translation was done in great haste, as Buchanan was very anxious to get out of prison. Ruddiman's answer to this is complete. He says that MacKenzie, from whatever quarter he got this story which, besides being unsupported, is on the face of it unlikely and incredible, was apt to be credulous.¹ Buchanan does not say that he finished his translation of the Psalms in the monastery, but implies the contrary. Such men as the monks were would not likely set him such a task; and the Psalms were not published for twelve or thirteen years after the period in question. Ruddiman might have argued from the Psalms themselves that they have not at all the appearance of a piece of taskwork either unwillingly or hastily performed. He does not do this, but spends most of the three hundred and ninety pages, to which his vindication extends, in minute and detailed examination, first of Johnston's Psalms then of Buchanan's, in respect of metre, omissions, superfluous additions, inappropriate pagan allusions, of words not classical or otherwise improperly used, of the pause and its improper position or omission, etc., etc. Benson's fifty-three pages had also been mainly occupied with detailed criticism of such matters, and the reader of this assailant of Buchanan soon sees that his strictures are often unfair and strained and such as a little effort to understand his author would have kept him from making. The same is true, though perhaps in a somewhat less degree, of Ruddiman. It was necessary perhaps that his book should be written; it is by no means necessary or in any way to be recommended that it should be read now, except perhaps by the professed historian of modern Latin verse. There are certainly scholars connected with our University and with our Buchanan celebration whose opinion on this side of the controversy it would be interesting to hear. Even a layman in Latin prosody, however, may read the Psalms of Buchanan and of Johnston and may see some points in them. The criticism displayed in the controversy, even by Ruddiman, is somewhat narrow and technical; there is a want

¹ Compare Hume Brown's *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 259—"MacKenzie is always to be taken with large reservations."

in it of broad literary appreciation, the whole matter remains, in the hands of both combatants alike, one for grammarians.

What strikes the modern reader of these poems is that the whole idea of turning the Psalms of David into correct Latin verse was a somewhat absurd one, so that the debate as to the mistakes made in such exercises by this scholar or that, and as to which of them did it best, is lacking altogether in substance and reality. The thing these scholars tried to do may be pronounced impossible. The Psalms are made up originally of the most concrete and direct and intense religious utterances. There is art in their composition no doubt, but the matter outweighs the form in them. The Psalmists wrote under a kind of compulsion; the new religious experiences and aspirations with which their minds and the minds of their people were so fully charged had to be put in metrical form in order to secure public national utterance of them in the temple service. It is their fulness of religious meaning that gives the original songs their character; it is a full and powerful religious faith that seeks in them the simplest and straightest outlet. To clothe such outpourings in the ingenuities and artificialities of classical Latin versification is really to alter their character completely and to put something different in their place. Beza's Latin Psalms do not give this impression. They are done straight from the Hebrew and into the simplest Latin verse. Buchanan on the other hand changes the Psalms into great and powerful Latin poems. No one who reads these poems of his will doubt that he had real religious feeling and that the sentiment of the Psalms took strong hold of him. But he was too full of Horace and Virgil and other ancient poets to use any form but theirs for the expression of what the Psalms gave him. His metres produce massive effects, often not present in the original Psalms, and the religious spirit of the Old Testament spirit enters into a splendid amalgamation with the pride and vigour of Humanism.

Johnston's Psalms are more of a translation than Buchanan's; his work, as he himself said, was of quite a different character from that of the older scholar. His metre itself involved this, as he said and as his readers have remarked. To drop every second line into the pentameter keeps the verse from soaring. Johnston follows his original more evenly on the whole and adds less of his own. He is unequal to the grander passages, best in

the contemplative and plaintive. On the whole one would judge that Johnston's Psalms were better suited for beginners in the schools, but that Buchanan's would do far more for boys of taste and of ambition.

A great deal more light could no doubt be shed on this subject by some one who could devote more time to it than I have been able to give. One leaves it with a strong desire that the Latin Psalms of Scotland which form so interesting a part of our national inheritance may not be forgotten, and that the power to appreciate them may not be diminished or lost in the country which produced them.

A. M.

XVI.

Buchanan's Erotic Verse.

THE humanists of the Renaissance, following the example of the classic poets of an earlier age, showed their common kinship to humanity by writing erotic verse on similar lines. In many instances, however, they allowed the tricks of style and felicities of expression to lead them into licentiousness. The composition of such love songs was part of the discipline of the scholars of the period, who endeavoured to show off their facility in happy turns of expression and clever play upon words. There was more of the pride of skilful versifying than real sentiment of the heart. Every poet, it may be said, falls a victim to Love, real or imaginary, and lays the best offering of his wit on the altar of Eros.

In the time of Buchanan, when Latin was the language of culture and scholarship, almost every scholar who had any pretensions to be considered a poet imitated the amatory verse of such writers of antiquity as Ovid, Horace, Catullus or Tibullus. A previous century saw the Italian poets exaggerating this kind of composition, and almost exhausting the entire vocabulary of word and phrase in their desire to surpass one another in absurdity, and often in obscenity. To write such verses was the fashion of the time, and we are not surprised to find Buchanan entering the lists, while he was resident in Portugal, and inditing such tit-bits of Latin verse as the *Ad Næeram*, *In Leonoram*, *In Gelliam*, and *Ad Briandum Vallium*, *Senatorem Burdegalensem*, *pro Lena Apologia*. Some of these literary intrusions into the region of feminine coquetry have tended to create misgivings in the minds of some of his friendly critics, and gave occasion to detractors to exhibit the venom of their spleen. But the student of Buchanan who understands the circumstances of his time and the occasions for the penning of such erotic verse, need not disturb himself. The laxity of expression, which such poets allowed themselves in verses dealing with that evasive and illusive subject, woman, does not imply that the writers were themselves lax in their morals.

There is the case of Beza, a great offender in this respect, who solemnly assures us that though his Muse was lax his life was chaste.¹ On the other hand, Muret was so lax in morals that the grossness of his verse forms a practical commentary upon the manner of his life. Buchanan like Beza, was a man of pure life, and his verse is much less objectionable. The elegy (*Elegiarum Liber III.*) *Ad Briandum Vallium*, etc., has puzzled many of Buchanan's biographers, but its title reveals its purport. It is a *jeu d'esprit*, written in the ironic vein at the time and in the country of Rabelais, when such poetical effusions were the pastime of the humanists. An amount of poetical licence was assumed at this period which would not be permitted now. The Councillor Briand de Vallée, to whom this remarkable elegy is addressed, was a member of the Parliament of Bordeaux, and founded a monthly lectureship on the Epistles of St. Paul. He was considered by Rabelais one of his best friends, and is characterised by him as the "tant bon, tant vertueux, tant docte, et équitable président Briand de Vallée."²

When a selection of such pieces as the *Elegiae, Silvae, etc.*, was published, in 1567, Buchanan says in an introductory epistle to his friend Peter Daniel³ "For my own part, I was not extremely solicitous to recall them from perdition; for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature; and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame. But as Pierre Montauré⁴ and some other friends, to whom I neither

¹ The Latin Poets of the classical age made the same excuse.

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
 Ipsum; versiculos nihil necesse est.—*Catullus*.
 Crede mihi; mores distant a carmine nostro:
 Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi.—*Ovid*.
 Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus;
 Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.—*Martial*.

² Rabelais, Liv. iv., Chap. xxxvii.

³ Peter Daniel, a native of St. Benoist sur Loire, was an advocate living principally in Orleans. He held the office of *bailli* of the Abbey of Fleuri. Scioppius characterises him as a storeroom of every species of antiquities. Scaliger and Turnebus acknowledge themselves indebted to him for the communication of his manuscript treasures. He died in 1603. Irving's *Memoirs of George Buchanan*, p. 213.

⁴ Pierre Montauré was Master of Requests, a Latin poet of some distinction, and skilled in mathematical science. He died at Sancerre sur Loire, 19th August 1570.

can nor ought to refuse any request, demanded them with such earnestness, I have employed some of my leisure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a state of arrangement. With this specimen, which consists of one book of Elegies, another of Miscellanies, and a third of hendecasyllables, I in the meantime present you. When it shall suit your convenience, I beg you will communicate them to Mantaure, Des Mesmes,¹ and other philological friends, without whose advice I trust you will not adopt any measure relative to their publication. In a short time, I propose sending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar denomination: all these I wish to be at the disposal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own."

Buchanan felt some doubt about publishing such effusions, but relied more upon the judgment of his literary friends than upon his own. It would have deprived the modern critic of a glimpse into the large heart and versatile mind of such a poet had he not left these specimens of his nimble wit and ready pen. He was what the Scots call a ' buirdly ' man—too large for the microscopical vision of narrow-minded men, who fail to see the true man in their eagerness to detect the flaws in his character. The late Dr. Robert Wallace takes a broader view.² "One biographer, a very competent authority on this period of Scottish history, says, somewhat severely, that these pieces ought not to have been written by the man who wrote *Franciscanus*—a powerful satire on the vices and hypocrisy of the monks. I must say that, with every deference to a critic highly worthy of respect, I am not able to see it. The *Franciscanus* was essentially an exposure of dishonesty, not so much of the vices practised under the cowl, as of the shameful trickery of using the cowl to cloak them. As far as honesty and consistency go, there is no reason why an honest and consistent man should not have written every word of these ' Lena ' sketches. Even from an artistic point of view they will stand inspection. The subject, of course, is a revolting one, and so is Dame Quickly—but would any man of average robustness of mind wish Dame Quickly unwritten?

¹ Henry des Mesmes, Master of Requests, derived his lineage from the native country of Buchanan, and was a great encourager of learning. His opinion in literary matters was deferred to by many. He died in August 1596.

² *George Buchanan*, p. 106.

Many people seem to forget that while the real itself may be unpleasant, the artistic image of the real may be a delight. We should shrink from Caliban in the flesh, but Shakespeare throws a charm over him; Pandemonium is not, I believe, a sweet scene, but Milton's account of it is sublime; Falstaff was disreputable, but he makes an admirable stage figure; a corpse is an unlovely object, but Rembrandt's 'Dissectors' has a fascination." Referring to Buchanan's *Leonoras*, Dr. Wallace goes on to say that "in point of graphic power" they "are second only to the *Jolly Beggars*, while their savage and even hideous realism, contrasting with the elegance of the Latin line, produce a piquant effect from the mere point of view of art. But I demur to any suggestion that these or any of Buchanan's so-called 'amorous' poetry are corrupting or intended to be, or that they exhibit any gloating over the degrading or the degraded on the part of the writer. From references in them I believe they were satires written for the warning of 'College' youth, and resembled certain passages in the Book of Proverbs and elsewhere in the Bible, where certain counsels, highly necessary and practical, are conveyed in language not deficient either in directness nor detail. They could not possibly scandalise or tempt any one, being written in Latin. Mr. Podsnap and the 'young person' would pass equally scathless, for they could not read them. Only men who could construe and scan Horace could understand them, and these might be trusted to see their true drift."

This view is, I think, a fair and reasonable position to take up. With a few exceptions we find the love verses of Buchanan in two sets, addressed to Leonora and Neaera. The series to Leonora appear to be modelled on Horace's Ode (IV. 13.) to Lyce—*Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota*—and the twenty poems contain every imaginable kind of abuse. Leonora does not seem to have been a real person, but merely a fictitious character around whom the poet allows his fancy to play. Those addressed to Neaera¹ are much happier in theme and expression, showing

¹ Neaera was the poetical mistress of Tibullus, Marullus, Secundus, Bonifonius, and many other poets besides. Hence the allusion of Milton—

Were it not better done as others use,
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair?

The question which Milton asks is whether it were not better to apply himself to the composition of amatory pastorals or of love elegies.

the poet's aptitude for piquant turns of thought and delicate phrasing. The beauty and the charm of Neaera afford the theme of the epigrams, which contain little or no passion, but rather simulated emotion. The best known of this series is the thirty-first, *De Neaera*:—

Illa mihi semper praesenti dura Neaera,
 Me, quoties absum, semper abesse dolet :
 Non desiderio nostri, non moeret amore,
 Sed se non nostro posse dolore frui,

which may be freely rendered:—

Neaera is cold whene'er I appear,
 But sighs at my absence again,
 Not that she loves me, and so sheds a tear,
 But desires to witness my pain.

The translation of James Hannay runs thus:—

Neaera is harsh at our every greeting,
 Whene'er I am absent she wants me again ;
 'Tis not that she loves me or cares for our meeting,
 She misses the pleasure of seeing my pain.

He adds that 'Ménage used to say that he would have given his best benefice to have written the lines—and Ménage held some fat ones.' Ménage, who was an excellent philologer himself, has given a rendering of these verses in one of his Italian Madrigals, beginning,

Chi creduto l'avrebbe,
 L'empia, la cruda Iole
 Del mio partir si duole.

These epigrams of Buchanan are terse in diction, pungent in thought, flexible and pointed. They were greeted with the well deserved admiration of competent critics, and many have imitated them. In his verses *In Gelliam*, he indulges in playful satires upon those ladies who painted or adorned themselves by wearing brass rings and glass gems. These could not possibly do anything else than amuse the reader: there is no suggestion of pruriency in any of them.

For the higher type of womanhood Buchanan had nothing but praise and appreciation, as may be seen from his verses *Ad Mildredam Gulielmi Caecilii uxorem, matronam virtute et eruditione praestantem*, or the *Ad Camillam Morelliam*. The latter runs:—

Camilla, multo me mihi carior,
 Aut si quid ipso est me mihi carius,
 Camilla, doctorum parentum
 Et patriae decus et voluptas :

Ni Gratiae te plus oculis ament,
 Ni te Camoenae plus oculis ament,
 Nec Gratias gratas, nec ipsas
 Esse rear lepidas Camoenas :

Quae virgo nondum nubilis, artibus
 Doctis Minervam, pectine Apollinem,
 Cantu Camoenas, et lepore
 Vel superes Charites, vel aequas.

Hos ferre fructus, Utenhovi, decet
 Laurum, viroto quae teneram comam
 Nutrivit, et ramos refudit
 Castalio saturata rore.

The tenderness of the poet's heart is revealed in these lines, and he displays the gracefulness with which he could touch such themes. The outlook of Buchanan was wide, and he felt that the poet's dominion was bound only by man's environment. All things interested him, and in his versatility we see the deep veneration which he felt when thus standing in presence of the mystery of God's marvellous universe.

There is an interesting reference to his erotic verse in the first poem of the *Iambon Liber*, addressed to William Haddon, one of the Masters of the Court of Requests to Queen Elizabeth, who was also a noted Latinist. It begins:—

Frustra senectam, Haddone, provocas meam
 Laeta ad juventae munia,
 Musasque longo desides silentio
 Arenam in antiquam vocas.

“ These lines, moreover, deserve to be quoted,” says Dr. Hume Brown,¹ “ as they seem to place beyond doubt that Leonora and Neaera were mere names on which he exercised his fancy. Haddon, it appears, had called on his friend for a poem, such as he had once known so well how to turn. But, Buchanan, now on the verge of his sixtieth year, thus replies: ‘ In vain you challenge an old man to the sallies of his youth. Even in the years when such trifling is more seemly, rarely did the Muse visit me, born as I was in mountainous Britain, in a rude age, among a rude people. Now when declining age has left me a

¹ *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 140.

few white hairs, when I have all but told the tale of three score years, and all my spirits droop, Phœbus turns me a deaf ear, and the Muses harken not to my call. *It yields me no joy now to sing how the golden hair of Phyllis is dearer to me than the locks of Bacchus, or to indite stinging iambics on Neæra's heartless want of faith.'*" The lines, the translation of which Dr. Hume Brown has thus given in italics, are these:--

Nec Phyllidis me nunc juvat flavam comam
 Praeferre Bacchi crinibus,
 Nec in Neærae perfidam superbiam
 Saevos iambos stringere,

and may be freely rendered:—

It is not now a joy to me
 To hold that Phyllis' golden hair
 Is dearer than the locks I see
 Around the head of Bacchus there ;
 Nor do I care the perfidy
 Of false Neæra to indite
 In harsh iambics which I write.

The exercises of a more youthful period had now become distasteful to the aging humanist, and while he was as able as ever to display his deftness of touch in versification, he had not the heart to simulate the passions he had ceased to feel. As we have seen the examples of his erotic verse are not unworthy of the reputation of one who was the foremost Latinist of his time, and whose memory has been justly honoured at the recent celebrations, held in the University which he adorned.

R. M. F.

XVII.

Science and Humanism: Buchanan's "De Sphaera."

AN inquiry into the condition of the European mind at the epoch of Buchanan would be a stupendous task. Even a general statement of the more salient features of the knowledge and modes of thought of the men of the time, of what interested them and attracted them, of what general explanation of the universe satisfied them, would carry us too far. Moreover, it is apt to be forgotten that the Renaissance was a manifold awakening, and Humanism was only one of its products and not the most important and enduring.

What we in these days call science, the life-work of such men as Darwin, or Lord Kelvin, was hardly possible for anyone. To the Humanist it offered no reward and presented no interest. Besides, it took a long time for the human mind to recover from the effects of a thousand years of slavery to ecclesiastical domination. While the Arabs and the Jews were free to pursue investigations in Anatomy, Medicine, Chemistry, Astronomy, the men of Christendom were in absolute bondage. The religious creed of the Arab and the Jew was so short and so simple that no elaborate system of casuistry, no cumbrous hierarchy and ceremonial, no boundless wilderness of legends about shrines and saints and relics were needed to support it. The ecclesiastical system of Christendom had become such that it could not exist if there were free inquiry such as the Arabs carried on. Doctors, for example, could hardly be tolerated, for they would be rivals to the Confessional, and they would, moreover, prevent the sick from resorting to shrines and relics for cure, and would thus cut off a very profitable form of tribute from the clergy. Mankind, besides, had grown so much accustomed to illogical thinking that a scientific mode of thought could hardly be looked for till many years had come and gone. Galileo was barely allowed to live by the ecclesiasticism of the seventeenth century: it sent Bruno to the

stake in 1600. Newton, Dr. Harvey, Napier of Merchiston, Torricelli, Kepler, Leibnitz, Otto von Guericke were not coeval with the high tide of Humanism; they appeared after it had subsided. They were products of the seventeenth century, not the sixteenth.

All science must be founded upon careful sifting of evidences. No science can exist in a community in which the inability to appreciate the cogency or irrelevance of evidence is a prevalent feature. This inability, so extraordinary when viewed along with the elaborate and acute formal reasoning of the schoolmen, was the characteristic of European thought for centuries. The victory of Ivanhoe in the lists at Ashby was accepted as quite a satisfactory proof that Rebecca was innocent. An Arab writer mocks at this illogical thinking and says that if a man wished to prove that three is greater than ten he would do so by changing a stick into a serpent. Beyond all this, those *illuminati* to whom the glories of the Greek and Roman classics had revealed themselves had all the hunger of their souls satisfied. They felt no call to inquire into the secrets of nature further than had been done by Aristotle, Pythagoras, Hippocrates and Ptolemy. They would have held it to be sacrilegious to doubt the methods of the ancients or the accuracy and completeness of their results. For it was not only the artistic beauty of the compositions in which the ancient thought was revealed to them that aroused Humanistic admiration and enthusiasm; Greek and Roman thought itself was so free from the ecclesiastical and theological fetters in which the European mind for centuries had been bound, that it was unhesitatingly accepted as the last word. It was so free, so well ordered, so lofty and so sane, compared with the trivialities and narrowness of the scholastic lore of Western Europe. Hence the Humanists were in every way satisfied to revel in the delights of literature, without a care for any key to the mysteries of nature.

The Renaissance was a resurrection of the open mind, the curiosity natural to the human intellect; but in that general awakening that was extending the bounds of human knowledge in every direction, that gave us Columbus, Bacon and Newton, the Humanists took only a small share. Their chosen field was girt and circumscribed by the codices that could be found by devoted searchers, and by the volumes issued with such

marvellous rapidity by the presses of Aldo or of Estienne. And although the best of them pleaded that in the training of youth, which was part at least of the life work of Buchanan, the aim should be *ratio* as well as *oratio*, there were few true Humanists who would not prefer the latter to the former, and forgive the badness of the reasoning or the smallness of the topic if the style were good and, above all things, accurate. They were few indeed who, like Buchanan, could at once inform, convince, and charm.

The ideal man was now a man of books. The "light of things" had hardly dawned. In the previous age the ideal man had been either the man of war or the holy monk. But now the sword and the pilgrim's staff had both been obscured by the printed page. Père Bourbon would rather be author of Buchanan's Psalms than Archbishop of Paris. Pomponius Laetus, who taught Latin literature in Rome for many years, and who both lived the life of a pagan Roman and induced many others to follow his example, was not excommunicated, but was accorded, at his death, a great funeral which was attended by forty bishops. Beautifully symbolical of the change is the bronze monumental figure of Alberto Pio in the Louvre. The princely Italian scholar is represented in armour, but his sword is sheathed and in his hand he holds an open book.

It is this worship of books, this devotion to the ancients, the cultivation of their style and the adoption of their thought, that set the Humanists apart. We can thus understand how it was that Buchanan, one of the greatest of his class, lays himself open to the charge of imitation, of having in the selection of his themes and the manner of treating them confined himself to tracts already travelled by the classic writers.

It has just been said that scientific research, as we know it, was impossible in these days. Not only was there no scientific mind, but the ground was so covered with the weeds of superstition and credulity that the best of minds had to be cleared of rank thickets of error and superstition before any cultivation could be attempted. Gargantua had to be "purged canonically with Anticyrian hellebore." But even Rabelais, one of the best products of the Renaissance, and himself following what should be a scientific profession, makes Ponocrates teach his pupil the fact-lore of "wine and water, of salt, of

fleshes, fishes, fruits," etc., not by the modern method of observation, but by "learning in a little time all the passages competent for this that were to be found in Pliny, Athenæus, Dioscorides, Julius Pollux, Galen, Porphyrius, Oppian, Polybius, Heliodorus, Aristotle, Ælian, and others." It is true that there are better things than this in the training of Gargantua, but it shows how classical lore was trusted and revered and how unfamiliar the scientific spirit was to the men of the Renaissance.

Curiosities of the current natural history are to be found everywhere, and appalling credulity and ignorance even among the cultured. The reader is advised to read Bishop Leslie's account of Scotland in his *History*. His account of the "clack-goose" is typical. He not only quotes Hector Boece as having seen these fabulous creatures, but declares that he himself saw them at Leith in 1562, "mony thousands of sik lytle foulis stiking to the ship, thrie fingres lang, of a meruellous perfyte and weil schapen forme, except that they war litle, lyueles, and fethirles." Other eyes too, were evidently blinking owl-like in the dawn on things around: minds like those of children were wondering; for he goes on to tell how in the "zeir of God 1566," there was presented to "our noble Maistres, Quene Marie of Scotis," who was then at Stirling, "a branche of a certane trie fra whilke mony fructes, as thay had bene, hang doune, litle indeid, bot innumerable mussilis, in quhilkes war fund not fishe (a meruel) bot foulis." And even when the simple Bishop was writing this in Rome he met a Dr. Allan, doctor of Theology in England, who told him he had often seen "thir lytle foulis upon the keilis of alde schipis in the west of England." The interesting thing about all this is that apparently Queen Mary must have given reason for believing that she was interested in natural history: we know on the other hand that she had shortly before been reading Livy with Buchanan. We feel when we read this incident as if we were assisting at the small beginnings of a Royal Society. Was Buchanan present when this "branche of a certane trie" was brought to Mary or had he gone to Paris to see to the printing of the Psalms with the famous dedication to the Queen? Possibly had he been present he would not have doubted, any more than did Hector Boece or Bishop Leslie or "Doctour Allan of Inghland," that the "mony fructes" contained "foulis."

If there was any scientific progress at all between the extinction of the ancient culture and the Renaissance, it was in Chemistry, Medicine, and Astronomy, and these matters were in the hands of laymen. The Arabs had taken the torch that was flickering in the loosening grasp of the Eastern scholars and had trimmed and fed the flame and carried it into Spain. Thence their light shone upon the men of Western Europe for centuries. These branches of knowledge were cultivated by the Arabs above all others. The marvellous pitch to which scientific and philosophic culture was carried by the Arabs contrasts painfully with the darkness and superstition prevailing in Christendom. When science began to be cultivated in Western Europe, the work had only to be begun where the Arab scholars had left it. We are about to see how Buchanan regarded Astronomy. One illustration of the state of Medical Science in the 16th century must be sufficient. In January 1570 the Regent Moray was shot at Linlithgow by a Hamilton, and all the Hamiltons fell into public disfavour. In the following month a rhyming broadside was issued, not wanting in poetical and musical feeling, calling on all birds and flowers to mourn the fallen prince and on the "Lordis" to revenge the deed, pointing out how dangerous the Hamiltons were, "forquhy Cardanus the Feind pat in the priest." The priest into whom Cardanus, the famous Jerome Cardan, put a fiend was the notorious Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, whose character must have been very black indeed if it were as black as Buchanan has painted it. In 1552 he had despaired of being cured by the Scottish doctors of a disease given out as asthma. Cardan, only known to modern students as the author of a method of solving cubic equations, called Cardan's rule, had a great repute as a physician and was then professor of Mathematics at Milan. He was sent for and stayed from June to September in Scotland. He undertook the cure of the Archbishop and succeeded, being very handsomely paid for his treatment. The cure is described by Randolph in a letter to Cecil, now in the State Paper Office, and bears out the statement quoted above from the poetical broadside of Feb. 1570, about seventeen years afterwards. Briefly told the cure consisted of "divers foreign inventions," which puts it very mildly. He hung him up by the heels "certain hours in the day"; he fed him "many days on young whelps." To crown

all he "rounded" for the space of six days "certain unknown words in his ears." "It is said," says Randolph, "that at that time"—viz., these six days—"he did put a devil within him" and "that this devil was given him on credit but for nine years," and so on. Could any more striking picture be drawn of the state of science than this of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Andrews hanging by the heels while he of the cubic equations "rounded" cabalistic words in his ears? And yet Cardan was in the front rank of physicians: he was besides a first-rate mathematician, which is supposed to cure one of credulity. Moreover, not only were the quack and his victim so prominent men, but Randolph, who tells the story and obviously believes it all, was a cultured man of much shrewdness, who knew men and cities, and Cecil, to whom he tells it, had one of the best heads in England.

The only work of Buchanan's that has any scientific character is his great poem, *De Sphaera*, which he began to write about 1555, but never finished. As a Humanist, he had entered upon almost every field cultivated by his prototypes, the Greek and Roman ancients, and had proved himself a master in them all. There remained for him to essay a great and enduring monument of genius in the form of a poem on the loftiest of themes. He had matched himself with the epigrammatists, the lyrists, the dramatists, the elegiac writers, the satirists, the historians, and by universal consent had proved himself their equal. But he had written nothing epic like the *Æneid*, nothing like the *Georgics*, nothing loftily didactic and philosophic like the *De Rerum Natura*. The subject of the constitution of the universe presented itself to him as one in which great thoughts like those of Lucretius would be called forth, while in the abundant digressions into ancient myth that such a subject would allow there would be welcome opportunities of rivalling the fancy and the music of Virgil.

The *De Sphaera* is indeed a very great and remarkable poem. As a contribution to astronomical or cosmographic thought it is now of little value, but as a sustained proof of poetic genius, of classical learning, of astonishing fluency and ease in the use of Latin and all the lore of the ancients, it must take a very high place. Most readers must inevitably come to the conclusion that the digressions are the best of the poem as poetry, and have most of that characteristic charm that readers of

Buchanan soon came to associate with his verse, a charm which has lifted Buchanan out of the mass of merely imitative writers.

The thought is almost wholly the thought of the ancients, the science that of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. It was according to the spirit of Humanism to treat all that had been thought and done by mankind between the death of the last of the Roman writers and the rise of Humanism as null and void, and to begin in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as if the preceding thousand years had never come and gone: In these long years a great deal had been done in Astronomy. Facts had accumulated from the observations first of the Alexandrian Greeks and then of the Arabs, and more than one guess at the truth had been made. Just twelve years before Buchanan began to write *De Sphaera*, Copernicus had announced a new theory of the heavens, which, though partial and tainted with error, was to upset the received doctrine and lead to the marvellous developments of the next century, and to the establishment of a base of operations from which many great and acute minds have since gone forth to gather astronomic spoil. The views regarding the universe held by men like Buchanan, satisfactory to strong and reasonable minds like his, have long since departed from human thought and are now interesting only as a stage in a long journey.

Briefly stated the theory of the ancients was as follows. The earth was round, but stationary. Its size was approximately known. It was divided into five zones. Round it revolved in circles the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars. As each of these had a different time and manner of revolving, each must be fixed to a transparent hollow shell or sphere one within the other, the earth being in the centre. Of the seven crystal spheres the fourth or middle one had the sun attached to it. The eighth carried all the fixed stars.

Modifications of this had been made from time to time, for example by adding small circles (epicycles) to the larger ones to explain the progression and retrogression of the planets, or *errones* as Buchanan calls them.

In 1543 Copernicus, *in extremis* at Frauenburg, had touched with his dying hand the first printed copy of his book *De Revolutionibus*, in which the theory is stated that the sun and not the earth is the stationary centre round which all the

heavenly bodies revolve. For each planet and for the fixed stars he still retains a great hollow crystal sphere to which each is fixed and with which it revolves. This notion was universally rejected by Protestant Europe and condemned as impious by such leaders as Luther and Melancthon. It is therefore no shame to Buchanan that he utters a similar denunciation of the Copernican theory. Very slowly indeed did this revolutionary theory gain acceptance. Forty years younger than Buchanan was Tycho Brahé, the Swede, who devoted his restless active mind to astronomical observations and did much to enrich the records. The chief of his contributions is a theory, differing from both the Ptolemaic and Copernican, to the effect that the planets revolve round the sun, but the sun, carrying them with him, revolves round the earth, which is stationary. This was less of an upheaval of old beliefs and gained more adherents, being moreover later in time. The Copernican theory is denounced by Buchanan, but, although the writing of the *De Sphaera* was earlier than the discoveries of Tycho Brahé, and we do not know how Buchanan received them, we find him in later life corresponding with Tycho Brahé on intimate terms, having received from him through Gulielmus Lummisdaile an account of his discovery of the new star in Cassiopeia. When James VI. visited the Court of Denmark in connection with his marriage, he sailed to Tycho Brahé's Baltic Island and visited him in his tower, Uranienburg, where he was shocked to see in an honoured place a portrait of Buchanan, whose memory he always recalled with fear and dislike. It does not seem probable that Buchanan's powerful mind could fail to see the truth and reasonableness of the new theories, at least in his later years. However this may be, the phenomena remain the same whether we give the true explanation of them or not, and the greater part of any true description of the heavens as seen by one who knows nothing of the telescope or of gravitation will remain true to all time. Should the description be vivid and poetical it will remain interesting and attractive, and such a description is the purpose of Buchanan's poem.

The poem is in five books. Of these the first three were finished, containing altogether eighteen hundred hexameters. The fourth stops short at the 119th line and the fifth at the 463rd. In this incomplete state the poem was first published at Geneva in 1584, two years after the death of Buchanan, and

again in 1585. Supplements were written to the fourth and fifth books by Pincierus, and the poem in this completed form was published in 1587 and frequently since along with his other poems.

When Buchanan began the poem in 1555 he was tutor to Timoleon de Cossé, a boy of about fourteen, and he addresses him in each of the introductions. It is not very clear why Buchanan did not finish the poem. He refers to it in a letter to Tycho Brahé in 1576, and blames his illness and his busy life. Again in 1579 he makes a similar excuse. These causes had not prevented him from writing much poetry of a different class, nor the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, nor the great history. Had the interest remained keen, and had the enthusiasm for the subject not been overcome by others, these excuses would probably not have been made, or needed. It seems as if the march of the years had carried Buchanan, as it was carrying mankind generally, to new stand-points. The *atærnæ legum habenæ* were still there in 1579 as in 1555, but it was dawning on the best minds that the laws were not what they had long supposed. Kepler was not far off, and neither he nor Newton appeared in a world altogether unprepared for them.

The first book begins in the epic style with a statement of the subject :

Quam variæ mundi partes, quo semina rerum
 Fœdere conveniant discordia, lucis et umbræ
 Tempora quis motus regat, æstum frigore mutet,
 Obscuret Solis vultum Lunæque tenebris,
 Pandere fert animus.

Then follows an invocation :

Tu qui fulgentia puro
 Lumine templa habitas, oculis impervia nostris,
 Rerum sancte parens, audacibus annue cœptis ;
 Dum late in populos ferimus tua facta, polique
 Immensum reseramus opus : gens nescia veri
 Ut residem longaque animum caligine mersum
 Attollat cœlo, et, flammantia mœnia mundi
 Dum stupet, et vicibus remeantia tempora certis
 Auctorem agnoscat, tantam qui robore molem
 Fulciat, æternis legum moderetur habenis,
 Consilio innumerosque bonus conformet ad usus.

There is here no spontaneous or atheistic origin of things as in Lucretius. The aim is rather that of Milton, "to justify the ways of God to men." The *flammanitia mœnia mundi* echoes

Lucretius, however. The *aeternis legum moderetur habenis* is very familiar to a reader of Buchanan's Psalms and recalls the doctrine of the *De Jure Regni*. The frequent use of this phrase is indeed one of the mannerisms of Buchanan.

He calls on his pupil Timoleon in a very beautiful passage to join him in the study of this great subject:

Tu mihi, Timoleon, magni spes maxima patris,
Nec patriae minor, Aonii novus incola montis,
Adde gradum comes, et teneris assuesce sub annis
Castalidum nemora, et sacros accedere fontes,
Nympharumque choros, populoque ignota profano
Otia, nec damno nec avarae obnoxia curae.

Then he goes directly into his subject with a statement of all that is connoted by the term *mundus*. There is one ruler of the universe, but there is no *vis nativa*. He then explains that the world is made up of four formative elements, earth, water, air and fire, and that these settle themselves by their own weight in their respective places. Every part of the earth would thus have been under the water:

Nisi cura Dei se attollere montes
Jussisset, vallesque premi, terramque cavernis
Hiscere, et ingentes humori aperire lacunas . . .

This arrangement was made in the beginning by God for the sake of the human race that was to be.

He also proves that the world is round, by well-known proofs, *e.g.*, (1) the sun rising later in western countries and earlier in eastern, (2) the shadow of the earth on the moon being always round:

Redduntque trigona trigonum,
Quadratam faciem quadrata, rotunda rotundam.

A young pupil need not think that lofty mountains and deep valleys contradict this, for they are as nothing to the total bulk, no more indeed than the slight roughnesses which give foothold to a fly on a globe of glass, which is rough to him, who is so small and so close to it, but which seems smooth and round to our eyes:

Non secus ac vitreum si musca perambulat orbem,
Qui nobis penitus lacvis videatur, et omni
Asperitate carens, sentit tamen illa tumorem,
Parvaque inaequali figit vestigia clivo . . .

The disappearing of the hull of a receding ship before that of the masts is a proof of the rotundity of the water. This is

to be inferred otherwise, for as the conflagration that destroyed Troy had the same properties and obeyed the same laws as the smallest flame, such as that of "*exiguæ populatrix flamma lucernæ*," so must the great ocean have the same shape as a drop of dew :

Ergo velut tenui se ros argenteus orbe
Lubricat, et nitidis depingit gramina gemmis,
Et quæ de madidis dependet stiria tectis ;
Sic late effusus pontis remeabilis humor
In cumulum assurgit, formamque affectat eandem.

But why labour to prove this rotundity by reasoning? Avarice, which nothing can withstand, has led Spanish ships round the world, and there are no secrets now :

Omnia jam vasti ratibus panduntur Iberis
Claustra orbis, rerum longis incognita seclis
Jam secreta patent.

The barrenness of Spain, "*sicco vix fertile sparto*" (esparto grass, to wit) has given place to luxury. The products of all lands are being brought home, cotton, silk, frankincense, ginger, pepper. The Arab collects cinnamon for us, and (very oddly) "*Congerit in caecas aurum formica cavernas.*" The other side of the picture is the loss of the best of all the sons of Spain by emigration. They leave all that men hold dear and go forth, "*auspice avaritia.*" This is expanded into a long and eloquent passage, after which the description of the *mundus* is resumed.

Up to this point the structure of the poem has been given in detail that the reader may form some idea of its nature, but the available space admits of only a very general statement of what the rest of the poem contains. It must have been noticed that a high and generous soul animates this noble poem, no didactic opportunity is let pass unimproved, nor is any chance omitted of colouring the astronomic lore with the rich hues of classic myth. Above all the natural descriptions are very fine, and anything of the nature of a story is always well told.

After showing that the Earth does not rotate, such an idea being absurd, he tells how the earth had been measured. An arc had been measured on the Assyrian plain and the elevation of the Pole Star observed. From this the circumference was found, and, by dividing this by three, the diameter.

The earth is then compared with the sun's sphere and with the great Olympus, that is, the sphere of the fixed stars. If

Phoebus were to trust Timoleon for a day with the chariot of Phaethon (*Phaethontes habenas*, favourite word!) how small would the earth appear to him looking down from the summit of the heaven, if any earth would then be visible at all, and how small would the sun be!

Quantulus est cum stelligero collatus Olympo !

Reason cannot comprehend in numbers the proportion that the earth would bear to the vast *Mundus* which contains all. Yet this small place is the abode of man and of beasts and birds. The habitable part is smaller still when the ocean, the lakes and streams, the marshes and deserts and mountain ranges are all subtracted. It is like a small island floating on the great deep. And what a home man makes of this earth of his!

Quantula pars rerum est, in qua se gloria jactat,
Ira fremit, metus exanimat, dolor urit, egestas
Cogit opes ; ferro, insidiis, flamma atque veneno
Cernitur, et trepido fervent humana tumultu.

The Second Book begins with a beautiful introduction, too long to quote. Timoleon is invited to raise his mind from the earth and accompany his guide through the immense tracts of heaven. By degrees his eyes will become clear and "*Nudaque se nobis offert natura videndam*,"—a very modern way of putting it. He then explains how the stars move. They revolve in a perpetual and constant circle, "for that is the only force in round bodies." This is effected by each one being fixed to a sphere through which it sticks like a nail in the rim of a wheel or a knot in a board of maple :

Superest ut fixa per orbes
Quaeque suos (veluti tympana summa rotarum
Clavus inhaerescit, tabula vel nodus acerna)
Perpetuo maneant, et cum se verterit orbis,
Astra suum peragant cum cœlo tracta meatum.

These crystal spheres are eight in number, sphere within sphere, the Earth being in the centre. Next to it is the Moon, then Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and lastly all the fixed stars. A beautiful passage describes this eighth sphere flying with its "swift array of stars, a thousand eyes, a thousand little fires under the sleepy night scattering the dark shadows of pitchy gloom, lest the wayfarer rashly wander through the dark, lest the wandering sailor lose himself on unknown seas, lest the watchman waking all the night should

tell the hours unequally." Above this eighth sphere are the secret temples of the Gods, where neither diseases nor grief nor anxious care disturb the fretting minds with fear, but where there is rest without a care and life that knows not old age. The wisdom of the ancients had come to know these eight spheres and their motions, and though reason has shown that what they taught is true, "nevertheless ignorance sunk so far in blind darkness ceases not to rail at them and is daring enough to condemn the heaven to rest and to turn the solid earth into a swiftly moving mass." He then explains that the heaven is spherical, giving very fanciful reasons, and refers to the Assyrian astronomers using an artificial globe, "*ad speciem penitus tornata rotundam.*" The heavenly bodies revolve from east to west, returning daily to the spot from whence they started and following the same path. And so the book proceeds to state the movements of the five planets, *quinque erronee*, the Sun and Moon which are called *Titania astra*, and advises Timoleon, in order to understand them better, to draw their orbits in sand. The conclusion from the observation of the heavens and the regularity of the motions of the stars is that there are no men, however uncultured, who can look upon the stars and not believe that there is a God :

esse Deum credat, vim scilicet illam,
Quae regat immensam justo moderamine molem,
Et moveat nostros per tot miracula sensus.

The third book of *De Sphaera* abounds in beautiful passages as well as in such information as a scholar was expected to know about the stars.

"Hitherto you have roamed widely, Timoleon, in the vast Olympus, with wandering chariot, nowhere a resting place, nowhere an abiding home. Tighten now for a little your loose reins, and with your mind narrow down the great fields and the measureless expanse of ether, and with me mark out with boundary lines the limits of the world, so that a mind, child of heaven, may grow accustomed little by little to know its native home, while the breezes rustle in the leaves, while, softly gleaming, the glory of the meadows harmonizes, while Apollo favours, and the Muses, not unpropitious, smile kindly on our songs."

After this introduction begins a systematic survey of the heavens, with much technical information and abundant myth.

First the poles are described, located and named, the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, the Tropics, the Solstices, the Equator, and the five Zones. The study of this as an astronomical treatise must have been extremely hard owing to the continual calls it makes on classical lore. The constellation, Aries, for example, is not called always by so direct a name, but is designated *Phryxi vector*. References to more obscure myths than even this are constantly pulling the student up. From the Zones we pass on to the Ecliptic and the Zodiac:

Hic auro gravidas Phœbus molitur habenas,
 Hic varias ponitque et sumit Delia formas,
 Hic quinque Errones, sed certis legibus errant,
 Exercentque suas cœlo gaudente choreas.

Then follow the twelve Signs of the Zodiac in order, from *Phryxi vector* onwards. Each constellation is described, sometimes in exquisite lines, and the story of each is told. Then comes a beautiful passage about the Milky Way and the various stories of its origin; whether it was a streak of milk from Juno's breast, or the track of Phaethon's headlong car, or, anticipating modern discoveries, the accumulated light of many feeble stars:

, . . . multas magno sine lumine stellâs
 Exiguas credunt collata luce nitorem
 Gignere ,

The Celestial Zones are then marked off. Then the Terrestrial Zones are described, each giving opportunity for splendid natural description in which Buchanan excels. Then follows a passage about the tropical regions and the overflowing of the Nile, a favourite mystery with ancient geographers from Herodotus downwards. The book closes with a fine passage about the Spanish ships once more.

The fourth book is a mere fragment. The subject is stated in the first eleven lines, thus:

Nunc mihi stellarumque ortus obitusque canenti
 Sis facilis, caussas penitus dum promo latentes,
 Cur lenta Oceanum linquant hæc, illa repente
 Signa per obliquum properent ascendere cœlum ;
 Cur iterum falsas subeant hæc ocyus undas,
 Illa trahant lento molimine gressus :
 Cur ubi Sol mediam cœli conscendit in arcem,
 Longior hic, alibi contractior exeat umbra :
 Cur Thebaea suas consumat Pyramis umbras :
 Cur hic aequa dies semper cum nocte recurrat,
 Una dies et nox una illic finiat annus.

Rising and setting are defined and compared to the birth and death of mortals. Risings and settings are classed as *ortus matutinus* and *ortus vespertinus* or *receptus matutinus* and *lapsus vespertinus*. Stars rise and set at different times in different countries. The Chaldean astronomer by reckoning fifteen degrees of arc to the hour was able to explain the apparent irregularities :

. . . quanto
Tardius haec illis spatio emergantque cadantque,
Et velut apposita motus deprendere norma.

The fifth book opens with a fine apostrophe :

Maeti animi, heroës, seclis melioribus orti,
Qui primi . . .
. . . magni intrastis penetralia cœli.

and taught mankind the truth.

Not blind ambition, nor alluring pleasure, nor wakeful cares, nor the pallid plague of gain kept you from penetrating with your minds into regions hidden from the senses, and from dragging out of the secret chambers of the gods the laws of the stars unknown throughout the ages.

In contrast with these *macti animi* is the mind of those who care for none of these things. A noble passage describes these, the majority of mankind. So little does such a mind know of nature that :

. quicquid vel profuit olim,
Vel nocuit, putat esse Deum.

Thunder and lightning, even the squeaking of a mouse, or the flight of a raven terrifies such a mind, and vain superstitions prevail. Of this ignorance the Astrologer takes full advantage. The ascription of the blame of all evil to the stars teaches men to give loose rein to wickedness, hands over heaven to the wicked, and, by excusing, encourages the mad doings of kings. Not the vulgar throng only, but the very greatest of men are scared by eclipses of the sun and moon. Such a fear caused the defeat of the Athenians and the loss of their fleet long ago in Sicily. So at Pydna, when the armies of Perseus and Aemilius Paulus were face to face, the former was terror-stricken by an eclipse of the moon : so would the Roman army have been, had not Gallus (the orator, who was tribune of the soldiers in that campaign), addressing the army, forewarned them of the coming eclipse and explained its cause.

Addressing Timoleon the poet proceeds to explain the nature of eclipses and their cause. First of all he gives a tribute of praise to whoever it was who first delivered the minds of men from so great darkness, and comments on the strange fact that men have recorded the deeds of Xerxes, of Caesar and of Alexander, but have forgotten what benefits they received from Endymion. He shall no longer be forgotten :

nam nostrae si qua est fiducia Musae,

posterity shall remember him with gratitude.

Then follows in a beautiful passage the story of Endymion, the shepherd, paying for perennial youth with perennial sleep upon the Latmian hills, loved by Delia (the moon) who visited him and embraced him every night, till, awakened at last, he returned her love and was taken up by her into her kingdom and shown all its secrets. This knowledge Endymion, having returned to the Latmian hills, diffused throughout Greece. Late in the ages it reached the Romans, of whom Gallus was the first to expound it. Again at more length the story of the eclipse at the battle of Pydna is told. Then the theory of eclipses is stated.

The temptation is great to continue an account of this fine poem in detail. Enough has been said, however, to give the reader some idea of its scope and the order of the topics. Nothing but an actual perusal of it can give any idea of its power, or of the splendour of the genius of its author. Is it too much to hope that one day it may be translated and made known to a larger circle by some one better equipped for the task than the author of this imperfect sketch can claim to be?

J. W. M.

XVIII.

The Writings of George Buchanan.

WHEN arranging the details of the Quater-Centenary Celebration at St. Andrews, the General Committee decided that there should be a Buchanan Exhibition in the University Library consisting of portraits, books, manuscripts, and, if possible, relics of the poet and historian. The search for manuscripts and relics was ultimately abandoned and the exhibition confined chiefly to portraits and printed books. It was hoped that it might have been possible to make the display of editions practically complete and to print a catalogue of them in the form of a Buchanan bibliography. But it was soon found that many blanks could not readily be filled up and that it would consequently be impossible to include a satisfactory Buchanan bibliography in the present memorial volume. Such a bibliography may be attempted later on, when the permanent collection of Buchanan's works in the University Library has made further progress. This collection has been got together mainly within the last twenty years, but it is already a fairly representative one. Up to that time very little interest had been taken in the bibliography of Buchanan at St. Andrews, and the selection of his works in the University Library was a very meagre one. So far as can be learned from extant catalogues, St. Leonard's College Library never possessed more than one volume—the Basel edition of the *Franciscanus* and other poems—and it was presented by Dr. Mungo Murray. If it is the same copy that is now in the University Library it had previously belonged to Mr. Thomas Gilbert "iure emptionis possessor, 10 solid." St. Salvator's College Library was better off, having at least eight volumes; but these have nearly all disappeared. In 1825 the University Library catalogue contained only twelve entries under Buchanan: it now contains over a hundred.

Pending the appearance of a formal bibliography, it has been thought desirable, as a slight record of the exhibition, to give a short account of Buchanan's writings and of the principal editions through which they have passed in their original texts as well as in translations. It need hardly be said that the subject matter of the books does not come within the scope of these notes. Nothing more has been attempted than a bare statement of titles, publishers or printers, and dates. What follows has been written mainly on the basis of the volumes exhibited: editions not actually seen have only been mentioned when they were found recorded in library catalogues or in other reliable works of reference.

The complete works of George Buchanan were first published, under the editorship of Thomas Ruddiman, by Robert Freebairn, at Edinburgh, in 1715, in two folio volumes. The plan of such a collection had originally been formed by George Mosman, another Edinburgh printer, and the impression was actually proceeding as early as 1702; but after a few sheets had been completed the property was transferred to Freebairn.¹ Both editor and publisher did their best to make the edition worthy of the author. Ruddiman's preface, annotations, and critical dissertation are of great value and display exceptional knowledge and learning, while his care for the text is vouched for in many illuminating foot-notes. Although somewhat inconvenient in size, the volumes are pleasant to read, being well printed in bold clear type. The large paper copies on superior paper, such as that in possession of the Signet Library, are admirable examples of book-production. But Ruddiman's manner of dealing with his author's political opinions so offended many of Buchanan's admirers that an association was speedily formed for the express purpose of producing another edition of his works. This scheme proved abortive, and as yet no new edition of Buchanan's works has been brought out in Scotland. In 1725, however, an edition was published at Leyden, in two stout quarto volumes, edited by Dr. Peter Burman. This edition is, in the main, a reprint of Ruddiman's, with additional annotations, chiefly of a philological nature, by the new editor. It is less correctly printed than the Edinburgh edition, but has the advantage of being more convenient

¹ Irving, "Memoirs of Buchanan," 1817, p. IX.

to work with.¹ Some of Burman's observations on Buchanan and his country gave so much offence in Scotland that Ruddiman felt called upon in his old age to administer a severe rebuke to the Dutch Professor.²

Roughly speaking, about two-thirds of the entire bulk of Buchanan's writings are in prose, the remaining third being in different kinds of verse. He made his first public appearance as a writer in prose, but in all probability his earliest efforts at literary composition were in Latin verse. This may, in fact, be inferred from what is said in the *Vita* of his having given much attention to the writing of poetry, partly from natural inclination and partly from necessity, in his early student days at Paris. Like many another teacher, Buchanan felt the need of a new text-book for his pupils' use—something more practical than the *Doctrinale Puerorum* of Alexander, and less tedious than the *Grammatica* of Despauterius. And so he translated into Latin the elementary grammar of the Latin language which Thomas Linacre had composed in English for the use of the Princess Mary, and had it printed by Robertus Stephanus at Paris in 1533. The success of his enterprise is attested by the fact that edition after edition of the translation followed each other in rapid succession. At least ten editions are said to have been published in France within thirty years. Of these the following six were included in the exhibition at St. Andrews besides the first edition of 1533:—Lyons, 1539; Paris, 1540; Lyons, 1541 and 1544; Paris, 1546 and 1550. All the Parisian editions were published by Stephanus. The first Lyons edition was published by the heirs of Simon Vincent; the two others (which differ only in date) by Sebastian Gryphius. The dates of other editions appear to be 1545, 1548, 1552, 1556, and 1559.

Following the *Rudimenta Grammatices* came the four

¹ Father Prout, writing of Buchanan, rather overshot the mark by twitting the Scots with "a greater disposition to glory in the fame he has acquired for them than an anxiety to read his works, of which there was never an edition published on the other side of the great wall of Antonine save one, and that not until the year 1715, by Ruddiman in 1 vol. folio. The continental editions are innumerable" (*Reliques*, Bohn's Illustrated Library, 1866, p. 559). The editions of portions of Buchanan's writings published abroad are very numerous indeed; but when it comes to a question of editions of his "Works," Scotland is rather more than even with the Continent.

² Irving, "Memoirs of Buchanan," 1817, p. XIV.

plays—*Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Jephthes*, *Baptistes*—two of them being translations and two original compositions. All four were written at Bordeaux, while Buchanan was a Regent in the College of Guyenne, and were acted by the students as part of their academical training in accordance with a widely prevalent custom of the time. The *Medea* was acted at Bordeaux in 1543, and was first published at Paris, by Michel Vascosan, in 1544.¹ It was included (along with the *Alcestis*) in a volume of *Tragoediae Selectae* published by Henricus Stephanus in 1567, and has frequently been reprinted. It is not known when the *Alcestis* was first acted. Vascosan was licensed to print it on 7th February 1553, but he seems to have delayed doing so until December 1556, when the volume appeared in small quarto form and printed in much larger type than the *Medea*. As already remarked it was reprinted along with the *Medea* in 1567. These two plays were again issued together (along with the Greek text of Euripides) by Ruddiman “in usum Academiae Scoticarum” in 1722. Buchanan’s metrical version of the *Alcestis* was also appended to J. H. Monk’s edition of the Greek text published at Cambridge in 1816 and several times reprinted. Both plays have likewise been inserted in numerous editions of Buchanan’s poetical works from 1568 onwards.

The *Baptistes*, Buchanan’s first original composition, was probably written about the year 1541, but it was not published until 1578, when two editions appear to have been issued simultaneously—one at Edinburgh “apud Henricum Charteris,” and another at London, without publisher’s name, but with the notice “Et prostant Antuerpiae apud Iacobum Henricium.” Copies bearing the Edinburgh imprint are extremely rare, but it is in all respects uniform with the London issue, which may have been put upon the market by Vautrollier. It was dedicated to the young King in a brief “Epistola,” dated at Stirling 1st November 1576. In the following year (1579) a new edition appeared at Frankfort “apud Andream Wechelum,” and in the same year it was reprinted, along with other matter, at Paris “apud Mamertum Patissonium, Typographum Regium: In

¹ Professor H. de la Ville de Mirmont in Chapter V.—“George Buchanan à Bordeaux,” p. 36 note, states that the Municipal Library of Bordeaux possesses a copy of the edition of 1543. But as his description of the volume corresponds exactly with the 1544 edition, there has probably been a misreading of the date (M.D. XLIII.).

officina Roberti Stephani." In 1618 it was included in the *Homo Diabolus* of Caspar Dornavius, and thereafter took its place in the various collected editions of Buchanan's poems. At Tours, in 1586, Brisset, sieur de Sauvage, published a French translation of the *Baptistes* along with other compositions of a kindred nature. Another, by Pierre de Brinon, appeared at Rouen in 1613 and was reprinted there in the following year; while as late as 1823 a third was published in Aignan's *Bibliothèque étrangère*. An undated German translation by A. Lobwasser also exists, as well as a Dutch translation by J. de Decker, dated 1656. Under the title of *Tyrannical-Government anatomized: or, A discourse concerning evil-councillors*, an English translation of the *Baptistes* was, on 30th January 1642, ordered by the House of Commons to be forthwith printed and published. This translation was afterwards attributed to Milton, and was reprinted, with a preface and notes, by Francis Peck in his "New memoirs of the life and poetical works of Mr. John Milton," London 1740. Another translation (along with the *Jephthes*) by Alexander Gibb, appeared in 1870, and a third by the Rev. A. Gordon Mitchell in 1904. "The sacred Dramas of George Buchanan, translated into English verse by Archibald Brown, minister of the parish of Legerwood" (Edinburgh, James Thin, 1906) was not published in time to be included in the exhibition.

The *Jephthes* was first published at Paris in 1554, "apud Guil. Morelium," with a dedicatory preface by the author dated 28th July of the same year. It was reprinted in 1557 by Vascosan in a style similar to his edition of the *Alcestis*. In 1575, R. Stephanus published it along with the Psalms and other poems. A French translation by Claude de Vesel figures among the books printed by R. Stephanus in 1566. Another French translation, by Florent Chrestien, was published by L. Rabier, at Orleans, in 1567. Reprints of this translation appeared at Paris in 1573, 1581, 1587, and 1595. Pierre de Brinon also produced a French translation at Rouen in 1614. German translations, by four different hands, are ascribed to 1569, 1571, 1595, and 1604; while a Polish translation, first printed in 1843, was reprinted in 1854 and 1855. In 1750, an English prose translation by William Tait, schoolmaster in Drummelzier, appeared at Edinburgh without the publisher's name. Mr Gibb's trans-

lation, as already noted, appeared in 1870, and a further translation, by the Rev. A. Gordon Mitchell with illustrations by Miss Jessie M. King, was published in 1903. A very neatly printed edition of the original text came from the Foulis press at Glasgow in 1775. It is also to be met with in most editions of the *Poemata*.

In the dedication of his *Historia* to King James the Sixth, Buchanan explains that on his return to his native country, after twenty-four years of wandering, his first care was to gather together his various writings, which had got scattered and mutilated amid the troubles of bygone days. He complains, too, that injudicious friends had rushed some of them immaturely through the press, while others had suffered at the hands of copyists, who, assuming the role of censors, had altered and even vilely corrupted his meaning. His plans were all upset, he says, by an urgent demand from many quarters that he should devote his time to writing the history of his nation. But he had made some progress with the task to which he had first set himself, and he speedily became known throughout Europe as easily the chief poet of his age. It was just before coming to St. Andrews in 1566 to take up his duties as Principal of St. Leonard's College that his fame as a poet began to spread. In that year, or the year before, the *Paraphrasis Psalmorum* was first printed in full; then followed the *Franciscanus*, and next the shorter poems.

The most popular and widely read of all Buchanan's works was undoubtedly the *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, the greater part of which he wrote during his imprisonment in the Convent of San Bento, at Lisbon, in 1551-52. For more than two centuries and a half it found a ready sale throughout Europe, and edition after edition poured from the printing presses of Great Britain and the Continent. It is impossible to say, with any close approach to accuracy, how many editions of the *Paraphrasis* have been published. It is quite evident that a good many of the editions recorded in bibliographies and sale catalogues are the result of typographical or other errors, as they cannot be found in Libraries. But after making every allowance, there cannot have been fewer than seventy separate editions or reprints, and there may have been considerably more. At first the task of publisher and printer was clearly to supply the wants of educated people who took pleasure in reading Latin poetry for

its own sake. As time went on, however, and as Latin became less and less familiar to the general reader, school editions began to predominate. This is specially the case in the eighteenth century and in the first quarter of the nineteenth, after which the publication of the *Paraphrasis* ceased. Ruddiman's text of 1715 formed the basis of all the school editions published in this country (one of the best of which was printed at Edinburgh in 1812); but an earlier edition "in usum scholarum recusa" had appeared at Stendal in 1710.¹ The *Paraphrasis*, indeed, was to some extent used as a school book even in Buchanan's own lifetime,² and there are Scotsmen still living who owe part of their training in Latin to the study of that work. In some grammar schools it was the usual lesson-book for Saturday, in others it was read on Monday. Being a paraphrase of part of an inspired volume, it was permissible to the pupils, without fear of censure, to do their "grinding" on Sunday. But the little volumes, bound in the once familiar sheepskin, have long been banished from the schools, and no new edition in any form has been called for for more than three-quarters of a century.

It was in 1556 that a selection of eighteen of Buchanan's "Psalms" first left the press. They were contained in a small volume bearing the title "Davidis Psalmi aliquot Latino carmine expressi a quatuor illustribus Poetis, quos quatuor regiones Gallia, Italia, Germania, Scotia genuerunt: in gratiam studiosorum poetices inter se commissi ab Henrico Stephano, cujus etiam nonnulli Psalmi Graeci cum aliis Graecis itidem comparatis in calce libri habentur." From the dedication it is clear that Stephanus was alone responsible for the publication of this comparative collection. He placed Buchanan's versions first in order of merit, and after them those of Antonius Flaminus, an Italian, Salmon Macrin, a Frenchman, Eobanus Hesus, a German, and Rapičius Jovita, also an Italian. The first complete edition was the joint production of H. and R. Stephanus. It is without date and

¹ "Nullum ego," says Burman, "si ab antiquioribus decesseris, celebrari unquam audivi aut legi, qui cum Buchanano contendere possit; aut cujus scripta tam assidua doctorum virorum manu versata, et etiam in publicis et privatis scholis pueris et adolescentibus ediscenda fuerint data."

² Chytraeus, writing in 1584, states that five years previously it had been resolved that the *Paraphrasis* should be prescribed for the first class in the school in which he taught at Rostock.

the exact year of its publication has not been ascertained definitely. The probability seems to be that it was issued in 1565, or in the early part of 1566. It is a well-printed octavo volume, bearing the title: "Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica, nunc primum edita, authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto, poetarum nostri saeculi facillè princepe. Eiusdem Davidis Psalmi aliquot à Th[eodoro] B[eza] V[ezelio] versi. Psalmi aliquot in versus item Graecos nuper à diuersis translati. Apud Henricum Stephanum, et eius fratrem Robertum Stephanum, typographum Regium. Ex privilegio regis." The Greek versions form an appendix of 46 pages, with a separate pagination. This "editio princeps" was followed in 1566 by an edition in 16mo from the same press, in which the *Jephthes* was included and the Greek versions omitted. The first edition was reprinted, also in 1566, at Strassburg, by Josias Rihelius; and in the same year another edition, including the *Jephthes*, was issued at Antwerp. "ex officina Christophori Plantini"—making four distinct editions within a period of perhaps from twelve to eighteen months. Plantin's edition was reprinted in 1567 with the Greek versions added. Other editions came from the same press in 1571 and 1582. In 1575 R. Stephanus reprinted the *Paraphrasis* and *Jephthes*, and in that year H. Stephanus likewise brought out the "Psalmorum Davidis aliquot metaphrasis Graeca, Joannis Serrani," to which the Latin paraphrase of Buchanan is subjoined. Another edition, "omnia multò quàm antehac emendatoria," was printed by R. Stephanus in 1580, and seems to have been the last issued from that famous press. Other sixteenth century editions were produced at Strassburg in 1568 and 1572, London in 1580, Morges in 1581, Frankfort in 1585,¹ Herborn in 1590, 1595 and 1600, Geneva in 1593 and 1594, and Leyden in 1595.

Subsequent editions are too numerous to be mentioned here in detail. It must suffice to say that in the exhibition were included editions printed at Paris in 1646 (selections); Leyden 1609 and 1621; Frankfort in 1605; Herborn in 1616, 1619, 1637, 1646, 1656, and 1664; Stendal in 1710; London in 1620,

¹ In this edition, as well as in all those printed at Herborn and some others, the Psalms are set to music, and are accompanied by arguments and scholia from the pen of Nathan Chytraeus. On the advice of the printer, the scholia were issued in a separate booklet, but it is usually bound up with the text. The music was composed or adapted by Statius Olthovius of Osnabrück.

1648, 1660, and 1742; Edinburgh in 1699, 1716, 1725, 1730, 1737 (the most comprehensively annotated edition), 1772 (with Waddel's prose translation), 1812, 1815, 1816 (Waddel's translation only), and 1825; Glasgow in 1750, 1765, 1790, 1797 (with and without Waddel's translation), and 1836 (John Eadie's verse translation).

It will be noticed that Scotland was somewhat late in taking up the printing of the *Paraphrasis*. Renouard asserts that a re-impression of the Paris edition was published at Edinburgh in 1566, with many corrections by Buchanan himself. This, of course, is a mistake, arising from a misreading of Buchanan's letter to Peter Daniel, dated at Edinburgh 24th July 1566. Three editions are attributed to Andrew Hart, viz., 1611, 1615, and 1621. According to the British Museum Catalogue, the 1621 edition is a reprint of the London edition of 1592, of which an earlier edition is said to have appeared in 1590. The 1615 edition, as issued along with Buchanan's poetical works, may have been printed in Edinburgh, but it has all the appearance of having been imported from Holland. The 1611 edition has been described as "very scarce," and a copy could not be got for exhibition. Another seventeenth century Scotch edition that could not be found is said to have been printed at Aberdeen by John Forbes, younger, in 1672. The sole authority for its existence—a sale catalogue of 1842—is a very unreliable one.

There has always been some uncertainty as to when the *Franciscanus* was first published. The dedicatory letter to the Earl of Moray, written at St. Andrews on 5th June 1564, fixes the time at which it had been completed by the author for the press. But this letter did not appear in print until 1711,¹ and it was not prefixed to the poem itself until Ruddiman did so in his edition of the *Opera Omnia* of 1715. In an address to the reader of the Letters he says: "Ne quis autem Geo. Buchanani ad Moraviae Comitem Epistolam, quae in Edit. Lond. quarta occurrit, incuria nostra intercidisse caussari possit, monendus est eam suo loco ante Franciscanum (cujus nuncupatoria est) esse repositam." Dr. David Murray, of Glasgow, is the owner of an extremely rare pamphlet of 56 unnumbered octavo pages entitled "Georgii Buchanani

¹ In "Georgii Buchanani Scoti ad viros sui seculi clarissimos, eorumque ad eundem, Epistolae. Ex MSS. accurate descriptae, nunc primum in lucem editae." Londini, impensis D. Brown et Gul. Taylor.

Scoti, Franciscanus. Varia eiusdem authoris poemata. M.D.LXVI." There is no mention of place or printer, but it is bound up with another pamphlet of 46 numbered pages containing the "Psalmi aliquot in versus Graecos nuper à diuersis translati," which accompanies and forms part of the first edition of Buchanan's *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*. The two pamphlets are quite uniform in size and style, and are evidently from the same press. There is thus every reason to believe that this is the first edition of the *Franciscanus*, and that it was printed by H. or R. Stephanus, although its title is not to be met with in the "Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne" of Renouard. Prefixed to the *Franciscanus* is the *Somnium*, and appended are twenty-five *Epigrammata* and the first *Palinodia*. The last page contains "Ad vanam superstitionem G. C. Iurecons. Apostrophe," and "Patricii Adamsoni Scoti de Buch. carmen." A French translation by Florent Chrestien was published by Nicolas de Mergely, at Sedan, in 1599, under the title of "Le Cordelier, ou Le Saint François." The volume also contains the *Songe*, the *Palinodie*, and various other pieces.¹ An English translation, by George Provand, appeared at Glasgow in 1809, and another, by Alexander Gibb, at Edinburgh, in 1871.

An edition of the *Elegiae*, *Silvae*, and *Hendecasyllabi* was printed by R. Stephanus at Paris in 1567, with a dedication to Peter Daniel, dated at Edinburgh 24th July 1566. It was re-issued, with the addition of the *Baptistes*, in 1579, "apud Mamer-tum Patissonium." Meanwhile, in 1569, H. Stephanus had printed a selection of Buchanan's poems, including the *Franciscanus*, *Elegiae*, *Silvae*, etc., as a companion volume to the second edition of Beza's poems. A larger collection, comprising the *Franciscanus* and *Fratres*, the *Elegiae*, *Silvae*, *Odae*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, and *Jephthes* followed from the press of Thomas Guarinus Nervius at Basel, in or about 1568, in a well printed volume containing also the poems of various other writers. Another collection containing, in addition, the *Epigrammata* and a fragment of the *Sphaera*, but omitting the plays, appeared without place or publisher, but apparently at Heidelberg, in 1584. Ten years later these pieces were re-issued, along with the five books of the *Sphaera*; and in 1597 a second part followed,

¹ Brunet and La Ville de Mirmont mention an earlier edition, Geneva 1567.

“apud Petrum Sanctandream,” containing the “Tragoediae sacrae et exterae.” Both parts were republished in 1609 “in Bibliopolio Commeliniano,” at Heidelberg.

During the seventeenth century, collected editions of Buchanan’s *Poemata* were issued from various presses in neat little pocket volumes, printed in very small type. The first of these bears the imprint of Andrew Hart, Edinburgh, and is dated 1615. It is made up in two sections, the one containing the *Franciscanus*, *Elegiae*, *Sphaera*, etc., and the other the *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*. The editor is said to have been John Ray, first Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh. Other editions, differently made up and containing the *Alcestis* and *Medea* as well, were published in the following order:—1621 (Saumur, Cl. Girard and others, and Leyden, Abraham Elzevir); 1628 (Leyden, Elzevir); 1641 (Amsterdam, Jansson); 1665 (Amsterdam, Waesberge); 1676 (Amsterdam, Daniel Elzevir); 1677 (Edinburgh, John Cairns); 1687 (Amsterdam, Henry Wetsten.) An edition on a larger page and in more readable type was published at London by B. Griffin in “The Old Baily” in 1686, and remains the best collection of Buchanan’s poetical works in an easily read and handy form.

The *Sphaera*, in a separate form (“quinque libris descripta: nunc primum è tenebris eruta et luce donata”) was first published at Herborn in 1586, by Christopher Corvin, with a dedicatory epistle by Robert Howie, afterwards Principal of St. Mary’s College, St. Andrews, at the time a student at Herborn. In the following year another edition was put forth by the same publisher, with supplements to books IV. and V. by John Pincier.

The poem addressed to Henry II. of France “post victos Caletes” came from the press of R. Stephanus, at Paris, in 1558, in a tract of eight pages (whereof two are blank) entitled *De Caletis nuper ab Henrico II. Francorum rege invictiss. recepta, Georgii Buchanani Carmen*. Four lines were, however, subsequently added. An English version of this poem may be read among the “Reliques of Father Prout,” in Bohn’s Illustrated Library.

An English version of the *Epithalamium*, along with the Latin text was published by Archdeacon Wrangham, in 1837, in his “*Epithalamia tria Mariana*”; and in 1845 an edition,

restricted to 61 copies, of an older anonymous translation, dating from about 1711, was printed at Edinburgh from the scarce copy preserved in a volume of pamphlets in the Advocates' Library. Another translation, by George Provand, had been published in 1809, along with the *Franciscanus*. The text of this Marriage Ode was included in the *Silvae* printed in 1567, and occurs in many subsequent editions of Buchanan's poems.

"The *Stoic King*, from Seneca; by Buchanan: to which is added his Dedication of the Latin Paraphrase of the Psalms to Mary Queen of Scots. Translated into English verse: with notes" is the title of a sixteen page pamphlet printed at Edinburgh in 1807. The *Rex Stoicus ex Seneca* is usually appended to the *De Jure Regni*.

The *Silvae* and the *Hymnus Matutinus ad Christum*, translated into English verse by J. Longmuir, LL.D., Aberdeen, was published at Edinburgh in 1871 in a pamphlet of 48 pages.

Attention may also be drawn to the verse translations, with explanatory notes, of the *Fratres Fraterrimi*, *Epigrammata*, and *Miscellanea*, by Robert Monteith, M.A., printed at Edinburgh for the heirs of Andrew Anderson, in 1708, although the translator warns the reader that "Buchanan's Learn'd and Witty Jests, by way of this translation, suffer much Decay." Translations of a number of Buchanan's single poems and epigrams lie hid in old magazines and other out of the way places. Some of these are good, and might be worth reprinting; but, in the words of Dr. Robert Chambers, written more than seventy years ago, "it is an honour yet awaiting some future scholar, to give to his unlettered countrymen to feel somewhat of the grace and strength that characterize the performances of George Buchanan."

In 1571 *Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis* appeared in three separate editions. Two of them were printed by Robert Lekprevik at Stirling. The third was "imprinted at London by Iohn Daye, accordyng to the Scottish copie printed at Striailyng by Robert Lekpreuik"; but it may have come second in point of time, being reprinted from Lekprevik's first edition. Lekprevik's second edition, besides minor variations, introduces a new paragraph of ten lines on page 13. In the Advocates' Library copy (which was shown at the exhibition) some one has written, in an eighteenth century hand, "This

last § is not in the next following copy, which seems to have been a former edition, nor in the MS. 1570, Cotton's Library." Another note by the same hand, referring to a statement on page 30, says, "Hence it is evident this libel has been written before the English army entered Scotland, which was about the middle of May 1570." Lowndes mentions a St. Andrews edition of 1572, but it has not been traced. The *Admonitioun* was reprinted in 1745 and again in 1808, in the third volume of the "Harleian Miscellany." A reprint of Lekprevik's second edition forms Appendix II. of Irving's "Memoirs of Buchanan," 1817. The same issue is included in the "Works of Mr George Buchanan in the Scottish language," published at Edinburgh in 1823. The most recent edition is that contained in the "Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan," edited, from an early manuscript, for the Scottish Text Society, by Professor Hume Brown in 1892. The *Admonitioun* was actually printed for Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan's Works, and was intended to occupy the first ten pages of the sheets allotted to it and the *Chamaeleon*. But from some prudential considerations on the part of the editor or publisher, it was afterwards suppressed.¹ Copies containing it are, however, frequently to be met with, printed in smaller type in double columns, and filling, with an "Advertisement," only six pages. The *Admonitioun* was not included in Burman's edition of the Works.

About the same period (1570), Buchanan wrote "The *Chamaeleon*, or, the crafty statesman: described in the character of Mr. Maitland of Lethington, Secretary of Scotland," and the printing of it is said to have been begun by Lekprevik in April 1571. It was, however, successfully stopped by Maitland, and the pamphlet was made public for the first time at London in 1710 in a volume known as "Miscellanea Antiqua" in England and as "Miscellanea Scotica" in Scotland. The editor remarks, "The *Chamaeleon* was written originally in English, we have chang'd nothing, save the old spellings, and some obsolete words." It was printed from the manuscript in the Cotton Library in the *Opera Omnia*, 1715 and 1725, and in the second volume of another "Miscellanea Scotica" published at Glasgow in 1818. Other re-prints will be found in Irving's "Memoirs," 1817, Appendix II. 2; in the "Works of Buchanan in the Scottish

¹ See note on p. 154 of Irving's *Memoirs* of Buchanan, 1817.

language," 1823; in Aikman's translation of the *Historia*, vol. 1, 1827; and in the "Vernacular Writings" of Buchanan, 1892. In 1741 appeared the "Chameleon redivivus: or, Nathaniel's character revers'd. A satire . . . against the Laird of Lidington. . . . Reprinted, and most humbly inscribed to a learned C[ler]k of the T[eind] C[ourt] of E[dinburgh]."

A third piece written by Buchanan in the Scottish vernacular was his *Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Andros*. It was first published as Appendix III. to Irving's "Memoirs of Buchanan," 1817. It was re-edited for the Bannatyne Club and printed in the second volume of its "Miscellany" in 1836. A third and much more carefully supervised edition will be found in the "Vernacular Writings" published by the Scottish Text Society in 1892. Although printed from the same original manuscript, this edition differs very much in spelling from Irving's, and the text is also somewhat different.

Buchanan's famous *Detectio* was first issued to the world in a little volume bearing a title beginning "De Maria Scotorum Regina." Accompanying it was a tract of greater length, by another hand, entitled "Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam"; and appended were three letters written by the Queen to Bothwell, about which much has since been heard. The volume bore no date, and place and publisher were likewise withheld; but it is known to have been printed in 1571 by John Daye, of London. The book has sometimes been dated 1572, and as slight variations are observable in the typography, it is just possible that there may have been a re-issue in that year. In 1571 there was also issued (without imprint), from the same press as the Latin edition, an English translation under the title of "Ane Detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretensed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, maintaineris of the kingis graces actioun and authoritie. Translated out of the Latine quhilke was written by G. B." Of this translation there were two issues, the earlier of which is recognisable by the misplacement of the initial letter of the word "actioun," which had been accidentally dropped and inserted in the word "authoritie," making it read "authaoritie." There is no alteration in the text of the volume. In 1572 a Scotch

edition of the *Detectio* was "imprentit at Sanctandros be Robert Lekpreuik." This was followed in 1572-3 by a French translation, "Histoire de Marie Royné d'Escosse," ascribed to "a Huguenot *avocat* of Rochelle, named Cumez."¹ It was in all probability published in France although it bears to have been published in Edinburgh, and has the following colophon: "Acheué d'imprimer à Edimbourg, ville capitale d'Escosse, le 13. de Feurier, 1572. Par moy Thomas Waltem." As the "Histoire tragique de Marie Royné d'Escosse" it again appeared in the "Mémoires de l'estat de France sous Charles IX.," tom. 1, 1579. An edition of the *Detectio*, "translated into Scotch, and now made English," was printed, without place, in 1651, and again at London in 1689. It is the first item in an Appendix to Buchanan's History of Scotland, published at London in 1721, and it was once more reproduced, from the copy printed at St. Andrews, in Anderson's "Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland," vol. 2, 1727. The *Detectio*, in Latin and French, as well as the "Actio," are further accessible in Jebb's "Autores Sedecim," vol. 1, London, 1725. In connection with the *Detectio*, mention may be made of "The copie of a letter, written by one in London to his frend, concernyng the credit of the late published Detection of the doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland. Without date, black letter, 12mo, containing fourteen pages; and, by some, thought to have been written by the learned Buchanan," printed in Anderson's Collections, vol. 2, 1727, in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. 3, London 1745, and in Sommers's Tracts, vol. 14, London, 1751, as well as in the later editions of these latter collections. A copy of the original edition (ca. 1571), belonging to the Advocates' Library, containing sixteen pages, inclusive of the title-page, was exhibited at St. Andrews.

The *De Prosodia Libellus*, which Buchanan drew up as part of a new Latin manual for use in Scottish schools, has been frequently reprinted, usually as an appendix to the grammar of Despauterius. The following editions were included in the exhibition:—[1595], Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave; 1621, Edinburgh, Andrew Hart; 1660, Edinburgh, Society of Stationers; 1667, Glasgow, Robert Sanders; 1689, Edinburgh,

¹ T. F. Henderson, "The Casket Letters," 1889, p. 48.

Society of Booksellers; 1694 and 1708, Edinburgh, Heirs of Andrew Anderson.

Buchanan's celebrated political dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* first saw the light in 1579 at Edinburgh, but it had been written about ten years before, not unlikely at St. Andrews while he was still Principal of St. Leonard's College. The dedication to the King is dated at Stirling, 10th January 1579. There would appear to have been two issues of the book—one bearing the imprint "Edinburgi, apud Iohannem Rosseum, pro Henrico Charteris Anno Do. 1579, cum privilegio regali"; and the other "Anno Do. 1579," without printer, publisher, or place. An "editio secunda" followed in 1580, "ad exemplar Ioannis Rossei Edinburgi, cum privilegio Scotorum Regis," and was probably printed abroad. In the same year Ross's edition seems to have been re-issued with a new title, while an "editio tertia" is dated Edinburgh 1581. In 1610, it was translated into Dutch by Ellert de Veer, and published at Amsterdam by Pieter Pieterszoon in black letter, with a lengthy preface by the translator. In 1654 the Latin text was inserted in part V. of the *Theatrum orbis Terrarum* published at Amsterdam by John Blaeu, along with a short description of Scotland extracted from Book I. of the *Historia*. The text was also printed by Robert Urie at Glasgow in 1750, and it was appended to all the Latin editions of the *Historia* from 1583 to 1762. The first English translation was "printed in the year 1680." The name of place and publisher are withheld, and the translator (who defends his craftsmanship in an address to the reader) shelters himself behind the pseudonym "Philalethes." This translation was re-issued at London in 1689 by Richard Baldwin. A new translation was made by Robert Macfarlan and published at London in 1799, together with two dissertations, one archæological and the other historical. Macfarlan's translation was re-printed in conjunction with Rutherford's *Lex Rex*, in the third volume of the "Presbyterian's Armoury," Edinburgh 1843-46. In "Fürst und Volk nach Buchanan's und Milton's Lehre," a German translation of the Dialogue was published at Aarau in 1821.

The last, and most voluminous, of Buchanan's writings was his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, which must have occupied his leisure hours for many years. It was first published in one folio volume by Alexander Arbuthnot, at Edinburgh, in 1582,

shortly after the author's death. Next year it was reprinted, also in folio, on the Continent, probably at Geneva, "ad exemplar Alexandri Arbuthneti editum Edimburgi." Other Continental editions, in octavo, followed—at Frankfort in 1584, 1594, and 1624; Amsterdam in 1643, and Utrecht in 1668 and 1697. An "editio novissima" appeared at Edinburgh (Mosman) in 1700, and Paton re-issued Ruddiman's text there in 1727. The latest edition seems to be that edited by James Man, on the basis of the first edition, with numerous useful notes in English, printed at Aberdeen by James Chalmers in 1762. According to Irving ("Memoirs," p. 282) "of the History of Scotland there are seventeen editions." This looks like an exaggeration, as it has been found impossible to trace more than a dozen with certainty, and some of these are unaltered reprints.

An edition of the *Historia* "faithfully rendered into English" by an unknown hand was published at London in 1690, in folio. Of this version seven editions followed, more or less revised and corrected by William Bond, each in two volumes, octavo, viz., London, 1722 and 1733, Edinburgh, 1751-52, 1762, and 1766, and Glasgow 1799. A new translation, with a continuation, by James Aikman, was commenced at Glasgow, 1827, and finished at Edinburgh in 1829, in six volumes, octavo. Buchanan's *Historia* occupies the first two volumes only. This edition was re-issued at Edinburgh, Glasgow and London more than once. Still another translation, also with a continuation, by John Watkins, LL.D., was published at London in 1827 and again in 1843. Most of these English editions contain portraits of the author besides maps and other illustrations. Translations into Scotch and French remain unprinted. In 1705, under the title of "An impartial account of the affairs of Scotland . . . written by an eminent hand," a portion of Buchanan's History was published anonymously at London as an original work. It extends "from the death of James the Fifth to the tragical exit of the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland."

Within two years of his death (that is to say about 1580) Buchanan is reputed to have written, at the urgent request of friends, a short autobiography giving a condensed account of his life from his birth to his final return to Scotland. The authenticity of this *Vita*, as it is usually called, has frequently been impugned; and although there is a general consensus of opinion in favour of its being the work of Buchanan himself, there is

still an element of doubt in the matter. None of Buchanan's editors has really grappled with the question, and his biographers have been equally supine. George Chalmers boldly rejected Buchanan's authorship of the *Vita*, having convinced himself that the real author was Sir Peter Young.¹ Professor Hume Brown has declared the objections formulated by Chalmers to be groundless;² and there the controversy may be said to rest. Perhaps all that can now be affirmed with certainty is that if Buchanan did not write the *Vita* himself he dictated it to another; for it contains information regarding his life abroad that could not possibly have been given with such precision by any of his Scottish contemporaries.

A good deal has been made of the defective chronology of the *Vita* and especially of the statement it sometimes contains that Buchanan was appointed tutor to King James a year before his royal pupil was born. Ruddiman was much puzzled by this sentence and tried to explain it in different ways. Such aberrations may, however, be due, in part at least, to defective editing. In point of fact the text of the *Vita* has never been critically edited; and, such as it is, it has not even been quite fairly placed before the modern reader. It is impossible to go into the whole subject here, but a few relevant facts may be pointed out. The earliest edition mentioned by Ruddiman is 1608, but he had not seen it himself and he does not specifically refer to another with the exception of Sir Robert Sibbald's, of 1702, merely remarking that the *Vita* is to be found in many editions of the *Poemata*. He does not seem to have noticed that during the greater part of the seventeenth century two distinct versions of the *Vita* had been appearing concurrently. The difference between them is certainly not great, but it is sufficient to suggest that the one was not copied directly from the other. So far as can be ascertained at present the one version was published for the first time at Herborn in 1613, and the other at Edinburgh in 1615. There may have been earlier editions of both, but if so they have still to be discovered. When, towards the end of 1584, Nathan Chytraeus was preparing for the press the "Collectanea" or "Scholia" to his school edition of the *Paraphrasis Psalmorum* he deemed it necessary to say something about the author. So, under the heading of "De paraphraste

¹ Life of Thomas Ruddiman, London, 1794, p. 68.

² George Buchanan, humanist and reformer, Edin., 1890, p. 369.

ipso," he gave such particulars of Buchanan's life as he could glean from the *Historia* and from the prefaces to his poetical and other works. In the edition of 1590 he added the story of Buchanan's manner of rebuking King James for signing documents without reading them. Chytraeus was the first to publish this story, which had reached him in a roundabout way from Johannes Metellus, who had heard it from the lips of a nephew of Buchanan. These biographical notes remained unaltered in the editions of 1595 and 1600, so that Chytraeus, who died on 25th February, 1598, had evidently never seen the *Vita*. In the edition of 1613, however, and probably in an intervening one, the *Vita* takes the place of what Chytraeus had written. It is unlikely that the first edition of the *Vita* should have been printed at Herborn, and further investigation may yet reveal an earlier one. The next known edition is that prefixed to the *Poemata* published by Andrew Hart at Edinburgh in 1615. This is the more accurate text of the two, and is clearly not a reprint of the Herborn one. The heading of the Herborn text is simply "Georgii Buchanani Vita." The words "ab ipso scripta biennio ante mortem" have been added in the Edinburgh one. But while the Edinburgh text merely adds at the end "Obiit Edinburgi vigesimo octavo Septembris, anno salutis 1582," the Herborn one gives this more detailed information: "Haec de se Buchananus, amicorum rogatu. Obiit Edinburgi, paulo post horam quintam matutinam, die Veneris xxviii. Septembris, anno M.D.XXCII." Among minor variations it may be noted that the Herborn text prints "atque" for "avoque," "aliquam" for "ambiguum," "atque" for "itaque," "probe" for "prope," "dixit" for "dixisset," and suchlike. It also adds, as well as omits, single words here and there. In one place a whole sentence is dropped, but although havoc is thus played with the context the error seems never to have been rectified in any subsequent edition. Another omission has a more practical bearing. Ruddiman asserts that in all the editions of the *Vita* the statement is made that Buchanan was appointed tutor to the King in 1565 ("ita enim constanter exhibent omnes ejus vitae editiones"). This is perhaps true of the Scotch and Dutch editions, but in the whole series of Herborn editions this statement does not once occur. Sir Robert Sibbald, who edited the *Vita* in 1702, adding marginal dates¹ and a commentary,

¹The Herborn editor was the first to attempt to supply the *Vita* with much needed dates. His attempt was praiseworthy, but his calculations were seldom correct.

followed the former, without making any reference to the source of his text. Ruddiman, in 1715, reprinted the text of Sibbald, with a few variations, revising and multiplying the marginal dates, and adding elaborate notes and a continuation. Both Sibbald and Ruddiman adhere to the text they had adopted (it may be because they knew no other) and retain the impossible date in the last sentence—"Cui erudiendo erat praefectus anno millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto." Irving, on the other hand, while adhering in the main to Ruddiman's text prints the last sentence and the docquets which follow exactly as they stand in the Herborn editions, and in this he is followed by Professor Hume Brown. This mixing of texts, without warning to the reader, is misleading and at variance with modern methods of dealing with historical documents. It is to be hoped therefore, that some one will before long make a serious effort to trace the *Vita* to its origin, and to construct a reliable text accompanied by such critical and explanatory notes as may be necessary for its elucidation.

J. M. A.

XIX.

Buchanan's Influence on his Contemporaries.

THERE can be little doubt that when George Buchanan, in 1536, returned for a time to Scotland from the College of St. Barbe in Paris, to superintend the studies of the young Earl of Cassillis, he was already regarded by the learned of his day as one of the greatest scholars of his own or any preceding age. Nor was so exalted a reputation undeserved. For variety of culture, as well as accuracy in scholarship, for true poetic inspiration, united to a calm judicious faculty of historic and philosophic judgment and critical appraisement, for sound, well-balanced principles on the theory of government and the reciprocal duties of rulers and ruled, for a true sense of literary proportion and for an unfailing fund of wit, satire and irony—for the possession of all these in felicitous intermingling, I say, he stood unrivalled among the writers of his age.

Buchanan died just when the second epoch of Humanism was near its close, and he was amongst the latest and certainly was the greatest of its glories. That his name was familiar to the great English scholars of the mid-sixteenth century, John Ireland, Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Wilson, Roger Ascham, and others, is as certain as that he was on terms of intimacy with all the great Continental Humanists, who saw in him one of themselves, even when they failed to recognise those higher principles of character and conduct which distinguished him. There is little doubt, moreover, that his satires were far more widely known than we believe them to have been, and there are frequent lines and passages in nearly all the great English writers from Sackville and Gascoigne to Milton and Marvel which are only free translations of familiar passages in his political tracts, his satires and his historical works. Holinshed, Stow, Camden, Speed and others, reveal not only the acknowledged influence of Buchanan, but in addition more than one of them refer to him either to commend or to controvert.

Naturally, however, it is in Scottish Literature more distinctively, that is to say, in the works of writers who were not only treating of Scottish themes, but were Scotsmen born and bred, that we find the influence of Buchanan most apparent. It is wrong to imagine that the Scots and English are racially one, and that what differences do exist are merely patriotically sentimental and dialectical. Were this so Bannockburn and Flodden would never have been fought. Not only are Scot and English as racially distinct in most cases as Magyar and Czech, but their springs of sympathy and sources of national feeling are also altogether different.

To this cause must be attributed the fact that the genius of Buchanan, supreme though it was, had not the same extensive influence in England as in Scotland and the Continent of Europe. Buchanan's culture and genius had certainly more in common with the Continental Humanism than with that Elizabethan Romanticism which was then making a fight for life, before being choked in the uncongenial atmosphere of seventeenth and eighteenth century Classicism. Buchanan's Humanism was neither parochial nor one-sided—that is to say, he neither believed that the learning of any land or any epoch constituted the sum total of culture. Like Odysseus, he had studied the countries and the customs of many men and it was his prolonged *Wanderjahre* that made him the polymath he became.

Out of the fulness of his intellectual treasury he distributed to all and sundry, and it is singular to note how persistently his mind advanced along the best lines of progress and development. His earliest original works may be described as satires, the chief of these being his clever poem giving that vivid picture of his daily life as a pedagogue at Ste Barbe, his Satire on the Sorbonne, his famous *Somnium*, his *Palinodia*, and his *Franciscanus*. Of these the last three are historic. The *Somnium*, a vigorous onslaught upon the Franciscans, may, it is true, be described as in some respects little more than a paraphrase of Dunbar's splendid poem *The Visitation of St. Francis* which begins:—

This nycht befor the dawing cleir
 Me thoct St. Francis did to me appeir
 With ane religiouse abbeir in his hand
 And said "In this, go cleith the' my servand
 Refuis the warld, for thow mou be a Freir.

Both poems are inspired by the same idea, viz.—“Is it worth while to become a Churchman?” Dunbar's is the wittier piece, Buchanan's the more sustained effort of the two, but there can be no question that from the former the latter drew the materials for his poem. *Franciscanus* which traverses much the same ground as the *Somnium*, was composed at the request of James V., who seems to have given the writer some understanding that he would protect him from the anger of the reverend fathers. But in this case the cowl proved more potent than the Crown, and Buchanan had to run before the storm. The *Palinodia* had also been written at the request of James and were bitter onslaughts against the Franciscans, but the King did not consider them severe enough and *Franciscanus* was the result. As a satirist, Buchanan stands in the very first rank and there can be little wonder that his style was imitated by writers alike in England and in Scotland, as well as on the Continent. The man who could produce such work as the *Somnium*, *Franciscanus*, and the *Palinodia* in Latin, and the *Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis*, as well as the scathing *Chamaeleon* in the Scots vernacular, was an outstanding master of his craft. Hence we find that Buchanan's satiric work exercised a very marked influence upon the mind and writings of several of his contemporaries, on the great Andrew Melville (1545-1622) to whom, next to Knox, the Scottish Reformation owed the most of its direction and inspiration. Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496-1586), albeit an older man than Buchanan by ten years, showed how profound was the impression made upon him by the *Somnium*, the *Palinodia*, and the early MS. drafts of *Franciscanus*, by his obvious references to them in his works. In fact, the Maitland family as a whole seems to have had intimate relations with Buchanan. Sir Richard's brother, Sir John, afterwards Lord Maitland of Thirlestane and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Scotland, revealed the extent of Buchanan's influence upon him, both in his epigrams, preserved in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, and in his satire *Aganis Sklanderous Toungis*, which is in many features only a free paraphrase of portions of Buchanan's Satire on the Sorbonne, also that on The Brothers of St. Anthony and the *Palinodia*. Thomas Maitland, one of Sir Richard's younger sons, wrote some excellent Latin poems in Buchanan's manner, and was chosen by

the latter himself as one of the interlocutors in his great work *De Jure Regni*.

Other names, both Scottish and Continental, might be mentioned as those of contemporaries whose works show a tinge more or less pronounced of the great Humanist's influence—viz., Robert Wedderburn (better known as a religious poet), Thomas Hudson, Alexander Arbuthnot, William Fowler, John Napier of Merchiston, Alexander Hume and John Burrell; also in England such satirists as Thomas Dekker, with his *If this be not a good Play the Devil is in it*, W. Turner's *Hunting of the Fox*, and *The Trial of the Masse*, George Gascoigne's *Steel Glass*, and *Glass of Government*, Marston's *Scourge of Villainy*, Hall's *Virgidemiarum* and Nicholas Grimoald's Satires; and on the Continent of Europe George Witzel, Nicodemus Frischlin, Caspar Brulow, Thomas Kirchmayer. Many of these writers may simply refer to Buchanan, yet the mere reference shows the marvellous extent of his influence—an influence which continued to increase after his death.

The widely diverse character, therefore, of those contemporary writers, in whose works the influence of Buchanan can be traced, is a remarkable testimony to the amazing versatility of the man. Unless in the case of Shakespeare an analogous instance to this universality of influence can scarcely be cited. As a historian he influenced his contemporaries, through his *History of Scotland* and his *Detectio Mariæ Reginae Scotorum*; on the poetry of the epoch, also, he left his impress through his *Sphaera*, his *Epithalamium*, his *Calendae Maiæ*, (which Wordsworth considered equal to anything in Horace), his amatory verse, addressed to Leonora and Neaera, and his matchless rendering of the Psalms, which by the verdict of the first Latinists of the world have been held to be worthy of the Golden Age of Latin Verse, a verdict acquiesced in by such rival translators as Arthur Johnston himself. As a dramatist, moreover, his *Jephthes*, his *Baptistes*, his translation and adaptation of the *Medea* and the *Alcestis*, and finally his *Masque* for the Baptism of James VI. all appealed profoundly to the temper of the time. Lastly, as a political writer in his *De Jure Regni*, his *Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis*, etc., how keenly and how correctly did he not mould the opinions of all the more liberal minded writers of the sixteenth century! That these works manifest a versatility and fecundity altogether exceptional will be the first thought

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which occurs to anyone who examines the case. The admiration, however, will be distinctly deepened when we come to study the works with critical care, and realise the marvellously high standard of excellence which is maintained throughout. The individual whom the jealous mind of Julius Caesar Scaliger, recognised as his superior must have been of outstanding merit indeed; while the younger and the greater Scaliger, Joseph, (son of the other) affirmed most emphatically "In Latin poetry, Buchanan leaves all Europe behind."

That being the opinion entertained of Buchanan by his contemporaries abroad, we can estimate at once the probable extent and depth of the influence exercised by Buchanan at home, when his fame was so European in its diffusion. Scotsmen in all ages have been impressed by the tongue of good report abroad, and the mere fact that he occupied so supreme a place among the Humanists of Europe, was quite sufficient to ensure Buchanan a permanent as well as a prominent place in the estimation of his countrymen, even although they might not be qualified to gauge the character of his works, nor be able to pronounce upon their relative excellence as regards a given standard.

We have seen his influence as a satirist exercised on his contemporaries: there remains his influence as a historian, a publicist, and a Humanist translator of the Psalms. Buchanan's idea was that by writing in Latin, the language of the learned, he was laying the foundations of his fame so deep and sure that they would never be moved. He had lived among Humanists, he had imbibed their sentiments and had imagined the "Humanistic We" to be as far reaching in its mandatory effects as the "Imperial Plural." "Alas," as Professor Hume Brown says "if he had only known it, even when he wrote, Modern Europe had rejected Latin as the vehicle of its deepest thoughts and feelings." All the more credit is it to him that as a Historian—whether we read him in the original Latin or in the excellent English translations now furnished—he delights us as few writers do, and carries home to our minds the conviction that this is no ordinary writer whose work we are perusing, but one of the leading minds in the world's hierarchy of letters. Granted that it is not fair to read Buchanan's 16th century Latin works through twentieth century spectacles, all the more honour it is to him that we do not need to suggest this plea in





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extenuation of tedium, that he is writing in what is to us an alien language.

Now as John Major had influenced Buchanan in his historical studies, saliently, but not wholly beneficially, as he himself says, so Buchanan's influence may be traced in several of his contemporaries. That Buchanan exercised a profound influence upon John Knox is now well recognised. Again and again in the Reformer's "Historie of the Reformation" there are turns of expression which remind us of passages in the *Somnium* and *Franciscanus*. Buchanan, after Knox's death, was asked to revise certain passages in the latter's *Historie*, and from this we may argue that in life the Reformer had freely utilised the aid of the greatest of his contemporaries.

Another writer who owed much to Buchanan was Sir James Melville of Halhill, whose *Memoirs*, besides referring more than once to Buchanan by name, reveal how closely the courtier had studied all the works of the old Humanist. Though his political opinions were far from being so liberal as those enunciated by Buchanan in *De Jure Regni*, viz., that absolute liberty is essential to the true growth and welfare of men, nevertheless, James Melville's study of Buchanan led him to take up towards the close of his life an attitude of quiescent antagonism to the King's Divine Right views.

The famous Andrew Melville and his nephew James Melville were also individuals upon whom, as public men, the influence of Buchanan's works was especially marked. The former, who unquestionably was the ablest ecclesiastic in Scotland, after Knox, was a strange mixture of the Humanist and the Puritan. In this Eclecticism he would receive no sympathy from Buchanan, who although a member of the Reformed Church, was at heart a Humanist, and the Reformation and Humanism had nothing in common. As Professor Hume Brown aptly said:—"Scotland, whether for good or ill, learned nothing from the Revival of Letters. Had the Renaissance touched her before the Reformation it might have been otherwise. But as it was, the Renaissance came to her through the Reformation, and theology dominated her schools from the moment of her new birth." Despite the powerful influence exercised by Buchanan's works upon Melville, between the men themselves there could be little sympathy. Thomas Smeaton also, second Principal of the University of Glasgow, has testified

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to the benefit he had received from the personal influence and works of Buchanan.

Among theologians and preachers, there were two others whose careers were undoubtedly moulded for them to some extent by Buchanan's works, viz., John Craig (1512-1600) the colleague of Knox, and Robert Rollock, the first Principal of Edinburgh University. The former had come under Buchanan's influence abroad, and the latter was one of his students at St. Andrews. Both of them repeatedly, Craig in his sermons and Rollock in his works, testified to the enormous intellectual stimulation they had received from Buchanan.

Finally, as a translator of the Psalms into Latin, Buchanan has inspired more than one illustrious scholar to follow his example. So excellent is Buchanan's version, and so felicitously has he rendered the thoughts of the Psalmist into choice idiomatic Latin, that many of our leading scholars have declared that a Roman of the Augustan era could not have succeeded more felicitously in clothing the ideas of the Hebrew poet in a fitting Latin garb. Buchanan's example has been followed by Arthur Johnston, who has also achieved triumphant success in the attempt.

Amongst other contemporaries on the Continent and at home who during their lives bore testimony to the value of the intellectual stimulation they had received from Buchanan, were the Reformer Beza of Geneva, also Joannes Serranus (Jean de Serres of Lausanne, the Editor of Plato), Obertus Gifanius the Philologer, Florent Chrétien—the Humanist—of Vendome, Peter Daniel of Orleans, the Scaligers and Turnebus, Hubert Languet of Antwerp, Janus Douza and Philip de Marnus de Ste Aldegonde, both of Leyden, and Joannes Sturmius of Strasburg. Among Englishmen and Scotsmen, Roger Ascham, author of the *Scholemaster*, Dr. Walter Haddon of Oxford, Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, Sir Anthony Cook and his learned daughters, Daniel Rogers and Sir Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassadors, and Nicholas Udall, were a few of those who rejoiced to bear testimony to Buchanan's influence.

Many were the tributes, public and private, paid to Buchanan by the scholars and *literati*, both of his own century and that which succeeded. Henricus Stephanus, said of him that he was "easily the first poet of his age," a verdict echoed with approbation by Camden. Later on the great Grotius speaks of him as

"Scotiae illud numen," while Salmasius styles him "the greatest man of his age." Milton praised him unstintedly, so did Abraham Cowley, and neither of these poets was over-liberal in his laudation of others, while Dryden considered that as a historian he was comparable to any of the moderns and excelled by few of the ancients. That there were many others who did not thus acknowledge the benefits derived from Buchanan, yet were influenced by his life and works, goes without saying. Of Buchanan himself, of a truth, we may say, in the words of Nicolas Breton, "He was a Sun of letters, sent to this dark land to shed abroad upon us the light and the leading that come to us from his unrivalled learning."

O. S.

XX.

The Humanist: a Psychological Study.

ALTHOUGH in some ways Psychology is the youngest of modern studies, it is undoubtedly a direct result of the Renaissance interest in all that concerned mankind and of the Renaissance tendency to observe and examine before, instead of after, enunciating fundamental laws. In 1690, Locke showed the scope of the new inductive science, and Scotland responded to the stimulus just as, at an earlier date, she had responded to Chaucer. It is then not inappropriate that a volume which commemorates Scotland's greatest humanist should consider his character, so far as it was typical of his age, by the light of a humanistic science long known as "Scottish Metaphysics."

The intense vitality of the humanist is what strikes us at the outset and what ever remains the strongest impression made upon the student of the Renaissance. It is not the restless vitality of the American who, like jesting Pilate, asks, "What is Truth?" and stays not for an answer, nor is it the departmental vitality of the specialist whose consciousness is polarised and in whom a section only of his environment can awake activity. The humanist is distinguished from these types and from others by a high level of general consciousness which makes him forceful in every activity of life. There is nothing in him vaguely intelligent, weakly emotional, or vacillating of purpose; whatever aspect of mind is prepotent for the time being is concentrated to a high degree. The exaggerated habitual bias of the specialist is absent and yet unity of life interest is strongly marked, differentiating the humanist from the American who is not "interested" at all, but only curious as regards the external world.

There is another modern type, more pleasant to meet than those already mentioned, which is nevertheless but a travesty

of sixteenth century humanism. A cultured person of to-day is frequently humanistic only in a partial sense—“*Humani nihil a me alienum puto*” expresses only half the truth, yet too many end their creed at this point, and we, as well as they, wonder as time goes on why their influence on the world is so feeble. A little observation and comparison soon give us the answer. This modern cultured type is compacted of strongly emotional interest, with the more intellectual forms less well developed and without that potency of will which is necessary to balance the dissipating tendency of wide interests. It is lacking both in the elastic balance and in the fulness of vitality supremely characteristic of the Renaissance period. There were giants in those days who brought to each of their quickly succeeding interests and into each of their corresponding desires, gigantic power of concentrated thinking and feeling, or of action guided by unswerving will. Humanistic schoolmasters of to-day would do well to have this twofold ideal in view, the rousing of widespread interest and the development of habitual concentration. The men and women of the Renaissance had their moments of supreme relaxation as well as of supreme effort; the bow cannot, as well as must not, always be bent. But concentration was a habit with them and less costly, therefore, than a more explicit effort of will, and it is this habitude of concentration with its easy performance of herculean labours which must be associated with the stimulating characteristic of widespread interest, before modern education and modern men and women can rival those of the New Birth. The amount of actual work produced during the sixteenth century was in every department enormous, and yet the workers were comparatively few. If we explain it as largely due to the marvellous stimulation of that concurrence of movements included under the term Renaissance, we must also acknowledge that events of the nineteenth century in this respect parallel those of earlier days. We cannot then blame our environment, and if the succeeding age is unproductive, the lack of achievement must be largely due to our own puny characters and enfeebled vitality.

Having thus laid stress on the importance of concentration, we may now give full value to the humanistic quality of interest than which there is no attitude of mind so educative, so civilised,—in the best sense of the word. It was this going

forth day after day, in the belief that observation of their surroundings would repay with pleasure, that stimulated the imaginative powers of Shakespeare and Columbus, of Petrarch or of Raphael. The past was reconstructed, the spirit as well as the letter of Greek was understood. The known world was used as a starting point from which to reach a clearly pictured unknown. The future was predicted by the truly prophetic gift of intellectual foresight. There must have been moments when it was difficult to tell what century a man really lived in, for the humanist could "look before and after" and yet needed not to repine; the best of the ancient world as well as modern life was his.

The effect of this widening of individual experience until co-extensive with that of the race, was to break down the old systems of thinking, of education, and of living itself. After the long rule of dialectic, imagination ran riot; after centuries of passive receptivity, the active, creative faculties of mind became overwhelmingly prepotent; after the iron reign of formal habit there was everywhere an irresistible yearning for spontaneous development. When the passion for living and doing was so strong it was inevitable that excesses should occur, that we should have antinomians in every form of creative art as well as in religion and politics, mystics like Wilhelmina the Fraticellian, and humanistic hooligans such as the Goliards of Germany. "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds," but while these extreme types are more repellant than the mere grossness of mediævalism, we turn with pleasure to the more normal pattern, a man whom it is impossible to classify in our carefully partitioned table of human activities, who may happen to be best remembered as a scholar, or a painter, a poet or a sculptor, but who was also pre-eminent in his own country and in his own day in other spheres. Michael Angelo, the sculptor, was also a poet; Petrarch, the poet, was a diplomatist; Wolsey, Churchman and diplomatist, was a great war minister; Gerson, the mystic in religion, championed the rights of the laity against the Papacy.

This tendency is noticeable very early in the Renaissance. Dante and Chaucer, each for his countrymen the Janus of the movement, won renown on many a field. Dante, alternately Guelf and Ghibelline, but always on the side of Italian nationality, was a diplomatist and a writer on political theory as

well as a poet who painted. Chaucer was poet, soldier, diplomatist, master of the intellectual thought of his day, besides, we strongly suspect, inheriting a keen business faculty from his tavern keeping and goldsmith ancestors. Benvenuto Cellini was, according to his latest translator, "jeweller, goldsmith, sculptor, musician, writer, soldier, duellist, and man of pleasure." Buchanan was a diplomatist like Dante, a soldier like Chaucer, a scholarly educationalist like Petrarch, counsellor in war and in Church polity like Wolsey, a poet who mirrored his day in a symbolic past, like Milton (to whom he also gave the lead in the discussion of political theories) and a satirist of religious hypocrisy comparable to Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten. The mere modern who challenges criticism in half as many departments is labelled "versatile" in the worst sense of the word. We live at a lower level of consciousness where, for efficiency, we must resolutely limit our likings and desires, but Browning echoes a true note of the Renaissance music when he tells how

No artist lives and loves, that longs not
 Once and only once, and for one only
 (Ah, the prize) to find his love a language
 Fit and fair, and simple and sufficient
 Using nature that's an art to others,
 Not, this one time, art that's turned his nature.

 So to be the man and leave the artist,
 Gain the man's joy, miss the artist's sorrow.

The motive alone differed; pure strength of vitality impelled men to conquer new worlds. The scope was greater; it was not always just another form of art which was attempted.

In environment so complex as that of the sixteenth century the interests of life were very varied and our humanists group themselves accordingly. Strongly defined is the creative artist so typical of Italy, where love of beauty and desire to make what is beautiful have always gone hand in hand, although at the present day a more purely intellectual type of interest seems to predominate. In Petrarch the artistic and intellectual sentiments seem almost evenly balanced; he had the double ecstasy of discovering knowledge and of creating beauty. In Valla, the intellectual sentiments predominated, and he approaches nearer to the Erasmus type to whom hypocrisy and

falsehood cause as much, if not more, pain as the discovery of truth causes pleasure. Painful emotion is a spur to vigorous action, hence the power displayed in *De Donazione Constantini*, *Julius Secundus Exclusus*, or in the *Franciscanus* and the *Somnium*. Potent fervour and force were given to satire of Church abuses north of the Alps by the strength of the moral, as well as of the intellectual, sentiments in Teutonic minds. Overpoweringly strong were these at times, indeed, to the complete warping of the humanistic nature with its universal sympathies. Pure morality and true religion were dangerous magnets for Luther, Calvin, and many another. The work they did was valuable and much of it absolutely necessary, but they certainly departed from the humanistic ideal of many sided interest and of perfectly balanced mental development.

The triumph of physical pleasures was certain to be marked in the overthrow of an asceticism which had warred most of all upon them, and here too the strength of the emotions roused led by an easy Avernian descent to departure from the humanistic spirit. But the finer spirits were saved from this and so, while we read of orgies which nothing in after life or before redeems, we can also turn with relief to men and women whose self-indulgence took less crude form and who, either as artists or patrons of art have made us their bedesmen.

Another well marked group was dominated by the social sentiment of nationality. In sub-conscious form this force was working throughout Europe drawing together people of differing race and ignoring geographical unities as only social instincts can. Dante has been already quoted as an early exponent of nationality. Rienzi, striving to put the new *elixir vite* into a Roman amphora, attempted a disastrous experiment and failed in that fore-knowledge which marked the greater minds of his day. Catharine of Siena and Petrarch, urging the return of the Papal Court to Rome, offered a more practical but not less evanescent solution. Rienzi, failing as does many an idealist, in his conscious effort, yet revived the noble concept of true citizenship to become the educational ideal of Vittorino da Feltre, most noted of Italian schoolmasters, and to find its way across the Alps as a permanent influence on our English public schools.

Pico della Mirandola, again, is representative of another humanistic group of thinkers—perhaps we should more correctly say *believers*, since the emotional element predominates—

for whom mystic religious sentiment was the controlling force of consciousness. In many ways, this is the most complex and curious of Italian types. Ahead of its age in recognising that religious truth and moral beauty are not the monopoly of any faith, abreast of the age in recognition of the human dignity, it was yet too closely in sympathy with mediæval symbolism and with the more subtle platonic realism to be of far reaching influence in the Renaissance movement. Pico is a clearly defined figure in the sunshine, but with his exception, the best in this kind are but shadows, and shades which please us after the glowing colours of all the rest.

Interest, wide reaching and yet concentrated, is then the dominant psychological note in humanism, and it is in relation to it that we must consider the rest of that harmonious character.

The most immediate effect of this access of emotional force was probably the quickening of imaginative power. The quantity of creative work produced during the sixteenth century has been already referred to; the high average of its quality requires no comment here. But imagination is not concerned with the inventive faculty alone. It is an essential element in sympathy, and was consequently of importance in giving intelligent direction to the social emotions already mentioned. Practical work and art were equally affected. Shakespeare is "for all time," just because his naturally sensitive mind was stirred by contact with men of other lands besides his own, and his sympathies widened by interest in topics other than the great religious and social questions of Tudor England. He was not thereby made indifferent to national problems; on a shallow nature this would certainly have been the effect, but then the humanist was not a shallow nature. He "apperceived" them all the better for seeing their relation to the European struggle between the old and new systems, but he was not obsessed by them. We find no obtrusion of the Puritan question or of the struggle with Spain in his dramatic plots, but yet we can clearly discern that his larger conceptions of life were moulded upon these realities. The affectionate mention of him by his contemporaries would lead us to believe that his sympathies went out to individuals as well as to great national movements.

Such another, in this respect, was Colet, the hater of wars and the good friend of little children, and Buchanan who "with

boys became a boy" and who was chosen, at a critical moment, to be helmsman of the Scottish Church. Imaginative sympathy produced humanistic historians. Buchanan entered into the spirit of the Scottish past, Colet made St. Paul a man, and not merely an author, for his hearers, and the first century of Christianity became a reality as he spoke of its events. Thomas More shared the gifts of these two. Increased opportunities may enable us to dispute some details of fact, but we are eternally indebted to them for the new spirit in which they handled their material.

Again, this many-sided interest with the concomitant sympathy born of imagination led to a detachment in thought, an impartiality of criticism, an open-mindedness in debate, and a lack of animus when the humanist was, by circumstances, forced to speak or write on partisan lines.

To many people, whether of the sixteenth or the twentieth centuries, *beata tranquillitas* in the face of abuses which cry for removal is not a pleasing virtue, and once more it must be granted that the man of action is necessary quite as much as the humanist. But the practical man so-called, is often unconsciously driven into unconsidered action not because of greater force of character, nor yet because his sympathies are more quickly and deeply stirred, but simply because he lacks knowledge of the possibilities, and because in an ill-balanced nature the desire to act has overpowered the intellectual faculties. With shallow enthusiasm of this kind the humanistic spirit is in everlasting conflict, but there is a nobler and rarer idealism which, based upon wide knowledge interpreted by sympathetic imagination (so lacking in the average idealist), is the fairest incarnation of active belief. Here are met the open-minded judicial attitude of humanism and fervent idealism, in potent and beneficial union. But, alas, strait is the gate and narrow is the way and few there be, in any age, that find it.

We are accustomed to associate the southern temperament with fervour, but it is interesting to note that this open-mindedness is more characteristic of the Italian than of the Teutonic Renaissance. It is, of course, mainly explicable by the earlier date of the Italian movement and its consequent limitation to the more sensitive natures as well as to its independence of the practical problems which modified the northern development. The early humanists in Germany were as detached in spirit

as any, but social and religious sentiments being stronger in their race, the movements took popular form on these lines. The average Italian developed an artistic and literary sense; the average German, Englishman or Scot interested himself in religion, education, or political rights. Increased knowledge of these subjects brought with it strong beliefs, strong alike in individuals and in churches or parties. Consequently, in the latter part of the sixteenth and during the entire seventeenth centuries, we find whole nations at death grips—France (where the struggle began and ended earliest), Germany, Scotland, and England, split into hostile camps in bitter conflict over some political or religious article of faith. It is in individuals alone that we find traces of the old spirit. Elizabeth of England was only a little less indifferent on burning questions than Henry IV. of France and Catharine di Medici, and it is worthy of note that the Church of England owes its peculiar characteristics and its peculiar difficulties to its organisation by humanist ecclesiastics and statesmen. The other Churches formed about this date to this day re-echo the fervour of their idealistic founders.

“It taks a’ sort o’ fowk to mak’ a warld,” but the pity of it is that in the transition stage, typical men of either side failed in humanistic sympathy, and that friends who, in less critical days, worked together all the better for the difference in the personal equation, now separated with the bitterness of disillusionment. Luther cannot understand Erasmus; Erasmus shrinks from Luther. Henry VIII. turns partisan and bigot, and the old friendship for More cannot save the Chancellor’s head. Buchanan and Knox understood each other better than Luther and Erasmus; they had been brought up entirely in the world, while over the two latter the *idola* of the cloister had subconscious power. But still, the followers of Knox and Buchanan would fain make them leaders of hostile camps. Saddest of all perhaps is the broken friendship between Buchanan and his Queen. Mary, by upbringing a humanist of the Medicean type, pleasure seeking and material, could not see that in the northern humanist, ruled by the moral sentiments, she had her natural complement and her best friend. We deny a partisan spirit foreign to humanism in the *Detectio*: we see in it the greater tragedy of disillusionment, and of a lost ideal of womanhood.

Much remains to be worked out fully, but we may sum up the main characteristics of humanism as follows:—first, a strong vitality, which made mental processes rapid, as well as habitually concentrated, and which made the connection between thought, emotion and volition close and intimate, all consciousness responding vigorously to the prepotent aspect: secondly, abnormal development in the emotion of interest, giving keenness to the observation, strength to the memory, and freshness to the imagination: thirdly, on the intellectual side, imagination is the most active faculty; it reconstructs the past and discovers or foretells the future. Brought to bear upon mankind, imagination evokes sympathy, at times almost universal in its scope, and in specialised forms leading to social and educational schemes for the betterment of the weaker classes. A more purely intellectual form of imagination leads to impartiality and freedom from bias in thought, a *beata tranquillitas* as far removed from Gallo's indifference as it is from the Stoic contempt for life.

While the emotional and intellectual faculties are thus developed, the strength of will which carries men through great enterprises is abundantly evident. Men knew their power and believed most of all in themselves.

It matters little that balanced development of mind is not to be found in every great man of those days, that the artist sometimes overpowered the thinker south of the Alps, or that more frequently the thinker subdued the artist north of them. It is easy to note such exceptions: and indeed they are neither few nor insignificant. But for all that, harmony and symmetry are essential characteristics of the humanist, and the cases we refer to are exceptional, not because these qualities are entirely lacking, but simply because they are less evident.

How does the subject of this volume appear when tried by the standard? Buchanan was not altogether Teuton; very few Scots are. From a mother born in the Lothians and from a Highland father, he had the gift of tongues by birth as well as by education in Scotland and France. Four hundred years after his birth he is honoured in prose and verse as thinker and literary artist, as scholar but also as leader of men of action, as open-minded friend, as unsparing critic and "unfriend" of what pained his moral sense. In the essential qualities of concentration, of universal interest,

of clear imagination, of wide sympathies and, finally, of detachment from party and party spirit, he was a typical embodiment of the humanistic spirit. The Teuton in him made intellect predominant and directed his creative powers to literature, but the grace of his style and the delicacy of his fancy, as well as the fervour of his satire, were a Celtic inheritance.

Is it too much to hope that, in a century which of all others most nearly reproduces the stimulating environment of the Renaissance and in the country of Buchanan's birth, the spirit of humanism will be fostered with careful wisdom as the most enduring monument to Scotland's great humanist?

L. P .S. H.

XXI.

Buchanan as a Latin Scholar.

BUCHANAN was not a Scholar, in the same sense of the word as Turnèbe or Lambin or Scaliger or Nicolas Heinsius. He did not, like them, add to our knowledge of the life and thought, the history and literature of the Romans. He never edited the works of any Latin poet, although he read and read again all the Latin poets till he almost knew their verses by heart. In a word he was

"Contented, if he might enjoy
The things that others understand."

It is to the Scholars of the sixteenth century that we owe our Latin texts. They explored the Libraries of Europe for ancient MSS.; they examined the claims of this or that MS. to be the more faithful representative of the actual words of an ancient author; they made a minute study of the style and diction of each author so as to discriminate the genuine from the spurious version of a line; they collected from all available sources every scrap of evidence regarding the author's life and character, his purpose in writing, his attitude of mind. By these laborious means they removed the accretions which had in the course of centuries gathered round the writings of the ancients and gave to the world each poem of Virgil, Horace, Ovid and the rest as nearly as possible in the actual form in which it had been written down by the author. When we try to read any of these poets in an earlier edition, we stumble over something unintelligible or incongruous or ungrammatical in every other line. It is then that we realize what a debt we owe to the work of these sixteenth century Scholars.

To all this noble work of recovering for the modern world the writings of the ancient, Buchanan contributed not one jot. He was, in this respect, a drone in the hive. It is an injustice to Scaliger and Heinsius when we class Buchanan with them and speak of him as a Latin Scholar. Buchanan was of quite a different type. He would be more correctly described as a

journalist, pamphleteer, man of letters, at a time when Latin was the common language of the educated world. Latin was for him merely the instrument by which he expressed his ideas to other minds. Latin was his tool, and Buchanan plied it with the hand of a master. No one has ever equalled him as a writer of Latin Verse.

Now-a-days we should not think much of a Latin Scholar whose only contribution to Scholarship was a collection of Latin verses, however faithfully they reproduced the feeling and diction of the ancient poets. No doubt the successful writing of Latin Verse implies a sympathy with Roman poetry and a minute knowledge of the Latin poetic vocabulary, and claims our respect on this account. But after all it is the ape-like faculty of the human mind, the faculty of imitation, that is cultivated in Latin Composition; and we give little more credit to a ready writer of Latin Verse than we would allow to a smart junior clerk in the Diplomatic Service who was able to chatter in half a dozen foreign languages. Latin Composition, especially Verse Composition, no longer holds the same place even in English Public Schools and Universities that it held a century ago. Still, for my own part, I should be sorry to see it dropped from the curriculum. To take it at the lowest estimate, no student who does not practise Latin Versification can ever be sure of knowing "Quantity," in other words, the correct pronunciation of Latin words.¹ Another and a higher part that it plays in education is that it shews the student how the same ideas are expressed in Latin and in English poetry and enables him to read a Latin poet with better appreciation and understanding. Professor Tyrrell, in his edition of a Comedy of Plautus, has included a few of his own renderings of passages from English Dramas into Latin Dramatic Verse. The idea is an excellent one. They provide the student with a key for re-setting the ancient melody to a modern tune. They enable him, when he reads a sentence of Plautus, to say to himself "This is how a Latin Dramatist expresses exactly the

¹ I found an amusing instance of this the other day. At a Congress of the Classical Scholars of Germany, the bronze medal, presented to each member of the Congress, had as a motto a line of Horace in this form, "*Labitur atque labetur in omne volubilis aevum*," with a false quantity at the beginning of the line. There are, I believe, only two schools in Germany where Latin Verse Composition is taught.

same sentiment as would be expressed in this other way by Congreve or Sheridan." Plautus is of all Latin poets the one with whom a modern reader can most easily feel in sympathy; for his fun and jollity appeal to us as much to-day as they did to his contemporaries. The only obstacle is his unfamiliar diction. Professor Tyrrell's Latin Verses do a great deal to remove this obstacle, by shewing us how an English joke would appear in Plautine language. But most of all is Latin Verse writing necessary to the advanced student. I do not see how one can thoroughly appreciate the artistic side, the technique of Latin Poetry, who has not himself tried the experiment of imitating Latin metres; and I trust that the day is far distant when Scholars in this country will abandon the habit of translating their favourite passages of English poetry into Latin poetical form.

This is the method of Latin Verse Composition that is followed at the present day. A short poem of Keats or Tennyson, or else a passage of Shakespeare or Milton, is rendered in Latin verse. No one would think of writing an original poem in Latin, as Buchanan did. And this difference of practice makes it difficult to compare Buchanan with the leading verse-writers of this and the last century, such as Robinson Ellis, Jebb, Evans, Kennedy and others. It may be said that Buchanan's task was the harder one, inasmuch as he had to provide the ideas as well as the Latin words. On the other hand a Latin version of a passage of Tennyson has to bear comparison with the English original, while Buchanan's lines have no such rival to diminish their lustre. Certainly the same defect, perhaps an unavoidable defect, attaches to both types of Latin verse-imitations, namely, the use of what English public-school boys call "tags"; that is to say, phrases or short descriptions transferred bodily from some ancient poet into a modern version. Take this passage of Buchanan's *De Sphaera*, the most ambitious of all his poetical works:

Proximus huic, parvo sed proximus intervallo,
 Mercurius, laetoque diem modo Lucifer astro
 Praeveniens, idem noctis praenuntius ignis
 Hesperus, observans Solem prope passibus aequis;
 Ut medius rerum Sol omnia lumine lustret,
 Educet et foveat, flammis nunc celsus in Aetron
 Emicet, humentes nunc se dimittat in Austros.

An unkind critic might describe this as a patchwork of "tags." Buchanan has here drawn upon certain well-known lines of Latin poets, and has with considerable skill strung together a number of phrases that are all borrowed. Nor is this passage an exception. We do not read many lines of the *De Sphaera* before we come across Lucretius' noble phrase, *flammanitia moenia mundi*, and the phrase is pressed into service again within the first hundred lines. A little further on we have nearly a whole line of Virgil's, *verrens abiegnis aequora palmis*; then Horace furnishes a contribution, *finitimis excludit iurgia limes*, and so on.¹ The same thing is found, but not, I think, to the same extent, in Latin Verse of the present day; and I suppose there is some justification for it. If Lucretius or Virgil or Horace invented the one exactly appropriate phrase for describing this or that object or this or that action, why should not the modern imitator avail himself of the invention? And yet, how could we tolerate an English poem from some French or German admirer of Tennyson, which consisted, to a great extent, of Tennysonian phrases, like "a land in which it seemed always afternoon," "tiptilted like the petal of a flower," and so on, and so on? If one wishes to read Buchanan's poetry with enjoyment, one has to try to forget that others have said the same things before.

But this defect—and it is a defect shared to some extent by Latin poets of the Silver Age and of the Christian period, who are always borrowing from Virgil—cannot impair Buchanan's claim to be the best writer of Latin verse, that is, of original Latin verse, since the Revival of Learning. His facility in widely different styles of Latin poetry is amazing. Some of his epigrams² would not have been disdained by Martial, *e.g.*,

Frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, laedis,
Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi.

¹ Professor Hume Brown doubts whether Buchanan wrote *suis* or *tuis* at the end of the Epigram to Lennox:—

Denique da quidvis, podagram modo deprecor unam :
Munus erit medicis aptius illa suis.

A reference to the line of Martial from which the last sentence is borrowed shows that he wrote *suis*.

² Still I think he is inferior to Owen as an epigrammatist. Of course Owen wrote a great deal more of this style of verse than Buchanan.

His Satire on the Franciscans is reminiscent of Juvenal, his *De Sphaera* of Lucretius; his Elegiacs and Lyrics are always pleasing, although Wordsworth exaggerated in declaring the Alcaic "May-day" to be worthy of Horace. Of the later Roman poets he has, I think, imbibed most of the spirit of Claudian. In almost all of his writings (to omit the Epigrams and Dramas) there are turns of expression or even mere metrical cadences that remind one of Claudian. What a time he must have spent in reading and re-reading these authors! How great a portion of his life must have been given up to the practice of Latin Verse Composition! It may be said that this was waste of time. It would be in our own day, but it was not in Buchanan's period. For Latin was then the recognised vehicle of communication between educated men of the different countries of Europe; and the more polished the Latin verse, the more chance it had of carrying its message home. It was, therefore, worth Buchanan's while to cultivate to the utmost his natural bent for imitating the Latin poets. And this he did with such success that his poetical remains are even now, when the events to which they refer belong to the forgotten past, almost as pleasant reading as some of the second or rather third-rank poetry of antiquity.

I say "almost," because there are three things which, in my opinion, prevent, and must always prevent, Buchanan's Latin poems from securing a wide circle of readers. And these three things are of some importance to us in forming an estimate of Buchanan as a Latin Scholar. The first is the number, the surprising number, of false quantities in his lines. Of course there is much to be said in extenuation of this fault. The texts of the Latin poets were in his period, at least in his student-period, still published in a very inaccurate form. An English Public School boy of to-day could easily quote a line of Martial or Catullus from which Buchanan might have learned the correct quantity of this or that Latin word. But in the texts of Martial and Catullus that were at Buchanan's disposal, the line was quite as likely to be presented in incorrect form as not. That is one excuse that may be offered. Another is that the quantity of some words is known only from the Latin Comedies; and the laws of the Comedians' metres were not discovered till long after Buchanan's time. In fact they have not been wholly elucidated yet. Another plea, that is more or

less reasonable, is that the sharp distinction was not made then, as it is now, between classical Latin poetry and the poetry of a later period, when the pronunciation of many words had changed. But in spite of all that can be brought forward in Buchanan's justification, the awkward fact remains that on page after page we find a false quantity, and often in the case of words whose quantity was easily ascertainable. The first stanza of his "May-day" has *dicatae* scanned with the first syllable long. Now Buchanan must have known the common Latin verbs, *indicare*, *dedicare* and the other compounds of *dicare*. What excuse had he for being ignorant of the pronunciation of words like these? That he might have written the line in this incorrect form in the first heat of composition is possible and pardonable, but that the error should have remained undetected by him and that the line should ultimately be published in this shape seems to a Latinist of the twentieth century quite inexcusable. Is it that we are more squeamish now? Should we admire the robustness of a Buchanan who disdained to take heed of blemishes like these? We can hardly assent to this suggestion, when we reflect that Latin verse is quantitative verse; its rhythm, its poetical nature, depends on the arrangement of long and short syllables; and to substitute a short for a long syllable in a line throws the whole line out of gear. We cannot approve of the Frenchman's rhymed English couplets on Shenstone, in which "rural" is made to rhyme with "natural." The false rhyme murders the metre and makes it a "corpus mortuum." Similarly a false quantity in a Latin poem is not a mere trivial blemish, like a misspelling or a false grammatical concord; it makes a verse cease to be a verse.

There is another thing that mars our enjoyment, especially of his Dramatic writings. But it is of lesser importance, for Buchanan's Dramas are the least interesting of his works and do not at all rise to the level of his Satirical and Didactic poetry. And it need not diminish our admiration of the writer's scholarship. It is the disregard of certain laws of Latin Dramatic Verse, which forbid the use of this or that metrical foot at certain parts of the line. These laws were not known, or only partially known, in the sixteenth century; the discovery of them has been a slow process. Buchanan could not well have learned them from his teachers; and it would be

too much to expect that he should have completely assimilated himself to the Latin Dramatists whose works he read so often and so closely, and should have unconsciously caught up each detail of their method of constructing a line. Still it is impossible to read with pleasure a Latin line in Iambic Metre, whose construction is inconsistent with the character of the Latin language.

Even if Buchanan's lines were free from the two faults I have mentioned, faults of prosody and of metre, there is a third defect, which tries the patience of a reader. I mean that insincerity, that unreal, artificial tone which necessarily attaches to poems written in a dead language about living people. It is least objectionable in ceremonious pieces, like the congratulatory lines which he composed as poet of the Court or the *Epithalamium* or the *Pompa Deorum*. Verses of this type, written to order, are expected to be more or less unnatural. But when we read in Latin about the misdoings of the Franciscans or the latest theory of Astronomy, we cannot escape the feeling that we should have preferred to read Buchanan's sentiments expressed in his own language. It does indeed compel our admiration, when we find him throughout his long astronomical poem, *De Sphaera*, carefully avoiding any sentiment or metaphor or mode of expression that is more modern than, let us say, the fourth century A.D. But, we ask ourselves, why should he voluntarily impose these fetters on his imagination? Why should he restrict himself to the pace possible to a Roman of twelve centuries earlier, instead of revelling in the freedom of his own language? To walk on a tight-rope is a wonderful exhibition of skill and elicits the admiration of the crowd; but the fact remains that the walking would be done with much greater success on an ordinary road. Since Buchanan deliberately confined his range of expression to the language which he learned from the diligent study of a limited number of ancient authors, whose tricks of phrase and turns of sentence he faithfully reproduces, he could hardly avoid the danger of occasionally using a phrase, which did not express his real sentiments and which was not peculiarly appropriate to the occasion, but which exactly echoed the ancient style or was borrowed unchanged from some ancient writer. The "new wine" cannot but be spoilt by the "old bottle"; and it is no fault of Buchanan that his verses

are somewhat unpalatable to modern readers, merely because they are written in Latin. No one, however, can apply to them Dr. Johnson's remark on a woman preaching: "it is not that the thing is well done, but the wonder is it can be done at all." For undoubtedly the thing is well done.

W. M. L.

XXII.

Buchanan : Wit and Humorist.

GEORGE BUCHANAN has had the singular fortune to be esteemed by the commonalty of his native land—"the poor-living, lewd, grimy, free-spoken, ribald, old Scots peasant-world," to use Mr. Henley's contemptuous and contemptible phrase—as the antithesis of a man of learning. Robert Burns, in his epitaph on William Cruikshank, said—

The fauts he had in Latin lay ;

and by writing for Europe Buchanan hid his light in a dark lantern, so far as Scotland was concerned. His vernacular tractates served their political and temporary purpose and were forgotten ; the part he played in history was not sufficiently striking to command popular attention ; and his memory was only saved to the man in the street by a publication that reflected little credit upon him and did no justice to his merits.

During his lifetime Buchanan attained considerable fame as a wit and humorist. His sallies against the Church were supplemented by gossipy anecdotes of his everyday existence. His encounters with the King are just the kind of incidents of royal life that are retold in conversation to-day, or served up in the personal columns of the modern newspaper, and it is reasonable to believe that they would pass from lip to lip and reach an ever-widening circle of his contemporaries and immediate successors. In time his name became a by-word for wit and humour. Good stories that were narrated of nobody in particular were associated with Buchanan ; and generations that had forgotten or never heard of him as a scholar recognised and admired him as a jester.

The floating and uncertain popularity which he enjoyed for wit and humour was fixed to some extent when the stories attributed to him were collected by some illiterate hand and woven into a chap-book. The identity of the editor has not been established, but there is a belief that the compilation was

the work of Dougal Graham, the hunchback bellman of Glasgow and rhyming historian of the '45, who figures so prominently in the cheap literature of a bygone day. Graham, who was as coarse and grotesque as the Buchanan of the chap-book, died in 1779, and, if he is responsible for collecting the stories, the publication probably made its first appearance about 1770. It gave permanency to anecdotes that had lingered in oral tradition for nearly two hundred years, but it doubtless contains only a fragment of the gossip that, with the name of Buchanan, had circulated among the common people of Scotland.

Dr. Robert Wallace who in his unfinished sketch of the Historian's life refers at some length to the chap-book, says that "its description of Buchanan as the 'Fule' instead of the tutor of King James, and its placing him at the English court of James, who did not ascend the throne of England until Buchanan had been twenty-one years dead, are sufficient commentary on its historical accuracy." Dr Wallace, who may have written from memory, is less than just to the booklet. It states that though Buchanan was "of mean parentage," he "made great progress in learning" and that "for his understanding and ready wit he excelled all men then alive in his age, that ever proposed questions to him." Further, it affirms that Buchanan "was servant or teacher to King James the VI., and one of his private counsellors" but that publicly he "*acted as his fool.*"

The nature of the stories of which the chap-book is composed ensured a wide circulation for the brochure, and during the century after its publication it was in great demand. Buchanan became the hero of the bothy. The greatest Scotsman of his age was deposed from the exalted position which he held as a scholar and reduced to the level of unlettered ploughmen who laughed uproariously over his escapades, and who recognised in the buffoon of the chap-book a spirit kindred with their own. It is certainly a curious coincidence that the British Solomon who was described by a French wit as "the wisest fool in Christendom" should have received much of his wisdom at the feet of a genius who was only known to the vast majority of his countrymen as "the King's jester."

When we come to enquire how far "The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan" may be accepted as authentic we are naturally led to consider those examples of his

wit and humour which are preserved in repositories other than the chap-book. All Buchanan's biographers enliven their pages and illustrate their subject with anecdotes believed to be genuine. Dr Hume Brown, it is true, is extremely cautious in this respect, and, when he cites Mackenzie, is careful to add that that author "is always to be taken with large reservations." Mackenzie, however, "quotes chapter and verse" so far as his anecdotes are concerned, and that is all that can be reasonably asked from any writer who does not profess to have actually heard what he narrates.

Throughout the chap-book Buchanan is represented as having indulged in considerable freedom of speech and action towards his royal master, and to that extent at least it is historically accurate. As tutor to the king he was brought into close touch with James, and two anecdotes bear witness that the preceptor showed no special favour to his sovereign pupil.

On one occasion the youthful monarch cast envious eyes upon a tame sparrow which belonged to his companion John, Master of Mar. After pleading in vain with Mar to part with the bird, James endeavoured to take it by force, and in the struggle which ensued the pet sparrow was killed. Erskine's grief at the loss of his favourite attracted the attention of Buchanan who enquired into the reason for his sorrow. On being informed, the tutor seized the king, boxed his ears, and told him that "he was himself a true bird of the bloody nest to which he belonged." The incident helps to render credible the more famous instance of Buchanan's chastisement which, Dr. Wallace says, "was better known in Scotland" than any other story.

In the course of his readings in history James had learned the fact of the conspiracy at Lauder Bridge in the reign of James III., and had been informed of how the Earl of Angus became known as "Bell-the-Cat." Lessons over, the King and his fellow-pupil, Mar, engaged in play, but were so noisy that Buchanan, who was at his studies, was disturbed. He enjoined them to be quiet, and, finding that James disregarded his request, the tutor informed him that if he did not desist he would certainly be whipped. The king, with a precocious touch of that cleverness and conceit which characterised his later life, looked at Buchanan and asked "But who will 'Bell the Cat'?" Buchanan threw his book from him and gave the young king a

sound thrashing. The cries of distressed royalty brought the Countess of Mar on the scene who demanded the cause of the tears. The preceptor explained, whereupon she asked how he dared "to lay his hands on 'the Lord's anointed'." Buchanan's answer is not for polite ears in these decorous days, but there are few Scotsmen who are unfamiliar with it.

The story got abroad—Buchanan himself may have narrated the incident with quiet humour and twinkling eyes to some of his boon companions—and it was enjoyed by courtiers and plainer folk. For some unexplained reason it does not appear in the chap-book: the omission is culpable. Aikman in retailing the anecdote remarks that he gives it "on the authority of Dr. Mackenzie, who bore no goodwill to Buchanan and who was an idolater of royalty," a circumstance which, one should think, would have suggested its suppression. "That Buchanan did inflict corporal chastisement on the boy," adds Aikman, "there is no reason to doubt; if he saw it necessary, he was not the man to be scared by any imaginary sacredness of royal skin, but that he returned so rude an answer, is not at all likely." Language is rude only by comparison, and what is permissible to-day might appear unseemly in another age. Buchanan's remark amounted merely to a proverbial expression which is common enough yet in many parts of the country and which, with a very slight modification, may be heard among the lower classes all over the British Isles. And the common people imitate their "betters"!

If there is virtue in chastisement it is evident from the stories that have come down to us that James had every opportunity of becoming a good man. When he was free of the watchful eye of Buchanan, he was under the surveillance of his companion, the Master of Mar,—"Jock o' the sclaits," as he was called by the king from the fact that the tutor, with characteristic humour, gave him a slate upon which to record all the royal misdeeds committed during Buchanan's absence!

Another anecdote illustrates in a different manner the freedom which Buchanan took with his sovereign master. It is given on the authority of the tutor's nephew. The royal dominie in studying the mind and actions of his pupil, noticed that James was inclined to grant every request that was made to him, and he set himself to endeavour to correct this weakness. He prepared two documents which he put before the king for signature. Without examining them, and after merely asking a careless

question concerning their purport, James appended his name. One of the writs nominated and appointed Buchanan King of Scotland for fourteen days. The tutor at once assumed sovereignty. James was amazed and demanded an explanation, whereupon Buchanan produced the document in his favour which had duly received the royal signature. According to Dr. Hume Brown the master read his pupil "a lecture on the folly of his conduct," but judging from James's later career the lecture did little good. This incident forms one of "the witty and entertaining exploits" of the chap-book.

Through life Buchanan continued to speak plainly to the king, and in the hour of death was not afraid of his sovereign power. An anecdote, variously told, illustrates this. Dr. Macmillan says that when Buchanan was on his deathbed the authorities summoned him "to answer for something objectionable in his writings, but he was unmoved. 'Tell the people who sent you,' was his reply to the macer of the Court of Session who came on the errand, 'That I am summoned to a higher Tribunal.'" The chap-book shifts the locality of the story to Court. Buchanan had been absent from the royal presence, and on the king's commanding him peremptorily to return within twenty days, failing which officers would be sent to fetch him, he replied:—

My honoured liege and sovereign king
Of your boasting great I dread nothing :
On your feud or favour I'll fairly venture :
Ere that day I'll be where few kings enter.

There is something of a heroic chuckle in these lines that is in keeping with the death-bed remark which is preserved in Melville's "Diary." The Melvilles, James and Andrew, had crossed from St. Andrews to Edinburgh to see Buchanan. In the course of conversation, talk turned to his *History* which was then in the printer's hands. The Melvilles saw a proof and noticed the story which alleged that Mary Stuart had ordered Rizzio's body to be laid in her father's tomb. They suggested that it might offend the king. "Tell me, man," queried Buchanan, "giff I have tauld the treuthe?" They said they believed so. "Then!" exclaimed the dying man, "I will bide his feud, and all his kin's." The story in the chap-book is probably founded on this conversation and on the anecdote concerning Buchanan's summons to the Court of Session.

Another of the witty and entertaining exploits of the king's fool is clearly based on an incident in Buchanan's life which, according to Dr. Hume Brown "has all the marks of truth, as he certainly knew Gaelic, and as the humour of the story is thoroughly characteristic." During his wanderings in France, Buchanan met a woman who affirmed that she was devil-ridden, and, as a proof, stated that she could speak in all tongues. Among other languages he tested her with Gaelic which she did not understand, whereupon he protested that the Devil was ignorant of the common speech of Celtic Scotland—a circumstance which does not favour the perfervid Highlanders' belief that Gaelic was spoken in Eden. There is more humour in the chap-book version. Buchanan, according to the story there, was in conversation with a Bishop, in the course of which he emphasised the superior value of Scottish over English education, affirming that shepherds in Scotland would "argument with any Bishop in England, and exceed them mighty far in knowledge." So preposterous did this vaunted triumph of the Thistle over the Rose appear that an Ecclesiastical Commission was appointed to enquire into the matter. Three clergymen set out for Scotland, but they presumably—in the words of a later ballad—took "the high road," while Buchanan took "the low road," as he was in Scotland before them. In the guise of a shepherd he met the clergymen. To a question in French he returned an answer in Hebrew, and when this was followed by a statement in Greek he replied in Flemish. Then they tried him with Dutch and he responded in Gaelic which was unintelligible to them and they "went away shamefully, swearing that the Scots had gone through all the nations in the world to learn their language, or the devil had taught them it," which latter remark may please the enthusiastic Celts who affirm that Adam and his good lady conversed in their mother tongue.

Many of the extravagant fables that connect themselves with Buchanan are doubtless due to his enemies. Dr. Hume Brown says that, "as in the case of every Protestant of eminence, foolish stories came to be circulated by Roman Catholic writers concerning the Historian's last days." One shameless libel from the pen of a French priest who laboured to prove Buchanan to have been a debauchee and a drunkard represents him as saying on his death-bed in answer to the upbraidings of his medical advisers—"Go along with you! You, and your prescriptions

and dietaries! I would far rather live only three jolly weeks, getting comfortably drunk every day than live six dreary *wineless* years.' . . . He died in brief space, however; his chamber being then rarely littered with glasses and wine-measures." Vastly different from this is the genial domestic scene depicted by the Melvilles. Buchanan was suffering much bodily weakness at the time they visited him. "When we came to his chalmers" says the narrator, "we found him sitting in his chair, teaching his young man that servit him in his chalmers to spell *a, b, ab; e, b, eb*, etc." After salutation, one of his visitors said, "I see, sir, ye are nocht ydle." "Better this," answered Buchanan with quiet humour, "nor stealing sheipe or sitting ydle, quhilk is als ill."

Buchanan's fondness for a jest never deserted him. In a racy letter to Randolph, "Maister of Postes," he said, after referring to his *History* upon which he was engaged; "The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhilk holdis me besy both day and nyt. And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I traist to God to go before you, albeit I be on fut and ye ryd the post."

A touch of grim humour characterises his final interview with his servant. "When Buchanan was dying," according to the story which Mackenzie tells in his *Lives of the Scots Worthies*, "he called Mr. Young, his servant, and asked him how much money he had of his; and finding that it was not sufficient for defraying the charges of his burial, he commanded him to distribute it among the poor." On hearing this Mr. Young asked, "Who, then, will be at the expense of burying you?" "I am very indifferent about that," was the characteristic answer of "the stoic philosopher who looked not far before him," "for if I am once dead and they will not bury me, they may let me lie where I am, or throw my corpse where they please." Of course, as he knew, adds Dr. Wallace by way of commentary on the anecdote, the people of Edinburgh "had to bury him, so he could enjoy his posthumous triumph of wit, but they had their repartee, denying him a gravestone for a generation or two."

In the *Somnium* and *Franciscanus* Buchanan gives free play to his wit and humour at the expense of the Church, and the author of these satires might quite well be the hero of one or two of the witty and entertaining exploits narrated in the chap-book. In *Franciscanus* he shows the nature of the men who

join the monkish fraternity. Biting lines reveal to what perfection they have brought the art of imposition, and the flashing search-light of the poet's wit exposes them entrenched behind all the tricks of their profession. In these circumstances, no great stretch of imagination is needed to identify the author of the satire with the George Buchanan who disclosed the imposture of the Dalkeith priests by fearlessly striking the bell which they asserted would rend itself at the touch of a guilty person. Similarly, the man who, in literature, laughed at the abuses of the Church, flung scornful jests in the faces of ecclesiastics and did not hesitate to turn his wit against Popes might reasonably be the hero of another of the chap-book stories. The anecdote is to the effect that once when Buchanan was in Versailles he met the King of France who had heard that he was a very witty and ingenious man. The monarch accompanied him to a picture gallery and shewed him a representation of Christ on the Cross, "You know what that represents?" queried the King, but George answered that he did not. "Why, then," continued the monarch, "I'll tell you. It is a picture of our Saviour on the Cross, and that on the right is a portrait of the Pope, while this on the left is my own." "I humbly thank your majesty for the information," said Buchanan, "for though I have often heard that our Saviour was crucified between two thieves, I never knew who they were."

In his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* Dr. Robert Chambers includes a verse which, he says, is commonly "understood to be the composition of no less distinguished a man than George Buchanan." After referring to the vulgar belief that that learned preceptor was the king's fool—"a mere *natural*, but possessed of a gift of wit which enabled him to give very pertinent answers to impertinent questions"—Chambers says that Buchanan was once asked what could buy a plough of gold and he immediately answered—

A frosty winter, and a dusty March, a rain about April,
Another about the Lammass time, when the corn begins to fill,
Is weel worth a pleuch o' gowd, and a' her pins theretill.

There is much truth in the rhyme. A season falling just as described in the verse would doubtless produce a good harvest which is not over-estimated in value by a golden plough "and a' her pins theretill."

Dr. David Irving writes that Buchanan's "conversation was alternately facetious and instructive" and that "his wit and humour are still proverbial among his countrymen." The few examples of his facetiæ which have descended to us form a basis much too slender to support any such statement, and they must therefore be regarded as but fragments of a mass of their kind that has been all but forgotten. The wit and humour which he displayed in his works were in great measure lost to that large number of his countrymen who knew little English and less Latin, and his celebrity must have been derived from something other than the mirth of his satires or the sparkle of his epigrams.

Translators have done their best to convey samples of Buchanan's *literary* wit and humour—if the word may be used to distinguish them from the wit and humour that survive in anecdote—to his countrymen. Some of his epigrams have been excellently rendered by Dr. Hume Brown. The scholar was never in affluent circumstances and from time to time he is found supplicating royalty for monetary assistance. And he usually does so with a flash of wit or a touch of quiet humour. The following lines, which we quote in Dr. Brown's translation, were addressed to Mary Stuart; they "are supposed to be accompanied by copies of verses:"—

I give you what I have,
I wish you what I lack;
And weightier were my gift
Were fortune at my back.

Perchance you think I jest?
A like jest then I crave:
Wish for me what I lack,
And give me what you have.

To similar purpose he addressed the Earl of Moray at a later date. One of his verses to the good Regent has been rendered thus—

It is more blest, saith Holy Writ,
To give than to receive;
How great, then, is your debt to me,
Who take whate'er you give!

and another in these terms—

Niggard and laggard came my gift, you say,
 Then must I deem your duty clear indeed ;
 By good example this my fault amend :
 Let thy gift come with bounty and with speed.

The gout that held him “ besy both by day and nyt ” received playful reference in a begging epigram which he addressed to the Earl of Lennox. The verse is as follows, and once more the translation is Dr. Brown’s:—

Since I am poor and you are rich,
 What happy chance is thine !
 My modest wishes, too, you know—
 One nugget from your mine !
 Only, whatever be your gift,
 Let it not be your gout :
That,—a meet present for your leech,—
 I’d rather go without.

Possibly the best known of Buchanan’s epigrammatic verses is that on Pontiff Pius. For the moment he ceased to jibe at Franciscans and other small fry and directed his wit against their infallible chief. “ Heaven,” he said of Pius—

Heaven he sold for money,
 Earth in death he left as well,
 What remains to Pontiff Pius ?
 Nothing that I see but hell.

Pius may have been the impenitent thief in the trio which, according to the chap-book, Buchanan saw in the art gallery in France.

While the industry and genius of the translator have brought a measure of the wit and humour of his verse within reach of the general reader, a full appreciation must always be denied to those who are ignorant of Latin. As a consequence, his reputation for mirth, where it depends on something other than the venacular, must be a concession, on the part of the majority, to the opinion of the scholar. But apart from his poems many things combine to shew him a genial, kindly, and humorous soul. One description that has been given to us says that he was “ austere in face and rustic in his looks, but most polished in style and speech, and continually, even in serious conversation, jesting most wittily.” Others tell us that he was “ rough-hewn

in his person, behaviour, and fashion, seldom caring for a better outside than a rugge-gown girt close about him," and that he was of "gud religion for a poet." He was a bachelor who yearned not for the uncertain joys of matrimony, and who bantered his friend Randolph on his foolhardiness in marrying a second time:—"After having been delivered of ane wyfe to cast" himself "in the samyn nette"! These, and other sentences that might be quoted, bring before the mind an "honest Scot" who looked abroad upon life with a merry twinkle in his eyes, and who was not afraid to denounce the hypocrisy that he met at every turn. He attacked the insincerity of his time and if, as in later years was the case with Burns, he painted with a broad brush and produced canvases that to some minds may appear indelicate rather than witty, and coarse rather than humorous, it should be remembered to his credit that contemporary evidence is available in plenty to prove that he did not exaggerate. Inferentially, and by a reference to modern life, the charge of obscenity that is sometimes made against him may be held to be unfounded. No man who occupies in our day a position similar to that held by Buchanan in his, and who desired to ridicule some aspect of the life around him could afford deliberately to transgress the limits of decorum. What is rude to us may not have been coarse in a ruder age, just as the partisan cartoons of our time which are said to win and lose seats at St. Stephen's might appear vulgar and even indecent to a generation that had acquired other tastes in pictorial politics.

"Latin," says Dr. Hume Brown, "lost him that place in the hearts of his countrymen which his genius and intensely Scottish type of character must certainly have assured him," and (it may be added) rendered the work of the chap-book writer possible. In time his scholarship came to be a mere tradition among the great mass of the people who appreciated the only side of his genius they could understand as that was depicted for them in the all-but-mythical "witty and entertaining exploits," and who were too ignorant of history or too undiscerning to see anything incompatible in the right reverend Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland being also the King's "Fule." It is true that George Mac Gregor tells how many of the Scottish people believed "there were two Scotsmen who bore the name of George Buchanan,"

one of whom was the jester and the other the scholar, but it is doubtful if such a belief ever found much credence outside the boards of MacGregor's book. Dyce makes the suggestion that Buchanan was confounded with Archie Armstrong, and supposes that several of the "witty exploits originated in the sayings and doings of" that jester, but none of the stories credited to the Latinist in the chap-book are told of the Border sheep-stealer in the "Banquet of Jests and Merry Tales" except the conundrum as to the difference between a Scot and a sot, and that, as Dr. Wallace points out, is a mediæval chestnut.

Ridiculous as the transformation was, Buchanan is not alone in having been so treated by posterity. Michael Scott of Balwearie lives in popular imagination as a wizard rather than as a philosopher; Gervase of Tilbury gravely described Virgil as a mighty sorcerer; and in Palestrina, in Italy, Horace is still credited with having worked magical wonders. Strange stories of some of Buchanan's contemporaries are in circulation. Knox was credited with powers from hell; and if Nicol Burne and other Roman Catholic writers and gossips had found a sympathetic editor we might have had a chap-book on "The Weird and Wonderful Exploits of John Knox, commonly called the Scottish Deil." Nearer our own day, we find this strange literary transformation of historic personages. Little more than a century ago Paul Jones was similarly treated. A few days after the pirate's death a pamphlet was published with the startling title—"Paul Jones; or, Prophecies on America, England, France, Spain, Holland, etc., by Paul Jones, a Prophet and Sorcerer such as never lived heretofore"! The indecent stories and vulgar verses attributed without foundation to Burns doubtless prove witty and entertaining to many people, but are wholly unworthy of the poet's genius, and afford only a hideous reflection of the man.

The growth of the Buchanan chap-book is easy of explanation. As has been shown, some of the stories are versions of authenticated anecdotes. These, with the tradition that the scholar was a wit and a humorist, gave the compiler a beginning, and probably led him to search for other stories about his hero. No sense of historic accuracy moved him to enquire as to the credibility of the anecdotes he gleaned from oral sources; anything was good enough that was calculated to raise a laugh. Mirth was what his public demanded, and its provision was all

that concerned him. Ere long he succeeded in his purpose. The stoic philosopher was destined to make sport for the Philistines, and, invested with the cap and bells of a fool, he took his place in the chapman's wallet alongside Lothian Tom, and Paddy from Cork. "At first sight," writes Dr. Wallace, "one might imagine that" the collection "had been put together by an enemy of Buchanan, but its brutish zeal in holding up Buchanan as a desperately clever fellow who was continually turning the tables and raising a laugh against people who wished to take him off, and who were generally English, and often English nobles, bishops or other clergy, shows that it was earnest in its admiration according to its dim and dirty lights."

The decay of chap-book literature has done something to restore Buchanan to his rightful place in history. For at least a generation he has ceased to be a jester to any great extent, and his witty and entertaining exploits are fast being forgotten. Those that are not positively indecent have become associated with other men notorious for humour, and in this way survive for the delectation of later readers. Stories that made "the rafters dirl" a century ago when told of Buchanan now provoke mirth as they are narrated of Watty Dunlop of Dumfries or Robert Shirra of Kirkcaldy. Thousands have enjoyed the humour of Buchanan's observation to the French King in the art gallery three hundred and fifty years ago; in a recent volume of Scottish anecdote the reader is assured that the conversation took place between Bishop Murdoch of Glasgow and "Hawkie" the gangrel, and the incident is set forth with a wealth of local colour and pictorial embellishment that almost defies criticism! Verily, in modern collections of Scottish humour there are stories "both good and new, but what is good is not new, and what is new is not good."

W. H.

XXIII.

The Portraits of George Buchanan.

IN addition to many prints, framed and in books, the exhibition in the University Library contained eight oil paintings of Buchanan. One of these is the property of the University of St. Andrews, two were lent by the University of Aberdeen, two by the University of Edinburgh, one by the Buchanan Society, one by the Duke of Sutherland, and one by George A. Buchanan, Esq., Cawder House, Bishopbriggs. Perhaps on no previous occasion have so many portraits of Buchanan been brought together, and a better opportunity afforded for a comparative study of his portraiture. Other paintings of him are known to be in existence, but there were either difficulties in the way of getting them brought to St. Andrews, or their authenticity was too doubtful to make it worth while to borrow them. There is indeed room for reasonable doubt as to the genuineness of some of those exhibited. Nor is this to be wondered at when it is borne in mind that the portraits of Buchanan's great contemporary, John Knox, have given rise to much discussion and difference of opinion, and that no authentic portraits at all of such men as Andrew Melville and Samuel Rutherford are known to exist. That Buchanan was painted by more than one artist in his later years, may be taken for granted; but there appears to be no absolute certainty that any one of the existing portraits was actually painted from life.

The oldest portraits exhibited were those lent by the University of Edinburgh. One of these is painted on a wooden panel measuring $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height by 12 inches in width. The picture itself gives no clue to its date nor to the name of the artist who painted it. It has been in the possession of the University from time immemorial and it certainly looks old enough to be a contemporary portrait. Buchanan is represented as an old and rather sad looking man, wearing a black

gown, large white collar, and close-fitting black skull-cap, with a roll of paper in his right hand. This painting has generally been accepted as an authentic picture, and has been selected by Mr. James L. Caw for reproduction in his excellent series of "Scottish Portraits."¹ The other Edinburgh University portrait is painted on canvas and purports to represent Buchanan at the age of 73, but it has not the appearance of a contemporary portrait. The head is not unlike that of the older picture, but the eyes, nose, mouth and beard differ, and altogether the face is much less pleasing. Buchanan appears to be seated behind a desk or lecture-table, and is wearing a coat or gown with fur collar and facings. In his right hand he holds an open book; his left hand rests on the desk, and the fingers of both hands are spread out in a stiff and awkward manner, reminding one of Carlyle's phrase, "a tied-up bundle of carrots supporting a kind of loose little volume," in his description of Beza's portrait of Knox.

The Aberdeen University portraits are evidently enlarged and uniform copies of the Edinburgh ones. By themselves they make a most interesting pair, but they do not contribute anything to the original portraiture of Buchanan. The small head in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland has apparently no known history. It is painted on wood and appears to have been well done, but it shows signs of blistering and will soon require to be carefully restored. A full front face is shown, with rather small eyes, short nose and stunted beard. It is probably a copy of the Porbus portrait to be afterwards mentioned.

The paintings belonging to the University of St. Andrews and to the Buchanan Society introduce another type of Buchanan portraiture about which there is considerable dubiety. The University portrait was purchased at Edinburgh in 1884 in the belief that it was either by or after Titian. It is painted on wood, and was then in a rather faded condition, but has since been renovated. The "Titian" portrait of Buchanan appears to have been first heard of in the beginning of the nineteenth century and was discovered by David, eleventh Earl of Buchan. His Lordship is said to have been very proud of his discovery and had the portrait engraved as a frontispiece to the "Philosophical Magazine," edited by Alexander Tilloch, vol. 34, July-Dec. 1809. It is stated to be

¹ See Frontispiece.—ED.



*Facsimile of the Woodcut in "Les Portraits des Hommes
Illustres," 1673.*

engraved by T. Woolnoth at Edinburgh "from the original picture by Titian in the possession of the Earl of Buchan." There is no reference to it in the text of the volume. In July of the following year the Earl of Buchan, through the Earl of Kelly, presented a framed copy of the engraving to the University of St. Andrews, where it is still preserved in the University Library. The "original picture by Titian" has disappeared and cannot now be traced. It is just possible that it is the same as that now in possession of the University, but there is no proof either one way or the other. The University picture could scarcely be a copy of the Earl of Buchan's, for in its original state it had the appearance of having been painted long before 1809. It certainly bears a close resemblance to Woolnoth's engraving and belongs unquestionably to the "Titian" type.

The portrait lent by the Buchanan Society was specially painted for the Society by Sir Henry Raeburn and is known to be a copy of the portrait of Buchanan then in the possession of the Earl of Buchan. Writing from Edinburgh on 13th December 1814 to Mr. Archibald Buchanan, Glasgow, Sir Henry announced that the portrait had been sent off carefully packed. "Lord Buchan," he added, "is of opinion that the original was painted by Titian. I am not well enough acquainted with the history of George Buchanan to be able to say whether he had an opportunity of being painted by that Master, but it is not unlike his style, and at all events is an excellent picture. I have been at great pains to make the copy like, and I hope the Society will be pleased with it." Raeburn's picture is a very much finer piece of work than the University one, and if copied from it, or from another one like it, must have undergone considerable improvement in the process. But the question arises, is it a portrait of Buchanan at all? Unfortunately, Lord Buchan's judgment was not always to be relied upon, and it has long been current that the "original picture by Titian" in his possession was not a portrait of Buchanan, but of M. le Président Pierre Jeannin (1540-1622) finance minister to Henry IV. of France. There is certainly a striking resemblance between Woolnoth's engraving of Buchanan and the engraving of M. Jeannin as it appears in Perrault's "Hommes Illustres," published at Paris in 1696. Titian (1477-1576) was much older than either Buchanan or

Jeannin, but he was for a time their contemporary and might have painted either or both of them. Meanwhile proof is lacking that either gave sittings to the great Italian painter; and whether or not Lord Buchan mistook a portrait of Jeannin for one of Buchanan, the balance of evidence appears to be against his Lordship's picture being a genuine portrait of the Scottish humanist.¹

In connexion with the Titian portrait, mention may be made of two curious framed drawings exhibited by the Faculty of Advocates. The one represents "the upper part of the head of Buchanan by Titian in the collection of the Earl of Buchan with a view to compare with the skull of that learned man"; while the other is an "exact representation of what remains of the skull believed to be that of the learned George Buchanan, the historian and poet, which was taken out of his grave in the Greyfriars Kirkyard at Edinburgh about fifty years after his decease and is exhibited in the museum of the University of Edinburgh." Both drawings were made by Alexander Chisholm in March 1816 and are signed "Buchan." The comparison was probably made in the hope of dispelling doubt as to the genuineness of his Lordship's discovery. Front and side views of Buchanan's skull, drawn and engraved by W. and D. Lizars, Edinburgh, were published by William Blackwood in 1815, and may be seen in the second edition of Irving's "Memoirs of Buchanan" (1817).

The large painting belonging to Mr. George A. Buchanan is one of the series of Scottish historical pictures painted by the late James Drummond, R.S.A., Edinburgh. It represents Buchanan teaching young King James the Sixth in the Palace at Stirling in presence of the Countess of Mar and her little boy and girl. The grouping and technique of the picture are excellent, and the artist's conception of the learned pedagogue is very satisfactory, although the picture was painted long before he had made a special study of the portraiture of Knox and Buchanan.

¹ The renaming of old portraits is a practice of long standing and still goes on. At the opening of Queen's College, Belfast, a portrait bearing the inscription "Georgius Buchananus" was presented to the College by its architect, Mr. Lynn. About fifty years afterwards, when it was found necessary to entrust the picture to a restorer, it was discovered that it had been tampered with, and that it was really the portrait of a German clergyman named Johannes Carolus.

PORTRAITS OF BUCHANAN.



K & C
EDINBURGH





The accompanying plate shows at one view the group of these eight portraits as exhibited in the Senate Room. It will be at once noticed that there are at least three distinct types of portraits. There are first of all the two Edinburgh University portraits (of which the Aberdeen University ones are copies) representing Buchanan in extreme old age. Although differing in detail, these two portraits may be classed together as they have a general resemblance to each other. Then there is the Duke of Sutherland's portrait (which may be taken along with Mr. Buchanan's) in which the poet and historian appears as a somewhat younger man. Lastly, there are the two so-called Titian portraits, in which Buchanan is perhaps shown at a still earlier period of his life.¹

Turning now to the engravings, the oldest that has been discovered is that contained in part III. of the "Icones Virorum Illustrium" of Jean Jacques Boissard, published at Frankfort in 1598. Boissard was not an artist himself, and the engravings in his book are chiefly the work of Théodore de Bry, whose sons continued and completed it, and bestowed upon its originator the title of "Antiquariorum nostri seculi facile princeps."² But Boissard was Buchanan's contemporary and outlived him a good many years (1528-1602), and may have had little difficulty in obtaining the use of an original portrait for reproduction in so important a work as the "Icones." As the engraving represents Buchanan at the age of 76, it is clear that it must have been taken from a portrait painted in Scotland shortly before his death.³ The Boissard engraving has much in keeping with

¹ In the plate the two Edinburgh portraits are shown resting on chairs, with the Duke of Sutherland's portrait between them. The large picture in the centre is Mr. Buchanan's, with the Aberdeen portraits on either side. Above are the two "Titian" portraits, the one with the label being the property of the University of St. Andrews, and the other the property of the Buchanan Society. The production of this plate, in spite of much care, has not been quite successful, but the position of the portraits in the Senate Room made it difficult for the photographer to obtain a satisfactory negative.

² The portrait of Buchanan is marked "P. C. H. f." It is different in style and setting from all the rest and has evidently been engraved by another hand.

³ Irving ("Memoirs," 1817, p. 309) says that Buchanan "expired a short while after five o'clock in the morning of Friday, the twenty-eighth of September 1582, at the age of seventy-six years and nearly eight months." It is just possible, however, that he may have been a year younger. I drew

the later Edinburgh University portrait, except that the hands and book are wanting. The attire is very similar, but the features are rather more strongly marked. It cannot be described as an attractive portrait. Still it is full of character, and taken in conjunction with the older Edinburgh University painting, may be regarded as a fairly accurate likeness of Buchanan in his old age. The same portrait, on a much smaller scale, with the face greatly altered and looking the opposite way, was used by Dr. Paul Freher in his "Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum," published at Nuremberg in 1688, and it has been reproduced with more or less exactness in various subsequent publications. It forms the frontispiece to Professor Hume Brown's *Life of Buchanan* (1890) and also to the Rev. Dr. Donald Macmillan's (1906). It appeared as a small wood-cut in Anderson's "Scottish Nation" (1862); and in a slightly enlarged form it illustrates the Rev. J. Rolland McNab's article on Buchanan in "Morning Rays" for July 1906. In Garnett and Gosse's "English Literature," vol. 2 (1903), there is a small portrait of Buchanan "from an old engraving" of the Boissard type, but with the face turned the other way.

The next most typical engraving is that used as a frontispiece to the first edition of the English translation of Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, published at London in 1690, in folio. It was engraved by Robert White, and purports to be from the original preserved in the museum of Dr. Thomas Povey. The same plate, folded, was issued with the second and third editions of this translation published respectively in 1722 and 1733, in octavo. It is a bust giving a full face view of Buchanan, who is robed in a black gown buttoned down the front, and wears a large, white, folded collar. The head is high and bald, and the face somewhat stolid and expressionless. A very similar portrait was engraved by Jacobus Houbraken, of Amsterdam, in 1741, from a painting by Francis Porbus in the collection of Dr. Mead; and still attention to this more than a year ago, but at the suggestion of Professor Hume Brown I agreed not to raise the question of the exact date of Buchanan's birth in connexion with the Quater-Centenary Celebration, which had by that time been fixed for 1906. But as the question has since been discussed elsewhere, it may not be amiss to mention here that there are good grounds for arguing that, according to modern reckoning, Buchanan's birth-year was 1507 and not 1506.



GEORGE BUCHANAN.

(From Boissard.)

By kind permission of Mr. G. A. Morton, Publisher, Edinburgh.



another was engraved by Edward Scriven in 1833 for Charles Knight's "Gallery of Portraits," "from a picture by Francis Pourbus, senior, in the possession of the Royal Society," and reprinted on a smaller scale in the fourth volume of his "Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies" (1845), and again in "Old England's Worthies" (1847). The same portrait has also been engraved by J. B. Bird, and appears in Anderson's "Scottish Nation" (1862) and elsewhere. As engraved by W. Penny the Porbus portrait assumes a somewhat different form. The face is longer and thinner and Buchanan is shown seated in a high-backed chair with his hands resting upon a large book lying open across his knees. This plate has been used to illustrate Dr. Wylie's quarto edition of the "Scots Worthies" published by Mackenzie.

Unhappily the Porbus (or Pourbus) portrait is no more authentic than the others. There is no proof whatever that this Flemish artist was ever in Scotland and no certainty that Buchanan visited the Continent at a time when Porbus (who died in 1581) could have painted him. There is of course Ruddiman's statement ("Anticrisis," 1754, p. 139) that he had heard it related a hundred times that Buchanan, when Principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, without acquainting any of his friends of it, did make a voyage to France. If the many stories of this voyage could be substantiated by a single reliable document, the Porbus portrait would acquire additional interest, in St. Andrews at all events, as it would show what manner of man Buchanan was during his residence there.

Some degree of authority is lent to the Porbus portrait by the fact that it has been followed in all the editions of Buchanan's *Poemata* printed in Holland, viz., 1628 (Leyden, Elzevir¹); 1641 (Amsterdam, Jansson); 1676 (Amsterdam, Elzevir); 1687 (Amsterdam, Wetsten). These are all medallion portraits drawn on a very small scale. Mr. Drummond was of opinion that they agreed with Boissard's head, but they agree even more with Porbus's. They are all full face, the head is bald or nearly so, they show the same collar and very nearly the same gown—two having buttons and

¹ An enlarged photographic reproduction of the portrait in this edition appears in M. Ernest Gaullieur's "Histoire du Collège de Guyenne," Paris, 1874.

two not. The frontispiece of another edition of the *Poemata* published at Amsterdam in 1665, "apud Joannem à Waesberge et Elizeum Weyerstraet," shows Buchanan seated at a table, on which is placed a small writing desk. He holds a pen in his right hand, and his face is turned to the spectator. It shows a head resembling in some points both the Boissard and Porbus types, but the gown and collar belong to the latter. In none of these five engravings is there any appearance of fur.

Among other examples of the Porbus type of portrait (which has been the most popular among book illustrators) the following were among the exhibits:—An undated print engraved by A. Bell and inserted in Sibbald's "Commentarius in vitam Georgii Buchanani" (1702), but probably not issued with that work; another undated print, apparently of the eighteenth century, without the name of the engraver; the elaborate frontispiece engraved by Van der Gucht for Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan's Works (1715), which introduces a small portrait of the Porbus type, but influenced to some extent by the Boissard or Edinburgh type; the frontispiece to the edition of the *Historia* published by Paton at Edinburgh in 1727, engraved by R. Cooper; the fourth and sixth editions of the English translation of the *Historia* (1751 and 1766), giving a new version of the Porbus portrait engraved by T. Phin; the frontispiece to Robertson's "Life of Buchanan" (1812); the frontispiece to the edition of the *Historia* in English, published in 1827 and again in 1843, giving an engraving by "H. Meyer from a painting by F. Pourbus." The same portrait—sometimes from the same plate or block—has also done duty in Hume Brown's "Buchanan and his times" (1906), the quater-centenary edition of Wallace and Campbell Smith's sketch of Buchanan written for the "Famous Scots Series," and in various periodical publications issued within the last few months. A very good undated print was lent by Lt.-Col. Playfair, St. Andrews, taken "from the original by F. Porbus, late in the Mead collection."

Quite a different type of portrait forms the frontispiece to the seventh edition of the English translation of the *Historia*, published at Glasgow in 1799. It was engraved by K. Makenzie, London, from an original picture in Anderson's Institution, Glasgow. This picture is now in the possession of



George Buchanan *G*
August. 1577.

(From Pourbus.)

the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, and a copy of it belongs to Dr. Freeland Fergus, Glasgow. Its authenticity, however, is so open to question that it was not thought worth while to include it in the exhibition of paintings. It represents Buchanan as a younger man than any of the others and is not devoid of resemblance to the Porbus portraits. Another portrait, not unlike this Glasgow one, is given in Pinkerton's "Scottish Gallery," 1799, Vol. 1, plate 17. It is described as "from an original at Hamilton," and is lettered "Buchaniae Comes delt. E. Harding sc. Published Novr. 1, 1797, by I. Herbert." In the notice of Buchanan it is said "The portrait is in the Duke of Hamilton's house at Hamilton: and is the only one which represents Buchanan when young. It is probably genuine; but its authenticity is supposed to rest on tradition only." Drummond¹ calls it "an absurd head," but it had evidently at one time found favour with the Earl of Buchan.

The older Edinburgh University portrait was engraved by T. Woolnoth for the second edition of Irving's "Memoirs of Buchanan" (1817); and ten years later it was engraved by R. Scott for Aikman's translation of the *Historia*. In 1854 it appeared in Chambers's "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen," engraved by Samuel Freeman. As already remarked, it has more recently been included in Mr. Caw's "Scottish Portraits." It is this portrait, sometimes looking one way, sometimes another, which has been associated with the cover and title-page of "Blackwood's Magazine" since its commencement in 1817.

Engravings similar to the later Edinburgh University portrait (with hands and book introduced) have been published more than once. The earliest exhibited was an undated engraving, which some previous owner of a copy of the 1583 edition of the *Historia* has inserted as a frontispiece. It bears to have been painted by I. C. W. and engraved by C. van Sichem. Another version of it, by Ja. Clark, is given in Mosman's edition of the *Historia* published at Edinburgh in 1700. In these engravings the age has been

¹ In "The portraits of John Knox and George Buchanan," Edinburgh, 1875, reprinted, with additions, from the "Transactions of the Antiquarian Society." To this critical and suggestive paper are appended lists of engravings of Buchanan. It also gives excellent reproductions of the Boissard and Porbus portraits.

changed from 73 to 76, making it the same as in the Boissard engraving. The bust in the frontispiece to Burman's edition of the *Opera Omnia* (1725) follows the same type, with skull-cap and fur collar, but omits the hands and book.

Among the illustrations in Chambers's "Cyclopædia of English Literature," vol. 1 (1901), there is a picture of Buchanan (ætatis 76, an. 1581) "from the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery." It belongs to the Edinburgh type, but differs in several respects from those already described. Buchanan is represented standing at a small covered table, with his left hand resting upon it. In his right hand is an open book from which he looks pensively away.¹

The "Titian" portrait does not appear to have been re-engraved or reissued since 1809.

¹ The painter of this portrait is unknown. It is a small picture, measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was transferred to the National Portrait Gallery from the British Museum in June 1879.

J. M. A.



From the Painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

XXIV.

Buchanan Memorials.

A statement was recently made in the columns of a high-class literary weekly that Scotland had no worthy memorial of Buchanan. Whether this remark was, in some degree, significant of the general lack of acquaintance with Buchanan's life and work, or whether it was a mild criticism of the indifference of Scotsmen to the scholarship of their famous countryman, is not quite certain. The latter probability, however, can scarcely be entertained by those whose pilgrim journey has led them from the busy haunts of men into the peace and quiet of the valley of Strathendrick,—into the land of Buchanan. From far and near there may be seen—towering from the ridge on which the village of Killearn stands—a well-proportioned obelisk, symbolic, in its dignified isolation, of the place occupied by the great scholar in the memory of Scotchmen. The people of Buchanan's native district have always been proud of his learning, and near the end of the eighteenth century a plan was suggested by a Robert Dunsmore, Esq.,¹ whereby a fitting and permanent memorial should be raised. That gentleman outlined the scheme to a large company assembled in the house of a gentleman of the district, in which assemblage was Professor Richardson, "well known as a successful cultivator of polite literature."² A subscription list was opened, to which the guests present on that occasion contributed, the share of one of them—a Mr. Craig, a nephew of Thomson—being the architectural design. The monument, which is said³ to have been fashioned after the model of that which commemorates the Battle of the Boyne, is an obelisk nineteen feet square at the base, extends to the height of one hundred and three feet, and is built of white millstone-grit which was found at a short distance from the village. The foundation was laid in June

¹ Irving's *Memoirs*, p. 312.

² *Ibid.*

³ *New Statistical Account of Scotland.*

1788 by one who had taken a prominent part in the movement—Rev. James Graham, Minister of Killearn Parish,—and at this ceremony a hermetically sealed bottle, containing a silver medal with the following inscription was deposited under the foundation-stone¹:—

IN MEMORIAM
Georgii Buchanani,
Poetae et Historici Celeberrimi:
Accolis hujus loci, ultro conferentibus,
Haec columna posita est, 1788.
Jacobus Craig Architect. Edinburgen.

It seems, however, that the monument was without a visible inscription till 1850, when a marble tablet, bearing the following Latin eulogium composed by Professor William Ramsay of Glasgow University, was inserted in the base:—

Memoriae Aeternae
GEORGII BUCHANANI
Viri
Inter Fortes Fortis
Inter Doctos Docti
Inter Sapientes Sapientissimi,
Qui Tenax Propositi,
Impiorum sacerdotium minas ridens,
Tyrannorum saevorum minas spernens
Purum Numinis Cultum
Atque
Jura Humani Generis
A Pessima Superstitione atque ab infima servitute
Imperterritus Vindicavit
Hoc Monumentum,
Domum Paternam et Natalia Rura Prospectans,
Sumptibus et Pietate Popularium
Olim Extractum
Aetas Postera
Reficiendum Curavit,
Anno Christi D.N.
MDCCCL.

There thus stands, overlooking his ancestral home and the scene of his birth, a memorial of Buchanan's genius which is in itself a pillar of affection from his fellow-countrymen and to which not a few travellers 'resort with veneration and enthusiasm.' Nor was it erected without evoking approval and praise. Dr. David Doig, inspired by the loyalty to Buchanan thus shown,

¹ Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire* (1st edit.), p. 697.



From a photograph

by Valentine & Sons, Dundee.

BUCHANAN MONUMENT AT KILLEARN.

wrote the following lines, which were communicated by the Right Rev. Bishop Gleig to Dr. Irving who printed them as an Appendix to his Memoirs:—

En Buchanane ! pii, longo post tempore, cives
 Ingenio statuunt haec monumenta tuo.
 Scotia te natum, te Gallia jactat alumnum ;
 Te canit Europe, qua plaga cunq̄ue patet.
 Nil opus est saxo, nil indice : laeta sonabunt
 Carmine Levinium saecula cuncta decus.
 Seu decoras Latio divina poemata cultu,
 Seu recinis nugas, ludicra, festa, sales ;
 Grandia seu tragico devolvis verba cothurno,
 Seu reseras varii claustra viasque poli ;
 Aemula seu captas Patavi praeconia linguae,
 Foedera dum patriae, bella virosque refers ;
 Eloquio, gravitate, sono, vi, lumine, verbis
 Aequiparas veteres, exsuperasque novos.
 Quod Graii potuere simul, quod Romula virtus,
 Tu solus numeris, arte, lepore potes.
 Sin aliqua titubas patriae labefactus amore,
 Aut nimium vera pro pietate pius,
 Ipsa notam lecti Libertas porat alumni ;
 Ipsa tegit lauri Calliopea comis.
 Saepe nitor veri spissis latet obrutus umbris,
 Nec semper Lynceus cuncta videnda videt.

The citizens of Edinburgh had always been fully cognisant of Buchanan's ability, and they never wholly allowed his memory to fade. One of their number, and a kinsman of Buchanan—James Buchanan, Esq., Moray Place, and father of the present Member of Parliament for East Perthshire—caused a Memorial Window to be placed in the wall of Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. This three-light window, which is the last one from the pulpit on the south side of the church, was designed by James Ballantine. It contains in the centre panel the portrait of Buchanan and the arms of the Buchanan family, as well as the following inscription, which forms the last two lines of Joseph Scaliger's laudatory Elegy:—

Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes :
 Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit.
 (Where Scotland curbed the march of conquering Rome
 The Latian Muse will find her final home.)

On the other two lights are imprinted the notice :

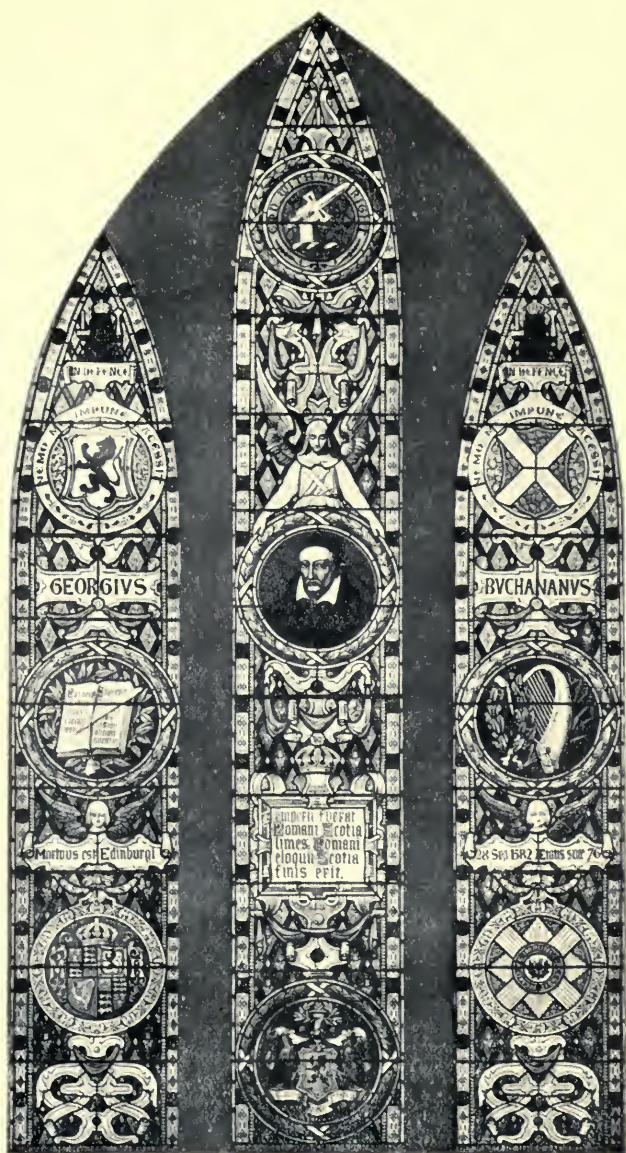
“Georgius Buchananus
 Mortuus est 28 Spt. 1582,
 Edinburgi aetatis suae 76.”

On a disc on each of the extreme panels there is the St. Andrews Cross and the Scottish Lion, with a motto which is occasionally attributed to Buchanan. This phrase—*nemo me impune lacessit*—was first found on the thistle merks and half-merks of James VI.; it is possible that Buchanan suggested its use, but it was not original. According to Dr. George Macdonald, Honorary Curator of the Hunter Coin Cabinet, Glasgow, a motto much similar had been used a hundred years before in Italy. A similar criticism applies to the phrase *Pro me si mercor in me*, which ornamented the so-called 'sword dollars' first minted in 1567. "Hoc lemma," says Ruddiman, "(quo et suum adversus reges ingenium prodit) Georgium Buchananum Jacobi VI. praeceptorem subministrasse omnes consentiunt."¹ The motto was certainly suggested by the saying attributed to Trajan by Dio Cassius and others, but no authority can be found for saying that its use on the coinage was due to Buchanan's advice.

Scots abroad, having fully realised the reputation which their countryman of a former century had earned among scholars throughout Europe, have been inspired, no doubt by Buchanan's contribution to the national sentiment of independence and by his honesty in withstanding the wrath of the king "and all his Kin's," to aid in perpetuating his memory. On the 12th September, 1887, a statue of Buchanan was unveiled in the Wallace Monument, near Stirling. It was presented by the Caledonian Club, Forte Wayne, Indiana, in compliment to the Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D. Five years afterwards it was to the memory of Dr. Rogers—a graduate of St. Andrews and for some time Secretary and Historiographer to the Royal Historical Society,—that these Scotsmen in America presented a bust to the Wallace Monument "to mark its appreciation of his enthusiasm for Scottish history and patriotism."

A less elaborate but more noteworthy memorial is to be seen in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, where Buchanan was, according to Dr. David Laing, "the first person of celebrity" to be buried. The history of Buchanan's last days does not redound to Scotland's credit. He died shortly after five o'clock in the morning of Friday, 28th September, in Kennedy's Close, "first court thereof on your left hand, first house in the

¹ Andersoni *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*, Edinb. 1739.



MEMORIAL WINDOW IN OLD GREYFRIARS CHURCH,
EDINBURGH.

turnpike above the tavern there."¹ He was buried the next day at the city's expense, and Calderwood records that the funeral was attended "by a great company of the faithful." Irving believed with a Mr. Callender that Buchanan's "ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone," but the Records of Edinburgh Town Council give evidence that the poor wandering scholar who had often asked for bread and received a stone.² In 1701, however, the stone could not be seen, and the Council, supposing that the stone had sunk, gave orders to the Chamberlain that it should be raised; but if this was ever done, it had again disappeared by 1794. According to Dr. Laing, the stone was found before 1867, having been appropriated and raised to the memory of a grave-digger. Thus it is certain that no inscription had been engraved on it, although Chalmers, at that time unaware of the misappropriation of the stone and misinterpreting a sentence in Sir Robert Sibbald's *Commentarius in Vitam Georgii Buchanani*, states in his *Life of Ruddiman* that the inscription was written by John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh University in 1623. He quotes the Adamson "inscription" which, had he read carefully, would have proved that no words had been engraved on the stone. This Epigram to Buchanan's memory is as follows:—

Marmoreæ cur stant hic omni ex parte columnæ,
 Signaque ab artificium daedala facta manu?
 Ut spectent oculis monumenta insignia vivi,
 Per quæ defunctis concilietur honos.
 Talia nonne etiam debet Buchananus habere,
 Doctius aut melius quo nihil orbis habet?
 Gloriotas vivus qui contemnebat inanes,
 An cupiet divus se decorent lapides?
 Illis fas pulchro nomen debere sepulchro,
 Qui nil quo melius nobilitentur habent.
 Per te olim tellus est nobilitata Britanna,
 Et decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo.

It was the author of the above epigram who, according to the Librarian to the University of Edinburgh about 1697, procured what is supposed to be Buchanan's skull and which is now preserved in the University Anatomical Museum.

The spot where Buchanan was buried is not even known.

¹ From a note by George Paton, the antiquary, and quoted by Prof. Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 353.

² *Ibid.* p. 353.

An iron tablet which is affixed to a rod rising from the grass and is said to have borne "a suitable inscription," is supposed to mark the grave near the north-eastern boundary, although the exact spot is considered by some to be nearer the eastern wall. It is more than thirty years since this tablet was placed, at his own expense, by a humble blacksmith named Ritchie, who was an elder in New Greyfriars Church. After his death his son carefully looked after the grave and the tablet, on which the letters of the inscription are almost illegible, although their general effect is "Geo. Buchanan, 16th Century, interred in this Churchyard."

Towards the west end of this 'Scottish Campo Santo' a monument was erected by the late Dr. David Laing in 1878. This cenotaph consists of a large pedestal with bronze bust of life-size inserted in high relief. The bust, after the Boissard engraving, was executed by D. W. Stevenson, R.S.A., who was also responsible for the bust in the Wallace Monument. There is no inscription, however, on the monument,—a defect which, it is hoped, will soon be remedied. There ought also to be no objection to insert in Westminster Abbey a bust or medallion. "Buchanan, Scott, Burns, and Carlyle are the four men of first-rate genius whom Scotland has as yet produced," and Buchanan and Carlyle might equally well be commemorated beside Scott and Burns.

More striking, though less substantial, than these monuments of "brass, glass or marble," which, according to Irving, "contribute more to the honour of the living than of the dead," are the letters and tributes which the acquaintances of Buchanan wrote to him or about him. Therein lies the revelation of his noble attributes, and he is revealed to us as a man of generous and friendly disposition. His loyalty to his friends in the hour of trial, his commemoration of the tender care and skill with which he was cured of a severe illness, the zeal he exhibited in the promotion and well-being of young Scottish scholars, his instructions that his last savings should be given to the poor,—all prove that though his distinction as a scholar and his intolerance of an impure ecclesiasticism appealed to the head, his judgment of men and affairs lean to the charity that emanates from a man of such integrity and piety as is none the less sincere because of its uneffusiveness. It is sad to think that in his last days the fame and noble aspirations of one who,



MONUMENT IN GREYFRIARS CHURCHYARD.

by his efforts to mould the thought of his time and exchange the bright glare of the old for the feeble light of the new order, commanded the admiration of the civilised world of his earlier days, should only have been understood by the few. These few did not relax in their efforts to keep his memory fresh in the minds of the Europe of after centuries, for in the words of D. G. Barclay, M.D.,

Beza et Turnebus, Scaliger Pater atque Josephus
Te, Buchanane ! super sidera laude locant.
Frustra igitur verbis famam detraxerit ullus
Nec Graio tinctis Ausoniove sale.¹

No one, however, has celebrated Buchanan more often and with greater zeal than his great colleague in the University reform movement—Andrew Melville, one of the most distinguished Principals of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. In congratulating him on his recovery from a severe illness, Melville wrote some sympathetic lines, of the latter part of which a close translation is here given :—

This lay to thee, I say, I have rough-drawn
Buchanan, leader of the skilful Nine ;
Unwrought, to till it thou ; rough, thou to smooth,
Who in thy single self art match for all ;
As deals the tiller with his up-torn field,
Ploughing, re-ploughing, ploughing yet again—
Or as the artificer with his hammered steel,
Filing and polishing and perfecting :
That, turned not once, but turned again, again,
Replaced upon thy anvil, it comes back,
Not such as the enfeebled sisters can,
Abated, thin of accent, void of charm,
But such as in sound health the Muses wont,
Lofty and mighty-toned, of charm supreme.²

Melville has here addressed Buchanan as his preceptor and the parent of the Muses, "preceptor" not necessarily implying that Buchanan had been Melville's regent, which was hardly possible. Having come under Buchanan's influence perhaps as a private pupil, and having been associated with him in after years, he felt moved at Buchanan's death to pay a tribute to the great scholar :—

Ergo silent magni Buchanani in funere Musae ?
Nec Vatum Aonidum flet pia turba suum ?
An secum Buchanus habet montem, unde Camoenae,

¹ *Poetarum Scotorum Musae Sacrae.*

² This translation is by the Rev. Archibald Brown, minister of Legerwood.

Devolvunt moestos murmura trunca modos?
 An secum Buchananus habet fontem, unde Poëtae
 Pieriis poti collacrimantur aquis?
 Aonio frustrâ quaeruntur vertice Musae:
 Castalio frustrâ e fonte petuntur aquae.
 Pro monte est coelum, pro fonte est Christus: utrumque
 Et Christum et coelum nunc Buchananus habet.
 Hausisti hinc sacros latices, Divine Poeta!
 Fudisti hinc summo carmina digna Deo.
 Hauriat hinc quisquis Buchanani in funere moeret;
 Ut Vatum fundat carmina digna Deo.

Turnèbe praised Buchanan's great knowledge of Latin,¹ whilst Beza and Scaliger, whom, along with De Thou, the scholarly Casaubon, in one of his letters, calls "the three suns of the learned world," have all expressed their admiration for the Scottish 'man-of-letters,' as Prof. Hume Brown aptly describes Buchanan. In his correspondence with our great humanist, Beza describes him as "a true lover of all good men"; in the same letter he beseeches Buchanan's blessing and continues "I, in turn, pray Him that He may bless with increasing blessing the happiness of your old age."²

Buchanan's last letter was addressed to Beza, and he there mournfully apologises "that all my senses dying before me, what now remains of the image of the former man testifies, not that I am, but that I have been alive; especially, as I can neither cherish the hope of contracting new intimacies, nor of continuing the old."³ It was this same sentiment, conveyed in one sentence of a letter to Vinet that especially appealed to De Thou as being memorable: "Nunc id unum satago, ut minimo cum strepitu, ex inaequalium meorum, hoc est, mortuus e vivorum contubernio demigrem."⁴ Thus in his closing days, Buchanan's noble traits seem to have come forth, and this spirit of magnanimity and independence, in which Buchanan left his circle of friends behind, Joseph Scaliger has realised and expressed in Latin verses which have often been quoted, and of which something of the sentiment remains in a translation published by Robert Macfarlan, M.A., in 1799.⁵

¹ Ruddiman, *Buchanani Opera*, Vol. II., p. 104.

² Hume Brown, *Biography*, p. 342.

³ Irving's *Memoirs*, p. 280.

⁴ *Epistola* xxxvii.

⁵ *George Buchanan's Dialogue concerning the Rights of the Crown of Scotland: with two Dissertations prefixed.*



GEORGE BUCHANAN.

(From the bust in Wallace Monument.)

By kind permission of Mr. William Middleton, Curator, Wallace Monument.

“The country blest, Buchanan, in thy fame,
 And every region honouring thy name,
 Thou diest declining mad ambition’s ways,
 To wealth superior and to vulgar praise ;
 Of Phoebus and his choir the favourite son,
 Who every prize in every contest won.

The rare memorials of a soul refin’d
 Which in thy works admiring nations find,
 No bard shall equal of the Gallick breed,
 And of th’ Italic none could e’er exceed.
 Raised to her zenith, poetry no more
 Beyond thee tries on daring wing to soar,
 Bounds to her empire, Rome in Scotland found,
 And Scotland, too, her eloquence shall bound.”

Whilst being a man of genius whose scholarship and brilliant conversational powers endeared him to the scholars of his time, his simplicity of life and the value he attached to elevation of character marked Buchanan as ever and always a true Scot. The emphasis he gave to purity of life was the result of a strong and burning patriotism. For such expression he was made to endure the stings of hostile criticism ; this fact and the recent history of his native country alike prove him to have been not only a writer, but a maker, of history. Having in the evening of his days repaid his native land with services which have been so slightly acknowledged, even by those who admired him as an intellectual aristocrat, he well deserved the tribute which was composed by John Johnston,¹ Professor of Hebrew in St. Mary’s College, 1593, and differs somewhat from other elegies in its reasons for praise:—

Scotia quem genuit, fovit, cum Pallade Musa
 Diva beat, tanto sese hospite Gallia jactat,
 Ingensque ingentem Tellus miratur et Aether,
 Seu canit Historiam, seu grandi carmina plectro :
 Quem decorant Reges, qui ipsos decorat quoque Reges
 Et Solymæ et propriæ gentis : Quique entheus almi
 Facta Dei, laudesque virum, qui sidera dixit ;
 Exiguo magnus sub cespite Buchananus
 Hic Vates recubat. Nomen viget alite famâ,
 Atque orbem immensum complet. Jamque arduus ipse
 Coelum habet, et gaudet permistus Coelitis Diis.

Buchanan loved his country, and devoted his thoughts and

¹ Johnston in 1587 was studying at the University of Helmstadt, whence he sent a MS. copy of Buchanan’s *Sphaera* to Pincier who published a second edition of that poem, with two epigrams by Johnston, in 1587.—M’Cric’s *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 153.

earnest endeavours to leave her better than he found her. He made a brave struggle for human freedom, and voiced the cause of culture and progress. The spirit of his work has never died, and although his reputation may not have been so deeply rooted in the hearts of his countrymen as that of the other great sons of Scotland, it is to be hoped that in this year, when four hundred years have hurried into the past since Buchanan was born, justice and fair-mindedness will permit all to estimate fully the brilliance of one of the foremost of Scotland's great scholars, who, in words attributed to Andrew Melville, was:—

Clarus in Historiae campo, clarusque Poesi,
 Nomen ad aeternos fers, Buchanane, dies.
 Scotia luce tua perfusa celebrior audet,
 Rex disciplinae gaudet honore tuae.
 Maximus es meritis. Quid Patria Rexve rependet,
 Quando tuis meritis hic sit et in illa minor?¹

To these many memorials of him who first kept for Scotsmen the citadel of their fame, is added this volume. As an appreciation of work done and a record of praise for that work, it is hoped that it will be a memorial in some small degree worthy of one whose fate it was to receive more honour from the nations among whom he was a stranger than from that in which he was born and which rewarded his services with scanty sympathy and support. Time has changed many opinions, and this year of grace allows us to read Buchanan's writings in a fresh and strong light, for we must ever remember with Horace:

'Neque uno Luna rubens nitet vultu.'

¹ These verses were written below the dedication in M'Crie's copy of Melville's *Carmen Moisis*. The handwriting is not Melville's.—M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 42.

THE EDITOR.

To George Buchanan.

GOOD old Buchanan, my heart warms to thee,
 G So long hast thou companioned my lone hours;
 And I have felt thee to be near to me,

And pleasant as the breath of summer flowers—
 So oft thy words of truth and wisdom stirred
 My soul, responsive to the tones it heard:
 No stranger thou, far centuries apart;
 Thy speech was as a friend's, and heart to heart.

Thy voice is in the silence of the night;
 I hear thee when all other sounds are still,
 Upholding what is true and just and right,
 Sounding the sacred lyre with matchless skill.

I honoured thee as patriot, scholar, bard—
 Chiefly as bard, of many a varied lay,
 Wherewith full oft I have beguiled my way,
 Dreaming enchanted dreams in daylight hard;
 The shocks and troubles of the world dispelled
 By the sweet spell wherein my soul was held.

What titles shall I heap on thee to pay
 The debt I owe thee, due this many a day?
 To thine own titlepage I turn, and there
 Of academic titles find thee bare:
 One title only wilt thou deign to claim—
 I read it, kindling with an inward flame:
 Instead of many a letter, many a dot,
 This only read I, GEORGE BUCHANAN, SCOT.

SCOTUS! exclaims an old encomiast,
 Tossing his Greek about with airy sleight;
 Not thou art Σκότος, though that name thou hast;
 Not Σκότος thou, but rather Σκοτία's light.

Yet SCOTUS wert thou to thy inmost core;
 A patriot fire burned there with fervent heat;
 And though thy country drove thee from her shore,
 And made thee long the bread of exile eat,
 Lovedst thou still the rugged land that bore
 Thy fathers' race, and sepulchred their dust—
 A land that ill repaid thy faith and trust.

For thou art still a banished man, denied
 The harbour and the hearth of kindred Scot:
 Thy name may linger, but thy words abide
 In dusty volumes which men handle not:
 Thy name is famous yet, but all beside,
 Save to a dwindled number, is a blot.

Yet greater son than thou thy country ne'er
 Nursed in her bosom and sent forth to fame;
 Born child of genius, of endowments rare,
 The world once echoed with thy lauded name:
 Now, the last echoes all are fallen low,
 And few there be thy glowing words that know.

Ephemeral leaves in myriads strew the land;
 Thine own immortal pages are unread—
 Conjured away as by enchanter's wand;
 Unseen and unremembered as the dead.
 And yet thy pages shall not die but live;
 There is no death to an immortal thing:
 Their root is in the ground, and time will give
 New growth, new verdure and new blossoming.

Thy glorious star, high in the azure set,
 In splendour shone through many lives of men:
 Dark clouds obscured it, and obscure it yet—
 Shall not its lustre yet shine out again?
Thou camest back from thy long banishment;
 Shall thy long banished strains not yet return?
 Is not the night of thy neglect far spent?
 Shall but a loyal few revere thy urn?

Four hundred years ago thy infant feet
 Trod the green sward beside thy native stream;
 And when thou hadst o'erpast life's troubled dream,
 Old and renowned, they wrapt thee in thy sheet,
 And laid in Scottish soil and hallowed ground,
 Where many of earth's noblest sleep around.
 Rest well, beloved master, rest in peace,
 Where fame has followed, and where troubles cease.

PART II.

Poems and Translations.



I.

Quam Misera Sit Condítio Docentium Lítaras Humaniores Lutetiae.

(*Elegiarum Liber—I.*)

In this Elegy, which is probably the first of his compositions, Buchanan gives valuable information as to student and professional life in the College of Ste. Barbe, where he taught for three years. It was first published at Paris in 1567.

The French translation or adaptation here given is by Joachim du Bellay (1525-1560), who was an Angevin of good birth. As a French poet, he ranks as one of the best of the celebrated Pléiade of seven writers who in their day sought to shape French poetry on classical models. Some of his smaller poems, one of which Spenser translated into English, are very beautiful. Du Bellay was also a writer of forcible prose. The present adaptation is taken from an edition of his works published at Paris in 1568, a copy of which was found by Rev. R. M. Lithgow in the Library of the ancient Hermitage Chapel of Saint Thiago, Cintra, Portugal. In the same volume was a translation of another of Buchanan's poems—*Ad Henricum II. Franciae Regem du soluta urbis Mediomatricum obsidione*. The French poem here given is not wholly a translation. While Buchanan's Latin poem expatiates on the misery of a teacher's life, du Bellay makes no reference to a teacher's life, and takes as his theme the misery of a poet's life. The first fifty-four are faithfully translated from the first twenty-eight lines of Buchanan's Latin. Then du Bellay omits quite a large part of the Latin, and interpolates. The lines beginning *Sept villes de Grece* are a close translation; these are followed by another interpolation. A few more lines are closely translated, and then the latter part is a paraphrase of Buchanan's five words—"Nos alio sors animusque vocat."

Ite leves nugae, sterilesque valet Camoenae,
Grataque Phoebaeo Castalis unda choro.
Ite, sat est: primos vobiscum absumsimus annos,
Optima pars vitae deperitque meae.
Quaerite quem capiat jejuna cantus in umbra:
Quaerite qui pota carmina cantet aqua.

Dulcibus illecebris tenerum vos fallitis aevum,
 Dum sequitur blandae carmen inerme lyrae.
 Debita militiae molli languescit in umbra,
 Et fluit ignavis fracta juventa sonis.
 Ante diem curvos senium grave contrahit artus,
 Imminet ante suum mors properata diem :
 Ora notat pallor, macies in corpore toto est,
 Et tetrico in vultu mortis imago sedet.
 Otia dum captas, praeceps in mille labores
 Irruis, et curis angeris usque novis.
 Nocte leves somnos resolutus compede fossor
 Carpit, et in mediis nauta quiescit aquis :
 Nocte leves somnos carpit defessus arator,
 Nocte quies ventis, Ionioque mari :
 Nocte tibi nigrae fuligo bibenda lucernae,
 Si modo Calliopes castra sequenda putes :
 Et tanquam Libyco serves curvata metallo
 Robora, et Herculea poma ferenda manu,
 Pervigil in lucem lecta atque relecta revolves,
 Et putri excuties scripta sepulta situ.
 Saepe caput scalpes, et vivos roseris unguis,
 Irata feries pulpita saepe manu.
 Hinc subitae mortes, et spes praerepta senectae,
 Nec tibi fert Clio, nec tibi Phoebus opem.
 Si caput in cubitum lassa cervice recumbat,
 Et sopor exiguus lumina fessa premat :
 Ecce, vigil subito quartam denuntiat horam,
 Et tonitru horrifico lumina clausa quatit :
 Excutit attonito somnos¹ sonus aeris acuti,
 Admonet et molli membra levare toro.
 Vix siluit, jam quinta sonat ; jam janitor urget
 Cymbala, tirones ad sua signa vocans :
 Mox sequitur longa metuendus veste magister,
 Ex humero laevo mantica terga premit.
 Dextera crudeli in pueros armata flagello est :
 Laeva tenet magni forte Maronis opus.
 Jam sedet, et longis clamoribus ilia rumpit,
 Excutit implicitos ingenioque locos.

¹ Griffin's London edition of 1686, the 1677 Edinburgh edition of Cairns who employed printers from Holland, as well as more recent editions, have *somno*.

Corrigit, et delet, mutat, vigilata labore
 Promit, in obscuro quae latuere diu.¹
 Magna, nec ingeniis aevi explorata prioris,
 Erui, inventas nec sibi celat opes.
 [Ignava incerta² stertit plerumque juvenus,
 Cogitat aut curae multa priora suae.]
 Alter abest, petiturque alter, mercede parato
 Qui vocet, et fictos condat arte dolos.
 Ille caret caligis, huic rupta calceus alter
 Pelle hiat: ille dolet, scribit et ille domum.
 Hinc virgae, strepitusque sonant, fletuque rigantur
 Ora, inter lacrymas transigiturque dies.
 Dein nos sacra vocant, dein rursus lectio, rursus
 Verbera: sumendo vix datur hora cibo.
 Protinus amota sequitur nova lectio mensa,
 Excipit hanc rursus altera, coena brevis:
 Surgitur, in seram noctem labor improbus exit,
 Ceu brevis aerumnis hora diurna foret.
 Quid memorem interea fastidia mille laborum,
 Quae non ingenua mente ferenda putes?
 Ecce tibi erronum³ plenas ex urbe phalanges,
 Terraque ferratis calcibus icta tremit:
 Turba ruit, stolidasque legentibus applicat aures,
 Quales Phoebaeae Phryx dedit ante lyrae.
 Et queritur nullis onerari compita chartis,
 Esse et Alexandrum⁴ nullo in honore suum:
 Nec gravidum pleno turgescere margine librum,
 Neglectumque premi vile Guidonis opus.
 Curritur ad montem magno cum murmure acutum,
 Aut alias aedes, sicubi beta sapit.
 Quid referam quoties defenditur acer Orestes,
 Carmina vel numeris cum caruere suis?

¹ The edition published at Edinburgh in 1615 by Andrew Hart gives *situ* instead of *diu*.

² This couplet is not inserted in any edition except in Ruddiman's, Burmann's, and Hart's Edinburgh edition of 1615 where *interea* is given instead of *incerta*.

³ The *errones* were elderly students who worked very little, were very unruly, and merely attended classes for many years for no more definite purpose than "killing time." They were known in Paris as *galoches*, "so-called," Professor Hume Brown says, "from the galoshes which they wore in winter."

⁴ Alexander of Villa-dei, a grammarian of the Middle Ages.

Arcadico juveni quod laeva in parte mamillae
 Nil salit, iratus clamat uterque parens:
 Conqueritur nullo labentia tempora fructu,
 Totque diu sumtus deperiisse suos.¹
 [Quin etiam in libros nati consumpta talenta
 Supputat: et damnum flagitiumque vocat.]
 Aestimat et nostros non aequa lance labores:
 Temporis et nulla damna rependit ope.
 Adde, quod Aonidum paupertas semper adhaerens
 It comes, et castris militat ipsa suis:
 Sive canas acies in Turcica bella paratas,
 Sive aptes² tenui mollia verba lyrae:
 Sive levi captas populi spectacula socco,
 Turgidus aut tragico syrmate verris humum:
 Denique quicquid agis, comes assidet improba egestas,
 Sive poema canis, sive poema doces.
 Bella gerunt urbes septem³ de patria Homeri:
 Nulla domus vivo, patria nulla fuit.
 Aeger, inops patrios deplorat Tityrus agros,
 Stadius instantem vix fugat arte famem.
 Exul Hyperboreum Naso projectus ad axem,
 Exilium Musis imputat ille suum.
 Ipse Deus vatium vaccas pavisse Pheraeas
 Creditur, Aemonios et numerasse greges.
 Calliope longum coelebs cur vixit in aevum?
 Nempe nihil doti⁴ quod numeraret, erat.
 Interea celeri cursu delabitur aetas,
 Et queritur duram tarda senecta famem:
 Et dolet ignavis studiis lusisse juventam,
 Jactaque in infidam semina moeret humum:
 Nullaque maturis congesta viatica canis,
 Nec faciles portus jam reperire ratem.
 Ite igitur, Musae steriles, aliumque ministrum
 Quaerite: nos alio sors animusque vocat.

¹ This couplet is found only in Hart's Edinburgh edition, Ruddiman's 1715, and Burmann's 1725.

² The first edition, 1567, has *aptas*,—evidently an error.

³ Edinburgh edition of 1615 gives this line—*Septem bella gerunt urbes*.

⁴ In the Amsterdam edition published by Henry Wetsten, 1687, *dotis* is given instead of *doti*.

TRANSLATION

(*by T. D. Robb, M.A., Paisley.*)

YE barren books, I've played the fool too long,
Tending your trivial vanities of song!
I'm growing old, and ask, What is to me
Apollo with his nymphs of Castalie?
He lures to thankless toil, and now appears
My Will o' the Wisp above the marsh of years.

Can any mortal breakfast on a verse,
Or quench his drouth with water, and rehearse
The vinous classic song? If any choose,
Go seek him out to fill my empty shoes.

Right pleasantly does song allure the young,
Sweet song that leaves the manly lyre unstrung.
Their country, calling them to bow and blade,
Finds them relaxed in some delightful shade,
Marring their youth in metring idle sound;
So, ere their life has run the ample round,
They bow enfeebled limbs; nay, while the years
Count them yet young, Death tolls upon their ears
His quick approach; nor is he far to seek,
Seated on shrunken form and withered cheek.

The dream of lettered leisure! I and you
Yearn over it, then, plunged in work, pursue
A thousand toils with troubles ever new.

Night comes for sleep. Poor clowns that turn the sod
Leave spade or plough and straight begin to nod;
Tired mariners upon the middle deep
Find wave and wind a lullaby to sleep;
Yea, oft with night will roughest storms give o'er,
And surges cease along the Ionian shore.
But you that think to serve the Muse of Song,
Drink reek of sooty lamp the whole night long,
Sleepless as e'er the dragon lay of old,
Warden beneath those boughs that bent with gold:
(How vainly sleepless, too, since Hercules
Must yet the golden apples cull at ease).

Even such are you that hear the early chimes,
 Still pondering what you've read a score of times,
 Eager to sweep the obscuring dust away
 From antique lore. Oft till the dawning day
 You bite your nails to the quick, and scratch your head,
 And bang your desk, but never win to bed.

What guerdon for it all? Long years and glory?
 In no wise does the Muse of song or story
 So royally reward. An early death
 Is all the comfort that she promiseth.

For sleep's denied. The tired neck may bow,
 And on the pillowed elbow droop the brow,
 A little sleep may cool your burning sight,
 When sudden clamour fills the startled night.
 Wildly you wake, unnerved for what dread shock,
 And hear the night-watch bellowing "Four o'clock!"
 With brazen din he deafens night around,
 Warning day's bondmen not to sleep too sound.
 Scarce is he silent, scarce your eyelids close,
 When "Five o'clock!" shatters your last repose.
 Clang goes the bell! The porter—sleepless ass!—
 Is ringing scholars to your morning class.

Prompt at the call, and dreadful in the frown
 He wears to match his flowing Roman gown,
 Behold the master follow forth to school.
 He clutches what proclaims a sceptred rule,
 And looks as he'd out-tyrannise the Turk;
 In the other hand he holds the morning's work,
 Virgil perchance,—so great, yet thus so mean.

Now at his desk he eyes the restless scene,
 And cracks his cheeks with shouting. Say he wins,
 And quiet—most comparative—begins;
 He takes his task, unravelling some skein
 Of tangled Latin, seeking to make plain
 To careless boys the questionable text
 That had his midnight vigil so perplexed.
 He changes this and that, with skill to note
 Errors the classic author never wrote,
 And vindicates the readings that may be,
 From lore long latent in his memory.

He scatters knowledge with a lordly hand ;
 Things that no former age could understand
 Are his attainment ; and he casts away
 Those treasures of his cornucopia,—
 But casts to slothful swine. A steady snore
 Comes from the crowd that study on the floor :
 And those who seem awake in studious wise
 Are knaves that listen only with their eyes.

Some one is truant ; another has taken care
 To hire some rascal with a specious air
 To have him called away. Or, this cold morn,
 One has no boots ; another's boots are worn
 To sandals. In that corner over there,
 Some booby blubbers for a mother's care ;
 Or there is one that lets his fancy roam,
 And, 'stead of writing notes, is writing home.

Wherefore the switch is busy, and the sound
 Of frequent lamentation floats around ;
 Tears channel youthful cheeks ; and, when 'tis run,
 The record of the hour is—Nothing done.

Then comes the call to prayers ; after which
 Another hour of Latin and the switch.
 Then breakfast ; but the board is hardly set
 When it is borne away. We only whet
 Our appetites ere clangs the bell again,
 Renewing the futility and pain
 Of Latin lessons. When that weird is o'er
 Comes dinner, and as breakfast proved before,
 'Tis but a snack ere we are called away.
 Whither ? The tired to sleep, the fresh to play ?
 No, Latin lends small heed to set of sun,
 And we are deep in night ere work is done,—
 Such work as 'tis. Why should I court your scorn
 Telling the thousand degradations borne
 In classes crowded with an adult crew
 Too old to birch, yet seeking nothing new,
 Nor even come to keep their learning green.
 All day the city's nuisance they have been.
 Now from the streets dusk-driven, where so well

Ensnounce themselves and make a childish hell
 As in those rooms where once they suffered woe?
 So, foolishly indulged to come and go
 At their sweet will, into the class they pour
 With clogs that well-nigh clatter through the floor,—
 A graceless rabble! Making no pretence
 To listen, for their dull indifference
 Is God's own blame; they fail in heavenly fire,
 As the Phrygian failed when Phoebus charmed his lyre.

Yet they'll complain: "Why are no posters out
 To tell us what the lectures are about?"
 Or, "This new grammar! Why have you forsook
 Old Alexander? Never a better book!
 Do you fancy that we bothered with his notes!"
 Nay, even neglected Guido has their votes!
 So, with a hue and cry for Latin grammar—
 The sound old style!—they rush with rowdy clamour
 To Montaigu, or whereso they shall find
 An atmosphere to suit the idle mind.

* * * * *

Then there's the angry parent, whose dear boy,
 A dull Arcadian, disappoints the joy
 His father thought to find. "'Tis all a sell!"
 He'll coarsely shout, and even the coppers tell
 That books have cost. But one thing has no place
 In his brute cries of *Swindle* and *Disgrace*!
 He never counts the time and trouble spent
 By the poor teacher of his innocent.

Yet one thing more. The servant of the Muse
 Has one companion he shall never lose,
 Even poverty. That lean vivandière
 Campaigns with him ever; he must fare
 As she provides, yet find a soul for song.
 And whatsoever the mood, or sweet or strong,—
 Whether smooth carol to the lightsome lyre,

¹ Two lines omitted, *Quid referam quoties*, etc., easy to translate literally, but of obscure interpretation. No editor has yet given an explanation that is not open to objections.

Or battle-song a Turkish war to fire,
 Or motley matter for the comic stage,
 Or swelling syllables of tragic rage,—
 It profits nothing. Teach or make such song,
 The one reward is poverty life-long.

Homer in life had home or country none,
 Now seven cities claim him for their son.
 Where once his fathers held their flocks at feed
 The ruined Virgil filled his forlorn reed
 With sick complaint. Though Statius o'er and o'er
 Polished good verse, the wolf kept at his door.
 Ovid, an exile in the utter north,
 Must blame his Muse. 'Tis even given forth
 How once Apollo, lord of minstrelsy,
 Drove kine and counted sheep in Thessaly.
 Why must Calliope live a maid so long?
 Her only dowry was the gift of song.

So 'tis to-day. Our youth is quickly o'er,
 And all the song is hardship at threescore.
 Gray-haired, we mourn the barren years of toil,
 Harvesting nothing from a well-sown soil;
 Or, after buffeting with every gale,
 Finding no happy port to strike the sail.

Avaunt ye, then, and find some other slave,
 Ye thankless Muses! What I have to save
 Of years and strength craves higher destiny;
 My star, my soul, command that I be free.

TRANSLATION

(by Joachim du Bellay, 1568).

Adieu ma Lyre, adieu les sons
 De tes inutiles chansons:
 Adieu la source, qui recree
 De Phebus la tourbe sacree.
 J'ay trop perdu mes jeunes ans
 En vos exercices plaisans:
 J'ay trop a vos jeux asservie
 La meilleure part de ma vie.
 Cherchez mes vers, et vous aussi
 O Muses, jadis mon soucy,

Qui a vos douceurs n'ompareilles
 Se laisse flatter les oreilles :
 Cherchez, qui sous l'oeil de la nuit
 Enchante par vostre doux bruit,
 Avec les Nymphes honorees
 Danse au bal des Graces dorees.
 Vous trompez, o mignardes socurs,
 La jeunesse par vos douceurs :
 Qui fuit le Palais, pour elire
 Les vaines chansons de la Lyre :
 Vous corrompez les aus de ceux,
 Qui sous l'ombrage paresseux
 Laissent languir effeminee
 La force aux armes destinee.
 L'hyver, qui naist sur leur printemps,
 Voulte leur corps devant le temps :
 Devant le temps l'avare parque
 Les pousse en la fatale barque.
 Leur teint est tousjours pallissant,
 Leur corps est tousjours languissant,
 De la mort l'effroyable image
 Est tousjours peinte en leur visage.
 Leur plaisir trayne avecques luy
 Tousjours quelque nouvel ennuy :
 Et au repos ou ils se baignent,
 Mile travaux les accompagnent.
 Le miserable pionnier
 Ne dort d'un sommeil prisonnier :
 Le nocher au milieu de l'onde
 Sent le commun repos du monde :
 Le dormir coule dans les yeux
 Du laboureur laborieux :
 La mer ne sent tousjours l'orage :
 Les vents appaisent leur courage :
 Mais toy sans repos travaillant,
 Apres Caliope baillant,
 Quel bien, quel plaisir as-tu d'elle,
 Fors le parfum d'une chandelle ?
 Tu me sembles garder encor'
 Les chesnes se courbans sous l'or,
 Et les pommes mal attachees,

Par les mains d'Hercule arrachees.

Jamais le jour ne s'est leve
Si matin, qu'il ne t'ait trouve
Revant dessus tes poesies
Toutes poudreuses et moisies.
Souvent, pour un vers allonger,
Il te fault les ongles ronger :
Souvent d'une main courroucee
L'innocente table est poussee.

Ou soit de jour, ou soit de nuict,
Ceste rongne tousjours te cuit.
Jamais ceste humeur ne se change :
Tousjours le style te demange.
Tu te distilles le cerveau
Pour faire un poeme nouveau :
Et puis ta Muse est deprisee
Par l'ignorance autorisee.
Pendant la mort qui ne dort pas,
Haste le jour de ton trespas :
Adonques en vain tu t'amuses
A ton Phebus et a tes Muses,
Le Serpent, qui sa queue mord
Nous tire tous apres la mort.
O fol, qui haste les annees,
Qui ne sont que trop empennees !
Adiouste a ces malheurs icy,
De pauvreté le dur soucy,
Pesant fardeau, que tousjours porte
Des Muses le vaine cohorte :
Ou soit, que tu ailles sonnans
Les batailles d'un vers tonnans :
Ou soit, que ton archet accorde
Un plus doux son dessus ta chorde,
Soit, qu'au theatre ambicieux
Tu monstres au peuple ocieux
Les malheurs de la Tragedie,
Ou les jeux de la Comedie.

Sept villes de Grece ont debat
Pour l'auteur du Troyen combat :
Mais le chetif, vivant n'eut onques
Ny maison, ny pais quelconques.

Tytire pauvre et malheureux,
 Regrette ses champs plantureux :
 Le pauvre Stace a peine evite
 De la faim l'importune suyte.
 Ovide du Getique seiour,
 Falche de la clarte du jour,
 De son bannissement accuse
 Ses yeux, ses livres, et sa Muse.
 Mesmes le Dieu musicien
 Sur le rivage Amphrysien
 D'Admete les boeufs mena paistre,
 Et conta le troupeau champestre.
 Mais fault-il pour les vers blasmer
 Nombrer tous les flots de la mer,
 Et toute l'arene roulante
 Sur le pave d'une eau coulante ?
 Malheureux, qui par l'univers
 Jetta la semence des vers :
 Semence digne qu'on evite
 Plus que celle de l'aconite.
 Malheureux, que Melpomene
 Veit d'un bon oeil, quand il fut ne,
 Luy inspirant des sa naissance
 De son scavoir la cognoissance.
 Si le bon heur est plus amy
 De celuy qui n'a qu'a demy
 Des doctes soeurs l'experience,
 O vaine et ingrate science !
 Heureux et trois et quatre fois
 Le fort des armes et des lois :
 Heureux les gros sourcils encore,
 Que le peuple ignorant adore.
 Toy que les Muses ont eleu,
 Dequoy te fert-il d'estre teu,
 Si pour tout le gaing de ta peine
 Tu n'as qu'une louange vaine ?
 Tes vers sans fruit, laborieux
 Te sont voler victorieux
 Par l'esperance, qui te lie
 L'esprit d'une douce folie.
 Tes ans, qui coulent ce pendant,

Te laissent tousjours attendant:
Et puis ta vieille lamente
Sa pauvrete, qui la tormente:
Pleurant d'avoir ainsi perdu
Le temps aux livres despendu:
Et d'avoir seme sur l'arene
De ses ans la meilleure grene.

“ Donne conge, toy qui es fin
Au cheval, qui vieillit, a fin
Que pis encor ne luy advienne,
Et que poussif il ne devienne.
Que songes-tu? le lendemain
Du corbeau, n'est pas en ta main.
Sus donq', la chose commencee,
Est plus qu'a demy avancee.

Malheureux, qui est arreste
De vieillesse et de pauvrete.
Vieillesse, ou pauvrete abonde,
C'est la plus grand' peste du monde.”
C'est le plaisir, que vous sentez
O pauvres cervaux evantez:
C'est le profit, qui vient de celles,
Que vous nommez les neuf pucelles.
Heureuses Nymphes, qui vivez
Par les forests, ou vous suynez
La sainte vierge chasseresse,
Fuyant des Muses la paresse.
Soit donq' ma Lyre un arc turquois,
Mon archet devienne un carquois:
Et les vers, que plus je n'adore
Puissent traicts devenir encore.
S'il est ainsi, je vous suyuray
O Nymphes, tant que je vivray:
Laissant dessus leur double croppe
Des Muses l'ocieuse troppe.

II.

Somnium.

(*Fratres Fraterrimi—XXXIV.*)

THIS poem, which was prompted by various arguments held with some ecclesiastic in Scotland, and was written during his leisure moments, was of importance in determining Buchanan's career. Such is the satire that rendered him extremely obnoxious to the Franciscans against whom it was levelled, while it commended him to the attention of the king, who encouraged him to renew his attacks. The *Somnium* is based on a poem by William Dunbar, which is here quoted from the MS. of George Bannatyne, published in 1568. Buchanan's poem was probably published at Paris in 1566 by "Henri Estienne." The translation of Buchanan's poem by Robert M'Farlane, M.A., was published in the historical dissertation prefixed to a translation of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni* (1799).

How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier.

(*by William Dunbar*).

This nycht befor the dawning cleir
Methocht Sanct. Francis did to me appeir,
With ane religious abbeith in his hand,
And said, In this go cleith the my servand,
Refuse the warld, for thow mon be a freir.

With him and with his abbeith bayth I skarrit,
Like to ane man that with a gaist wes marrit:
Methocht on bed he layid it me abone;
Bot on the flure delyverly and sone
I lap thairfra, and nevir wald cum nar it.

Quoth he, quhy skarris thow with this holy weid?
Cloith the tharin, for weir it thow most neid;
Thow that hes lang done Venus lawis teiche,
Sall now be freir, and in this abbeith preiche:
Delay it nocht, it mon be done but dreid.

Quoth I, Sanct Francis, loving be the till,
 And thankit mot thow be of thy gude will
 To me, that of thy clayis are so kynd;
 Bot thame to weir it nevir come in my mynd:
 Sweet confessour, thow tak it nocht in ill.

In haly legendis have I hard allevin,
 Ma sanctis of bishoppis, nor freiris, be sic sevin;
 Of full few freiris that has bene sanctis I reid;
 Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bishopis weid,
 Gife evir thow wald my saule gaid unto hevin.

My brethir oft hes maid the supplicatiouns,
 Be epistillis, sermonis, and relatiounis,
 To take the abyte; bot thow did postpone;
 But ony process cum on; thairfoir anone
 All circumstance put by and excusationis.

Gif evir my fortoun wes to be a freir,
 The dait thereof is past full mony a yeir;
 For into every lusty toun and place,
 Off all Yngland, from Berwick to Calice,
 I haif into thy habeit maid gud cheir.

In freiris weid full fairly haif I fleichit,
 In it haif I in pulpet gone and preichit
 In Derntoun kirk, and eik in Canterbury;
 In it I past at Dover our the ferry,
 Throw Piccardy, and thair the peple teichit.

Als lang as I did beir the freiris style,
 In me, God wait, wes mony wrink and wyle;
 In me wes falset with every wicht to flatter,
 Quhilk mycht be flemit with na haly watter;
 I wes ay reddy all men to begyle.

This freir that did Sanct Francis thair appeir,
 Ane fieind he wes in liknes of ane freir;
 He vaneist away with stynk and fyrrie smowk;
 With him methocht all the house end he towk,
 And I awoik as wy that wes in weir.

Somnium.

Mane sub auroram nitidae vicinia lucis
 Pallida venturo cum facit astra die:
 Arctior irriguos somnus complectitur artus,
 Demulcens placido languida membra sinu:
 Cum mihi Franciscus nodoso cannabe cinctus,
 Astitit ante torum stigmata nota gerens.
 In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum fune galerus,
 Palla, fenestratus calceus, hasta, liber:
 Et mihi subridens, Hanc protinus indue, dixit,
 Et mea dehinc mundi transfuga castra subi.
 Linque voluptates cum sollicitudine blandas,
 Vanaque continui gaudia plena metus.
 Me duce, spes fragiles et inanes despice curas:
 Et superum recto tramite limen adi.
 Obstupui subita defixus imagine, donec
 Vix dedit hos tandem lingua coacta sonos.
 Pace, inquam, vestri liceat depromere verum
 Ordinis, haud humeris convenit ista meis.
 Qui feret hanc vestem, fiat servire paratus:
 At mihi libertas illa paterna placet.
 Qui feret hanc, ponat perfrieta fronte ruborem:
 At non ingenuus nos finit ista pudor.
 Qui feret hanc, fallat, palpet, pro tempore fingat:
 At me simplicitas nudaque vita juvat.
 Nec me Phthiriasis, nec rancida cantio terret,
 Inque diem ignavae vivere more ferae:
 Ostia nec circum magno mugire boatu,
 Si tamen his nugis aetheris aula patet.
 Pervia sed raris sunt coeli regna cucullis:
 Vix Monachis illic creditur esse locus.
 Mentior, aut peragra saxo fundata vetusto
 Delubra, et titulos per simulacra lege:
 Multus honoratis fulgebit Episcopus aris,
 Rara cucullato sternitur ara gregi.
 Atque inter Monachos erit haec rarissima vestis:
 Induat hanc, si quis gaudeat esse miser.
 Quod si tanta meae tangit te cura salutis,
 Vis mihi, vis animae consuluisse meae?
 Quilibet hac alius mendicet veste superbus:
 At mihi da mitram, purpureamque togam.

TRANSLATION

(by Robert McFarlan, M.A., 1799).

At dawn, when frightened by the solar ray
The stars turn pale at the approach of day,
Francis in knotty dowlas clad, and red
With recent lashes, stood before my bed.
The sacred vestments all he held in hand,
Hat, cord, book, robe, and bursten shoe and wand,
And smiling said, "At once these badges wear,
Forsake the world, and to my camp repair,
The anxious blandishments of pleasure spurn,
And from her fearful joys repentant turn.
Vain hopes and cares I'll teach you to despise,
And tread the paths strait leading to the skies."
Fix'd in amaze I at this vision hung,
And scarce these sounds could issue from my tongue;
"Without offence may I the truth declare?
That garb my shoulders are unfit to bear.
The wearer must in cringing slavery bend;
I hail paternal freedom, as my friend.
The wearer's brazen front no blush must know;
That I'm forbid by nature's honest glow.
He must deceive, coax, feign and temporize;
I love simplicity without disguise.
Me nor your lice nor rancid songs dismay,
Nor prowling lives like those of beasts of prey;
Nor bellowing roars, when at each gate you bawl;
If such vain arts can move th' ethereal hall.
The way to heaven the cowl can seldom find;
For monks, 'tis thought, no place is there assign'd.
Survey all temples rear'd with ancient stone,
And read o'er monuments th' inscriptions strown,
You many a bishop's honour'd shrine will view,
Scarce one erected to the hooded crew.
Let then this garb with monks be rare and fine,
And those who love in penury to pine.
But if my welfare lie so near your heart,
Would you save me, or save my better part;
Let others traverse all the country o'er
Proud of this dress, and beg from door to door:
The trade I like not, nor the monkish frown,
Give me a mitre and a purple gown."

III.

Ad Juventutem Burdegalensem

(*Miscellaneorum Liber—IX.*)

THIS Sapphic Ode exemplifies Buchanan's zeal and enthusiasm in the education of youth. Addressed to the youth of Bordeaux, it warns them of the dignity and importance of a liberal education, and particularly of "that art which he had himself cultivated with such eminent success."

The French translation is the work which gained one of the prizes generously offered by Dr. Steele (of Florence) for translations of certain of Buchanan's poems.

Ad Juventutem Burdegalensem.

Vasconis tellus, genitrix virorum
 Fortium, blandi genitrix Lyaei,
 Cui parens frugum favet, et relictis
 Pallas Athenis.

Te licet claris decoret triumphis
 Martius belli labor, et vetusti
 Nominis splendor, seriesque longum
 Ducta per aevum :

Ni tamen doctas foveas Camoenas
 Et bonas artes opera fideli,
 Spes tuas vano studio in futuros
 Porrigis annos.

Non enim moles Pariae columnae,
 Phidiae aut vivax ebur, aut Myronis
 Aera mansurae poterunt sacrare
 Nomina famae.

Obruet longos cita mors labores,
 Obruet claros titulos opesque ;
 Saxa findentur vitiata serae
 Dente senectae.

Mulciber quamvis et iniqua Juno
 Verterint urbem Priami superbam,
 Illa Smyrnaeis inimica pensat
 Fata Camoenis :

Nec suo mallet cineri superstes
 Ilium Eois dare jura terris,
 Qua patent nigros¹ Rhodope ab nivosa
 Usque sub Indos.

Sola doctorum monumenta vatum
 Nesciunt fati imperium severi,
 Sola contemnunt Phlegethonta, et Orci
 Jura superbi.²

¹ Taurinus Edition gives *fuscus* instead of *nigros*.

² Taurinus Edition gives *severa* instead of *superbi*.

TRANSLATION

(By Richmond S. Charles, United College, St. Andrews).

Navarre, nurse of heroic sons,
Land of the generous vine,
Thee Ceres dowers, Minerva shuns
For thee her Grecian shrine.

Of what avail the stricken field
With brilliant triumph crowned,
The fame that olden glories yield
In series long renowned?

If from the Muse thou turn away,
Nor Learning's gifts acclaim,
Vain is the zeal that would essay
To win enduring fame.

No Parian columns towering high,
Nor Myro's bronze hath power,
Nor Phidias' long-lived ivory,
To 'scape Oblivion's hour.

Man's laboured work Death levels low,
Power fails, pomp disappears,
The rocks asunder cleft must bow
To all-devouring years.

Though Vulcan and the Queen of Heaven
Conspired proud Ilium's fall,
In Homer's muse see guerdon given,
Atonement made for all.

Now Troy resurgent would disdain,
In lieu, imperial sway
From farthest India's fervid plain
To snows of Rhodope.

The Poet's art alone can rise
Above Fate's stern decree,
Alone Oblivion despise
And Hell's dread mastery.

TRANSLATION

(*By R. de la Vaissière de Lavergne, University of Bordeaux.*)

Gascogne dont le sol enfante tour à tour
Et des vins délicats, et des cœurs sans faiblesse,
Terre que des moissons protège la déesse,
Pallas dédaigne Athènes et t'élit pour séjour.

Mais, si tu méritas dans la lutte guerrière,
Chère au dieu Mars, l'honneur des triomphes fameux ;
Et si, de siècle en siècle, à tes fils valeureux
Succèdent d'autres fils dans la noble carrière,

Garde-toi cependant de ne point réjouir
Par un culte constant le chœur des doctes Muses ;
Aime les arts ; sinon, l'espoir dont tu t'abuses
Tend en vain ton effort vers les ans à venir.

C'est en vain que Paros élève ses colonnes ;
L'ivoire est vainement par Phidias sculpté ;
Vainement tes airains, Myron, ont mérité
Les applaudissements des Grecs et leurs couronnes.

De tous ces longs travaux rien ne demeurera ;
La mort effacera les titres sur la pierre ;
Les marbres les plus durs tomberont en poussière ;
Le temps qui ronge tout les anéantira.

Mais, si le dieu du feu, si Junon ennemie
Ont détruit de Priam l'orgueilleuse cité ;
Le poète de Smyrne a pour l'éternité
Su, malgré les destins, lui conférer la vie.

Un aussi mémorable anéantissement
Plaît mieux à Troie, encor, que de vivre en sa gloire,
Et d'avoir, du neigeux Rhodope à l'Inde noire,
L'Orient tout entier sous son commandement.

Car, seul, le monument qu'un poète édifie
N'a point à redouter le sombre Phlégéton ;
Il méprise les lois de l'orgueilleux Pluton,
Et jamais le Destin ne termine sa vie.

IV.

Calendae Maiae.

(*Miscellaneorum Liber—XI.*)

THIS poem is one of Buchanan's finest works. Wordsworth refers to it as "equal in sentiment, if not in elegance, to anything in Horace." Professor Hume Brown thinks that "Buchanan's Ode, by its true poetic quality, is worthy of Horace when he transcends himself."

The two translations are given, both having being placed equal for Dr. Steele's prize.

Calendae Maiae.

Salvete sacris¹ deliciis sacrae
 Majae Calendae, laetitiae, et mero,
 Ludisque dicatae, jocisque
 Et teneris Charitum chorcis.
 Salve voluptas,² et nitidum decus
 Anni recurrens perpetua vice,
 Et flos renascentis juventae
 In senium properantis aevi.
 Cum blanda veris temperies novo
 Illuxit orbi, primaque secula
 Fulsere³ flaverenti metallo,
 Sponte sua sine lege justa:
 Talis per omnes continuus tenor⁴
 Annos tepenti rura Favonio
 Mulcebat, et nullis feraces
 Seminibus recreabat agros.
 Talis beatis incubat insulis
 Felicis aurae perpetuus tepor,
 Et nesciis campis senectae
 Difficilis, querculique morbi.
 Talis silentum per tacitum nemus
 Levi susurrat murmure spiritus,
 Lethenque juxta obliviosam
 Funereas agitat cupressos.
 Forsan supremis cum Deus ignibus
 Piabit orbem, laetaque secula
 Mundo reducet, talis aura
 Aethereos animos fovebit.
 Salve fugacis gloria seculi,
 Salve secunda digna dies nota,
 Salve vetustae vitae imago,
 Et specimen venientis aevi.

¹ Taurinus Edition gives *festis*.

² Taurinus Edition has *venustas*.

³ The same edition gives *fluxere*.

⁴ *Decor* is given in the Taurinus Edition.

TRANSLATION

(By Lionel S. Charles, United College, St. Andrews.)

This is the day when joy divine is seen
 And brimming cups, and Pleasure crownèd queen ;
 This is the day of jest and gambolling,
 And gentle Graces dancing on the green.

This is the day of joyaunce ; Spring's sweet prime
 Comes back to us with soft recurring chime,
 And Youth, like some sweet flower, is born again
 Between the old and hurrying feet of time.

When the first Spring the new-born world beheld,
 From Earth's glad heart such store of joyaunce welled ;
 And the first age shone bright with yellow gold,
 Flushing the hills at pleasure, uncompelled.

Such gentle breezes in the long ago,
 For long, long years through the still wheat did go,
 And softly stirred through all that Paradise
 The fruitful fields, when there was nonc to sow.

Such is the breeze that in the distant West,
 Broods o'er the placid islands of the blest,
 Where never came complaining voice of Eld,
 And fields, of sickness ever undistressed.

And such a breath, in groves that spirits know,
 Passes in gentleness, and whispers low,
 And by the sleepy river of the dead
 Stirs the dark cypress softly to and fro.

I think when He shall purge the earth with fire,
 And bring again the famished world's desire,
 Perchance e'en such a blessing and a breeze
 Shall fan the angels in their starry choir.

Pride of the age that passes still away !
 Day of fair mark ! and we who greet thee say :—
 " Such shall the life of our to-morrow be,
 Such was the life of that far yesterday."

TRANSLATION

(*By Victor F. Murray, United College, St. Andrews.*)

Hail to thee, May-day ! Thou to sacred glee
Sacredly kept, ever the devotee
Of wine, jest, pastime, merriment and the dance
Where tender Graces bear us company.

Hail to thee, Joyance ! and the glorious year,
Made by the eternal change to re-appear
In vernal loveliness : for fleet decay,
Lo ! youth's emblossomed flower, sweet and clear.

When springtime's pleasant warmth first dawned upon
The new-born world and ages primal shone
By no true law save of their own sweet will
Yellow with gold ; through all those years agone

In such a stream as this, continuous
In flow, the wind, Favonian, languorous,
Soothed all the land and quickened every field
To rich luxuriance unsown of us.

Glad breezes ! lasting temperateness ! yea, theirs
This lot perpetual—ours to-day ; for airs
Brood o'er our isles, while neither fretful age
Nor querulous disease our calm impairs.

A light breath such as this amid the grove
Enwrapt in silence where the Silent move,
Faint o'er oblivious Lethe whispering
Ruffles the cypresses of death above.

Perchance this breath, when God will purify
The world in final fire, and joyfully
Lead happier ages to the universe,
Will clasp celestial souls caressingly.

Welcome ! sweet glory of bygone centuries,
Welcome ! sweet day deserving of all praise,
The mirrored beauty of an ancient life,
Welcome ! and earnest of the nearing days.

V.

Desiderium Lutetiae.

(*Silvae—III.*)

THIS beautiful poem was apparently composed before his departure from Portugal. He pathetically bewails his absence from "Amaryllis,"—which is to him an allegorical name for Paris,—and hopes that his return may not be long delayed.

The translation here given was written last summer for the *Glasgow High School Magazine*.

O Formosa Amarylli, tuo jam septima bruma
Me procul aspectu, jam septima detinet aestas :
Sed neque septima bruma nivalibus horrida nimbis,
Septima nec rapidis candens fervoribus aestas
Exstinxit vigiles nostro sub pectore curas.
Tu mihi mane novo carmen, dum roscida tondet
Arva pecus, medio tu carmen solis in aestu,
Et cum jam longas praeceps nox porrigit umbras :
Nec mihi quae tenebris condit nox omnia vultus
Est potis occultare tuos, te nocte sub atra
Alloquor, amplector, falsaque in imagine somni
Gaudia sollicitam palpant evanida mentem.
At cum somnus abit, curis cum luce renatis
Tecta miser fugio, tanquam mihi tecta doloris
Semina subjiciant, et solis moestus in agris,
Qua vagus error agit feror, et deserta querelis
Antra meis, silvasque et conscia saxa fatigo
Sola meos planctus Echo miserata gementi
Adgemit, et quoties suspiria pectore duco,
Haec quoque vicino toties suspirat ab antro.
Saepe super celsae praerupta cacumina rupis
In mare prospiciens, spumantia coerulea demens
Alloquor, et surdis jacto irrita vota procellis :

O mare! quaeque maris vitreas, Nereides, undas
 Finditis, in vestros¹ placidae me admittite portus:
 Aut hoc si nimium est, nec naufragus ire recuso,
 Dummodo dilectas teneam vel naufragus oras.
 O quoties dixi Zephyris properantibus illuc,
 Felices pulchram visuri Amaryllida venti,
 Sic neque Pyrene duris in cotibus alas
 Atterat, et vestros non rumpant nubila cursus,
 Dicite vesanos Amaryllidi Daphnidos ignes.
 O quoties Euro levibus cum raderet alis,
 Aequora, dicebam, Felix Amaryllide visa,
 Dic mihi, Num meminit nostri? num mutua sentit
 Vulnera? num veteris vivunt vestigia flammae?
 Ille ferox contra rauco cum murmure stridens
 Avolat irato similis, mihi frigore pectus
 Congelat, exanimes torpor gravis alligat artus.
 Nec me pastorum recreant solamina, nec me
 Fistula, Nympharumque leves per prata choreae,
 Nec quae capripedes modulantur carmina Panes:
 Una meos sic est praedata Amaryllis amores.

Et me tympana docta ciere canora Lycisca,
 Et me blanda Melaenis amavit, Iberides ambae,
 Ambae florentes annis, opibusque superbae:
 Et mihi dotales centum cum matribus agnos
 Ipsi promiserunt patres, mihi munera matres
 Spondebant clam multa: meum nec munera pectus,
 Nec nivei movere suis cum matribus agni,
 Nec quas blanditias tenerae dixere puellae.
 Nec quas delicias tenerae fecere puellae.
 Quantum ver hyemen, vietum puer integer aevi,
 Ter viduam thalamis virgo matura parentem,
 Quam superat Durium Rhodanus, quam Sequana Mundam,
 Lenis Arar Sycorim, Ligeris formosus Iberum,
 Francigenas inter Ligeris pulcherrimus amnes:
 Tantum omnes vincit Nymphas Amaryllis Iberas.
 Saepe suos vultus speculata Melaenis in unda
 Composuit, pinxitque oculos, finxitque capillum,
 Et voluit, simul et meruit formosa videri.
 Saepe mihi dixit, Animi male perditae Daphni,

¹ After these words in Hart's Edinburgh edition there is added the line
 —“*Et date Celtarum incolumi contingere portus.*”

Cur tibi longinquos libet insanire furores?
 Et quod ames dare nostra potest tibi terra, racemos
 Collige purpureos, et spes ne concipe lentas.
 Saepe chorus festos me praetereunte, Lycisca
 Cernere dissimulans, vultusque aversa canebat
 Haec, pedibus terram, et manibus cava tympana pulsans;
 Et Nemesis gravis ira, atque irritabile numen,
 Et Nemesis laesos etiam punitur amores.
 Vidi ego dum leporem venator captat, echinum
 Spernere, post vanos redeuntem deinde labores,
 Vespere nec retulisse domum leporem nec echinum.
 Vidi ego qui mullum peteret piscator, et arctis
 Retibus implicitam tincam sprevisset opimam,
 Vespere nec retulisse domum mullum neque tincam.
 Vidi ego qui calamos crescentes ordine risit
 Pastor arundineos, dum torno rasile buxum
 Frustra amat, (interea calamos quos riserat, alter
 Pastor habet), fragiles contentum inflare cicutas
 Sic solet immodicos Nemesis contundere fastus
 Haec et plura Melaenis, et haec et plura Lycisca
 Cantabant surdas frustra mihi semper ad aures.
 Sed canis ante lupas, et tauras diliget ursas,
 Et vulpem lepores, et amabit dama leaenas,
 Quam vel tympana docta ciere canora Lycisca
 Mutabit nostros vel blanda Melaenis amores.
 Et prius aequoribus pisces, et montibus umbrae,
 Et volucres deerunt silvis, et murmura ventis,
 Quam mihi discedent formosae Amaryllidos ignes:
 Illa mihi¹ rudibus succendit pectora flammis,
 Finiet illa meos moriens morientis amores.

TRANSLATION

(By A. L. Taylor, M.A., Glasgow High School.)

O beauteous Amaryllis, now from thee
 Seven weary years have kept my feet afar;
 Yet not those winters, howso'er it be
 They to the snow-storms dread the gates unbar,
 Nor all those summers, when the sun's bright car
 Burns with devouring heat, have power to slay

¹ In all editions, except Hart's Edinburgh edition, Ruddiman's, and Burmann's, *meum* is wrongly given instead of *mihi*.

The watchful cares that in my bosom arc :
 My heart's deep longing time can not allay,
 And that so distant date seems but as yesterday.

Thou art my song at dawning, when the dew
 Lies on the fields where nibbling flocks do stray :
 At noon my song and I the strain renew
 When the long shadows mark the dying day :
 And night, that hideth all in dark array,
 Hides not from me thine eyes that beauteous beam :
 In the black night I name thy name alway,
 And fold thee to my breast, and this doth seem
 To solace my sad heart although 'tis but a dream.

But ah, when sleep departs, with morning light
 Those cares reborn, my home I sadly flee,
 As though its dreadful walls of this my plight
 So piteous the sombre source might be.
 In the lone fields I wander dolefully
 Wherever chance may turn my careless feet,
 And, as I make my plaint, forlorn for thee,
 The desert caves, each woodland wild retreat
 And all the listening rocks the echo sad repeat.

Echo alone that hears how I complain
 Mourns with me when I mourn, and when I sigh,
 From forth the neighbouring caves he sends again
 Each sad lament and each despairing cry,
 And oftentimes from a rock's steep summit high
 I cast mine eyes forlorn upon the sea,
 And the wild foaming waves all frenziedly
 I call aloud and the wild winds that flee
 Heedless of all my prayers that unavailing be.

“O sea, and you, ye Nereids that do cleave
 The sea's bright waves, ah, be ye gentle now,
 And me within your havens safe receive,
 Or if ye may not with such grace endow,
 Even shipwrecked shall I go, if ye allow
 That shipwrecked I may win the shores so dear.”
 How often I have made my solemn vow
 To the soft western winds that I did hear
 Hastening towards the land where I was fain to steer :

"Ye happy winds that all so soon shall see
 My Amaryllis, may Pyrene ne'er
 With its harsh rocks a horrid barrier be
 To vex your gentle wings against them there,
 As ye to Amaryllis shall declare
 The burning flames that fire her Daphnis' breast."
 Ah me, how many times with anxious care
 The wings of Eurus I would fain arrest,
 As o'er the waves he flew, with sorrowful request.

"Wind that my Amaryllis late hast seen,
 O happy wind, hath she remembrance still?
 Tell me, O wind, if yet her heart hath been
 Filled with the love that doth my bosom fill.
 Or have the embers of that love grown chill?"
 But he flies from me like a man in ire
 With raucous murmurs loud and fierce and shrill,
 Freezing with cold my heart that was afire;
 My lifeless limbs are bound as if in torpor dire.

And now the things that shepherds do delight
 Not solace me, the tabor hath no joy:
 Along the grassy mead the dances light
 Of the sweet nymphs do but my heart annoy;
 For me the goat-foot forest gods deploy
 The wonders of their sylvan notes in vain;
 And every rapture now hath some alloy;
 For Amaryllis all my love hath ta'en
 And I all other loves reject in sad disdain.

Sweet-voiced Lycisca of such skill to sound
 The harmonious timbrels, sweet Melaenis fair,
 Iberians both, have loved me, both renowned
 For youth and wealth, but not for these I care;
 Albeit their sires that wealth with me would share:
 A hundred lambs they promised as their dower,
 With their own ewes, and secret gifts and rare
 Their mothers proffered: vain was all their power
 To draw my heart away from its true love an hour.

Nor snowy lambs with their own ewes could move
 This heart of mine, nor could the maidens sweet

With all their flatteries fair allure my love,
 Nor all their charms with that one charm compete.
 As spring surpasses winter, as the heat
 Of youth outvies age, weak and withered,
 As the fair maiden now for marriage meet
 Her mother far outvies—thrice widowed,
 Beauty and grace now gone and all her fairness fled ;

As Rhine the Douro, as the lordly Seine
 Outvies Mondego, as the beauteous stream
 Of the smooth Arar doth the stream disdain
 Of Segne, as the lovely Loire doth seem
 Fairer than Ebro—Loire men fairest deem
 Of all the waves fair France sends to the sea,—
 Even so my Amaryllis I esteem
 Fairer than all the maids that beauteously
 Move o'er Iberia's meads, howe'er thy beauteous be.

Ofttimes Melaenis gazing in the sea
 Adorns her face, adorns her lovely hair ;
 Makes bright her eyes in eagerness to be
 Fair to behold and to behold is fair ;
 Ofttimes my heart she subtly seeks to share :
 "O frenzied Daphnis, wherefore passion so !
 For distant loves thy furious longings spare,
 The things thou lovest here thy heart may know,
 Pluck the bright grapes and let the vain illusions go."

Oft as I passed the festal company
 Lycisca who had seen would turn away
 Her countenance as one that doth not see ;
 And then as though with menace to dismay,
 She, as she beat the earth in dances gay
 And as she beat the hollow timbrels loud,
 Sang as in warning : "Terrible alway
 The wrath of Nemesis, and lovers proud,
 That scorned sweet love, hath still with punishment endowed."

And I have seen the huntsman, who in scorn
 Had passed the hedgehog while the hare he sought,
 At eventide with doleful steps return,
 His bag with neither hare nor hedgehog fraught ;

And I have seen the fisherman, that caught
 A goodly tench in his close-woven net,
Eager for mullet wisdom sadly taught
 When at the eventide, his basket yet
Of tench and mullet void,—he told his vain regret.

And I have seen the herd that did deride
 The growing reeds what time he sought in vain
The polished boxwood that afar doth hide
 (Meantime the reeds that he did so disdain
Another shepherd wins) content to gain
 The fragile hemlock : so doth Nemesis
Beat down the proud : these things and more the twain,
 Lycisca and Melaenis, well I wis
Would sing to me, but still their songs the mark would miss.

Dogs with she-wolves, with she-bears bulls will mate,
 The hare with fox, with lion fierce the hind,
Or e'er sweet-voiced Lycisca compensate
 My heart's desire or sweet Melaenis kind :
Birds shall desert the wood, and sighs the wind,
 Fishes the sea, and shades the shadowy hill,
Ere Amaryllis be by me resigned ;
 With love so strong she doth my bosom fill ;
And when death stills her heart, my heart shall be as still.

VI.

Adventus in Galliam.

(*Fratres Fraterrimi—XXVIII.*)

As a fitting sequel to the previous poem, *Desiderium Lutetiae*, the poet here gives expression to his sentiments on revisiting France.

The French translation is the work that won the Steele Prize offered to students of Bordeaux.

Jejuna miseræ tesqua Lusitaniae,
Glebaeque tantum fertiles penuriae,
Valete longum. At tu beata Gallia
Salve, bonarum blanda nutrix artium,
Coelo salubri, fertili frugum solo,
Umbrosa colles pampini molli coma,
Pecorosa saltus, rigua valles fontibus,
Prati virentis picta campos floribus,
Velifera longis amnium decursibus,
Piscosa stagnis, rivulis, lacubus, mari;
Et hinc et illinc portuoso littore
Orbem receptans hospitem, atque orbi tuas
Opes vicissim non avara impertiens;
Amoena villis, tuta muris, turribus
Superba, tectis lauta, cultu splendida,
Victu modesta, moribus non aspera,
Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium
Communis, animi fida, pace florida,
Jucunda, facilis, Marte terrifico minax,
Invicta, rebus non secundis insolens,
Nec sorte dubia fracta, cultrix numinis
Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener:
Nescit calores lenis aestas torridos,
Frangit rigores bruma flammis asperos,

Non pestilentis pallet Austri spiritu
 Autumnus æquis temperatus flatibus,
 Non ver solutis amnium repagulis
 Inundat agros, et labores eluit.
 Ni patrio te amore diligam, et colam
 Dum vivo, rursus non recuso visere
 Jejuna miserae tesqua Lusitaniae,
 Glebasque tantum fertiles penuriae.

TRANSLATION

(*By Andrée Waltz, University of Bordeaux.*)

O maigre Portugal, ingrate et triste terre,
 Dont les champs n'ont produit jamais que la misère,
 Adieu pour plus d'un jour !—Et toi, terre des Francs,
 Salut, toi qui souris aux Beaux Arts, tes enfants !
 Ton ciel est doux, ton sol fécond ; le pampre ombrage
 Tes fortunés coteaux de son moelleux feuillage.
 Ici les gras troupeaux paissent au flanc des monts ;
 Les sources d'onde pure arrosent tes vallons ;
 La fleur brille en tes prés comme au ciel les étoiles ;
 Tes grands fleuves partout bercent les blanches voiles ;
 Mille et mille poissons pullulent dans tes eaux,
 Peuplant tes mers, tes lacs, tes étangs, tes ruisseaux ;
 Les ports hospitaliers de tes divers rivages
 Accueillent l'univers ; aux plus lointains parages
 D'innombrables vaisseaux prodiguent tes trésors ;
 Tes riantes villas, tes fières tours, tes forts,
 Tes splendides palais, le luxe de tes villes,
 Ton accueil bienveillant, tes coutumes faciles,
 Ton aimable parler, ta paix, ta bonne foi,
 Charment les étrangers : tous les peuples en toi
 Ont une autre patrie. Aux ennemis terrible,
 Tu jouis sans orgueil de ta force invincible ;
 Aux jours douteux tu vois le péril sans terreur ;
 Ta piété reste sourde à l'étrangère erreur.
 L'Été, qu'un frais Zéphyr ici toujours réfrène,
 Ne connaît pas les feux de la terre Africaine,
 L'Hiver, que de ton ciel attiédit la chaleur,
 Du Nord n'apporte pas ici l'âpre rigueur ;

L'Automne, tempéré par des vents salutaires,
 De l'Auster ne craint pas les souffles délétere's ;
 Et jamais, au Printemps, les torrents débordés
 Et sans frein se ruant sur les champs inondés
 N'engloutissent soudain la moisson qu'on espère.

Si, tant que je vivrai, mon cœur ne te révère
 Et ne te garde pas un filial amour,
 O France, je consens à revoir quelque jour
 Du maigre Portugal l'ingrate et triste terre,
 Dont les champs n'ont produit jamais que la misère.

TRANSLATION

(by T. D. Robb, M.A., Paisley).

FAREWELL, thou wretched land, whose soil
 Bemocks the famished peasant's toil.
 Heaven hold what else for me in store,
 But Lusitania never more!

Hail, happy France! Thy gentle care
 Tends every art that makes life fair.
 Thy heaven breathes health; thy peasants sow
 Furrows where fattened harvests grow,
 Or rear on basking hills the shade
 Of vines. Thine, too, the well-browsed glade,
 Vales flowing with well-waters, plains
 That every meadow-blossom stains,
 And rivers that with easy sweep
 Bear barges to the greater deep,
 Where mariners with every gale
 In many a harbour strike the sail,
 To find, with all the wealth they bring,
 From thee no niggard bartering.

Hail! where the lords of land reside
 In charm of grange or towered pride;
 And hail! where many a dainty roof
 Gleams safe mid rampart towns, war-proof.
 Pleasant thy speech, thy graces shine
 In tasteful manners that refine
 The coarser world, whose travellers own
 A common love to thee alone.

Sound heart at all times! Whether Peace
Freshen thy fields in sweet surcease
Of foray, or terrific War
Come trampling o'er them from afar;
So light, so gay thy peaceful mood,
So dauntless in the day of blood.
Nor vain in happiness and power,
Nor cast down in thy evil hour,
God is thy God, and still to thee
As in thy pristine piety,
A noble worship undefiled.
Blest land! thy summer ever mild,
Thy mellow winter, put to shame
Untempered climes of frost and flame.
No plagues from the wan-stricken South
Breathe from thy Autumn's wholesome mouth,
Spring sets no ice-bound rivers free
To drown the seedling husbandry
That quickens o'er thy laboured earth.

My fatherland!--even though my birth
Chanced elsewhere--when my feet shall roam
Thankless, to find a dearer home,
God send me to that wretched soil
That mocks the famished peasant's toil,
And curse me, as he cursed before,
On Lusitania's barren shore.

VII.

Ad Invictissimum Franciæ Regem Henricum II.

Post Victos Caletes.

(*Liber Miscellaneorum—I.*)

* THIS very fine poem was first published in 1558 by Robert Stephanus or Stephen, but under another title—*De Caletis nuper ab Henrico II. Francorum Rege invictiss. recepta*. In that edition, however, the last four lines of the poem are not given. It refers to the capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise in 1558, which occasion also moved De l'Hôpital, Turnebus, and others to verse. All these are printed in the Basel edition of Buchanan's *Franciscanus et Fratres*, and some of them in Paradin's *De Motibus Galliae et expugnato receptoque Itio Culetorum anno 1558*, printed in *Rerum Germanicorum scriptores* by Schrader, III. pp. 9-30 (1673). The English Translation here given is by Rev. Francis Mahony, S.J. ("Father Prout").

It again shows how remarkable was Buchanan's attachment to the French people and how much he was interested in their welfare. His reference to *pater Romanus* is, moreover, a sign that the Lutheran reformers have not yet secured his sympathy.

Ad Invictissimum Franciæ Regem Henricum II.
Post Victos Caletes.

Non Parca fati conscia, lubricae
Non sortis axis sistere nescius,
Non siderum lapsus, sed unus
Rerum opifex moderatur orbem :

Qui terram inertem stare loco jubet,
Aequor perennes volvere vortices,
Coelumque nunc lucem tenebris
Nunc tenebras variare luce :

Qui temperatae scepra modestiae
Dat, et protervae frena superbiae :
Qui lacrymis foedat triumphos,
Et lacrymas hilarat triumphis.

Exempla longe ne repetam : en jacet
Fractusque et exspes, quem gremio suo
Fortuna fotum, nuper omnes
Per populos tumidum ferebat.

Nec tu, secundo flamine quem super
Felicittatis vexerat aequora,
Henrice, virtus, nesciisti
Imbriferæ fremitum procellae.

Sed pertinax hunc fastus adhuc premit,
Urgetque pressum : et progeniem sui,
Fiducia pari tumentem
Clade pari exagitat Philippum.

Te, qui minorem te superis geris,
Culpamque fletu diluis agnitam,
Mitis parens placatus audit,
Et solitum cumulat favorem :

Redintegratae nec tibi gratiae
Obscura promit signa. Sub algido
Nox Capricorno longa terras
Perpetuis tenebris premebat ;

Rigebat auris bruma nivalibus,
Amnes acuto constiterant gelu,
Deformis horror incubabat
Jugeribus viduis colono:

At signa castris Francus ut extulit
Ductorque Franci Guisius agminis,
Arrisit argenti sub Arcto
Temperies melioris aurae.

Hiems retuso languida spiculo
Vim mitigavit frigoris asperi:
Siccis per hibernum serenum
Nube cava stetit imber arvis.

Stravit quietis aequora fluctibus
Neptunus, antris condidit Acolus
Ventos, nisi Francas secundo
Flamine qui veherent carinas.

Per arva nuper squalida, et ignibus
Adhuc BRITANNIS pene calentia,¹
Cornu benigno commeatus
Copia luxurians profudit.

Idem ut reductas abdidit oppidis
Francus cohortes, mitis hiems modo
Se rursus armavit procellis,
Et positas renovavit iras.

Stant lenta pigro flumina marmore,
Canisque campi sub nivibus latent,
Diverberatum saevit aequor
Horriferis Aquilonis alis.

Ergo nec altis tuta paludibus
Tulere vires moenia Gallicas,
Nec arcibus tutae paludes
Praecipitem tenuere cursum.

¹Stephen's Edition of 1558 gives this line as "*Adhuc Britanni pene calentibus.*"

Loraene princeps, praecipuo DEI
 Favore felix, praecipuas DEUS
 Cui tradidit partes, superbos
 Ut premeres domitrice dextra.

Unius anni curriculo, sequens
 Vix credet aetas promeritas tibi
 Tot laureas, nec si per auras
 Pegasea veherere penna.

Cessere saltus ninguidi, et Alpium
 Inserta coelo culmina, cum pater
 Romanus oraret, propinquaе ut
 Subjiceres humeros ruinae.

Defensa Roma, et Capta Valentia,
 Coacta pacem Parthenope pati,
 Fama tui Segusianus
 Barbarica face liberatus.

Aequor procellis terra paludibus,
 Armis BRITANNUS, moenia seculis
 Invicta longis, insolentes
 Munierant animos Caletum :

Loraena virtus, sueta per invia
 Non usitatum carpere tramitem,
 Invicta devincendo, famam
 Laude nova veterem refellit.

Ferox BRITANNUS viribus antehac,
 Gallisque semper cladibus imminens,
 Vix se putat securum ab hoste
 Fluctibus Oceani diremtus.

Regina, pacem nescia perpeti,
 Jam spreta moeret foedera, jam Dei
 Iram timet sibi imminentem,
 Vindicis et furiae flagellum.

Cives et hostes jam pariter suos
 Odit pavetque, et civium et hostium
 Hirudo communis, cruorem
 Aequè avide sitiens utrumque.

Huic luce terror Martius assonat,
 Diraeque caedis mens sibi conscia,
 Umbraeque nocturnae quietem
 Terrificis agitant figuris.

Sic laesa poenas Justitia expetit,
 Fastus superbos sic Nemesis premit,
 Sic mitibus justisque praebet
 Mitis opem Deus atque iustus.

TRANSLATION¹

(by H. Bonnevie, L-és-L., University of Paris).

Ce n'est ni le fuseau des Parques, ni la roue
 De la fortune hélas! qui va toujours tournant,
 Ni les astres brillants dont la course se joue
 Au ciel le plus profond, d'un vaste glissement,
 C'est le seul Créateur qui gouverne le monde,
 C'est lui seul qui maintient toujours aux mêmes lieux
 La terre où nous vivons, lui qui commande à l'onde
 De faire tournoyer sans cesse ses flots bleus,
 Lui qui fait succéder dans la céleste nue
 La nuit sombre au jour clair, le jour clair à la nuit,
 Lui qui fait triompher la vertu retenue
 Et punit la superbe insolente; c'est lui
 Qui trouble la victoire en y mêlant des larmes,
 Et donne le succès pour égayer les pleurs.
 L'exemple en est récent: il a brisé les armes
 De ce roi, maintenant courbé sous les malheurs,
 Que jadis dans son sein la Fortune frivole
 Endormait mollement, et dont le nom heureux
 De peuple en peuple allait comme l'oiseau qui vole.
 Toi-même, roi français, Henri très valeureux,
 Dont la nef si longtemps, poussée à pleine voile
 Par un zéphyr clément, évita tout écueil,
 Le destin quelquefois fit pâlir ton étoile.
 Mais lui s'est entêté dans un coupable orgueil,
 L'orgueil qui perd aussi son fils le roi d'Espagne
 Pareillement enflé d'ardeur présomption
 Et toi qu'une vertu si modeste accompagne,

¹ This and the following French translation were placed equal for the Steele Prize offered to students at the University of Paris.

Toi qui gardes toujours l'humble condition
 D'homme soumis aux Dieux, toi qui pleures tes fautes
 Quand tu les reconnais, Dieu te chérit, t'entend
 Et te comble à plaisir des faveurs les plus hautes.
 Même il t'en a donné plus d'un signe éclatant :
 La nuit développait ses longs voiles funèbres
 Sous le bouc encorné, plongeant ces pays froids
 Dans le deuil attristé d'éternelles ténèbres ;
 L'âpre hiver raidissait les branches dans les bois ;
 Les vents chargés de neige à travers le ciel bistre
 Galopaient ; les cours d'eau gelés ne coulaient plus ;
 Sur les champs désertés l'Horreur pesait, sinistre
 Mais dès que les Français se furent résolus,
 Sous le commandement du noble duc de Guise,
 A mener hors des camps leurs gonfanons vainqueurs,
 Un Zéphyre riant vint pourchasser la bise,
 Et l'hiver moins piquant tempéra ses rigueurs ;
 Sur les sillons séchés crevèrent les nuages ;
 Neptune rétablit le calme dans les flots,
 Eole, son second, apaisa les orages
 Et les tint désormais dans leurs antres enclos ;
 Il ne laissa dehors qu'une brise clémente
 Pour pousser des Français les nefes sur l'Océan ;
 Aux champs où les Anglais, en leur fureur démente,
 Avaient porté le feu, le mort et le néant,
 L'Abondance vida sa corne, bienveillante.
 Mais lorsque les cités eurent donné l'abri
 De leurs épais remparts à la troupe vaillante
 Qui sous Guise marchait, vite l'hiver reprit
 Son courroux. De nouveau les tempêtes surgissent,
 Les fleuves arrêtés en marbre sont figés,
 Les champs, abandonnés, sous la neige blanchissent,
 Et l'horrible Aquilon, menaçant de dangers
 Bat à nouveau les flots de ses ailes rapides

Cependant les remparts de marais entourés
 Ne purent résister aux élans intrépides
 Des soldats d'Henri deux. Vainement les marais
 Entourés de remparts dressèrent leur barrière
 Contre eux : car ils allaient irrésistiblement.
 Et toi, prince fameux dont la Lorraine est fière,

Mignon tant fortuné de notre Dieu clément,
Toi dont il a choisi les armes redoutables
Pour châtier l'orgueil, les âges à venir
Peut-être hésiteront à croire véritables
Les exploits qu'en un an tu sus faire tenir.
Ils douteraient encor, même si sur ses ailes
Pégase t'avait pris et porté par les airs.
Tu vainquis l'Alpe énorme aux neiges éternelles,
Dressant jusques au ciel l'orgueil des monts déserts,
Et courus empêcher de tes fortes épaules
Que du saint pape Paul, le puissance tombât.
Ta vaillance eut tôt fait de renverser les rôles :
Rome put respirer, Valence succomba,
Naples n'obtint la paix qu'à force de suppliques,
Et de tous tes hauts faits le bruit dans l'air épars
Sauva le Piémont des brandons germaniques
Les flots tempétueux, les marais, les remparts
Dont nul n'avait jamais violé la ceinture,
Avaient mis la superbe au cœur des Calaisiens.
Ton mérite pourtant sut en cette aventure
Par un nouvel exploit éclipser les anciens.
Car tu vaines et n'es pas vaincu ; car ton courage
Sait trouver des chemins inconnus jusqu'à toi . . .
Donc Calais est repris ; l'Anglais pleure de rage,
Lui, toujours le vainqueur, lui, l'éternel effroi
De la France du Nord, il fuit et c'est à peine
Si sur les flots marins il se peut délivrer
De la peur des Français. Cependant que la reine
Qui détesta la paix, lors se prend à pleurer
D'avoir des vieux traités violé la promesse ;
Elle craint de son Dieu le menaçant courroux,
Elle craint d'Alecton la fureur vengeresse,
Les Français, ses sujets, elle craint tout et tous ;
Elle a soif de leur sang, comme une hydre féroce ;
Mars lui fait redouter que le Français vainqueur
Batte encor ses soldats, le souvenir atroce
De ses crimes passés vient bourreler son cœur.
Et, quand la nuit enfin développe son ombre,
C'est en vain qu'elle attend l'oubli du doux Sommeil ;
Elle voit se dresser des fantômes sans nombre,
Des fantômes blafards, tachés de sang vermeil

Et c'est ainsi que Dieu, dans sa puissance auguste,
 Sait châtier l'orgueil au front trop haut monté,
 C'est ainsi qu'il chérit le mortel bon et juste
 En sa toute justice et sa toute bonté.

TRANSLATION

*(reprinted from "Reliques of Father Prout" in Bohn's
 Illustrated Library, 1866)*

Henry! let none commend to thee
 FATE, FORTUNE, DOOM, or DESTINY,
 Or STAR in heaven's high canopy,
 With magic glow
 Shining on man's nativity,
 For weal or woe.

Rather, O king! here recognise
 A PROVIDENCE all just, all wise,
 Of every earthly enterprise
 The hidden mover;
 Aye casting calm complacent eyes
 Down on thy Louvre.

Prompt to assume the right's defence,
 Mercy unto the meek dispense,
 Curb the rude jaws of insolence
 With bit and bridle,
 And scourge the chiel whose frankincense
 Burns for an idol.

Who, his triumphant course amid,
 Who smote the monarch of Madrid,
 And bade Pavia's victor bid
 To power farewell?
 Once Europe's arbiter, now hid
 In hermit's cell.

Thou, too, hast known misfortune's blast;
 Tempests have beat thy stately mast
 And nigh upon the breakers cast
 Thy gallant ship:
 But now the hurricane is past—
 Hushed is the deep.

For PHILIP, lord of ARAGON,
Of haughty CHARLES the haughty son,
The clouds still gather dark and dun,
 The sky still scowls ;
And round his gorgeous galleon
 The tempest howls.

Thou, when th' Almighty ruler dealt
The blows thy kingdom lately felt,
Thy brow unhelmed, unbound thy belt,
 Thy feet unshod,
Humbly before the chastener knelt,
 And kissed the rod.

Pardon and peace thy penance bought ;
Joyful the seraph Mercy brought
The olive-bough, with blessing fraught
 For thee and France ;—
God for thy captive kingdom wrought
 Deliverance.

'Twas dark and drear ! 'twas winter's reign !
Grim horror walked the lonesome plain ;
The ice held bound with crystal chain
 Lake, flood, and rill ;
And dismal piped the hurricane
 His music shrill.

But when the gallant GUISE displayed
The flag of France, and drew the blade,
Straight the obsequious season bade
 Its rigour cease ;
And, lowly crouching, homage paid
 The Fleur de Lys.

Winter his violence withheld,
His progeny of tempests quelled,
His canopy of clouds dispelled,
 Unveil'd the sun—
And blithesome days unparalleled
 Began to run.

'Twas then beleaguered Calais found,
 With swamps and marshes fenced around
 With counterscarp, and moat, and mound,
 And yawning trench,
 Vainly her hundred bulwarks frowned
 To stay the French.

Guise! child of glory and Lorraine,
 Ever thine house hath proved the bane
 Of France's foes! aye from the chain
 Of slavery kept her,
 And in the teeth of haughty Spain
 Upheld her sceptre.

Scarce will a future age believe
 The deeds one year saw thee achieve:
 Fame in her narrative should give
 Thee magic pinions
 To range, with free prerogative,
 All earth's dominions.

What were the year's achievements? first,
 Yon Alps their barrier saw thee burst,
 To bruise a reptile's head, who durst,
 With viper sting,
 Assail (ingratitude accurst!)
 Rome's Pontiff-King.

To rescue Rome, capture Plaisance,
 Make Naples yield the claims of France,
 While the mere shadow of thy lance
 O'erawed the Turk:—
 Such was, within the year's expanse,
 Thy journey-work.

But Calais yet remained unwon—
 Calais, stronghold of Albion,
 Her zone begirt with blade and gun,
 In all the pomp
 And pride of war; fierce Amazon!
 Queen of a swamp!

But even she hath proven frail,
 Her walls and swamps of no avail;
 What citadel may Guise not scale,
 Climb, storm, and seize?
 What foe before thee may not quail,
 O gallant Guise!

Thee let the men of England dread,
 Whom Edward erst victorious led,
 Right joyful now that ocean's bed
 Between them rolls
 And thee!—that thy triumphant tread
 Yon wave controls.

Let ruthless Mary learn from hence
 That Perfidy's a foul offence;
 That falsehood hath its recompense,
 That treaties broken
 The anger of Omnipotence
 At length have woken.

May evil counsels prove the bane
 And curse of her unhallowed reign;
 Remorse, with its disastrous train,
 Infest her palace;
 And may she of God's vengeance drain
 The brimming chalice.

TRANSLATION¹

(*by H. Petitmangin, Paris University*).

Ce n'est ni du destin les Parques confidentes,
 Ni la fortune avec ses caprices divers,
 Ni le pouvoir secret des étoiles mouvantes,
 C'est le Dieu créateur qui mène l'Univers.

Sur sa base immobile il affermit la terre,
 Il roule incessamment les tourbillons des eaux,
 Par lui l'obscurité succède à la lumière,
 Par lui le jour renaît avec des feux nouveaux.

¹ Steele Prize Translation.

Au cœur humble et paisible il donne la puissance,
 Son frein sait modérer l'impétueux orgueil,
 Il fait couler les pleurs des vainqueurs qu'on encense,
 Le triomphe, par lui, vient réjouir le deuil.

N'en allons pas chercher une preuve lointaine :
 Il gît, brisé, déchu de ses ambitions,
 Celui que la Fortune attentive et sereine
 Promenait glorieux parmi les nations.

Et toi, que la vertu, comme un vent favorable,
 Dirigeait sur la mer de la félicité,
 Henri, tu sais aussi le fracas effroyable
 Des tempêtes soufflant sous le ciel irrité.

Mais l'autre est sans répit puni de son audace,
 Il gît sous les débris de son faste pervers ;
 Et voici que Philippe, héritier de sa race,
 Enflé du même orgueil, sent les mêmes revers.

Pour toi, qui sais qu'au ciel appartient la puissance,
 Que la faute ne peut s'effacer sans les pleurs,
 Dieu, paternel et doux, comble ton espérance
 Et joint à ses bienfaits de nouvelles faveurs.

Il montre maintenant, par des preuves certaines,
 Que sa grâce est rendue à tes efforts heureux :
 L'hiver avait longtemps étendu sur les plaines
 D'une éternelle nuit le voile ténébreux ;

Pleins de neige les vents fendaient l'air froid et morne,
 Les fleuves s'arrêtaient sous le poids des glaçons,
 La sombre horreur planait à l'horizon sans borne,
 Sur les champs désolés que fuyaient les colons.

Mais lorsque de son camp une troupe française
 Sortit armée, avec Guise pour général,
 Au temps même où froid sur la terre encor pèse,
 On sentit la tiédeur d'un air moins glacial.

L'hiver sans aiguillon, se soutenant à peine,
 De son âpre froidure amoindrit les dangers,
 Les champs restèrent secs : l'atmosphère sereine
 Retint la pluie au fond des nuages légers.

Neptune se calma sur la plaine liquide ;
Eole, emprisonnant tous vents apaisés
Dans son antre profond, ne lâcha plus la bride
Qu'à ceux qui dirigeaient les navires français.

La campagne naguère était stérile et morne,
Elle fumait des feux qu'allumaient les Anglais ;
Mais bientôt l'Abondance eut versé de sa corne
De riantes moissons sur les champs désolés.

Et dès que le Français fut rentré dans ses forts,
L'hiver, auparavant si clément et si doux,
De tempêtes s'arma pour de nouveaux efforts,
Et reprit, plus terrible encore, son courroux.

Les fleuves sous la glace en vain cherchent passage ;
Sous leur linceul de neige au loin dorment les champs ;
Sous l'Aquilon strident les Océans font rage
Fouettés par l'aile horrible et sifflante des vents.

Ils n'ont donc pu briser les efforts de la France,
Ces remparts défendus par l'eau de toutes parts,
Ils n'ont point arrêté l'élan de sa vaillance,
Ces fossés protégés par d'orgueilleux remparts.

O favori du ciel, o Prince de Lorraine,
Toi qui reçus de Dieu le rôle glorieux
De courber sous le poids de ta main souveraine
De tes fiers ennemis les fronts audacieux,

Les siècles à venir voudront à peine croire
Que ta valeur durant le cours de douze mois,
Ait pu recueillir tant de lauriers et de gloire,
Lors même que Pégase eut hâté tes exploits.

Des Alpes les sommets neigeux, leur haute chaîne,
Qui menace le ciel, t'ont ouvert un chemin,
Quand le Romain sentant sa ruine prochaine
Te demandait l'appui de ta vaillante main.

Tu sauvas Rome et tu t'emparas de Valence ;
Parthénope rebelle enfin dut t'obéir ;
Au seul bruit de ton nom devant sa délivrance
Suze, du feu sauvée, a vu l'ennemi fuir.

Sur mer, les ouragans, du côté de la terre,
L'enceinte des fossés, les troupes des Anglais,
Des remparts, si longtemps invincible barrière,
Avaient nourri l'orgueil confiant de Calais.

Mais ton courage à qui rien n'est inaccessible,
S'ouvrant dans l'inconnu de glorieux sentiers,
Fait oublier, ardent à vaincre l'invincible,
Les lauriers d'autrefois par de nouveaux lauriers.

Les Anglais jusqu'alors si fiers d'une puissance
Dont la France attendait toujours quelque malheur,
A peine maintenant mettent leur confiance
Dans les flots dont les ceint l'océan protecteur.

Leur reine à qui la paix pesait si fort naguère,
Pleure d'avoir trahi ses traités, la terreur
Lui montre dans le ciel la divine colère
Qui plane, et la Furie avec son fouet vengeur.

Son cœur étant gonflé de craintes et de haines,
Non moins pour ses sujets que pour ses ennemis,
Elle mêle, sangsue attachée à leurs veines,
Le sang des étrangers au sang de ses amis.

Durant le jour, Mars jette en une terreur sombre
Son cœur, plein du remords de tant de sang versé,
Et lorsqu'elle repose, à son chevet, dans l'ombre,
Quelque spectre, chassant le sommeil, est dressé.

Tel est le châtement que l'injustice attire,
Ainsi brise l'orgueil Némésis en courroux,
Mais ceux que la douceur, que la justice inspire
Sont protégés toujours par le Dieu juste et doux.

VIII.

Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuartae, regum Franciae et Scotiae, Epithalamium.

(*Silvae—IV.*)

THIS was written on the marriage of Francis of Valois, Dauphin of France, with Queen Mary in 1558. It is one of his finest poems, and displays a "fertility of fancy and felicity of diction which preclude all comparison." His loyalty is expressed in his praise for his native land, and points out that the Dauphin would be by the marriage even a greater gainer than the Queen of Scots. He not only glorifies the Scots for their valour in war but their peaceful inclinations, and praises highly the bride's grace of mind and person.

Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuartae, regum Franciae
et Scotiae, Epithalamium.

Unde repentino fremuerunt viscera motu?
Cur Phoebum desucta pati praecordia anhelus
Fervor agit, mutaeque diu Parnassidos umbrae
Turba iterum arcanis renovat Paena sub antris?
Nuper enim, memini, squalebat marcida laurus,
Muta chelys, tristis Phoebus, citharaeque repertor
Arcas, et ad surdas fundebam vota sorores.
Nunc Phoebi delubra patent, nunc Delphica rupes
Panditur, et sacro cortina remugit ab antro.
Nunc lauro meliore comas innexa sororum
Turba venit, nunc Aoniae non invida lymphae
Irrigat aeternos Pimplei ruris honores,
Laetaque Pieriae revirescit gloria silvae.
Fallimur? an nitidae tibi se, Francisce, Camoenae
Exornant? tibiserta parant, tibi flore¹ recenti
Templa novant? mutumque diu formidine Martis
Gaudent insolitis celebrare Helicon choreis?
Scilicet haud alius nemoris decerpere fructus
Dignior Aonii, seu quem numerare triumphos
Forte juvat patrios, seu consecrata Camoenis
Otia: sic certe est. Hinc laeto compita plausu
Cuncta fremunt: legumque exuta licentia frenos
Ludit: Hymen, Hymenaeus adest: lux illa pudicis
Exoptata diu votis, lux aurea venit:
Venit. Habes tandem toties quod mente petisti,
O decus Hectoridum² juvenis: jam pone querelas,
Desine spes nimium lentas, jam desine longas
Incusare moras, dum tardum signifer annum
Torqueat, ignavos peragat dum Cynthia menses.
Grande morae pretium fers: quod si prisca tulissent
Secula, non raptos flesset Menelaus amores,
Et sine vi, sine caede Phrygum Cytherea probatae
Solvere Priamidae potuisset praemia formae.
Digna quidem facies, quam vel trans aequoris aestus
Classe Paris rapiat, vel conjurata repositat

¹ Hart's Edinburgh edition gives *fronde*.

² Buchanan, according to poetic usage, has represented the French as *Hectoridae*. Mediaeval mythology makes out the Gauls to be sons of Francus, who was a son of the Trojan Hector.

Graecia: nec minus est animi tibi, nec minor ardor
 Quam Phrygio Grajove duci, si postulet arma
 Conjugii tutela tui. Sed mitior in te
 Et Venus, et teneri fuit indulgentia nati,
 Qui quod ames tribuere domi: puerilibus annis
 Coeptus amor tecum crevit: quantumque juventae
 Viribus accessit, tanto se flamma per artus
 Acrius insinuans¹ tenerum pascebat amorem.
 Non tibi cura fuit, quae saepius anxia Regum
 Pectora sollicitat, longinquae obnoxia flammae:
 Nec metus is torsit, veri praenuntia fama
 Ne vero majora ferat,² dum secula prisca
 Elevat, et primum formae tibi spondet honorem:
 Cera nec in varias docilis transire figuras
 Suspendit trepidum dubia formidine mentem:
 Nec tua commisti tacitis suspiria chartis,
 Rumorisque vagam timuisti pallidus umbram.
 Ipse tibi explorator eras, formaeque probator,
 Et morum testis. Nec conciliavit amorem
 Hunc tibi luxuries legum indignata teneri
 Imperio, aut primis temerarius ardor ab annis:
 Sed sexu virtus, annis prudentia major,
 Et decori pudor, et conjuncta modestia sceptris,
 Atque haec cuncta ligans arcano gratia nexu.
 Spes igitur dubiae, lentaeque facessite curae;
 Ipse tuis oculis tua vota tuere, probasque:
 Speratosque leges sine sollicitudine fructus,
 Nullaque fallacis delusus imagine somni
 Irrita mendaci facies convicia nocti.
 Expectatus Hymen jam junget foedere dextras;
 Mox etiam amplecti, mox et geminare licebit
 Basia, mox etiam non tantum basia: sed tu,
 Quamlibet appropere, animo moderare: beatum
 Nobiscum partire diem, tu gaudia noctis
 Solus tota feres: quanquam neque gaudia noctis
 Solus tota feres: et nos communiter aequum est
 Laetitiam gaudere tuam; communia vota
 Fecimus, et sacras pariter placavimus aras,

¹ The Basel Edition has *accendens* instead of *insinuans*.

² The older editions wrongly have printed what would be *serat* instead of *ferat*.

Miscuimusque preces, et spesque metusque tuosque
 Sensimus affectus: aegre¹ tecum hausimus una
 Taedia longa morae. Superi nunc plena secundi
 Gaudia cum referant, sensus pervenit ad omnes
 Laetitiae, mentemque ciens renovata voluptas
 Crescit, et exsultant trepidis praecordia fibris.
 Qualis ubi Eois Phoebus caput extulit undis
 Purus, et auratum non turbidus extulit axem,
 Cuspide jucundae lucis percussa renident
 Arva, micat tremulo crispatus lumine pontus,
 Lenibus aspirat flabris innubilus aer,
 Blanda serenati ridet clementia coeli:
 At si nubiferos effuderit Aeolus Austros,
 Et pluviis gravidam coelo subtexit umbram,
 Moesta horret rerum facies, deformia lugent
 Arva, tument fluctus, campis gravis incubat aer,
 Torpet et obductum picea caligine coelum:
 Sic ex te populus suspensus gaudia, curas,
 Moeroresque trahit: rosea nec sola juvena
 Florida, nec spatiis quae te propioribus aetas
 Insequitur, genio indulgent, vultuque soluto
 Lusibus exhilarant aptos juvenilibus annos;
 Hunc posita vultus gravitate severior aetas
 Laetatur celebrare diem, matresque verendae
 Non tacito hunc, tacitoque optat virguncula voto.

Quid loquar humanas admittere gaudia mentes?

Ipsa parens rerum totos renovata per artus
 Gestit, et in vestros penitus conspirat honores.
 Aspice jam primum radiati luminis orbem
 Semper inexhausta² lustrantem lampade terras,
 Ut niteat, blanda ut flagrantes mitiget ignes
 Temperie, ut cupidos³ spectacula vestra tueri
 Purpureo vultus maturior exserat ortu,
 Serius occiduas currus demittat in undas,
 Ut gelidos repetens flamma propiore triones
 Contrahat aestivas angusta luce tenebras.
 Ipsa etiam tellus virides renovatur amictus,

¹ Stephen's 1567 edition and that of Pattison who had married the widow of Robert Stephen or Estienne, give *aegrae* instead of *aegre*.

² All editions, except Hart's and the London Edition of 1686, give *inexhausto*.

³ All editions except Stephen's, Ruddiman's, and Burmann's give *cupido*.

Et modo pampineas meditatatur collibus umbras,
Et modo messe agros, modo pingit floribus hortos
Horrida nec tenero cessant mansuescere foetu
Tesqua, nec armati spina sua brachia vepres,
Nec curvare feros pomis aviaria ramos:
Inque omnes frugum facies bona copia cornu
Solvit, et omniferum beat indulgentior annum,
Pignoris hoc spondens felices omine taedas.

Fortunati ambo, et felici tempore nati,
Et thalamis juncti! vestram concordia mundi
Spem fovet, aspirat votis, indulget honori:
Atque utinam nullis unquam labefacta querelis
Conjugium hoc canos concordia servet in annos.
Et (mihi ni vano fallax praecordia Phoebus
Impulit augurio) quem jungit sanguinis ortus,
Et commune genus proavum, serieque perenni
Foedus amicitiae solidum, quem more vetusto
Sancta verendarum committunt foedera legum,
Nulla dies unquam vestrum divellet amorem.
Vos quoque felici lucent quibus omine taedae,
Quo studium, populique favor, quo publica regni
Vota precesque vocant, alacres accedite: tuque,
Tu prior, o Reges non ementite parentes,
Hectoride juvenis, tota complectere mente
Quam dedit uxorem tibi lex, natura sororem,
Parentem imperio sexus, dominamque voluntas,
Quam sociam vitae tibi conjungere parentes,
Et genus, et virtus, et forma, et nubilis aetas,
Et promissa fides, et qui tot vincula nectens
Firmius arctat amor totidem per vincula nexus.
Si tibi communi assensu connubia Divae
Annuerent, Paris umbrosa quas vidit in Ida,
Permittantque tuo socias tibi jungere taedas
Arbitrio, quid jam, voti licet improbus, optes
Amplius? Eximiae delectat gratia formae?
Aspice quantus honos frontis, quae gratia blandis
Interfusa genis, quam mitis flamma decoris
Fulguret ex oculis, quam conspirarit amico
Foedere cum tenera gravitas matura juvena,
Lenis et augusta cum majestate venustas.
Pectora nec formae cedunt exercita curis

Palladiis, et Pierias exulta per artes
 Tranquillant placidos Sophia sub iudice¹ mores.
 Si series generis longusque propaginis ordo
 Quaeritur: haec una centum de stirpe nepotes
 Sceptriferous numerare potest, haec regia sola est,
 Quae bis dena suis includat secula fastis;
 Unica vicinis toties pulsata procellis,
 Externi immunis domini: quodcunque vetustum
 Gentibus in reliquis vel narrat fama, vel audet
 Fabula, longaevis vel credunt secula fastis
 Huc compone, novum est. Ampla si dote moveris
 Accipe dotales Mavortia pectora Scotos.
 Nec tibi frugiferae memorabo hic jugera glebae
 [Aut saltus pecore, aut foecundas piscibus undas,]²
 Aut aeris gravidos et plumbi pondere sulcos,
 Et nitidos auro montes, ferroque rigentes,
 Deque metalliferis manantia flumina venis,
 Quaeque beant alias communia commoda gentes.
 Haec vulgus miretur iners, quique omnia spernunt
 Praeter opes, quibus assidue sitis acris³ habendi
 Tabifico oblimat praecordia crassa veneno.
 Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,
 Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando
 Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et aestus;
 Nec fossa et muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,
 Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam;
 Polliciti servare fidem, sanctumque vereri
 Numen amicitiae, mores, non munus amare.
 Artibus his, totum fremerent cum bella per orbem
 Nullaque non leges tellus mutaret avitas
 Externo subjecta iugo, gens una vetustis
 Sedibus antiqua sub libertate resedit.
 Substitit hic Gothi furor, hic gravis impetus haesit
 Saxonis, hic Cimber superato Saxone, et acri
 Perdomito Neuster Cimbro. Si volvere priscos
 Non piget annales, hic et victoria fixit
 Praecipitem Romana gradum: quem non gravis Auster
 Reppulit, incultis non squalens Parthia campis,

¹ In Hart's edition *praeside* is given instead of *iudice*.

² This line is not in any other editions than Hart's, Ruddiman's, and Burmann's.

³ Since Hart, the recent editions except Ruddiman and Burmann have *aeris* instead of *acris*.

Non aestu Meroe, non frigore Rhenus et Albis
 Tardavit, Latium remorata est Scotia cursum :
 Solaque gens mundi est, cum qua non culmine montis,
 Non rapidi ripis amnis, non objice silvae,
 Non vasti spatiis campi Romana potestas,
 Sed muris fossaque¹ sui confinia regni
 Munivit : gentesque alias cum pelleret armis
 Sedibus, aut victas vilem servaret in usum
 Servitii, hic contenta suos defendere fines
 Roma securigeris praetendit moenia Scotis :
 Hic spe progressus posita, Carronis ad undam
 Terminus² Ausonii signat divortia regni.
 Neve putes duri studiis assueta Gradivi
 Pectora mansuetas non emollescere ad artes,
 Haec quoque, cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem,
 Sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra Camoenis.
 Hinc Sophiae Grajae, Sophiae decreta Latinae,
 Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventae
 Carolus³ ad Celtas traduxit : Carolus idem
 Qui Francis Latios fasces, trabeamque Quirini
 Ferre dedit Francis, conjunxit foedere Scotos :
 Foedere, quod neque Mars ferro, nec turbida possit
 Solvere seditio, aut dominandi insana cupido,
 Nec series aevi, nec vis ulla altera, praeter
 Sanctius et vinclis foedus propioribus arctans.
 Tu licet ex illa numeres aetate triumphos,
 Et conjuratum cunctis e partibus orbem
 Nominis ad Franci exitium, sine milite Scoto
 Nulla unquam Francis fulsit victoria castris,
 Nulla unquam Hectoridas sine Scoto sanguine clades
 Saevior oppressit : tulit haec communiter amnes
 Fortunae gens una vices : Francisque minantes
 Saepe in se vertit gladios. Scit belliger Anglus,
 Scit ferus hoc Batavus, testis Phaethontias unda,⁴

¹This refers to the Antonine Wall that extended from the Forth to the Clyde.

²Dr. Longmuir (1871) says : "There was standing in Buchanan's time a round tower near the Carron, which he supposed to be a temple of Terminus. A stone erected by the legions on the wall is to be seen in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh."

³This refers to Charlemagne.

⁴Buchanan was staying with the Maréchal de Brissac when he wrote this poem, and the reference here is to one of de Brissac's expeditions to Italy and his operations on the River Po.

Nec semel infaustis repetita Neapolis armis.
 Hanc tibi dat conjux dotem, tot secula fidam
 Conjunctamque tuis sociali foedere gentem,
 Auspicium felix thalamis concordibus, armis
 Indomitos populos per tot discrimina, felix
 Auspicium bellis, venturaeque omina palmae.

At tu conjugio, Nymphæ, dignata superbo,
 Te licet et Juno, et bellis metuenda virago,
 Et Venus, et Charitum larga indulgentia certet
 Muneribus decorare suis, licet ille secundus
 Spe votisque hominum Francae moderator habenæ,
 Et solo genitore minor, tibi Regia sceptrâ
 Submittat, blando et dominam te prædicet ore,
 Sexum agnosce tamen, dominaeque immunis habenæ
 Hactenus imperio jam nunc assuesce jugali:
 Disce jugum, sed cum dilecto conjuge, ferre:
 Disce pati imperium, victrix patiendo futura.
 Aspicias Oceanum saxa indignatus ut undis
 Verberet, et cautes tumida circumfremat ira:
 Rupibus incursat, demoliturque procellis
 Fundamenta terens, scopulisque assultat adesis:
 Ast ubi se tellus molli substravit arena,
 Hospitioque Deum blande invitavit amoeno,
 Ipse domat vires, placidusque et se minor ire
 In thalamos gaudet non torvo turbidus ore,
 Non spumis fremituque minax, sed fronte serena
 Littus inoffensum lambit, sensimque relabens
 Arrepit facilis cerni, et, ceu mollia captet
 Oscula, ludentes in littore lubricat undas.
 Cernis ut infirmis hedera enitatur in altum
 Frondibus, et molli serpens in robora flexu
 Paullatim insinuet sese, et complexibus haerens
 Emicet, et mediis pariter caput inserat astris.
 Flectitur obsequio rigor, obsequioque paratur
 Et retinetur amor. Neu te jactura relictæ
 Sollicitet patriæ, desideriumque parentis:
 Haec quoque terra tibi patria est, hic stirpe propinqui,
 Hic generis pars magna tui, multosque per annos
 Fortunatorum series longissima Regum,
 Unde genus ducis, rerum moderatur habenas.
 Quoquo oculos vertes, quoquo vestigia flectes,

Cognatis pars nulla vacat, locus exhibet omnis
 Aut generis socios, aut fastis inclyta gentis
 Ostentat monumenta tuæ. Jam ut caetera mittam,
 Hic te, qui cunctis merito praeponderat unus,
 Expectat longe pulcherrimus Hectoridarum,
 Pene tibi stirpis communis origine frater:
 Mox etiam fratrem quod vincat amore futurus,
 Et matrem, et quicquid consanguinitate verendum
 Lex facit, et, legum quam jussa valentior ulla,
 Naturæ arcanos pulsans reverentia sensus.
 Hic quoque (ni justis obsistent numina votis,
 Falsaque credulitas frustra spem nutrit inanem)
 Filius ore patrem referens, et filia matrem
 Sanguine communi vinclum communis amoris
 Firmabunt, brevibusque amplexi colla lacertis
 Discutient blando curarum nubila risu.

Hunc vitæ mihi fata modum concedite, donec
 Juncta Caledoniae tot seclis Gallia genti
 Officiis, pactisque, et legum compede, fratrum
 Subdita dehinc sceptris animo coalescat: et undis
 Quos mare, quos vastis coelum spatiiisque solumque
 Dividit, hos populum concordia nectat in unum,
 Aequaeva aeternis coeli concordia flammis.

TRANSLATION

(By Lionel S. Charles, United College, St. Andrews.)

Ah, whence this burst of passionate ecstasy?
 'Tis long since Phoebus poured his grace on me.
 And whence doth our Parnassus mute so long
 In antres dark renew his Triumph-song?

But late I marked the wan, sad laurel fall,
 And silence in fair places musical,
 Song's spirits bowed in grief, the tuneful Nine
 Turned but deaf ears to every prayer of mine.
 And now the gates of Delphi open swing,
 In Phoebus' grot I hear the tripod ring.
 Their locks entwined with laurels greener grown
 The sister-choir advance, and Helicon
 Unenvious sees again the fountain spring,

Pimplea's fount, that dowers the gift to sing,
 And glad Pieria's grove, haunt of the Muse,
 Her verdurous glory once again renews.

Am I deceived! For thee, fair prince, for thee
 The Muses deck themselves right royally;
 For thee they garlands bring, with fresh-blown flowers
 The shrines renew; and the unaccustomed bowers
 Round Helicon, long mute while War they dread,
 See them again the choral-dances lead.
 And who more worthy, by the Muses' shrine
 Or kingly sires, and all the laurelled line?

A thronging people, and a nation's prayer
 Fill the wide ways; and loyal love is there.
 The day is with us, day of all the year
 Most loved, most wooed! Thy heart's desire is here,
 Thy heart's desire is with thee. Ah, away
 With hope so long deferred and coy delay!
 No more bewail the progress of the skies
 Circling the world in tardy galaxies.
 The meed of patience thine, patience repaid
 With rich reward. Oh! had the old world made
 The like, fair peace had lulled the Spartan king
 In Helen's arms and Helen's comforting.
 Venus in peace had blessed the Phrygian's bed,
 Nor Phrygia in adulterous quarrel bled.
 Such beauty Troy might harry o'er the main,
 Such beauty Greece in arms demand again;
 And were there need to draw the avenging sword
 For wrongs of hers, true love and loving lord,
 The world had seen thee, champion of her right,
 Like Paris woo, like Menelaus fight.

But Love was kind to thee, and Love's sweet pain
 Thy boy-heart filled, and fired thy growing vein.
 Not thine, my Prince, to give a loveless hand
 To some sad stranger from an alien land!
 Ah me! how oft a care past comforting

Dwells in the bosom of a hapless king,
 That he must clasp some stranger to his breast,
 By envoys wooed, but by himself possessed.
 Ah me! how oft delusive beauties shine
 In the false wax, and blur the flattering line,
 How oft sad princes, for a distant flame,
 Sigh in a parchment to a stranger's name.

Face to sweet face you stood! Yourself approved
 Your heart's fair saint; you came, you saw, you loved.
 Say, was it wayward pride, too great to obey,
 And wilful ways that charmed thy heart away?
 Truly I ween no light of evil fire
 Shone in her face, no arrogant desire;
 No insubmissive spirit that could not brook
 Control of law, no hard and fearless look,
 No bitter scorn; nay, she is good with more
 Than woman's goodness, wiser than the store
 Of all youth's wisdom; in her port we see,
 With modest beauty, crowned humility,
 And sweetest grace in all. Ah! sigh no more,
 Fair pride of France! the long delay is o'er,
 Thy heart's desire is with thee. Ah! away
 With hope so long deferred and coy delay.

Face to sweet face you stood; the young blood rang
 Triumph; the bounding pulse her beauty sang.
 (Ah me! how oft the promise mocks the sight
 For kings; deceived they curse the faithless night.)
 Soon shalt thou feel, at Love's divine command
 The little hand creep softly to thy hand,
 Soon shalt thou share all joy of love—the kiss,
 And all love's joyaunce yet more deep than this,
 All heart's desire. Yet, passionate lover, stay
 And share with us the joyaunce of the day;
 The joyaunce of the day—the night is thine;
 Nay, all is ours; we at the self-same shrine
 Have sought the gods with sacrifice and prayer,
 And with our offerings filled the votive air.
 Thy fears and hopes were ours; the long delay

Was bitter, and our strength consumed away.
 But Heaven relenting brings us joy again ;
 Our bounding hearts confess the blissful reign.

Even so if Phoebus in his Orient car
 Climb the steep sky, what time no shadows mar
 His perfect radiance, all the fields are bright,
 Struck with the shaft of his exceeding light ;
 A sweet, soft light is flickering on the seas,
 And from the azure comes a gentle breeze.
 But if the South with tempests in her womb
 Come cloud-engirdled, comraded of gloom,
 The fields are wrapped in shade, the seas are given
 To tumult, and to pitchy dark the heaven.
 Even so thy people veer. Suspense and care
 And joy and grief alike with thee they share,
 And deem not thou that rose-flushed youth alone
 Joys in thy joyaunce, knows thy bliss her own,
 Her red, red rose. For age with kindly zeal
 Blesses the joys it is not hers to feel.
 The maiden's whispered prayer ascends the skies,
 The matron's blessings, not in whispers, rise.

Such is the joyaunce of the human kind—
 And is this all? Nay, Nature's mighty mind
 Is one with thine ; she shares the joy with thee ;
 Her heart is bounding with thy ecstasy.
 Look to the presence of the Eastern gate !
 In the white morn with longing passionate
 Swift Phoebus comes and hears thy glory's call ;
 Loth he departs at the still evenfall.
 Loth he departs ; to the far North he goes
 Glorifying, and bids the sullen darkness close
 And yield to light. Earth dons a mantle green
 And on the shadowy hills the vines are seen ;
 And in the wilderness where briars spread
 She decks with fragrant blooms the enamelled mead ;
 In white pomegranate trees the love-birds sing,
 With tuneful joy the hills and valleys ring.
 From Plenty's horn the copious fruits appear,

Abundance smiles to bless the mellowing year
With fair increase—oh prosperous auspices
Of wedded love and happy auguries !

O happy pair in prosperous season sprung !
O wedded pair, in love and hope so young !
All, all around, a world in happy peace
Smiles on your hope and bids your joys increase.
Fair, happy pair, for ever, ever dear !
Away complaint ! false Discord come not near !
By plighted faith and holy law allied,
No day shall part them, nothing shall divide.
A nation's hope, and loyal love is there ;
And kindly Heaven receives a nation's prayer.

On, on to bliss ! the auspicious tapers shine,
And point the way to Love's own secret shrine.
On, on to bliss, by Truth and Honour led,
Fair wedded pair ! Lord Francis, thou hast wed
Thy sister-soul in nature ; womanhood
Makes her obedient, with all power endued
By thy consent ; and tender parent-hands
Give her to thee, and Love with all the bands
That ever Love supreme hath power to bind,
Ever in closer union intertwined.
Her maiden youth, her long ancestral line,
And her troth plighted, make the fair saint thine.

Yea, had the Three, whom Paris on the side
Of woody Ida met, given thee thy bride,
Ah, nothing in their gift could equal this !
Faint were the rapture, doubtful were the bliss
Compared to her. If beauty be thy care
Mark her proud form ! mark her imperial air !
The stately brow, the cheek of blushing rose
(Ah, how the mantling colour comes and goes),
O maiden youth ! O queen's serenity !
And gentle grace, and princely majesty !
And Pallas' self hath taught her every art,
And Poesy hath informed her gentle heart,
And Wisdom guided all.

And old descent

Is hers ; a hundred ancestors have sent
 Her crown to her ; and twice a thousand years
 Stretches the line of those august compeers.
 This hath no rival ; shrinks each ancient throne
 Dwarfed by the giant greatness of our own.
 Bright, bright the rays of each time-honoured crown
 And throne primeval—Scotia shines them down.
 And if thy heart desire a princely dower
 'Tis here ; 'tis Scotia's embattled power.
 She boasts not, she, the harvest's golden store,
 Nor rivers gleaming with the yellow ore.
 Not hers the flocks that mountain pastures feed,
 For her no funny tribes the waters breed.
 Not hers the iron lode, the leaden vein,
 Slaves of the mine, and craven thralls of gain.
 Others, I ween, may bow to wealth's control,
 While gold, contagious, dulls the hireling soul ;
 But Caledonia's sons, a sinewy race,
 Urge the wild wood, and wing the arrowy chase,
 To heat and cold inured ; the rivers wide
 Bar not their course, they swim the foaming tide.
 Not ditch nor rampart guard our country's bound,
 But valiant hearts and patriot swords are found ;
 And life is little ; is not Honour great ?
 And Truth abides, and Virtue guards the state,
 And Friendship's holy power. Small marvel then
 When Desolation shook the towers of men
 And bruised them with the yoke, if uncontrolled
 She kept her ancient liberty of old.

The Saxon vanquished fell before the Dane,
 In turn the victor felt the Norman's chain ;
 But Scotia dwelt apart. 'Gainst Rome's attack
 She stood : the screaming eagles fluttered back.
 Though Rome might pass to Meroe's tropic plain,
 Traverse unchecked bleak Parthia's wild domain ;
 Nor Rhine nor Elbe her rapid course could stay
 For all their frosts ; yet Scotia barred the way.
 Deem ye a lofty mount between them rose ?
 Did some resistless river interpose ?

Some pathless forest, some waste solitude ?
A ditch, a rampart 'gainst the unsubdued
Rome's one resource ; and while she still could chase
Each other nation from its ancient place,
Here 'twas enough to ward the clans' attacks,
And bar the wall 'gainst Scotia's battle-axe.
"Thus far our course," she cried, "advance no more,"
And fixed her eagles by the Carron shore.

Yet think not thou that Scotia's fame is known
On trampled fields of crimson death alone :
Wisdom has smiled on us, and gentle Peace
In seraph-tones bids War's rude trumpet cease.
When Desolation shook the towers of men,
The arts of Greece and Rome revived again
In Scotia's bosom ; here they found a home
While Vandal darkness overshadowed Rome.
To Charlemagne, on his dim Celtic shore
She sent Hellenic light, Ausonian lore,
Charlemagne, who donned in his far Frankish home
The purple mantle of Imperial Rome.
And the proud emblems of the Latian reign
Crowned his endeavour with distinguished gain.
He bound our Scotia in a loyal league,
Strong 'gainst all force, and strong 'gainst all intrigue,
No years can waste it, and change comes not near
Save for a holier love, a bond more dear.
Ambition fails ; War's fury breaks not down
Our Scotia's union with the lily crown.
When France, all desolate, crashed with a world
In angry concourse on her banners hurled,
Ever she heard our battle-trumpets blow,
Ever with her we met the coming foe.

And well to France may Scotia's Genius say :—
"We shared each triumph, each disastrous day ;
In victory, or when the field was wet
With blood of France, and banners overset,
But undishonoured, I was at thy side ;
As one we conquered, or as one we died.
How firm our faith let gallant Albion show,

And wild Batavia, and the crimsoned Po.
 Say, Naples, if we knew faint heart or fear,
 Lost city, wooed so long, and wooed so dear !”

Such is the dower that Marie brings her lord,
 (Presage of harmony and sweet accord),
 A power so long conjoined—fair auspices
 Of prosperous fields and happy victories.

But thou, though Beauty arm thy form divine
 With every grace, and every art be thine
 From the fair Lady of the battlefield,
 And Juno’s emulation will not yield
 To Pallas, yet beware high heart of pride,
 Let wisdom govern, and sweet patience guide.
 Though he profess to wear a subject-chain,
 Proud of the yoke, of Love’s own fetters vain,
 Yet deem not thy weak woman-hand can guide
 The imperial rein, and shun the voice of Pride.
 Let Love be lord, and tread ambition down ;
 Be patience thine—for Patience wears a crown.

The Ocean, where the rocky ramparts frown,
 Saps the strong wall and drags the bastion down ;
 All hoarse and rude his battle-trumpets blow,
 Rolling his angry crests upon the foe ;
 His fury batters down the ancient wall,
 The deeps are shaken, and the great rocks fall.
 But where he sees a gentle hostess-hand
 Bidding him enter on the kindly sand,
 His rage is gone ; she sees her lover come,
 Not in chill scorn and insolence of foam ;
 He comes her lover ; no rude fortalice
 Bars his advance ; he shares a lover’s kiss.

So round the oak the ivy’s tendrils twine,
 Raised to the starry sky and height divine.
 ’Tis soft Obedience bends the ruler’s rod,
 And Love still follows where her footsteps trod.

And think not thou, fair queen of all the fair,
 Though reft unwilling from a mother’s care,

Yet think not thou an alien shore to see,
Lands none of thine, and kindred strange to thee.
Let History speak, what monarchs of thy line,
Prosperous and great, in Gallia's annals shine.
And in thy coming she again shall know
The blood that swayed her in the long-ago.
'Tis no strange land that waits thee ; everywhere
Thy kindred gather, and thy friends are there,
And the memorials of their deeds appear,
Dear to their kindred, to their allies dear !
And one there is, dearer than all beside,
Fair France's fairest son awaits his bride,
All but a brother in his ancestry,
More than a brother in his love to thee,
More than a mother, and than all beside,
By Love within the heart's own heart allied,
Love holier, stronger than a mortal band—
Though this shall bind, yet Love hath power beyond—
Love, holy Love ! in Nature's inmost frame,
With passionate thrill thy call imperial came.

With fair increase, if kindly fates ordain,
Daughter and son shall bless your equal reign,
And in inheritors of either line,
Marie, thy traits shall rise, and, Francis, thine.
Faces angelical shall smile away
The fleeting sorrow of an evil day ;
Ah, many a time shall clouding Sorrow's bands
Fall at the touch of those soft angel-hands.

Oh, be it mine to hail the auspicious day
When Gaul and Scotia join beneath the sway
Of brothers ; long in faith and truth allied
Stand they at length in union side by side
Though seas dispart them far, and alien skies divide.

One throne be theirs, and loyalty set sure
While the strong sun and all the stars endure.

IX.

Joannis Calvini Epicedium

(*Miscellaneorum Liber—XXIV.*).

THIS Dirge was written on the death of Calvin in 1564. In poetic form Buchanan endeavours to blend the old heathen mythology with the Calvinistic theology. "There ought to be no grief over Calvin's death," he says, "because he will always live with us, his genius and fame being present in the Reformed religion. Filled with a 'draught of deity' (*numinis haustu*), he merely lives in an eternal and nearer enjoyment of God." Buchanan endeavours to explain the spiritual work of regeneration, but his brief and theistic references to matters of faith show that he was not zealous in the Reformed doctrines.

In the following pages are given two translations, the first of which secured the First Steele Prize, and the next the Second Prize.

Joannis Calvini Epicedium.

Si quis erit nullos superesse a funere manes
 Qui putet, aut si forte putet, sic vivit ut Orcum
 Speret,¹ et aeternas Stygio sub gurgite poenas,
 Is merito sua fata fleat, sua funera ploret
 Vivus, et ad caros luctum transmittat amicos.
 At nos, invitis quanquam sis raptus amicis
 Ante diem, magnis quamvis inviderit ausis
 Mors, te flere nefas, Calvine, et funera vanae
 Ludibrio pompae, et miseris onerare querelis.
 Liber enim curis, terrenae et pondere molis,
 Astra tenes, propiusque Deo, quem mente colebas,
 Nunc frueris, puroque vides in lumine purum
 Lumen, et infusi satiatus Numinis haustu²
 Exigis aeternam sine sollicitudine vitam :
 Quam neque dejiciunt luctus, nec tollit inani
 Ebria laetitia spes, exanimantve timores,
 Quaeque animo offundit morbi contagia corpus.
 Hanc ego quae curis te lux exemit acerbis
 Natalem jure appellem, qua raptus in astra
 In patriam remeas, et post fastidia duri
 Exilii, mortis jam mens segura secundae,
 Fortunae imperio major, primordia longae
 Ingreditur vitae. Nam ceu per corporis artus
 Quum subiit animus, pigrae vegetatque movetque
 Molis onus, funditque agilem per membra vigorem ;
 Quum fugit, exanimum jacet immotumque cadaver,
 Nec quicquam est luteae nisi putris fabrica massae :
 Sic animi Deus est animus, quo si caret, atris
 Obruitur tenebris, specieque illusus inani
 Fallaces rectique bonique amplectitur umbras.
 Ast ubi divini concepit Numinis haustum
 Diffugiunt tenebrae, simulacraque vana facessunt,
 Nudaque se veri facies in luce videndam
 Exhibet aeterna, quam nullo vespere claudit
 Septa caput furvis nox importuna tenebris.
 Hunc ergo in portum coelo plaudente receptus

¹ Perhaps it should be *spernat*.

² Ruddiman's text gives *haustum*, although in a note he prefers *haustu* to be substituted.

Tu licet in placida tranquillus pace quiescas,
 Non tamen omnino potuit mors invida totum
 Tollere Calvinum terris; aeterna manebunt
 Ingenii monumenta tui: et livoris iniqui
 Languida paullatim cum flamma resederit, omnes
 Relligio qua pura nitet se fundet in oras
 Fama tui. Ut nuper falso te nomine Clemens,
 Te Pauli duo, flagitiis et fraude gemelli,
 Te Juli timuit rabies, te nobilis una
 Fraternal impietate Pius: sic nominis umbram
 Ingeniique tui effigiem post fata timebit
 Vana superstitio: quique olim in sede Quirini
 Triste furens, flammaque minax ferroque tyrannus
 Transtulit inferni cuncta in se munia regni,
 Imperio Pluto, foedis Harpyia rapinis,
 Eumenis igne, Charon naulo, triplicique corona
 Cerberus, immissi stupefactus lumine veri,
 Terrificoque tuae dejectus fulmine linguae,
 Transferet infernas in se post funera poenas:
 Inter aquas sitiens, referens revolubile saxum,
 Vulturibus jecur exesus, cava dolia lymphis
 Frustra implens, Ixioneum distentus in orbem.

TRANSLATION¹

(By Lionel S. Charles, United College, St. Andrews.)

Well may he weep, if there be one
 Who thinketh death the end of all,
 Or fears what penance may befall
 In silent gulfs of Acheron.

Well may he weep before his end,
 Still shrinking from the doom to be,
 And share his sorrow's mystery
 With every loved and loving friend.

Calvin, for *thee* we may not weep,
 Though loth that thou should'st leave us so
 Before thy day; no painted woe
 Shall mock thee in thy holy sleep.

¹ First Prize Translation.

Far from the burden of the clod,
And from our dull terrestrial care,
Joyful thou climb'st the starry stair
To freer heights, and nearer God.

'Tis thine the Light-in-Light to see,
The Light serene, untouched of stain ;
'Tis thine the Godhead-cup to drain
In thine unvexed eternity.

And Hope, with her insensate drink,
Comes not to thee ; Grief breaks not down
The angel of the starry crown,
Nor Fear that makes the heart-blood sink.

Thou passest from the taint of earth,
And far from bitter Sorrow's breath,
Thou scalest the stars. And is this death ?
This is thy day of second birth.

In highest heaven, thy fatherland,
From weary banishment set free,
Armoured in immortality,
Stronger than Fortune thou dost stand.

Thou standest in thine ancient home.
Our very clay, a lifeless mass.
When into it the soul doth pass
Doth stronger, brighter still become.

Strong streams of being onward roll,
But if the soul be fled away,
'Tis crumbling dust and senseless clay ;
So God is of the soul the soul.

Without Him night is round it made,
And darkness in the things that seem ;
And good is but a passing dream,
And evil but a fleeting shade.

When Man hath drained the Godhead-cup,
Their flight the dark illusions wing ;
And truth shines out, and the dayspring
Shines on her, deepening on and up.

On her no twilight comes ; no night
In her dull robe of hodden-gray
Breaks down, breaks down the golden day,
And robs of truth the spirit's sight.

And peace that none interpreteth
Comes on thee in their loud acclaim,
Yet think not that below thy name
Is compassed of the shades of death.

The voice of envy waxes dumb,
The fire of envy reels and faints ;
And soon on all the lands of saints,
Like some great tide thy fame shall come.

As Clemens of the barren name,
As the twin Pauls, who sinned away,
And Julius, like a beast of prey,
And Pius of the impious fame ;

As all these feared thee, all shall fear ;
These souls of shame shall know thy power ;
And thou art with them in this hour ;
Their painted sham shall know thee near.

And on his proud Quirinal hill
That grim old lord of steel and flame—
And shall my song rehearse his name ?
These are the signs that point him still.

The Charon-coin he loved so well ;
The fury with the torch of flame ;
The Harpy's ravin without name,
And the three-headed hound of Hell.

All powers of Hell were his desire ;
Yet in his kingdom of the night,
Dazed by the onset of the light,
And blasted by the bolt of fire,

All his shall be the pains of Hell,
And his the thirsty Lydian's lake,
Rolling for his old evil's sake
Rocks up the hills unscalable,

Or doomed to be the vulture's meal,
 Or doomed the hollow sieve to fill
 With water running, running still,
 Or stretched upon Ixion's wheel.

TRANSLATION¹

(By R. K. Winter, United College, St. Andrews.)

Saith one to me, 'Beyond the grave
 The soul doth die': perchance he saith
 'The spirit liveth, let that faith
 Guide me in life': for he would have

The pit of Hell his goal, and pain
 For aye beneath the Stygian pool;
 Yet all deserving, let the fool
 Bemoan his fate! let him again

Make mourning for his coming death,
 While yet on earth: let him bestow
 On every man his gift of woe,
 Yea on his friends, the best he hath!

And thee O Calvin, tho' thy day
 Was scarcely spent, that Jealous One,
 For that thou valiant deeds hadst done,
 From friends unwilling snatched away.

Yet were it wrong thy death to mourn,
 To load thy bier with empty show
 Of pageant-mockery, or woe
 That doth bespeak the heart forlorn.

For thou art free from cares, and free
 From blind Earth and her travailing:
 'Mid stars thou'rt nearer to the King,
 Thy earthly mind did shew to thee.

Thou dost enjoy Him: yea 'tis thine
 To see in light unmarred by shade
 The very light of God display'd,
 And slake thy thirst with draught divine,

¹Second Prize Translation.

That comforteth. And so for aye
 An endless life that hath no care
 Thou livest : nor can sad Despair
 Those lasting pleasures sweep away :

Nor Hope dethrone, the drunken-blind
 With empty joy, nor Fear can kill,
 Nor body that our souls doth fill,
 And filling breeds distempered mind.

The day that took thee from the gall
 Of sorrow, 'mid the stars to stand,
 To see again thy Father's land,
 Thy birthday feast I rightly call.

And after exile's loathèd chain—
 No Death in store—thy soul is free
 From grinning Fortune's tyranny,
 And hath begun its endless reign.

Within our membered frame the breath
 Thro' sluggish mass its way doth take,
 That so bestirred it may awake,
 Fed by the life that quickeneth.

And if that breath hath fled away
 The corse lies dead—a senseless frame,
 A loathèd thing without a name,
 A worthless heap of crumbled clay.

Thus God the soul's breath is ; the mind
 That hath Him not, is plung'd in night,
 Lays hold on wraiths of good and right
 But mocking shapes of truth to find.

But waking to that fairest day
 Thy majesty O Lord to see—
 Then break those gloomy clouds and flee,
 The mocking visions haste away.

Unswathed by guile, in endless light,
 Pure Truth her fairest form doth show :
 No closing eve that day doth know,
 Nor sable-crownéd, churlish night.

The haven reached, the bar is crost,
The sky resounds with joyful psalm ;
Now may'st thou lie in quiet calm—
Yet Calvin's name shall ne'er be lost.

Tho' jealous Death hath taken thee,
Thy deeds below will ever claim
Their mem'ry's due : and when the flame,
That fitful flare of enmity,

Hath laid to rest her flickering,
Then every shore whereon there gleams
The torch of faith with purest beams,
Shall Calvin's name in glory sing.

Foul brethrens' twin-deceit thy word
Dismay'd, and Clement false in name,
Pius renowned 'mid brother's shame ;
Mad Julius feared, and owned thee lord.

So hast thou wrought : the very shade
Of that thy name, thy spirit's ghost
Live on, and mad Belief's vain host
Shall look on thee and be afraid.

The tyrant breathing flame and sword,
Against himself—with raving burned,—
The panoply of Hell hath turned,
E'en he that sate before the Lord.

The Arch-fiend, with his world below,
The Harpies with foul robbery,
With fire the Furies, with his fee
The Ferryman,—Hell's every woe

Against himself will each one bring—
Mark Cerberus with the triple crown,
Amazed at truth revealed, cast down
By Calvin's speech fierce-thundering.

Thirsting 'mid streams, adown the hill
Rolleth the stone, birds rend his heart,
Teareth the wheel his limbs apart,
Filling the cruise that none can fill.

X.

Genethliacon Jacobi Sexti Regis Scotorum.

Silvae—VII., not VIII. as Ruddiman has numbered it.

THIS birthday-ode, written on the birth of James in 1566, is noteworthy in so far as it helps to clear away some misapprehension. It shows at once that Buchanan's opinions had changed or were changing, and Queen Mary was almost of necessity bound to recognise that her own position was threatened. The poem is really in verse what the *De Jure* is in prose, and had the same effect. Buchanan apostrophises the infant prince as the hope of all who desired peace, but parents are advised, "in verse of Virgilian elevation and beauty," as to the upbringing of children, and especially of princes. The poem is also of value to educational reformers, who realised in Buchanan one who sought to accomplish good results rather than fame.

Cresce puer patriae auspiciis felicibus orte,
Exspectate puer, cui vatum oracla priorum
Aurea compositis promittunt secula bellis:
Tuque peregrinis toties pulsata procellis,
Pene tuo toties excisa Britannia ferro,¹
Exsere laeta caput, cohibe pacalis olivae
Fronde comam, repara flammis foedata, ruinis
Convulsa, et pulso cole squalida tecta colono:
Pone metum, aeternam spondent tibi sidera pacem.
Jam neque Saxonidae Scotos, nec Saxona Scotus
Infestus premet, et cognato sanguine ferrum
Polluet, et miseras praedando exhauriet urbes.
Sed quibus ante feri tractabant arma Gradivi,
Jam dehinc pacatis conjungent foedera dextris.
Vos quoque felices felici prole parentes,
Jam tenerum teneris puerum consuescite ab annis
Justitiae, sanctumque bibat virtutis amorem
Cum lacte; et primis pietas comes addita cunis

¹ In recent editions this verse has been transposed so as to come after the line beginning "*exsere laeta . . .*" which here follows it.

Conformetque animum, et pariter cum corpore crescat.

Non ita conversi puppis moderamine clavi
Flectitur, ut populi pendent a Principe mores.
Non carcer, legumque minae, torvaeque secures
Sic animos terrent trepidos formidine poenae,
Ut verae virtutis honos, moresque modesti
Regis, et innocui decus et reverentia sceptri
Convertunt mentes ad honesta exempla sequaces.

Sic ubi de patrio redivivus funere phoenix
Aurorae ad populos redit,¹ et cunabula secum
Ipse sua, et cineres patris inferiasque decoris
Fert humeris, quacunque citis adremigat alis,
Indigenae comitantur aves, celebrantque canoro
Agmine: non illas² species incognita tantum,
Aut picturatae capiunt spectacula pennae,
Quam pietas, pietas etiam intellecta volucrum
Sensibus: usque adeo recti natura per omnes
Diffudit rerum vivacia femina partes.

Sic in Regem oculos populus defigit, et unum
Admirantur, amant, imitantur, seque suosque
Ex hoc ceu speculo tentant effingere mores.
Quod non sanguinei metuenda potentia ferri
Exprimet, et nitido florentes aere phalanges,
Hoc praestabit amor: certat cum Principe vulgus
Officiis, et amat cum se deprendit amari,
Et domino servit, quia non servire necesse est:
Quasque bonus Princeps laxat sponte, arctat habenas,
Deposcitque jugum quod vi cogente metuque
Rejecturus erat: contra indulgentior ille
Rexque paterque suis adimit, subit ipse labores,
Quaeque jubet primus praëit, et legum aspera jussa
Mollia parendo facit, erratisque suorum
Parcere non durus, sibi inexorabilis uni.
Ille nec in cultu superet mensaque domoque
Quem posuit natura modum, nec more ferarum
In Venerem praeceps, sed certo fine pudoris
Casta colat sancti genialia foedera lecti.
Quis bombyce ausit cultus foedare viriles,

¹ Hart's Edinburgh edition gives *Memphin ab Aurora petit*.

² In all editions except those of Stephen, Patisson, Ruddiman, and Burmann, *illa* is given. *Illas* is, however, a better reading.

Si ferat indigenam majestas regia vestem ?
 Quis de lege tori, tanquam fit dura, queratur,
 Cum teneat Regem ? Cui non temulentia turpis
 Principe sub sicco ? patrios quis frangere mores
 Audeat, ignavoque animum corrumpere luxu,
 Ipse voluptatum cum Princeps frena coerces,
 Et nimium laetam vitiorum comprimit herbam ?
 Talem Romulidae tranquilla pace fruentem
 Sacrificum videre Numam, Solomonta potentem
 Palmifer Euphrates: non illis lethifer ensis,
 Non bellator equus firmavit regna, nec axis
 Falcifer, aut densis legio conferta¹ maniplis,
 Sed pietatis amor, sed nulli noxia virtus,
 Fretaque praefidio majestas juris inermi.
 At qui gemmiferos victor penetravit ad Indos
 Dux Macedum, quique Ausoniam tenuere superbo
 Imperio Reges, aut ferro aut tabe veneni
 Effudere animas, et caedem caede piarunt.
 Scilicet humano generi natura benigni
 Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato Principe majus,
 In quo vera Dei vivensque elucet imago.
 Hanc seu Rex vitiis contaminet ipse pudendis,
 Sive alius ferro violet vel fraude, severas
 Sacrilego Deus ipse petet de sanguine poenas,
 Contemtumque sui simulacri haud linquet inultum.
 Sic Nero crudelis, sic Flavius ultimus,² et qui
 Imperio Siculas urbes tenuere cruento,³
 Effigiem foedare Dei exitiis ausi
 Flagitiis, ipsa periere a stirpe recisi.
 Sic qui se justis macularunt sanguine Servi,⁴
 Et qui legitimos ferro flammaque petivit
 Rectores patriae Catilina nefarius, acti
 In furias misero vix tandem funere vitam

¹ Thus Andrew Hart's Edinburgh edition, Ruddiman's, and Burmann's, but all others have *conserta*.

² The reference is presumably to Titus Flavius Domitian, who was slain by his freedman, A. D. 96.

³ *Superbo* is given in all the editions, except in Andrew Hart's, Ruddiman's, and Burmann's, where *cruento* is employed as above. Only a few lines before, the phrase *tenuere superbo* is given.

⁴ Servius, sixth King of Rome, who perished in consequence of having been flung down the steps of the Senate House by Tarquin.

Invisam posuere, ignominiaque perenni
Foedavere suam ventura in secula gentem.

Haec tenero¹ addiscat, maturo exerceat aevo,
Et regnare putet multo se latius, orae
Hesperiae fuscis quam si conjunxerit Indos,
Si poterit rex esse sui.² [Dum firmior artus
Vis reget atque animum, puerilia murmura dulces
Interea Charites atque eluctantia verba
Component, Musisque dabunt rude pectus alendum:
Inde notas discet, per quas absentibus absens
Quid juvet aut doleat caris exponat amicis:
Quae dirimant verum a falso discrimina certa:
Quae quibus aut pugnent, aut non invita sequantur:
Quod genus eloquii flammatas leniat iras,
Quod refides acuat: quae vis regat aetheris orbes:
An sponte aeternos volvat natura meatus.
Tum de Socraticis sese cognoscere chartis
Incipiet, si Socraticae modo pandere chartae
Vera queant: mox coeligenis se firmior aetas
Conformet Musis, dignoscere sacra profanis
Apta quid intersint: sumet praecepta rebelles
Hinc domitura animos; et bello et pace regendi
Imperii veram sacris de fontibus artem
Discet. Ad hanc omnes normam si sedulus actus
Finxerit in patrias felix succedet habenas.]

TRANSLATION

(by J. Longmuir, LL.D., Aberdeen, 1871).

Grow, with glad omens for thy country born,
Desirèd boy, to whom the oracles
Of former seers promise a golden age,
Wars hush'd to rest. And thou, Britannia, beat
So oft by foreign tempests, and so oft
By thine own weapon almost quite destroy'd,
Lift gladden'd now thy head, thy hopes confirm'd,

¹ The Basel edition, Stephen's and Patisson's give *tener*, the Commelinian edition (1594) and Andrew Hart's give *tenera*, while all other and more recent editions support the reading in the text.

² All editions, except Hart's Edinburgh edition, finish the poem with this line—*Si poterit Rex esse sui, Rex esse suorum*. Hart's, along with Ruddiman's and Burmann's, omit *Rex esse suorum*, and add the remaining lines here given.

With boughs of peaceful olive bind thy hair,
 Repair thy dwellings blackenèd with flames,
 And trim, foul with neglect, the dwellers fled :
 Dismiss thy boding fears, thy troublous cares,
 The stars now promise thee eternal peace.
 Now neither shall the Saxon's sons the Scot,
 Nor hostile Scot the Saxon shall oppress,
 And stain with kindred blood the deadly steel,
 And wretched cities waste by siege and sack.
 But who aforetime fierce Gradivus' arms
 Were wont to wield in conflict shall henceforth
 In treaties join, and clasp right hands in peace.

Ye happy parents of a happy offspring,
 Bless'd twain, from tender years the tender boy
 Accustom unto justice, let him drink
 The holy love of virtue with his milk ;
 Let piety, companion of his life,
 From his first cradle even on him wait,
 And mould his mind and with his body grow.
 Less steers the ship her course at government
 Of the turn'd helm, than on the Prince depend
 The people's manners. Not imprisonment,
 Nor threats of laws, nor headsman's axes grim
 So frighten with the fear of punishment
 Their trembling minds, as honour of true worth,
 And gentle manners of a Prince, and grace
 And awful reverence of harmless sceptre
 Their pliant wills much imitative bend,
 And draw to an example honourable.
 Thus when the Phoenix, from his father's dust
 Arisen, returns to Memphis from the dawn,
 And with him bears his cradle, with him bears
 Upon his shoulders, sparkled with bright hues,
 His father's ashes and due offerings,
 Where'er with nimble wings he oars the sky,
 The native birds accompany in flocks,
 And sing his praises in resounding train ;
 Them not so much the species unknown,
 And spectacle of pictured pens attract,
 As piety, piety even known
 By wild-bird's senses: to so great degree

Hath Nature throughout all her parts diffused
The living seeds of right. So on the King
The people fix their eyes, and him alone
Admire, love, imitate, and by this glass
Endeavour, as it were, to form themselves
And all their manners. What not the dread power
Of bloody sword, nor phalanx blossoming
In sheeny brass, shall out of them wring, that
Affection will make good: when with the Prince
In offices of love the vulgar vie,
And love when they perceive that they are loved,
And serve their lord because they need not serve;
And the reins tighten, which the gracious Prince
Spontaneously relaxes, and demand
The yoke, which, were it urged by force or fear,
They would reject: he, on the other hand,
A more indulgent father and a King
Takes the yoke off, himself toil undergoes,
And in whatever he commands precedes,
And by obedience makes the harsh behests
Of statutes easy, nor is stern, nor loth
To spare transgressions by his subjects done,
Inexorable to himself alone;
Nor let him overpass in dress, in board,
In house, the measure Nature hath laid down,
Nor headlong in the manner of wild beasts
To lechery rush, but within sure bounds
Of blushful modesty preserve the chaste
And genial league of holy marriage bed.
Who durst demean the manly dress with silk,
If Royal Majesty wear native robes?
Who of the law of marriage bed complain,
Though it be hard, when it doth bind the King?
To whom would drunkenness not shameful seem
Under a sober Prince? Who dare to break
Ancestral customs, and the mind debauch
With lazy luxury, when the Prince himself
The bridle of his pleasures tight holds in,
And checks the too luxuriant herb of vices.
Such an one saw the sons of Romulus,
Numa the Priest enjoying tranquil peace;

Palmy Euphrates, potent Solomon :
 For them not deadly sword, nor warrior steed
 The realm maintainèd, nor scythe-bearing car,
 Nor legion throngèd with dense maniples,
 But love of piety, virtue hurting none,
 And Majesty on the unarm'd defence
 Of right reliant, and unsullied faith.
 But who victorious, through the lands of Dawn,
 The leader of the Macedonian host,
 To the gem-bearing Indi penetrated,
 And Kings who held Ausonia in proud sway,
 Or pourèd forth their lives by sword, or stain
 Of blood-corrupting poison, and by death
 For deaths innumerable caused atoned.
 Nought better surely Nature hath conferr'd
 Upon the human race, nor greater will,
 Then a devout and temperate Prince, in whom
 The true and living image of God shines.
 That whether he himself by shameless vice
 Contaminate, or other violate
 By sword or treachery, God will exact
 Severest punishment in his wicked blood,
 Nor leave his spurnèd likeness unavenged.
 Thus cruel Nero, thus last Flavius,
 And they who the Sicilian cities held
 'Neath bloody sceptre, daring to pollute
 The image of God with pernicious vices,
 Perish'd entirely, to the root cut off.
 So who them stain'd with righteous Servius' blood,
 And wicked Catiline, who sought by sword
 And flame his country's lawful magistrates,
 Driven into fury, scarce at length laid down
 Their hated lives by a most wretched death,
 And with an everlasting ignominy
 Disgraced their nation to all coming time.
 These precepts let him learn in tender age,
 And practise in mature, and let him deem
 He reigns more widely, than if he conjoin'd
 The dusk Hindoos to the Hesperian shore,
 If of himself, and of his passions King.
 When firmer strength shall rule his limbs and mind,

His boyish murmurs, and his struggling words
The Graces sweet will fashion, and will give
His rude breast to the Muses to be train'd ;
Thence will he learn the marks, by which what grieves
Or pleases, he, though absent, may express
To absent friends beloved ; what certain marks
Discriminate the specious from the true ;
What contradicts, or necessarily follows ;
What kind of language soothes inflamèd wrath,
What kindles it when smouldering ; what force rules
The orbs of heaven ; or whether Nature rolls
Her maze eternal of her proper force.
Next he'll begin by the Socratic chart
To know himself, if by Socratic chart
Truth can indeed be known : now firmer age,
Fit to distinguish sacred from profane,
Adapts him for the heaven-begotten Muses :
Thence will he get the precepts that subdue
Rebellious passions ; from the sacred fount
Learn the true art of ruling commonwealths
In peace and war. If careful to this rule
He all his acts conform, he will succeed
And happily to his forefathers' throne.

XI.

Miscellaneous Poems and Translations.

- I. Hymnus Matutinus ad Christum (Ruddiman, *Folio tome II.*, p. 101)
- II. In Aulum (*Epigrammatum Liber I.—I.*).
- III. Coena Gavini Archiepiscopi Glascuensis (*Epigrammatum Liber I.—XLIII.*).
- IV. In Doletum (*Epigrammatum Liber I.—LXIV.*).
- V. Joanni Areskino, Comiti Marriae, Scotorum Proregi (*Miscellaneorum Liber—XXV.*).
- VI. Ad Alisam e Morbo pallidam et macilentam (*Elegiarum Liber—VI.*).
- VII. Patricio Buchanano fratri (*Epigrammatum Liber II.—XXIII.*).
- VIII. Petro Plancio Parisiensi (*Epigrammatum Liber II.—XX.*).
- IX. In Castitatem (*Miscellaneorum Liber—II.*).
- X. De Equo Eulogium (*Silvae—VI.*, not *VII.* as Ruddiman has numbered it, although in his Index it is rightly numbered).
- XI. Hymnus in Christi Ascensionem (*Miscellaneorum Liber—XXXVI.*).

I.—Hymnus Matutinus ad Christum.

Proles parentis optimi,
 Et par parenti maximo,
 De luce vera vera lux,
 Verusque de Deo Deus:

En nox recessit, jam nitet
 Aurora luce praevia,
 Coelum solumque purpurans,
 Et clausa tenebris detegens.

Sed fuscatur ignorantiae
 Caligo nostra pectora,
 Et nubilis erroribus
 Mens pene cedit obruta.

Exurge sol purissime,
 Diemque da mundo suum:
 Nostramque noctem illuminans
 Erroris umbram discute.

Dissolve frigus horridum;
 Arvumque nostri pectoris,
 Calore lampadis tuae,
 Humore purga noxio:

Ut irrigetur coelitus
 Roris beati nectare,
 Et centuplo cum foenore
 Coeleste semen proferat.

TRANSLATION.

(By Rev. Dr. A. Gordon Mitchell, Killearn.)

Son of God Who wield'st by right
 Equal sovran rod,
 Very Light of very Light,
 Very God of God,
 Lo! the morn bids night begone,
 And her shadows fly,
 As the rosy-fingered dawn
 Gilds the earth and sky.

But our wildered breasts remain
 Ever dark and blind,
 And a cloud of errors vain
 Broods upon our mind.
 Dawn upon our darksome night,
 Sun of peerless ray!
 Shining as the morning light
 To the perfect day.

Melt our hearts, and purge their soil
 With Thy kindly flame
 From the mists that round them coil—
 Mists of death and shame;
 That Thy dew may bless Thy field—
 Draught of heavenly wine—
 Till an hundred-fold it yield
 Fruit of seed divine.

II.—In Aulum.

Mnam mihi promissam iubeo numerare Calenum:
 Abnuit ille: Aulum consulo caussidicum.
 Is mihi iudicio suadet contendere: caussam
 Suscipit: hac quicquam justius esse negat,
 Quam mihi dum peragit decimumque extendit in annum,
 Pene decem decies iam periere minae.
 Ne lis quod superest exhauriat aeris et aevi,
 Vito reum pariter caussidicumque meum.
 Certum est nil posthac promittentive Caleno,
 Hortanti aut aulo credere. Causa vale.
 Quaeris utrum fugiam magis? Aulum: namque Calenus
 Verba dare, ast Aulus vendere verba solet.

TRANSLATION

(by "Rufus" in "Notes and Queries," April 6th, 1850).

Calenus owed a single pound, which yet
 With all my dunning I could never get.
 Tired of fair words, whose falsehood I foresaw,
 I hied to Aulus, learned in the law.

He heard my story, bade me " Never fear,
 There was no doubt—no case could be more clear :—
 He'd do the needful in the proper place,
 And give his best attention to the case."
 And this he may have done—for it appears
 To have been his business for the last ten years,
 Though on his pains ten times ten pounds bestow'd
 Have not regain'd that one Calenus owed.
 Now fearful lest this unproductive strife
 Consume at once my fortune and my life,
 I take the only course I can pursue,
 And shun my debtor and my lawyer too.
 I've no more hope from promises or laws,
 And heartily renounce both debt and cause—
 But if with either rogue I've more to do,
 I'll surely choose my debtor of the two ;
 For though I credit not the lies he tells,
 At least he *gives* me what the other *sells*.

III.—Coena Gavini Archiepiscopi Glascuensis.

Praesulis accubui postquam conviva Gavini,
 Dis non invideo nectar et ambrosiam.
 Splendida coena, epulae lautae ambitione remota,
 Tetrica Cecropio seria tincta sale :
 Coetus erat Musis numero par, nec sibi dispar
 Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide.
 Ipse alios supra facundo prominet ore,
 Qualis Castalii praeses Apollo chori.
 Sermo erat aetherei de majestate tonantis,
 Ut tulerit nostrae conditionis onus :
 Ut neque concretam Divina potentia labem
 Hauserit in fragili corpore tecta hominis :
 Nec licet in servi Dominus descenderit artus,
 Naturam exuerint membra caduca suam.
 Quisquis adest dubitat scholane immigrarit in aulam,
 An magis in mediam venerit aula scholam.
 Juppiter Aethiopum convivium solus habeto,
 Dum mihi concedas Praesulis ore frui.

TRANSLATION

(*by T. D. Robb, M.A., Paisley*).

I'VE dined with Gavin, Glasgow's great High-Priest,
 And never more may grudge the gods their feast
 Of nectar and ambrosia. The board
 Was richly served, yet all in rare accord
 With simple taste; and, finely gracing it,
 Discourse severe enlived with Attic wit.

In number we were equal to the Nine;
 And, equal in ourselves, none might outshine
 The wit and learning of his company;
 And each in other felt delight to see
 An equal truth and honour. If one might boast
 Preëminence, we yield it to our host,
 Who, in his easy eloquence supreme,
 Led us, as Phoebus by Castalia's stream
 Leads round the tripping ringlets of his choir.

We spoke of Heavenly Love, that could inspire
 The mighty God to leave his lofty throne,
 And take our mean condition for His own;
 And marvelled how in tenement of clay
 No coarse infection soiled Him, no decay
 Crumbled the Majesty that dwelt within;
 How, like the lowest, He felt desire of sin
 Trouble His frailty, yet His lordly soul
 Triumphed, and held its Godhead pure and whole.

So high our converse; yet so light a grace
 Relieved it, that we doubted if the place
 Were court or college; whether a banqueting
 Of courtly scholar or of scholar-king.

Let Jove in sandy Ammon choose to dine
 When Ethiopians heap his bloody shrine;
 Far though he fare, yet would I thrice so far
 Only to feast on words with great Dunbar.

IV.—In Doletum.

Carmina quod sensu careant, mirare, Doleti?
Quando qui scripsit carmina, mente caret.

TRANSLATION

(by J. O. W. H. in "Notes and Queries," Aug. 3rd, 1850).

Doletus writes verses and wonders—ahem—
When there's nothing in *him*, that there's nothing in them.

V.—Joanni Areskino, Comiti Marriæ, Scotorum
Proregi.

Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace gravem nulli, tempore utroque pium;
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude, carentem
Rebus in ambiguis suspicione fidem;
Si quod ob has dotes saevis jactata procellis
Fugit in illius patria fessa sinum;
Vera quidem memoret, sed non et propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has unus et alter erit.
Illud ei proprium est, longo quod in ordine vitæ
Nil odium aut livor quod reprehendat habet.

TRANSLATION

(by Rev. Dr. A. Gordon Mitchell, Killearn).

Should any say that worthy Mar
Was meek in peace and brave in war,
That both whene'er he drew the sword
And sheathed it, still he feared the Lord;
Should we his character extol
As a rich man of humble soul,
Able but guileless, and without
Suspicion, where was room for doubt;
And should we add, his native land,
Betossed by storms on every hand,
To his great spirit looked for rest
And found a haven in his breast—

We nothing but the truth should tell,
 Yet should we not pourtray him well ;
 For other names than his might claim
 For equal virtues equal fame.
 But here is his peculiar praise
 That in the course of all his days
 Nor hate, nor envy of his fame
 Can find in him a fault to blame.

VI.—Ad Alisam e Morbo Pallidam et Macilentam.

Verane te facies miseranda ostendit Alisa,
 Anne oculos fallax decipit umbra meos ?¹
 Sed neque decipiunt oculos modus oris et artuum,
 Et Charitum quales vix rear esse pedes :
 Et tua qui semper sequitur vestigia, sive
 Discere vult gestus, sive docere, decor.
 Sed quota, me miserum, pars haec illius Alisae est,
 Inter Hamadryadas quae modo prima fuit ?
 Heu color, et vultus sine rusticitate modesti,
 Et lepor, et blandis ira proterva minis !
 Heu ubi lethiferas spirantia lumina flammis,
 Et matutinis aemula labra rosis !
 An tibi Thessalici vis pernicioosa veneni
 Torret ad arcanos cerea membra focos ?
 Aemulus an livor te perdidit ? et venus ipsa
 Indoluit formae dicta secunda tuae ?
 At tibi ego infelix senium deforme timebam,
 Et cum rugosis pallida labra genis,
 Et quaecunque olim longinqui temporis aetas
 Invida formosis damna parare solet.
 Sed tenero securus eram de flore, nec unquam
 Credideram tantum fata ego posse nefas.
 Vos o, quas penes est vitaeque necisque potestas,
 Sortitae nimium regna superba Deae,
 Quale decus primo fraudatis flore juventae ?
 Debuit hoc vestris non licuisse colis.
 Si vos forte juvant fletus prope busta recentes,

¹ Robert Stephen's and Patisson's editions wrongly print *tuos*.

Et semper lacrymis tincta¹ favilla novis:
 Carpite maturosque senes, vetulasque rigentes,
 Sparsaque vix raris tempora cana comis:
 Carpite quos inopis torquent² fastidia vitae,
 Quique velint annos praeccipitare suos.
 Parcite formosis, breve ver dum transvolet aevi,
 Parva mora haud parvi muneris instar erit.
 O fera Persephone, nimium³ dilecta tyranno,
 Quem luctus miseri, vinclaque saeva⁴ juvant,
 Non ego te facie credo placuisse marito,
 Saevitia captus palluit ille tua.
 Tune potes virides annos fraudare juventa?
 Et modo nascentem praeseceuisse comam?
 Totque animas anima perdes crudelis in una?
 Heu frustra votis saepe vocata piis!
 At puto non longum laetabere, si modo verum est
 Ditis inhumani pectus amore capi.
 Sit licet et ferro, sit durior aere rigenti,
 Asperior furiis sit licet ille suis:
 Hanc semel adspiciat, feritas placata quiescet,
 Atque hunc, qui vincit omnia, vincet Amor.
 Tum tibi praelatam neglecta dolebis Alisam,
 Et viduum flebis frigida sero torum.
 Quin animum nostris frange exorata querelis,
 Victuraeque brevem temporis adde moram.
 Quod tibi das, nobis poteris tribuisse videri:
 Et lacrymas nobis, et tibi deme metum.

TRANSLATION

(by T. D. in "Blackwood's Magazine," Nov. 1822).

Hath death that cheek of all its bloom bereaved?
 Art thou some shade that visits earth again?
 No, in that form I cannot be deceived—
 That step—of which the Graces might be vain;—

¹ Andrew Hart's edition gives *sparsa* instead of *tincta*.

² In the editions of Robert Stephen and Patisson *capiant* is given instead of *torquent*.

³ Basel Edition gives *merito* instead of *nimium*.

⁴ Stephen and Patisson reverse the order of the words in this phrase—*saevaque vincla*.

Those orbs, whose radiance sorrow cannot kill,
 For ever gentle—never, yet, too free—
 The modesty that waits upon thee still,
 Though not to teach—but learn to look like thee;—

Oh! they bespeak Alisa—but those sighs,
 What mean they? and that face, how changed its hue—
 Where is the joy that lived within those eyes—
 The lips—like early roses dipt in dew?

That healthful glow, still elegant the while—
 That pride becoming—pensiveness serene,
 Where are they?—where the fascinating smile,
 And every charm that form'd the maiden Queen?

Doth some foul sorceress mould each matchless limb
 In wax, to waste before the lingering fire?
 Doth Venus' jealousy thy beauties dim,
 No longer, now, the goddess of desire?

Such was the flower. How hard, methought, it seem'd,
 That it must yield to time—to age unkind!
 But still methought the bud was safe, nor dream'd
 That fate would be so pitiless or blind.

Oh! hags, who shape the thread of all our years,
 And grudgingly mete out our span of day,
 This life was not intended for your shears—
 Ye should have sought for some maturer prey.

If ye delight in tears—for ever new—
 Take still the fruit—but let the blossom live;
 Call but on those whose debt of breath is due—
 Who bow them to the sentence that ye give.

Ruthless Persephone—thy boasted charms
 Ne'er conquer'd Pluto—he but loved thy frown—
 'Twas this that brought thee to the tyrant's arms—
 Yes—to thy cruelty thou owest thy crown,

Else wouldst thou turn aside the murderous dart
 From her whose fragile life is scarce begun,
 Nor give to sorrow many a bleeding heart,
 And, reckless, kill a thousand souls in one.

Beware, hard Queen—thine Empire may be brief ;
 If Love the gloomy heart of Dis can stir ;
 Take heed thou seest not an unlook'd-for grief,
 And feelst thyself deserted, and for her.

Beware in time—oh, jealous Queen, beware !
 For it may hap thy close of power is near ;
 In prudence seem to listen to our prayer—
 To give to Pity, what thou yieldst to Fear.

VII.—Patricio Buchanano fratri.

Si mihi privato fas indulgere dolori,
 Ereptum, frater, te mihi jure fleam :
 Nostra bonis raros cui protulit artibus aetas,
 Et nivea morum simplicitate pares.
 At si gratandum laetis est rebus amici,
 Gratulor immensis quod potiare bonis.
 Omnia quippe pia¹ vitae et sinceriter actae
 Praemia securus non peritura tenes.

TRANSLATION

(*by Rev. Dr. A. Gordon Mitchell, Killearn*).

If it be right to give a fee-grief scope,
 Well may I weep thee, brother, torn apart,
 With whom in culture few indeed could cope,
 Or in thy snowy purity of heart ;
 But if to gratulate on good be part
 Of friend, I thee congratulate on this :
 That dreadless now thou holdest where thou art
 The meed eterne of holy life in bliss.

VIII.—Petro Plancio Parisiensi.

Fessus Atlantiades toties transmittere nubes,
 Taenariam toties ire, redire viam :
 Ante Jovem supplex stetit, et finire labores
 Postulat, aut socium qui relevaret onus.

¹ Perhaps *pie*.

Aequa petis, (ait ille) petisque in tempore, nam te
 Qui juvet, aut nemo, aut Plancius unus erit.
 Saepe ego per tenbras vidi sum scanderet Alpes
 Concrctae gelidum findere marmor aquae:
 Vidi cum fessos cursu praeverteret Euros,
 Et Zephyri lentos antevolaret equos.
 Non labor insomnis, non saevae injuria brumae,
 Non sitis acstiferi cum furit ira canis:
 Non salebris colles, non coeno undante paludes,
 Non scopulis torrens impediabat iter.
 Quid referam ingenium, magnaque capacia curæ
 Pectora, custodem depositique fidem?
 Eloquiumque potens mandatis addere pondus,
 Comere res tenues, promere difficiles?
 Et facilem quamvis ad caetera munia mentem,
 Difficilem falli muneribusque capi?
 Hunc age:¹ quam primum volat ille, et mole relictæ
 Corporis, Eridanus qua Ligus urget aquas,
 Astra, Deum plaudente choro, novus incola scandit
 Plancius, et superum jussa minister obit.
 Sis felix licet,² usque tuis decus, et dolor ingens,
 Ultima nos donec mittet in astra dies.

EIDEM.

Cura, fides, labor, ingenium, vigilantia, Planci,
 Fecerunt carum civibus esse tuis.
 Jam virtus, hominumque favor spondebat honores,
 Et meritis regum conciliatus honor.
 Sed vulgaris honos meritis minor: ergo abiisti
 Illo, ubi virtuti verus habetur honos.

TRANSLATION³

(by H. Bonnevie, L-ès-L., Paris University).

Fatigué de courir par les airs, et très las
 D'avoir fait tant de fois le chemin de Ténare,
 Le messager des Dieux, le descendant d'Atlas,

¹ In all editions except Ruddiman's and Burmann's there is no punctuation mark after *age*. Ruddiman considered that the meaning of the passage required it.

² There seemed some uncertainty as to whether the comma should be after *licet* or after *usque*.

³ The two French translations given were placed equal for the Steele Prize offered to students of Paris University.

S'en va vers Jupiter, suppliant, lui déclare
Qu'il est exténué: " Termine mes travaux
Ou me donne un compain pour alléger ma peine."
" Ton placet est fondé, dit Jupiter; tu vaux
D'être écouté . . . Pour toi vraiment la bonne aubaine,
Le Français Plancius viendra bientôt t'aider.
Lui seul le peut. Mes yeux, qui percent les nuits sombres,
Ont vu, combien de fois! . . . cet homme escalader
Les monts italiens aux gigantesques ombres,
Briser à grand ahan le marbre des glaciers,
Fatiguer de l'Eurus les escadrons rapides,
Et du Zéphyr trop lent dépasser les coursiers.
Rien n'arrêtait jamais ses élans intrépides,
Ni la nuit, ni le froid qui mord cruellement,
Ni l'estivale soif, quand la chaleur fait rage,
Ni du mont orgueilleux le haut escarpement,
Ni le marais bourbeux, ni le torrent sauvage,
Roulant parmi ses eaux des rocs à grand fracas.
A quoi bon rappeler la ressource infinie
De son esprit, égal aux plus graves tracas,
Sa ferme bonne foi nette de félonie,
Et son parler subtil, habile à ménager
Le poids de l'éloquence aux mandats de son prince,
Aux sujets embrouillés donnant un tour léger,
Sauvant par l'agrément le sujet le plus mince? . . .
Je passe cependant nombre d'autres talents
Où l'or ne pouvait rien, ni la fausse grimace
Des vils menteurs Vers vous, astres étincelants,
Ayant laissé du corps la trop pesante masse
Aux pays d'outre-mont où coule à flots pressés
L'Eridan ligurien, déjà Plancius grimpe.
Et vous, célestes Dieux, en chœur applaudissez
Ce nouvel habitant du séjour de l'Olympe,
De vos ordres sacrés ce serviteur accort.
Sois heureux, que ton sang de toi se glorifie,
Moi je te pleurerai jusqu'à ce que la mort
Aux astres m'envoyant me surprenne à la vie.

AU MÊME.

Tes soucis Plancius, ton labeur incessant,
Tes talents qui seront d'éternelle mémoire

T'ont valu des Français l'amour reconnaissant . . .
 Les hommes et les rois te promettaient la gloire ;
 Mais quel vulgaire honneur pourrait-il égaler
 Les si rares vertus que ton grand cœur abrite ?
 Donc ton âme a voulu dans les cieux s'en aller.
 Pour trouver des honneurs dignes de ton mérite.

TRANSLATION

(by W. H. Hamilton, United College, St. Andrews).

Wearied with long cloud-lofty wayfarings,
 Tired of the star-white way of beating wings,
 With prayerful feet nigh Jove the swift god came
 Craving but rest, or proffering mild claim
 For one to share his labours.

“ Happy thou,”

Cried Jove, “ to find so fit an hour as now ;
 For one can aid thee—Plancius alone !
 Him oft these eyes 'neath the night-murk have known
 Scaling the Alps, shiv'ring the crystal ice ;
 Seen him outstrip the east wind in a trice
 Or fly the falling zephyrs. Wakeful toil
 Nor bitter-wounding winter gave recoil ;
 Nor parching burns of summer, nor any height,
 Nor muddy tarns, nay—not the sheer crag's might
 Could give him pause. What tongue with what great art
 Should praise his wit and his great faithful heart ?
 His words that made commander of his will,
 And smoothed the rough, and the mean with worth could fill ?
 His mind alive to Duty, assayed in vain
 By guile and gold ? ”

Forthwith he speeds amain

O'er Italy, a spirit freed of earth.
 The singing spheres loud hail his heavenly birth,
 Upraising lauds in choir, as through the sky
 Comes Plancius forth to serve the gods most high.
 There be thou happy, O glory and grief of thy kin,
 Till once we too thy timeless haunt may win.

* * * * *

Thy loyal labours, wit, and watchful care

Won thee thy country's love ; and virtue rare
 Conspired with men and monarchs to advance
 Thy worthiness to high inheritance.
 Too poor were all our honours ; thou art there
 Where valour hath at last the wages fair.

TRANSLATION¹

(by H. Petitmangin, Paris University).

Mercure fatigué de voler vers la terre,
 D'aller et de venir sur l'infernal chemin,
 Supplia Jupiter de finir sa misère
 Ou d'accorder quelqu'un qui lui prêtât la main.
 " C'est justice et tu fais à propos ta requête :
 " Car un seul peut t'aider, Pierre Planche est son nom,
 " Répond le dieu. Souvent la nuit, gagnant la crête,
 " Des alpes je l'ai vu fouler le dur glaçon ;
 " Je l'ai vu dépasser l'Eurus, et le Zéphyre
 " Pour lui semblait porté par des chevaux trop lents.
 " Un travail sans repos, l'hiver cruel, ni l'ire
 " De l'été, quand la soif naît des soleils ardents,
 " Ni le marais fangeux, ni la rude montée,
 " Ni l'écueil du torrent, rien n'arrêtait ses pas.
 " Pourquoi de son esprit rappeler la portée ?
 " Cette discrétion qui ne se lassait pas,
 " Ce ton persuasif dont il savait tout dire,
 " Ornant tous les sujets, ne laissant rien d'obscur ?
 " Son génie à tout faire et si prompt et si sûr,
 " Pourtant si difficile à tromper ou séduire ?
 " Prends-le." Lui, sans tarder, vole. Au même moment
 Laissant son corps aux lieux où le Pô se promène
 Pierre, agréé des Dieux, s'élève au firmament
 Et devient messenger de leur voix souveraine.
 Sois heureux, toi, l'honneur des tiens, leur deuil cruel,
 Jusqu'au jour où la mort nous ouvrira le ciel.

AU MÊME.

Diligent, sûr, actif, adroit et vigilant,
 Planche, tu méritas l'amour de ta patrie.
 Les peuples et les rois gagnés sans flatterie
 Allaient bientôt d'honneurs couronner ton talent.
 Cette gloire était peu : la sachant tôt flétrie
 Tu fus chercher au ciel un honneur plus constant.

¹ Steele Prize Translation.

IX.—In Castitatem.

Castitas blandi domitrix amoris,
 Castitas vitae specimen prioris,
 Labe cum puras soboles colebat
 Aurea terras.

Castitas vitae specimen futurae
 Morte cum victa, sociata membris
 Pura mens puris radiantis aulam
 Incolet aethrae.

Una nec certam Veneris sagittam,
 Jura nec fati metuis severi,
 Quippe quae rursus moriente major
 Morte resurges.

Pura cum puris agites ut aevum
 Angelis, quorum studium secuta
 Colliges fructus socios secundae
 Reddita vitae.

TRANSLATION

(by Rev. Dr. A. Gordon Mitchell, Killearn).

Chastity, victress of amorous wile,
 Chastity, relic of life as it came
 Fresh from the heavenly Maker, the while
 Earth was untainted and man without blame :

Chastity, earnest of life yet to be,
 When over death shall be victory won,
 And the soul, in a frame from corruption set free
 Shall dwell in the temple that shines as the sun :

Thou alone never darest the arrow of love,
 Thou alone never tremblest at statutes of fate,
 Inasmuch as thou risest from death, and above
 Thou passest to glory, by dying more great :

To dwell with the angels in vesture of white,
 Whom ever thou lovedst—to reap in the sky
 Thy harvest of friendship and stainless delight,
 Restored to a life that can nevermore die.

X.—De Equo Elogium.

Caetera rerum opifex animalia finxit ad usus
 Quaeque suos, equus ad cunctos se accommodat unus:
 Plaustra trahit, fert clitellas, fert esseda, terram
 Vomere proscindit, dominum fert, sive natatu
 Flumina, seu fossam saltu, seu vincere cursu
 Est salebras opus, aut canibus circumdare saltus,
 Aut molles glomerare gradus, aut flectere gyros,
 Libera seu vacuis ludat lascivia campis.
 Quod si bella vocent, tremulos vigor acer in artus
 It, domino et socias vomit ore et naribus iras,
 Vulneribusque offert generosum pectus, et una
 Gaudia, moerores¹ sumit ponitque vicissim
 Cum domino: sortem sic officiosus in omnem,
 Ut veteres nobis tam certo foedere junctum
 Crediderint mixta coalescere posse figura,
 Inque Pelethroniis Centauros edere silvis.

TRANSLATION

(by J. Longmuir, LL.D., Aberdeen, 1871).

The heavenly artist, who with life profuse
 The world endow'd, for some particular use
 All creatures form'd, except the horse alone,
 Who, fit for all, makes every part his own:
 He draws the waggons, wheels the chariot forth,
 The panniers carries, cleaves the fertile earth
 With ploughshare; bears his master, whether need
 Rough roads to cross, or length of journey speed,
 Or deep ditch leap, or swim the river's tide,
 Or with the hounds surround the forest wide;
 Or round the race-course wheels in rapid flight,
 Or falters on the way with footfall light,
 Or gambols joyous loosen'd from the rein
 In wanton freedom o'er the open plain.
 But if to war the martial trumpet sounds,
 Through every member sprightly vigour bounds;
 When rage and wrath his master's soul inspire,

¹ All editions, except Hart's, Ruddiman's and Burmann's, have *moerorem*.

His mouth and nostrils foam a kindred ire ;
 His generous breast amid the press of arms
 Presents the foe, and dares their deadly harms ;
 Prompt with his lord alike to take or lose
 The oft vicissitudes of joys and woes.
 So many aids have men from him received,
 That it is said the ancient world believed
 That he to us by league so certain joined,
 Could in a mix'd form mingle with mankind ;
 And they relate how in their solitudes
 The Centaurs haunt the Pelethronian woods.

XI.—Hymnus in Christi Ascensionem.

Io triumphe, Ecclesia,
 Jam victor hostium tuus
 Dux templa scandit aetheris,
 Adversa patri vulnere
 It et coronam ostendere,
 Qualis redit de praelio
 Tabo decoro sordidus.
 Demissa nubes se explicat
 Sub Imperatoris pedes :
 Reclusa coeli janua
 Invitat omnem exercitum :
 Vox Angelorum cantibus
 Venire Regem nunciat :
 Aether nitescit gaudio,
 Timore pallent Tartara,
 Mundus stupet spectaculo
 Suspensus ante incognito :
 Mors victa flet, spes praemii
 Levat labores militum.
 Cum Patre Proles unica,
 Et ex utroque Spiritus,
 Adeste sic pignantibus,
 Ut sint triumphii compotes.

TRANSLATION

(by Rev. Dr. A. Gordon Mitchell, Killearn).

Church of Christ the Saviour,
Sing thy triumph-song!
Now the mighty victor
Of the hostile throng—
He, thy glorious Captain
To the Father hies—
Climbs the shining temple
Of the ageless skies.

Like a faithful soldier,
Soiled with noble stains
From the field of battle,
He the sky regains,
Wearing still his wound-prints
From the deadly close,
And His crown of glory
To the Father shows.

Lo! a cloud descending
Spreads itself abroad,
'Neath the feet Imperial
Of our Saviour God;
Hands unseen fling open
Wide the gates of Heaven;
To the host celestial
Access free is given.

Hark! the holy angels
Through the portals wing,
And with raptured voices
Hail the ascending King.
Now a tide of glory
Floods each heavenly sphere;
Hell's abysmal regions
Pale with gloomy fear.

In the central spaces
Balanced, to her core
Earth is awed by wonders
Never seen before.
Vanquished death is weeping,
And, through conflict hard,
Cheerfully Christ's soldiers
Press to their reward.

God the eternal Father,
God the only Son,
And, from both proceeding,
Spirit, Three in One,
Help us in our conflict
So the cross to bear,
That Thy heavenly glory
We at last may share.

XII.

Selections from the "Baptistes,"

With Translations by *Lionel S. Charles, University of
St. Andrews—(Steele Prize).*

BUCHANAN'S *Baptistes*, considered as a stage play, is inferior to his *Jephthes*. It is remarkable, however, for the contrasts of character it displays and the prominence into which it thrusts forward the figure of the prophet. To use the words of Dr. Gordon Mitchell, "the play is a voice in a setting of whispers." To appreciate fully the extracts here given, the reader will find Chapter XIII. of this volume valuable, but new light has recently been thrown on this drama. In his Defence in the Inquisition Buchanan has stated that when he wrote the *Baptistes*, he had Sir Thomas More in mind. (See Appendix I.A. and footnotes). Thus the play is now seen to be a protest against the tyranny of Henry VIII.

The numbering of the Scenes here used is that employed by Mr. Alexander Gibb in his translation of the *Baptistes* (1870).

- I. Queen Herodias incites Herod to slay John, because he had reproved them for their incestuous marriage. (*Scene III.*)
- II. Herod desires John to cease disturbing the public peace, and after John vindicates his preaching, the Chorus reminds God of what He has done for His people, and calls on Him to look on their present evil condition and rescue them from misery. (*Scene V.*)
- III. John, in sublime words, declares he is ready to die, and hopes for an immortal life of blessedness. Chorus bids him farewell. (*Scene X.*)
- IV. Chorus moralises on the wickedness of Jerusalem in slaying the prophets, and anticipates the judgments of God. (*Scene XIII.*)
- V. Announcement of the death of John. (*Scene XIV.*)

Selections from the "Baptistes."

I.—*Queen Herodias incites Herod to slaughter John.*

Tanto in tumultu nihil agendum est aspere,
 Quum concitatur mobilis vulgi furor ;
 Leges, religio, auctoritasque principis
 Contemta, plebi est infimae ludibrio ?
 Cave, lenitatis falsa species avocet
 Tibi mentem ab aequo : quae videtur lenitas,
 Propius tuenti summa erit crudelitas.
 Dum parcis uni factioso et perdito,
 Is perditum omnes, in caput quos hic tuum
 Armare satagit. Finge fieri, quod fore
 Tandem necesse est, concitari mobile
 Ad arma vulgus, cuncta passim lugubri
 Ardere bello, vasta linqui praedia,
 Urbes cremari, virgines per vim rapi,
 Manusque dubia conseri victoria ;
 Quum frena legum ruperit licentia,
 Damnabis istam sero tum clementiam.
 Atque ecce coram pestis et mali caput.
 Hic censor ille est. Hunc roga, plura audies
 (Ni fallor) ab eo, fama quam vulgaverit.
 Nec miror esse sceptrata qui spernant tua ;
 Quando ipse pravos lenitate provocas.

TRANSLATION :

Listen, my king, and all rash thoughts refuse,
 In Salem's streets Sedition cries aloud,
 And giant Treason fires the shrieking crowd.
 My king, let never mercy's painted show
 Seduce thy heart from justice. Mercy? No!
 Look closer, closer! 'Tis all cruelty
 To spare one rebel in his guilt! And he
 Arms thy poor lieges' hands against thy life
 To their own ruin; mercy fires the strife,
 Thy mercy, king. So it must be. Think well;
 Oh hearken: *To your tents, O Israel!*
 They burn in wrath; they change with bitter flame
 Cities to ashes, maidenhood to shame.

Ah cease! bethink thee of the evil day
 When giant Discord breaks her bonds away;
 When host and host in breaking battle close,
 Too late then mourn thy mercy and thy woes,
 Too late, too late, too late!

Ah, he is here,
 The rigid censor and the judge severe,
 The source of all our bane. He'll tell you more,
 I think, than rumour told your ears before.
 'Tis little marvel if they mock the throne,
 The king shows *mercy*, and the fault's his own.

II.—*The Appeal of the Chorus to Heaven.*

O spatiosi conditor orbis,
 Cujus trepidant omnia nutum,
 Cælum nitidis ignibus aptum,
 Tellus vario florida cultu,
 Tumidum refluis aestibus aequor:
 Nonne ad nostras pertulit aures
 Fama prioris conscia saeculi,
 Aevi splendida facta prioris?
 Cum tu, validae robore dextrae,
 Auro atque opibus regna superba
 Ipsa exstincti a stirpe revellens,
 Illorum ut nos agro insereres,
 Agro, haud ense, aut jaculis nostris,
 Aut consilio vique parato.
 Sed nos cœli favor omnipotens,
 Per fera tutos agmina duxit.
 Non tu Rex ille Isacidarum?
 Non tu gentis Deus Hebraeae?
 Cujus ductu perfida castra
 Proculcavimus, hoste preempto:
 Non confisi robore nostro,
 Sed duce et auspice te, praeclaras
 Saepe retulimus patriae palmas.
 Nunquid penitus deseris, olim,
 Genitor, populum tibi delectum?
 Nunquid fabula linquimur hosti?
 Spreta est pietas: religio jacet:

Fraus purpurea regnat in aula :
 Populus, tanquam victima, sanctus
 Dat pia saevae colla securi :
 Vates pereunt ense tyranni :
 Nostris gaudent luctibus hostes :
 Et pietatis sub praetextu,
 Meriti poenas regna gubernant :
 Meritos regnum poena coercet.
 Exsurge, tuo populo fer opem :
 Exsurge parens optime, et hosti
 Da te talem cernere, qualem
 Te viderunt aequore patres
 Rubro Pharios mergere currus :
 Qualem vatis fatidici olim
 Te puer oculis vidit apertis,
 Dantem igniferis frena quadrigis,
 Totis flammis spargere campis.
 Te, caligine pulsa erroris
 Humanae qui lumina mentis
 Obruta caeca nube recondit,
 Et quae primo sole tepescit
 Tellus, et quae mergere ponto
 Cernit rutilae lumina flammae,
 Unum agnoscat cuncta potentem.

TRANSLATION.

The heaven alight with a golden flame,
 And the earth where roses blow,
 And the sea, with a tide that none can tame,
 Tossing to and fro,
 All these bow down to Thy deathless name
 Who madest all things below.

Have we not heard (the tale is ours),
 The tale of an ancient day,
 How Thy hand smote down the heathen's powers,
 And gavest them for a prey.
 They were purple-clad in their golden towers,
 In cloth of gold were they.

It was not the shaft or the sword
 That saved us in that day ;

The strength and the grace of the Lord
Were on us and swept our way
Through the savage host and the heathen horde
And the sword that was raised to slay.

Thou art the King of Juda's race,
Lord over Israel's seed ;
On through the guilty citadel
We saw Thy right hand lead ;
Ay, where Thy right hand pointed red
We saw the heathen bleed.

It was no strength of ours
That saved us in that day ;
We leaned on our God, and His powers
Were as a shield and stay,
And He crowned us with power and glory
And many a wreath of bay.

Wilt Thou leave us a scorn to Thy foeman ?
For faith is past away
In the purple court, and no man
Hath care for his God to-day,
And Thy folk, fast-bound at the altar,
Waits for the sword to slay.

And the evil sit in high places,
Clothed in a holy show ;
There is dust on Thy people's faces,
There is joy for the heathen foe.
Oh hearken, O kind All-father,
Oh, rise and Thy folk set free !
As when Thou didst cast the chariots
Of Pharaoh into the sea ;
As the son of the prophet of old
Beheld Thee with purgèd sight,
When the flames of Thy chariot rolled
Through the fiery fields of night,
Give ear to us ; our tale is told ;
Bring forth Thy power to light.

And I know, when the darkness closes
That severs our souls from Thee,

The waves where the sun reposes
 And the lands by the eastern sea
 Shall know Thy power and Thy glory,
 Ruler eternally!

III.—*John declares he is ready to die.*

John.

Non desero, sed potius ab eis deseror.
 Namque, institutam ab initio mundi viam,
 In fata curro. Nempe lege hac nascimur,
 Quicunque lucis fruimur almae munere,
 Conditio cunctos una cohibet, tendimus
 In mortem: eo nos singuli ducunt dies.
 Mortem esse poenam voluit improbis Deus,
 Bonisque portum

Iam prope peractae liber e vitae freto
 Prospicio terram: de peregrino solo
 Domum revertor, optimum primum patrem
 Visurus: illum nempe patrem, qui solum
 Revinxit undis, induit coelum solo;
 Regitque certas mobilis coeli vices:
 Servator, auctor, rector unus omnium:
 Cui cuncta vivunt viva juxta ac mortua.
 Ut flamma sursum sponte volvit vortices,
 Undae deorsum perpeti lapsu ruunt,
 Propriumque pergunt ire cuncta ad fomitem:
 Jamdudum anhelat spiritus coelo editus. .

Non, si pruinis obstet horrens Caucasus,
 Aer procellis, unda tempestatibus,
 Tractusque nimiis invius caloribus,
 Eo ire pergam? non, tot ut videam duces,
 Reges, prophetas, judices pios, via
 Rumpenda, vel si mille mortes obstruant?
 Ergo recluso corporis de carcere,
 Eo evolare spiritus liber cupit,
 Quo cunctus ibit orbis, serius, ocius.
 Nam longa vita nil, opinor, aliud est,
 Quam lenta duro servitus in carcere.

O mors laboris una laxamen gravis!
 O mors doloris portus, et mali quies!
 Notumque paucis commodum mortalibus.
 Formido pravis, et bonis votum! tuo
 Sinu recepta naufragum hoc corpusculum,
 Et sempiternae duc quietis in domum,
 Quo non sequetur vis, dolus, calumnia,

Chorus.

O te beatum hac pectoris constantia!
 O nos misellos, quos iners animi metus,
 Felicitatis privat hoc consortio!
 Quando igitur ipse quod opus est facto tenes,
 Salve valeque sempiternum dicimus.

TRANSLATION

John.

I leave them not; they will no longer stay.
 My soul is going on its ancient way
 Through gates predestined since God's world began,
 His law is heavy on the soul of man.
 For a brief season in the kindly light
 We pass, but ever onward to the night.
 Ah, for the base 'tis penance; for the saints
 It heals the weary flesh, the soul that faints.

From seas storm-stricken, waters desolate
 I yearn for land, for land! I see Thy gate,
 My father's house. My father—He hath given
 The lucent azure of the inarching heaven,
 Around the earth He clasped the ancient sea,
 And the primæval stars keep memory
 Of His commands; their courses know Him still
 Author of all, and all obey His will.

All things return where first they saw the day,
 As waters ever seek the downward way;
 As flames aspiring ever upward rise,
 The soul indignant claims her native skies.

Though Caucasus itself should bar my way
 With icy horror, yet I would not stay,
 Though storms should fill the sea and storms the air,

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And wastes of tropic sands, and blinding glare
 Lay all between. On, onward to the goal!
 Burst through a thousand deaths, unvanquished soul!
 There are the righteous judges, kings and seers,
 Of ancient days; there are their warrior peers
 Who led God's people in the battle-line!
 Fare forth my soul, and wing thy way divine
 Bursting thy prison-house! And soon or late
 All, all the world must pass that equal gate.
 What is a body with long life endued
 Save a drear prison-house of servitude?
 But there is one that holds the prison-key,
 O Death, fair Death; and still we turn to thee.
 'Tis thine to hush our pain with soft caress.
 Haven of peace! storm-stricken in the stress
 Of Life's sad ocean, still to thee we turn,
 Thy arms receive us, and thy beacons burn.
 Few know thy kindness—to the just a vow,
 To sin a curse. Oh, give me shelter now!
 From this sad cave of Guile and Force release
 And guide me to the eternal House of peace.

Chorus.

Oh, thou art happy in thy generous vow,
 As we are base, we who are fain to bow
 To craven fear; we linger in distress;
 We are not worthy of thy happiness.
 Thou knowest what must be, and what must cease.
 A last farewell! Oh pass, and pass in peace.

IV.—*The Chorus on God's judgment of the wicked.*

Davidis regnum, Solymaeque turre,
 Et locupletis Solomonis arces,
 Unde tam dirus furor in prophetas?
 Sanguinis justis unde saeva?
 Quem decet normam pietatis esse,
 Unicum est vitae specimen scelestae.
 Furta, vis, caedes, dolus ac rapinae
 Sunt tuae tirocinium palaestrae.

Non sacerdoti pietas nefandis
 Fraudibus suadet cohibere dextras.
 Cultor idoli populus reliquit
 Omnium rerum Dominum et parentem,
 Pro Deo lignum colitur lapisque:
 His calent arae vitulis et agnis:
 Et suae dextrae simulacra adorat
 Artifex: vitam sine lege truncum
 Poscit, a muto eloquium precatur:
 Pauperi dives, dominus ministro
 Supplicat: ritus pereunt vetusti.
 Te prophetarum cruor innocentum
 Judicis magni rapit ad tribunal:
 Pauperes clamant, viduaeque coelum
 Questibus implent.

Ergo te justae manet ultionis
 Poena non mendax, nisi fallor augur.
 Namque, qui fastus premit insolentes
 Arbiter coeli, maris atque terrae,
 Spectat ex alto, lacrymasque plebis
 Et preces tristes meminit, manuque
 Vindice infandi sceleris propinquas
 Exiget poenas: quibus intumescis,
 Insolens victor tibi vertet arces:
 Barbarus miles tua possidebit
 Praedia: externo domino refundet
 Vinitor fructus tuus: alta qua nunc
 Surgit in coelum Solomontis aedes,
 Exterus messem faciet colonus.
 Ergo dum praebet tibi poenitendi
 Numinis favor spatium, relictis
 Turpiter vitae vitiis peractae,
 Exteri ritus simulacra pelle. . . .

TRANSLATION

Chorus.

City of David's righteousness!
 City of holy hands!
 Thou art a light of scarlet sin
 To all the sinful lands,
 And blood and theft and guile are all
 Thy spirit understands.

And the folk have turned from their God,
 To an idol they bow the knee;
 And they leave the kind All-father,
 To worship the stone and tree;
 And the lambs and steers on their altars burn
 To the gods of heathenry.

And he prays to the work of his hand,
 And the prayer on his lips is sin;
 Of the block that his brain hath planned
 He asketh his life to win;
 And he asketh speech of the stone where God
 Bade no speech enter in.

Each rite that is old thou must doff it,
 But the Judge hath an eye to see;
 And the blood of each guiltless prophet
 Is loud in its cry on thee;
 And the widows raise the wail, and the poor men fill the tale
 Of misery.

But a vengeance doth abide; for a jealous Judge of pride is
 lord of the earth and sea,
 And He rules in heaven above, and He hears his folk with love,
 and He keeps in memory
 Their bitter tears and prayer; with a hand that shall not spare
 He will surely slay thy sin,
 And the victor in his wrath shall tread an iron path through
 the towers thou vauntest in,
 And the alien shall abide in thy meadows rich and wide, and
 thy husbandmen shall yield to him the grape,
 And the wise king's temple fair, proud and eminent in air, shall
 fall and shall not 'scape
 From the stroke of heathen plough. Oh, arise, bethink thee
 now, while yet thy God in mercy guards the blow;
 Cast thine images away, that the heathen make of clay, and
 leave the sins that thou hast loved so!

V.—*A messenger announces the death of John.*

Si flenda mors est, mortuos illi fleant
 Quorum sepultae spes jacent cum corpore;
 Qui post soporis terminum brevissimi

Reditura membra non putant, et alteram
 Superesse vitam. Mortuos miseri fleant,
 Miserosque tantum: neminem facere potest
 Fortuna miserum: similis insontem licet
 Sontemque maneat terminus vitae, tamen
 Male morietur nemo, qui vixit bene.
 De genere miseros exitus si iudices,
 Miseros putabis tot patres sanctos, quibus
 Crux, ensis, unda, flamma clausit spiritum.
 Nam veritatis qui satelles occidit
 Pro religione, patriisque legibus,
 Ominibus illum prosequi bonis decet,
 Votisque vitae poscere similem exitum.

Chorus.

Vere profecto es elocutus omnia.
 At nos, opinio quos et errores trahunt,
 Dum fata fugimus, fata stulti incurrimus.
 Ignis pepercit, unda mergit: aëris
 Vis pestilentis aequori ereptum necat:
 Bello superstes tabidus morbo perit.
 Differre, non vitare fata dat Deus:
 Et foeneramur mortis in dies moras
 Morbis, periculis, luctibus, molestiis.
 Nec longa vita est aliud ac longi mali
 Catena, mortis nexa ad usque terminum
 Serie perenni. Nec legati hoc vinculo
 Servire miseri nos putamus: exitum
 Quam servitutem potius exhorrescimus.

TRANSLATION

Messenger.

Weep not for him; tears may besem their eyes
 Whose hopes are buried where the body lies;
 Who know not how from slumber souls are sped
 Re-born. Ah, weep alone the unhappy dead!
 Weep none who live not in unhappiness
 Far from the touch of the White Comfortress!
 The just and unjust have their fates assigned,
 And all is one; yet no ill end they find
 Who live not ill; and nought to mar his peace
 Dwells in the fashion of his soul's release.

Else many a saint were pitied in his death
When cross, or sea, or flame consumed his breath.
Warrior of truth, Warrior of God he fell
Guarding the holy laws of Israel.
Fair speech attend him, and fair auspices
Attend him. God, make Thou our end like his!

Chorus.

'Tis true, 'tis true! But all is nought to us,
We are but reeds, shaken of perilous
Sad winds; we fly, we fly and meet our death.
If flame is kind, wild ocean stops our breath,
Or winds of pestilence destroy, in vain
Snatched from the menace of the stormy main.
Unscathed we ride from the dim battlefield,
Unscathed—till to disease the victors yield.
God deigns the fatal summons to defer
“For certain months and days,” but will not spare.
In perilous breath and daily misery
We pay grim Death a bitter usury.
His chain is heavy on the soul of man;
Our sorrow's measure is our being's span.
Ah! think not that we fear to wear his chain;
So we but live, we count our thralldom gain.

XIII.

Paraphrase of the Psalms of David.

THE *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica* is the work for which Buchanan earned the greatest distinction in his life-time. This was a common exercise of the Humanists, but there is the authority of Le Clerc, Père Bourbon, Cowley, Arthur Johnston, and Henri Estienne, for saying that Buchanan's versions were superior to all. "All France, Italy, and Germany have since subscribed to the same opinion," says Maittaire.¹ "Buchanan seems to have consulted the Hebrew text with the interpretation of his friend Vatablus and the Commentators, and he probably used these as subsidiary to the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the modern translation."² It is, nevertheless, true that his version is free, and, as is shown in the following pages, uses varieties of metre mostly unknown in Hebrew. Though Buchanan has set himself to build a classical temple in honour of the true God, and though his work, with "its European charm of form," at times recalls too closely its classical models, he has preserved something of the "Syrian depth of feeling." The whole of the work is unequal in parts, but there are at times exquisite pieces of composition. The best are here given, and comparison made with others.

- I. The Paraphrase of Psalm CXXXVII. is undoubtedly the finest part of the whole work. In spite of the fact that the true spirit of Hebrew poetry is not felt, "there is thorough power, yet perfect ease; a quiet finished classical tone throughout, but no mosaic, no centroism."³ The paraphrase by Lord Grenville will enable the reader to see the difference between a man of genius writing in Latin and "an accomplished modern gentleman who can write Latin verses."
- II. Psalm CXXI. as paraphrased by Buchanan and M. Antonio Flaminio provides the distinction between the learned Latinist who could rise into a higher atmosphere, and the poet whose ability for sustained thought had been weakened. Flaminio—a great Latin poet of the modern school—was above all "a man of virtue and simple tastes, who ardently desired a return to purer ideals on the part of the Church."⁴ In other words his main purpose is to build up piety and to mould the thought of

¹ Quoted by Hallam, *Literature of the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 147, and by Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 146.

² *North British Review*, March 1867.

³ *North British Review*, March 1867.

⁴ Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 142.

the young,—his appeal being wholly to the heart of man. He would insert nothing in his translations of which David would disapprove, and yet he sought to add grace to the beauty of his verse ;

“ . . . virgini pulcherrimae
Quale decus addunt arte purpureae rosae,
Violacque flavis crinibus circumdatae.”

(“ even as rich-hued roses and violets, garlanding her golden locks, add grace to some beautiful maiden ”).¹ Buchanan, on the other hand, is not merely a translator, but has completed the thought where in the original there were merely a “ series of disjointed utterances.” Buchanan is here the thinker as well as the poet, Flaminio is the man of feeling whose purity of language, not superior to Buchanan’s, is his especial recommendation.

III. The paraphrase of Psalm CIV. is another of the best of Buchanan’s compositions. One of his critics, Dr. Eglisham, “ had the vanity to suppose himself capable of executing a paraphrase superior to that of his illustrious countryman, and was even so infatuated as to exhibit a version of Psalm CIV. in contrast with his.”² We give Eglisham’s version here, that all Latinists may judge for themselves. Both Dr. Barclay and Dr. Johnston exposed the puerility of Eglisham’s paraphrase, and severely attacked him, the latter in two severely satirical pieces.

VI. The Paraphrase of Psalm XXVII. shows us Buchanan’s favourite metre, —one frequently used by Horace. Compared with Buchanan’s version is that of his great rival of after years—Dr. Johnston, of which much has already been said in these pages.

The translations of Buchanan’s *Paraphrasis* into English verse, which are here given, are by John Eadie, who is described as a preacher of the Gospel, and who probably secured his M.A. degree at Glasgow in 1820. While these translations are not at all of great merit, they prove that even in the early part of the last century, Buchanan’s work was well known. In the following pages are given notes and explanations by Chytraeus and Yule. Nathan Chytraeus has served to spread Buchanan’s fame. He was born in 1543, and was rector of the gymnasium at Bremen, and introduced Buchanan’s *Paraphrasis* into the German schools. In Chytraeus’ edition, the translations are set to music composed by Statius Olthovius. Yule, latinised *Julius*, is said to have been a graduate of St. Andrews, and, as has already been mentioned in these pages, was at one time rector of Stirling High School. It is stated that Buchanan had given some explanations of his translations of the Psalms to his nephew, Thomas Buchanan. These were at the time noted, and these notes were given by the son of Thomas Buchanan to Yule, who was himself a poet. These notes are given because they lend an additional interest to the following specimens of George Buchanan’s work, for in the words of John Keble (*Praelect. Acad. I. 76*),

“ Qualia sunt illa sanctissimi Vatis vivide a Buchanano expressa.”

¹ Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 143.

² Irving, *Memoirs*, 2nd edit., p. 113.

I.—Psalm CXXXVII.

(Paraphrase by George Buchanan.)

Dum procul a patria moesti Babylonis in oris,
 Fluminis ad liquidas forte sedemus aquas;
 Illa animum subiit species miseranda Sionis,
 Et nunquam patrii tecta videnda soli.
 Flevimus, et gemitus luctantia verba repressit;
 Inque sinus liquidae decidit imber aquae.
 Muta super virides pendebant nablia ramos,
 Et salices tacitas sustinuere lyras.
 Ecce ferox dominus Solymae populator opimae
 Exigit in mediis carmina laeta malis:
 Qui patriam exilio nobis mutavit acerbo,
 Nos jubet ad patrios verba referre modos,
 Quale canebamus, steterat dum celsa Sionis
 Regia, finitimis invidiosa locis.
 Siccine divinos Babylon irrideat hymnos?
 Audiat et sanctos terra profana modos?
 O Solymae, O adyta, et sacri penetralia templi,
 Ullane vos animo deleat hora meo?
 Comprecor, ante meae capiant me obliviae dextrae,
 Nec memor argutae sit mea dextra lyrae:
 Os mihi destituat vox, arescente palato,
 Haereat ad fauces aspera lingua meas:
 Prima mihi vestrae nisi sint praeconia laudis;
 Hinc nisi laetitiae surgat origo meae.
 At tu (quae nostrae insultavit laeta rapinae)
 Gentis Idumaeae tu memor esto, pater.
 Diripite, ex imis evertite fundamentis,¹
 Aequaque (clamabant) reddite tecta solo.
 Tu quoque crudeles Babylon dabis impia poenas:
 Et rerum instabiles experiere vices.
 Felix qui nostris accedet cladibus ultor,
 Reddet ad exemplum qui tibi damna tuum.
 Felix qui tenero consperget saxa cerebro,
 Eripiens gremio pignora cara tuo.

¹ Ruddiman draws attention to this line.

TRANSLATION

(by John Eadie, Glasgow, 1836).

While banished from our native land,
To Bab'lon's hostile shore,
We by the flowing river sit,
And all our woes deplore ;
Sion's lost form, to be bewailed,
Appears before our eyes,
Our native lands ne'er to be seen,
In our grieved minds arise.
We wept, and groans our words suppressed,
Tears o'er our bosoms rain,
Our harps now dumb the branches green
And leafy twigs sustain.
Our lyres on boughs of willow trees
Aside from us were hung,
And mourning much we left them there,
All silent and unstrung.
Behold, our Lord, the spoiler fierce
Of Solyma's great power,
Commands us to sing joyful songs,
Where griefs our souls devour.
And he who drove us from the land
To us so long endeared,
Where we were born and lived in joy
While us our parents reared,
And from it far us captive led,
To feel the exile's pains,
Requires us now to suit our songs
To our sweet native strains,
Such as we sung when Sion stood
In lofty regal state,
And all the nations round admired
Our happiness so great.
Should Babylon deride the hymns
To God Almighty sung ?
Should in a heathen land profane
Such sacred sounds be rung ?

O Solyma! O temple's shrines,
Of the most holy place!
Shall any length of fleeting time
You from my mind efface?

May my right hand forget to raise
The harp's melodious sound,
May my voice cleave to my mouth's roof,
May my parched tongue be bound,

If I am not the herald first
Of your high-sounding praise,
If you are not the origin
Of all my joyful lays;

But thou, our Father, bear in mind
The Idumean race,
Who at the desolation scoffed
Of our dear native place.

The wall's foundations raze, they said,
Lay level with the ground
The houses all, and spoil, they cried,
To the land's utmost bound.

Thou, likewise, Babylon, shalt feel
A sad reverse of state,
Punished because thou mad'st us groan
'Neath misery's galling weight.

Happy he'll be who shall advance
Th' avenger of our wrong,
Who, just as thou hast done to us,
Shall make thee suffer long.

Happy he'll be who'll tear by force
From breasts of mothers dear
The children that in 'midst of thee
They tenderly uprear.

And sprinkle all their scattered brains
Dashed on the sharp rough stone,
That thus thou may'st for all thy crimes,
To us oppressed, atone.

PARAPHRASE (I.-VI.)

(By Lord Grenville, 1846.)

Euphratis ripae acclines, ubi, limite longo
 Porrecta, Assyriae tristia culta patent,
 Amissam memores patriam, sanctumque Siona
 Flevimus, et summi diruta templa Dei.
 At qua moesta salix invisam offuderat umbram,
 Pendebant tacitae, pristina cura, lyrae.
 Saepe illic Solymae eversae captiva propago
 Impia victoris probra minasque tulit:
 Saepe illic, pompas inter ritusque nefandos,
 Ingemuit, patrios jussa referre modos.
 Ergone solennes virgo Solymaea choreas
 Captiva et patriis finibus exul agat?
 Ergo et nunc poterit, Babylonis moenia propter,
 Sacra Davidae tangere fila lyrae,
 Qua Siloa, altusque Hermon, Libanusque sonabant,
 Praesentique Patris numine plena Salem?
 Cara Salem, quascunque ferar vagus exul in oras,
 Ecquando possim non memor esse tui?
 At mihi defixa obmutescat lingua palato,
 At citharam, et solitum dextra recuset opus,
 Si mentem non una meam tua torquet imago,
 Una Salem, luctus laetitiaeque comes.

II.—Psalm CXXI.

(Paraphrase by George Buchanan.)

Dum ferox armis inimicus instat,
 Ad montes vaga lumina
 Proximos circumfero, si quid illinc
 Forte appareat auxili.
 At mihi coeli Dominus solique
 Certam solus opem feret.
 Ille (quid vano trepidans tumultu
 Cor pulsas mihi pectora?)
 Ille sanctorum (mihi crede) custos
 Noctes excubat et dies:

Victa nec blandi illecebris soporis
 Unquam lumina dimovet :
 Leniter passis tibi semper alis
 Umbrae more supervolat ;
 Ne cutem solis violentioris
 Urant spicula de die,
 Nocte ne lunae nebulosioris
 Artus degravet halitus.¹
 Seu domi clausus lateas, latentem
 Clausis servat in aedibus :
 Seu foris pacis obeas amicae,²
 Seu belli fera munera,
 Sospitem e cunctis Dominus periculis
 Semper te bonus eruet.

TRANSLATION

(by John Eadie, Glasgow, 1836).

While th' en'my fierce threatens with arms,
 Around mine eyes I throw,
 On mountains near, if thence perhaps,
 Aid its approach should show.

The Lord of heaven and earth alone
 Assistance sure will grant,
 He, (why heart beating in my breast,
 Dost thou with vain fear pant ?)

He, be assured, the watchful guard
 Of saints his chief delight,
 Beholds them with unsleeping eye,
 Both in the day and night.

He is awake, and them he loves
 In view will ever keep :
 For his all-seeing eye ne'er yields
 To slumb'ring or to sleep.

¹ Yule paraphrases this line as "should make the body sluggish or weak."

² This may be paraphrased, according to Yule, "or beyond the house thou performest duties of pleasant tranquillity."

O'er thee, my soul, his shading wings
 He ever gentle lays:
 Lest that by day thou should'st be hurt,
 By the sun's scorching rays;
 Lest the cool moon shining through clouds,
 Thy wearied limbs should chill,
 When shifting vapours, during night,
 The air with coldness fill.

Whether thou art retired at home,
 Enjoying private peace,
 He'll cause that thou in safety may'st
 Obtain thy secret ease;

Or if thou should'st, in tranquil state,
 Perform of civil life
 The duties quiet, or dang'rous deeds,
 Of horrid war and strife,

The bounteous Lord will thee preserve,
 From dangers all secure;
 Salvation will begin on earth
 Endless in heaven t' endure.

PARAPHRASE

(by *M. Antonius Flaminius, 1559*).

Periculis in maximis vates docet,
 .Esse exciendam opem Dei.

Dum me cruentus hostis urget, lumina
 Montes ad altos sustuli,
 Unde ille rerum praepotens pater omnium,
 Terrae, polique conditor,
 Frustratus hostem barbarum, mittet mihi
 Opem benigno numine.
 Nunquam ille saevis impiorum incursibus
 Tuam sinet constantiam
 Labare victam: dormiet nunquam tuae
 Salutis ille neligens:
 Qui civitati praesidet sanctissimae,
 Nunquam profecto dormiet
 Haerebit ille semper ad dextrum latus
 Fidissimus comestuum:

Umbraculique tecum amabilis vice
 Fungetur optimus pater,
 Ne fervidus te tangat aut Sol, aut gravi
 Luna insalubris lumine.
 Quodcunque ages, ubicunque eris, domi, foris
 In urbe, in agro, tecum erit
 Semper beatus caelitem rex, et pater,
 Fortunet ut tibi omnia:
 Suasque ducet tandem ad domos, ubi
 Aeterna vives secula.

III.—Psalm CIV. (xiii.-xxvii.).

(Paraphrase by George Buchanan.)

Tu pater aërios montes, camposque jacentes
 Nectare coelesti saturas, foecundaque rerum
 Semina vitales in luminis elicis oras.¹
 Unde pecus carpat viridis nova pabula foeni:
 Unde olus humanos geniale assurgat in usus:
 Quaeque novent fessas cerealia munera² vires,
 Quaeque hilarent mentes jucundi pocula vini,
 Quique hilaret vultus³ succus viridantis olivi.
 Nec minus arboribus succi genitabilis⁴ humor
 Sufficitur: cedro Libanum frondente coronas,
 Alitibus⁵ nidos: abies tibi consita surgit,
 Nutrit ubi implumes peregrina ciconia foetus.

¹ In some editions *auras* is given instead of *oras*.

² "*Cerealia munera* was a poetical phrase for *pro frugibus*."—Chytraeus. The Goddess Ceres has been referred to by nearly all poets, but of her David could not have known.

³ In the 1620 London edition of the *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, edited by Yule, *vultum* is given.

⁴ Chytraeus points out that this word was used by Varro and Lucretius. The latter certainly uses it for *genitalis*,—*Et reserata viget genitabilis aura Favoni* (I. 11). But Varro is only quoting Lucilius when he uses the word. Chytraeus seems to attribute to Virgil the line of Lucretius.

⁵ Chytraeus notes that in the interpretations of the ancients some birds were called *oscines*, and others *alites* or *praepetes*. The former were considered to denote forebodings of some event by their voice and song, the latter by their *flight*. This note of Chytraeus seems to be borrowed from Servius who, however, distinguishes only between *oscines* and *praepetes*. Cp. Virgil (Aen. III. 361)—*Qui volucrum linguas, qui praepetis omina pennae*.

Tu timidis montes damis; cava saxa dedisti,
Tutus ut abstrusis habitaret echinus¹ in antris.

Tu lunae incertos vultus per tempora certa
Circumagis: puroque accensum lumine solem
Ducis ad occiduas constanti tramite metas:
Inde superfusis cuncta involventibus umbris,
Per tacitas spargis nocturna silentia terras.
Tum fera prorepat latebris, silvisque relictis.
Praedator vacuis errare leunculus arvis
Audet, et e coelo mugitu pabula rauco
Te patrem exposcit: dein rursus sole renato,
Abditur occultis praedatrix turba cavernis:
Inque vicem subeunt hominumque boumque labores,
Donec sera rubens accendat lumina vesper.

Sic, pater in cunctos didis² te commodus³ usus.
Nec tantum tellus, genitor, tua munera sentit,
Tam variis foecunda bonis: sed et acquora ponti
Fluctibus immensas circumflectentia terras,
Tam laxo spatiosa sinu: tot millia gentis.
Squamigeræ tremula per stagna liquentia cauda
Exsultant: tot monstra ingentia et horrida visu
Veliferas circumnant puppes: grandia cete
Effingunt molles vitreo sub marmore⁴ lusus.
Atque adeo quæc terra arvis, quæc fluctibus æquor
Educat, a te uno pendent, pater optime, teque
Quæcque suo proprium poscunt in tempore victum.

TRANSLATION

(by John Eadie, Glasgow, 1836).

They're sated with provision meet,
And quench their thirst with waters sweet.
The river sweeps with wand'ring waves,
The woods and devious rocks it laves,

¹ There were, according to Chytraeus, two kinds. Some had a snout, as a hog, others were of the dog-tribe.

² *Didere* is explained by Chytraeus as a poetical usage for *distribuere* or the *digerere* of Lucretius; also used by Horace. It is ante-classical.

³ Some editions have *providus* for *commodus*.

⁴ Chytraeus calls this a Virgilian usage for *mari*, and "quotes" from II. Georg.,—*Infulum remis impellere marmor*. Virgil certainly uses it in Aeneid (VII. 28 and 718, X. 218), but the phrase *marmor infidum* is found in Silius, XIV. 464.

Where the wild ass all lonely dwells,
And drinks it as it freshly swells.
Along its banks the trees arise,
With lofty branches to the skies,

Where fowls that skim along the air,
To build their nests in flocks repair,
And soothe, with warbling plaintive note,
The solitary wilds remote.

Thou, Father, pourest o'er the plains
And mountains high, ethereal rains,
Whence seeds fertility obtain,
And soon with life cover the plain.

The growing tribes are all alive,
Whence moving creatures food derive.
The herbage fresh covers the ground,
And cattle feed the fields around.

The genial plants, for human use,
Supply mankind with food profuse.
Abundant bread man now obtains,
That long in health his frame maintains.

The gen'rous wines his mind excite,
And cheer the heart with true delight.
Thus he's refreshed from varied toil,
And his face shines with perfumed oil.

A balmy juice pervades the trees,
Growing by which their trunks increase.
Their leafy boughs spread far and wide,
And they from age to age abide.

The cedar Lebanon invests,
Among whose leaves birds build their nests.
Ash trees, the planting of the Lord,
To young of storks shelter afford.

Their parents them with food supply,
Till wings enable them to fly.
On tim'rous deer thou has bestowed
The mountains for a safe abode.

Thou mak'st 'mong rocks dark hollow caves,
 The urchin there itself long saves.
 The moon thou whcelest in her range
 Around the earth, with reg'lar change.

The sun thou clothest with pure light,
 With which he shines, till coming night
 Succeed the day, in reg'lar turn,
 Lest constant heat should nature burn.

Then all her works thou cover'st round
 With shades and silence most profound.
 The wild beasts then their dens forsake,
 And rush abroad their prey to take.

The lion young then leaves the wood,
 And roams the fields to seize his food,
 He sends to heaven his hollow roar,
 That, Father, thee he may implore,

That nourishment thou may'st provide,
 By which he may in life abide.
 The rising sun relumes the sky,
 And beasts of prey to coverts fly.

PARAPHRASE

(by George Eglisam, 1618).

Ambrosio montes irrorant astra liquore,
 Muneribus satiata tuis, pecorique virisque
 Aptas obsequiis, alimentis dulcibus aptas.
 Promit humus teneris gemmantes floribus herbas,
 Pampineos animis nectentes gaudia succos,
 Et baccas oleae fragrantis ut ora serenent,
 Et cererem valido firmantem corda vigore.
 Arboreos foetus, tineis impervia cedri
 Robora tu saturas, Libani quae consita celso
 Vertice, progeniem volucrum nidosque tuentur.
 Nec minus est felix abies, hac vimine texta
 Pendula castra novat clangente cicoria rostro.
 At lepori silices, pavidis juga senta recessum
 Concilias damis: constanti temporis ortu
 Inconstans lunare decus renovare figuras,

Occiduoque jubes pelago decumbere solem.
 Tecta soporiferos picea caligine vultus
 Nubila diffundis tacitam ducentia noctem.
 Proruit interea speluncis acre ferarum
 Agmen, et auxilium coeleste leunculus escam
 In praedam exorans, rugitibus aethera pulsat.
 Sole recens orto latebrosis invia dumis
 Antra subit: remeant alacres ad plaustra coloni,
 Donec purpureus det sera crepuscula vesper.
 Sancte opifex! quanto moliris cuncta decore,
 Consilioque struis! Moles terrena tuarum
 Dives opum exultat; late circumsonat ingens
 Oceanus; seu parva lubet, seu magna ciere
 Corpora squamigerum, vitrea complectitur alvo
 Innumeras pinna fluitantes remige turbas.
 Pandentes levibus naves cita carbasa ventis,
 Marmoreoque sinis balaenas gurgite passim
 Carpere jucundos placido molimine saltus.
 In te, summe Parens! haec inclinata recumbunt
 Omnia, temporibus victum poscentia certis.

IV.—Psalm XXVII. (ix.-xiv.).

(Paraphrase by George Buchanan.)

Ne conde vultus lumen a me amabilis,
 Neu me in tenebris desere.
 Servum per iram ne sine opprimi tuum:
 Vitamque, quam debet tibi,
 Tuere ab hoste, et e periculis eripe,
 O spes salutis unica.
 Me cari amici, me propinqui, me pater,
 Me blanda mater liquerat:
 At non reliquit, qui pios in asperis
 Non deserit rebus, Deus.
 Parens benigne, me vias doce tuas,
 Rectaque deduc semita:
 Ne vis metusque ab hoste me deterritum
 De calle recti detrahat.
 Ne me impiorum obnoxium libidini
 Relinque. Testes impii

Fingunt maligne falsa de me crimina,
 Armantque se mendaciis.
 Mens victa tantis iam fatisceret¹ malis,
 Ne spes foveret me tuae
 Benignitatis, post labores anxios
 Mox affuturum gaudium.
 Vivusque vivos inter ipse commoda
 Vitae beatæ praestolor.
 In rebus ergo turbidis ne concide,
 Sed fortis usque sustine:²
 Te roborabit Dominus, et cor fulciet;
 Tu fortis usque sustine.

TRANSLATION

(by John Eadie, 1836).

My dearest friends had fled from me,
 Relations had all gone,
 My father had forsaken me,
 And I was left alone.

My loving mother had me left!
 But God yet left not me:
 For he the pious ne'er forsakes,
 But them from ill sets free.

Father benign, teach me thy ways,
 Lead me in righteous path,
 From it let foes deter me not,
 Nor even the fear of death.

The wicked falsely me accuse,
 With cruelty and hate,
 And crimes untrue against me, they
 Audaciously relate.

¹ Chytraeus considers that *fatisco* may have the sense of *perior* as in Virgil—*Accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt*; or it may signify what is deficient or weak, as in Lucretius—*Animæ natura fatiscit Fessa ævo*. In the first place Chytraeus seems wrong, because *fatisci* cannot mean what *perior* may signify. Then the quotation from Lucretius is incorrectly given. *Fatiscit* should be *fatisci*, Lucretius, III. 458. It is a deponent verb, and in Lucretius, V. 308, its other meaning is given.

² Yule paraphrased these two lines as meaning "While therefore troubles prevail, do not lose courage."

Long ere now my heart had failed,
By such dire ills enclosed,
Unless thy goodness unto me
Had future joys disclosed.

Yet living, 'mong the living, I
A happy life expect,
Then bear your ills and let not them
Your troubled hearts deject.

Attend unto my suppliant voice,
And me oppressed relieve,
By heavenly favour, may I vexed
Deliverance receive.

My longing soul pants after thee,
I look with earnest face,
That I thy count'nance may behold,
And may obtain thy grace.

Of thy bright face to be desired,
Hide not the saving light,
Leave me not to be overwhelmed,
In darkness of the night.

Let not thy servant be oppressed
By thy wrath's grievous load.
Preserve the life from enemies
Thou hast on me bestowed.

O thou, who art the only hope
Of my salvation sure,
Deliver me from dangers, which
So often I endure.

The Lord to thee will give great strength,
And will support thy heart :
Then patient bear affliction's load,
And duteous act thy part.

PARAPHRASE

(by Arthur Johnston, M.D., 1637).

Lumina deflectens famulum ne respue, tristem
Ne fuge, qui vitae spes mihi semper eras.
Me licet horreret pater et patris aemula mater,
Dextra tamen, spero, me tua tollet humo.
Tu, quod iter subeam, monstra; facilemque clienti,
Hostis ut evitem spicula, pande viam.
Subtrahe me populi furiis, qui crimine ficto
Me premit, inmani spirat et ore minas.
Spem mihi tu reparas, venturae gaudia vitae
Dum recolo, et coeli quae bona civis habet.
Fide Deo, firmaque fidem; sunt praemia praesto:
Erigit et mentes sustinet ille pias.

APPENDIX

Appendix I.

(Page 70.)

A.—BUCHANAN'S DEFENCE IN THE LISBON INQUISITION.

Among the documents discovered in 1893 by Senhor Henriques in the Archives of the Inquisition at Lisbon is Buchanan's Defence, written in Latin. There were then found ninety-four pages, some in French and most of them in Portuguese, and all were docketed:—"Jorge Buquanano escorses, e nao vello," *i.e.*, "George Buchanan a Scotchman, and not old." This defence, which is here presented in modern spelling, must have been written in two days, and this in itself is evidence of Buchanan's ability. For further enlightenment on the trial of Buchanan there are added notes, some being based on the information obtained, by kind permission, from Senhor G. J. C. Henriques' translations of the records, although he gives no translation of the Latin. The textual errors are also here noted but the paragraphing remains as copied from the Records.

It was Senhor Henriques of Carnota who first made known the existence of the whole series of documents relating to Buchanan's trial by the Inquisition. This gentleman has done good service to his country by writing the lives of several of its worthies connected with the pleasant district in which he has his own estate. And it was when making investigations in regard to one of them who had been tried by the Lisbon Inquisitors that Senhor Henriques came across the Buchanan documents. Lately, in connection with the Buchanan Quater-century celebrations, Senhor Henriques has extended his investigations in regard to Buchanan among the Inquisition papers preserved at Coimbra, and given the benefit of the truth he has thus elucidated to English readers in a quarto volume entitled *George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition*, and in his contribution to this Memorial Volume.

Saint Bento's Convent within the city gates, at Xabregas,

which was destroyed by fire on the night of 1st July, was the scene of Buchanan's seven months' imprisonment by decree of the Inquisition, and part of this better known Saint Bento within the City forms that repository of the national archives called the Torre do Tombo, wherein are preserved the records of the Lisbon Inquisition. A whole room in this building, the entrance to which adjoins that of the Chamber of Deputies, is devoted to these Inquisition papers. They fill the phalanx of little pigeon holes which line three of its walls. The Buchanan papers consist of forty-seven folios of antique reddish yellow paper stitched together. To the ordinary scholar one-half of their contents is quite unintelligible, being the report in the fanciful shorthand of the time of the four several examinations to which Buchanan was subjected by the Holy Office. In the matter of legibility these pages contrast forcibly with the two Latin statements written out by Buchanan in a very clear calligraphy.

The archival staff, acquainted as they are with the general character of these Inquisition documents, expressed great appreciation of the courage and calmness shewn in the calligraphy and composition of this Scotch victim's statement, in which to share fully one needs the sight of such another attempt at this as a neighbouring record in the room affords. Here the writer, in a wild fashion that makes the blood creep, expresses his absolute inability in the circumstances he is placed in to collect his thoughts at all, or to remember in any way what he had said or done with a view to his defence. In a shaking scribble he begs urgently for mercy, a mercy vainly thus sought, for a note written on the other side of the paper by the Cardinal Inquisitor himself states that the note was only handed him by the executioner when its writer was already at the stake. It needs a tragic touch like this to make one realise the horrors surrounding our Scotch worthy when making his defence in the dungeon of the Inquisition, and the perils which his coolness and sagacity so helped him to escape.

“ Ego Georgius Buchananus natione Scotus, diocesis Glasguensis, aio cum anno domini 1539 quaestio in Lutheranos decreta esset, mihi timuisse ob has causas. Primum biennium fere ante fuit mihi disputatio cum Franciscano quodam de forma iudicii rerum capitalium in Scotia et praecipue in causa haer-

eseos.¹ Nam cum e Gallia tum venire ac magis Gallicos quam nostrorum mores tenerem, mirabar imprimis² homines damnari testibus ignotis, atque etiam interdum hostibus, neminem enim esse tam innocentem qui circumveniri possit si modo inimicos, aut invidos haberet. Recens erat exemplum ob oculos mercatoris cuiusdam, qui petierat a iudicibus ut certi homines inimici capitales sui reiicerentur, nec datus erat ei reiectionis locus. Is igitur Franciscanus cum circumstantibus in ea disputatione non satisfecisset, multa de me in vulgus suspitiose seminabat. Ego invicem ut me ultiscerer epigramma vetus nostrate lingua scriptum in latinos versus transtuli,³ cuius sententiam vobis ante retuli, post id tempus odiis, et convitiis res utrinque acta est, multa proba utrinque iactata citra ullam rem quae ad religionis calumniam attineret. Incidit interea in aula crimen coniurationis,⁴ de qua multa scire Franciscanos rex arbitrabatur. Itaque iratus illis, cum non ignoraret, mihi cum illis esse inimicitias, me iussit, atque etiam coegit, ut sciunt viri aliquot clarissimi, nec ipsi Franciscani ignorant, carmen in eos scribere.⁵ Illi interea non cessarunt omnibus concionibus me traducere. Itaque paulo etiam quam destinaveram acerbius scripsi, sed

¹ This disputation seems to have been conducted during Buchanan's stay with the young Earl of Cassillis. In the Examination after this defence was submitted, Buchanan was questioned as to the form of the tribunal discussed with the Franciscan. He, however, merely asserts that it appeared to him to be unjust to condemn men without giving them an opportunity of contradicting their enemies' testimony.

² Henriques' text gives *imprimi*.

³ Buchanan refers to his *Somnium* which was a translation of Dunbar's poem, "How Dunbar was desyred to be ane frier." During his first examination Buchanan very carefully pointed out that the King had not asked him to write this poem, although he asked him, even compelled him, to write the *Palinodia* and the *Franciscanus*.

⁴ In 1536 the Master of Forbes was accused of an attempt to shoot the King at Aberdeen, and on this accusation was beheaded two years later; "nothing is accurately known of this affair of Forbes, and there is no reason to believe that the Franciscans were in any way his accomplices,"—Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, page 92.

⁵ Buchanan gives almost the same account in *Vita Sua*, except that there he says that the King was ignorant of the strained relationship between him and the Franciscans, "Rex Buchananum, forte tum in aula agentem, ad se advocat, et ignarus offensionis quae ei cum Franciscanis esset, jubet adversus eos carmen scribere." Irving asks us to read *gnarus* or *non ignarus* instead of *ignarus*, because "it was the King's knowledge, not his ignorance, of the poet's warfare with the Franciscans that must have suggested him as already prepared to second his own resentment."

certe citra religionis christianae contumeliam etiam cum illa protestatione me nihil adversus ordinem dicere aut in bonos Franciscanos, quales veteres fuerunt, sed in homines nostri temporis dissolutos, et qui a veterum institutis destituissent:¹ ea res mirum in modum odia accendit. Itaque antequam carmen ostendere conatus sum deprecari regem per homines in aula notos ne tantam invidiam mihi conflaret: fore enim videbam, ut Franciscani sollicitarent episcopos,² episcopi regem aliquando a me averterent. Cum vero rex omnibus modis exigeret a me carmen, partem eius tum dedi, ut si ea contentus esset reliquum tum supprimerim, quod etiam factum est: neque quisquam ex me nisi rex exemplar accepit.³ Interea Franciscani amicam regis mulierem nobilem, et maxime apud regem potentem in me inflammant iam antea sua sponte iratam. Nam cum antea de me sparsisset rumores varios,⁴ ego ab episcopo loci iudicium de iniuria postulavi. Episcopus etsi tum⁵ rex aberat in Gallia potentiam mulieris reveritus de ea re ius dicere non est ausus.

Per idem tempus amicus quidam meus gravissimo morbo laborabat: neque in extremo periculo carnem attingere audebat diebus veneris ac sabbati. Ego non solum hortatus sum illum ut carnem ederet, sed etiam quo libentius id faceret una cum illo edi idque simpliciter, ac bona fide adhuc actum est.⁶

Mulier cum id rescisset, rem ad Dominicanos quosdam retulit. Id nos postea ex uno eorum rescivimus, qui non solum

¹ Henriques, *destituissent*.

² Henriques, *episcopus*.

³ The fact that the King only got a copy of a *part* of the poem and that the rest was temporarily suppressed accounts for the poem *Franciscanus* not taking final shape till after 1560.

⁴ In the Examination which followed Buchanan was asked what were the reports which he here says a lady spread concerning him. In reply he stated that he was with some one in Scotland who was reading, in the "Ecclesiastes of Solomon, about so many collecting riches for others. The reader began to laugh, and called his, Master George's, attention to the place where he was reading, upon which he also began to laugh because he called to mind sundry individuals to whom the words of Solomon were applicable; and that the lady in question, seeing them reading and laughing, presumed that they were reading either some Lutheran books or the New Testament which the lower orders take to be only read by Lutherans, and for this it was that she spread about that they were Lutherans."

⁵ Henriques, *tam*.

⁶ In a previous examination he says he partook of meat solely to induce his sick friend, on Fridays and Saturdays, to eat thereof, as he was in a dangerous condition.

factum excusabat, sed etiam ulteriora audere compulit ut scilicet semel atque iterum *in quadragesima carnibus vesceremur*. *Valuit*¹ apud nos autoritas hominis, apud suos summa autoritate ut qui prior conventus aliquando fuisset et concionator imprimis clarus, ac praeter multa alia dictitabat etiam Christum cum apostolis agnum in quadragesima edisse. Unde opinor fabula illa agni paschalis nata est: de qua hodie primum audivi: atque hinc mihi prima mali labes, ac primum commercium cum Lutheranis fuit. Nam quae ante id tempus acta fuerunt, nihil penitus ad eam causam attinebant.

Interea quaestio decreta est. Ego regem per amicos in aula deprecari sum conatus, quod per illum, ac eius potissimum impulsu in id mali incidissem. Ille me accitum ad se tribus aulicis interrogandum de his rebus dedit,² quibus omnia ut acta erant simpliciter atque ex fide sum confessus. Cum illi mihi multa minarentur, ac nullam spem veniae ostenderent si quicque negarem, cumque eos etiam viderem meae adversariae intimos esse, et totam quaestionem a patre eius regi plura etiam quam³ facta sunt dixi nequid causari possent. Ea nocte cum iam admodum serum esset apud secretarium regium, apud quem haec acta sunt fui. Postridie rex me iussit in hospitium meum liberum abire cum bona spe fore pollicitus omnium praeteritorum veniam.

Per id tempus maxime praeparabatur bellum in Anglos a pontifice, ac vicinis regibus, spe coniurationis quae tum fere etiam in Anglia detecta est. Rex Scotiae cum quaedam explorare vellet in Anglia me maxime ad id putavit idoneum, ut qui videri possem sectae causa ad illos transisse. Quod adeo verum fuit ut paulum abfuerit quin⁴ Angli me rursus in Scotiam ad explorandas res Scotorum dimitterent, cum ego adfirmarem mihi amicos esse per quos quidvis secreto transigi posset. Rex igitur Scotiae (ut illuc redeam) me per aulicum quendam admonuit quae in rem essent, ac ita discedere iussit quasi clam fuga

¹ Underlined in the original, as well as the other words which will be found in italics further on.

² According to Senhor Henriques' translation of the Lisbon documents, the three examiners appointed by the King to hear Buchanan's case were Thomas Esquem (Askew?)—one of the King's secretaries, John of Nestam—an ecclesiastic, and Thomas Escot. When asked what it was that he divulged to the examiners, he said that he divulged to them that he had eaten meat on prohibited days more often than he really had.

³ Henriques, *que*.

⁴ Henriques, *quum*.

elapsus essem.¹ Haec ego hactenus caelaveram quod non ignorem si rescita fuerint quantum mihi instet periculum et ab Anglis, et a Scotis qui tum in Anglia exulabant, nunc vero domi plurimum, ac potius omnia possunt. Deinde quod non existimavcram magnopere interesse vestra ea scire praesertim cum ad causam non magnopere pertineant.

Voluntatis regiae erga me inditium id fuit multis, quod postridie demum illius die post meridiem iusserit persequi qui me comprehenderent cum ego iam in Anglia esse possem quippe quae triginta millia passuum tantum absit.

Quod famulum meum ex itinere retractum iusserit dimitti.

Quod notos homines interrogarit an me vidissent Londini.

Quid illic agrem.

Quod omnia secunda de me libenter audiret ac imprimis illud quod iam Burdegalae essem.

Quod multis repugnantibus fratrem meum² in locum substituerit, semper comiter allocutus sit, atque humaniter tractaverit.

Itaque illo vivo nemo Scotus mihi facessere negotium est ausus, cum id quod erat aliqua ex parte suspicarentur.

Igitur cum principio Ianuarii discessissem e Scotia, multum in itinere vexatus, ac spoliatus, et pro speculatore aliquot locis retentus, vix tandem Londinium sub initium quadragesimae veni.³ Ibi multorum conciones in *diversa trahentium animos auditorum* audiavi, ex quibus vacillabat interdum infirma mens et rationum fluctibus modo in hanc, modo in illam partem

¹ Thus Buchanan's statement in the second examination by the Inquisition officials that he had never been imprisoned in his own country seems to be justified. It is seen that James skilfully planned Buchanan's departure, and so Cardinal Beaton perhaps never had Buchanan in his power.

² This may refer to Patrick Buehanan. It is well to point out here that the Inquisition records do not confirm the statement that Patrick became a professor at Coimbra. The names of those professors who went to Portugal are given, but he is not mentioned. This might be another proof against Buchanan writing what is known as *Vita Sua*.

³ Henry VIII. had just passed the Statute of the Six Articles, and the result was as Buchanan tells us in *Vita Sua* :—"Sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die ac eodem igne utriusque factionis homines cremarentur." From one of his epigrams and Sir Thomas Randolph's letter to Sir Peter Young, we gather that Buehanan was befriended by a Sir John Rainsforde in times when he was, as he describes himself in a poem addressed to Thomas Cromwell, a wanderer, an exile, needy, tossed about by land and sea.

ferebatur quarum rerum capita inferius quantum suggeret memoria exponam.¹

Multos item utriusque partis libros² legi. Multa fuerunt mihi simulanda, ac dissimulanda pro persona quam gerebam. Sub quadragesimam rumor belli increbruit ac paucis post diebus nunciatum est circiter centum naves Hollandicas in proximo ad anchoras stare expectantes siquis motus popularium fieret.

Porro ad eum nuncium tota Anglia in armis erat. Nullam igitur de egressu meo mentionem ausus sum facere donec is motus plane sedatus est sub finem ætatis ac tum etiam³ Anglis persuaseram mihi iter in Germaniam esse uni hiberno ausus sum profiteri me in Galliam proficisci cum quo una Luteciam veni mense Augusto. Burdegalam deinde Septembri profectus sum quod per id tempus plurimæ naves Scotorum et Anglorum convenire illuc soleant.

¹ Buchanan had in a previous examination stated how he was influenced by the various preachers. In the examination that followed this *Defence*, he said "that he remembered one of the preachers, who was called Jerome and who was a layman, and in his sermon he argued upon the words of Saint Paul,—*hæc nunc tempus acceptabile*,—asserting that those who said that Lent was the period more acceptable than another to God were in error, because Saint Paul said the same of all the period of Grace; being asked if he, Master George, agreed with the preacher that Saint Paul spoke of all the period of Grace, he replied in the affirmative, but added that it appeared to him that the preacher's argument did not convince one that there was not, in the period of Grace, one time more acceptable than another, and that, "as regarded the time of Lent as being more acceptable to God than any other, he had no fixed idea in his heart."—*Henriques*.

² In the subsequent examination Buchanan was asked if the books he had read when in England had also created doubts in his mind. He stated in reply that "one of them treated of Justification, and the other of Purgatory, and that it was owing to reading them that the doubts that he has mentioned arose in his mind; and that, as he has confessed it, it appeared to him that the Catholics and the Lutherans were agreed upon the manner of Justification and the article of Purgatory." In the first Examination, 18th August 1550, he stated that "when passing through England, where he was for six months, he read many books of the Lutheran Sect, which treated of Justification and other books in which there were many things offensive to the ecclesiastics and the Pope, as is the book the title of which is *Of the Traders*, in which all the ecclesiastics are called traders, because they sold the Sacraments, and the other things of the Church, because Our Lord drove the dealers out of the Church,"—*Henriques*.

³ *Henriques, istatis ac tum etæam.*

Ibi cum accepissem Regem Scotiae cum classe profectum esse ad compescendos motus insulanorum statui eam hyemem Burdegalae expectare dum nuncium de reditu ab eo acciperem, neque enim eius iniussu redire aut audebam aut volebam. Interim conditionem ab Andrea Goveano accepi.¹

Illa hyeme semina belli inter Scotos et Anglos iacta sunt, quod bellum ad hunc usque annum 1550 duravit.

Haec sunt igitur capita quaestionum de quibus me aut dubitasse aut hesitasse memini.

De libero arbitrio haec ego semper prae me tuli:—

Nec me intelligere posse deum sine providentia, nec hominem sine libero arbitrio. Quomodo vero illa inter se convenient non putavi mihi anxie disquirendum esse, nec unquam in disquisitionem vocavi nisi in scholis quomodo vulgo fieri solet. Nec memini me postquam ex Anglia veni de ea re disseruisse nisi nuper in scholis Conimbricae adversus eos qui ponebant facta posse esse infecta.

De votis scripto in tragedia de voto Jepthe meam sententiam ostendi cuius disputationis haec summa est: vota quae licite fiunt omnia servanda ac multi etiam sciunt Conimbricae me orationem Barpt. Latomi super hac re contra Bucerum et legere libenter solitum, et semper laudare.

Ego omnium religionum receptarum instituta probavi, multorum hominum mores non probavi. Multos religiosos atque eorum instituta nominatim saepe et multis in locis laudavi ut Conimbricae Bernardinos et Eligianos de quibus nunquam nisi honorifice sum loquutus, qui viri mihi videntur vere antiquos mores referre.

De his vero qui apostoli vocantur non id unum reprehendi quod pueros impuberos sollicitarent contra morem aliarum religionum, sed alia quaedam quae de eis iactabantur: quarum rerum querelas ad Jacobum Goveanum gymnasiarcham saepe detuli, nunquam in vulgus effudi. Contra vero in institutis eorum plurima etiam probavi et laudavi, ut nemo nisi malignus interpres in odium religionis ea dicta fuisse existimet quae culpabam. Quod si etiam in hoc genere errarim id certe ita modeste feci ut non petulantia sed simplicitate peccarim.

¹ This was the invitation to join the professional staff at the College of Guyenne at Bordeaux, where the best scholars of the time were engaged.

Burdegalae vero cum occurrissem Jo. Pinario¹ qui ante paucos dies Tolosae² Dominicanus factus erat ut vulgo certe ferebatur, quod aegre ferret se minus laute quam volebat vestitum conspici; cui opinioni cum mores hominis antea mihi noti congruere viderentur, coepi liberius iocari cum illo pro antiqua familiaritate. Quid autem dixerim non memini. Certe nihil opinor me dixisse quod non soleat in Gallia vulgo dici, ac possit libere ubique inter amicos. Et tamen illum notabiliter offensum sensi quod mihi qui eum paulo ante noveram non tam gravis visus quam ipse omnibus se videri volebat.

Eiusdem Gallicae libertatis erat illud quod homini molesto quem videbam causam³ disputandi quaerere roganti quis fecit primus monachos ego forte respondi tonsor et vestiarius. Is qui fuerit certe non memini, hoc autem scio in Gallia nusquam homines huiusmodi verbis offendi solere.

Scripsi Burdegalae dialogum qui publice exhibitus est, et privatim apud multos actus, a nemine quod sciam reprehensus, in quo reprehendebantur patres, qui liberos suos invitos ad monachatum adigunt, nihil animadvertentes idonei sint, necne, ad id institutum. Cuius scribendi occasio haec erat; nobilis quidam in Santonibus monsieur de Mirambeau duas habebat filias ex priore uxore, ad quas proveniebat hereditas opulenta ex morte matris. Pater autem arguebatur eas invitas intrusisse in monasterium eius hereditatis causa, nam in Santonibus parentibus liberi, et liberis parentes succedunt. Hae autem puellae tum maxime adversus patrem litigabant in senatu

¹ Joam Pinheiro was a nephew of the Bishop of Tangiers, and had been one of Buchanan's pupils. On 6th September Buchanan states that the brief discussion which he had at Bordeaux, with Friar Joam Pinheiro, was, "as to whether the monks of Saint Dominic were bound not to eat meat when travelling, and that he, Master George, held that they were not so bound, because he thinks that he had heard so from old monks of Saint Dominic; and that he also, joking with Pinheiro, remarked that his Habit was better than a Silken Coat, and this he said because he had heard at Bordeaux that the said Friar Joam Pinheiro had become a monk, because he was refused a Silken Coat." This Pinheiro was perhaps the originator of the persecution of Buchanan, Teives, and Costa. His evidence given at Paris was the cause of Buchanan and the others being arrested. All three had told him that men had instituted Advent and Lent, and that Christ had ordained that there should be no difference in victuals. They had also said that men had instituted the Religious Orders.

² Buchanan's reference here to Toulouse, and again on p. 391 (*tholosam*) do not quite confirm the belief that Buchanan had been there, although in his *History* (p. 11) he mentions that he was there in 1544.

³ Henriques, *ausam*.

Burdegalensi.¹ Is dialogus tum² neminem quod sciam offenderat: neque quicquam continebat quod in Gallia non agi et dici et liceat et solcat.³

De matrimonio sacerdotum hoc sensi; votum his qui fecissent servandum sed certe minus *scandali futurum si, ut solebat antiquitus, presbyteri, hoc est seniores, tantum ordinarentur, aut permitteretur eis matrimonium.*⁴

An vero quisquam sine speciali gratia possit caste vivere quaestionem eam putavi magis pertinere ad medicos quam ad theologos, ac de ea re fuit mihi sermo cum Nicolao Pichoto medico Burdegalensi homine docto qui mihi plane persuasit libidinem arte et diaeta minui multis rationibus posse.

De veste vero Franciscanorum an tantam vim habeat quantam vulgus credit, hoc est, liberos a poenis fore et omnino remitti eis peccata qui in ea sepeliuntur⁵ nunquam mihi necessario credendum putavi quippe cum id nec scripturis sit traditum nec ab ecclesia sancitum.⁶

¹ On 21st August in the second Examination he was asked if he had ever censured or laughed at people for entering the Religious Orders. He remembered that at Coimbra before four or five persons he had said that the Jesuits were wrong in persuading young people to enter their Order, before they had attained years of discretion. He said, however, that he had never felt badly disposed towards the Order.

² Henriques, *tam*.

³ This dialogue raised the anger of the Catholic Clergy, and thus helped to cause Buchanan's flight from Bordeaux. From an item in Pinheiro's evidence, it has been conjectured that a Lutheran, a friend of Garanta (or Guérente), was burned as a martyr at Bordeaux, and so Buchanan took warning and fled.

⁴ In a succeeding examination when he was asked if he at any time had held that formerly priests were free to marry, he replied, that he had thought he had, but that he had never taught this, nor would he advise any one in Holy Orders to marry. He had also heard another preacher in England, a Catholic named Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, who had argued that marriage had two objects, *prolem et vitiationem fornicationis*, and that the second was of less importance. Before that, another Lutheran whose name he does not know had preached that the object of matrimony was the avoiding of fornication. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that Buchanan with his broad-mindedness should have recoiled from both sides, and afterwards refrained from any religious reforming fervour.

⁵ Henriques has a footnote which, when translated from the Portuguese, evidently means "written in the margin with reference to the passage."

⁶ In the subsequent examination he said that he believed that those who are buried in the Franciscan Habit will obtain all the indulgences granted to them by the Pope, but he was unaware that these indulgences had been given. His opinion was that the said indulgences were derived from the promise of St. Francis, and not from the Pope. He had doubted about that promise of St. Francis, because no mention was made of it in his biography.

Atque ut obiter id attingam nunquam putavi mihi esse necesse ut fidem adhiberem miraculis, nisi his praesertim quae gravissimis autoribus confirmata essent, non quod *credam non posse per sanctos, atque etiam per diabolum opera mirabilia saepe praesentari sed quod ex uno ficto miraculo plus fit mali si res fiat palam, quam ex multis veris boni.*¹ Id ego multis exemplis edoctus dico. Fratrum Bernensium multis nota est historia, quae turbavit Helvetios. Infinita huius generis uno tempore prodierunt, quae totam subverterunt Angliam.

Aureliae in Gallia Franciscani, prope Tholosam sacerdotes, in suburbio Luteciano procurator Benedictorum quantos tumultus excivissent nisi nigrantus² severe animadvertissent.

In Scotia purgatorio multum fidei detraxit Gulielmus Langius Franciscanus dum purgatorium miraculo vult confirmare.³

De purgatorio vero nunquam dubitavi quin crederem esse locum poenae aeternae, ac alium poenae temporalis post mortem cum nullum peccatum sit quod non aliquam poenam mereatur etiamsi culpa condonetur.

Illud vero aliquando dubitavi an indulgentiae pertinerent etiam ad mortuos. Nec alia res nisi determinatio ecclesiae me eo scrupulo liberavit. De qua dicam inferius.

De iustificatione putavi diversis verbis idem dicere vos et Lutheranos cum alteri dicerent hominem iustificari ex fide et operibus, alteri ex fide prooperante.⁴ Ac in tam tenui discrimine dolebam eos non convenire de re maxima. Quod si quando simpliciter ex fide iustificari nos dicebant, id ita accipiebam ac si dicerent fide perfecta quae coniunctam habet charitatem quae otiosa non est.⁵

¹ When questioned regarding the miracles often presented both by the saints and the devil, he stated that at a certain time he had believed that the wonders worked by the saints were on an equality with the others, because he had wrongly interpreted some things which he had read. The master-priest, Friar Hieronimus, had, however, "made things clear to him."

² Henriques, *nigrantus*.

⁴ Henriques, *per operante*.

³ In reference to this miracle performed by William Languis or Lang, in order to prove the existence of Purgatory, Buchanan afterwards stated that "according to popular report, and as was afterwards proved before the King, Langius conspired with another man, that he should say that a departed soul had appeared to him—which was eventually found to be false."

⁵ He was afterwards examined on the question of justification, and a straight question put to him. He was asked if he held that the sinner was justified through faith in Christ, so that charity only would follow, or that the sinner justified himself by faith formally. His reply was in favour of the former condition,—*ita quod Charitas consequatur*. He also considers that

Cum in Scotia legerem libros Augustini de doctrina Christiana ac in locum incidissem libro. 3. ubi quaedam eo pertinentia verba explicat, ostendi locum fratri Dominicano primi nominis apud nostros ac interrogavi quid sibi videretur. Ille nihil de re dixit sed me apud alios passim traducebat tanquam sacramentarium, quae res multiplex malum mihi creavit, nam et dubium multo magis quam antea remisit, et summam vulgo infamiam mihi conflavit, et fecit ne postea si qua in re dubitarem cuiquam me aperire auderem. Cur autem id fecerit novit deus: quid alii suspicati sint, non attinet scribere.¹

Accesserunt postea alii Augustini loci qui vehementius animum meum commoverunt ac maiorem iniecerant scrupulum, ita ut plane Augustinus ab adversariis stare videretur cui ego semper plurimum tribuebam. Interea si de ea re inciderit sermo fieri potest ut ego meam de Augustino sententiam aperirem. Nam id nunquam dissimulavi, sed ita ut ipse nunquam ausus sim definire quicquam. Neque enim ita ei assentiebar, ut plane illi crederem, sed ut tanti viri autoritas turbaret animum. Eam hesitationem meam per otium feriis paschalibus antequam communicarem ad And. Goveanum retuli. Is mihi primus ostendit in sacramento eucharistiae et corpus esse et signum, neque contra. Quod responsum eius cum varie confirmaret, tum mihi omnino satisfecit postea vero animum plane confirmarunt scripta Roffensis et Clithovei² ea potissimum quae de autoritate ecclesiae disputant non solum in hac parte sed in omnibus aliis. Accesserunt conciones doctorum virorum Luteciae atque etiam Burdegalae, quae mihi satisfecerunt.

Cum de eucharistia dubitabam quod tempus coepit sub meum

Catholics and Lutherans are agreed on this point, that faith cannot exist without works. In other words, he considered, that though faith and charity were different things in themselves, they could not be present independently of one another. Perfect faith—belief in the history of the Holy Scripture and the confidence that through Christ we have access to God—could not be without Charity.

¹ The influence of Augustine, whose works he had carefully read, was shown in the conversations with Pinheiro, who in his evidence stated that Buchanan had tried to prove and show him, that according to St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, the body of our Lord "was in the Eucharistic Sacrament *per modum signitatem*." It was Augustine's sincerity in this belief that inclined Buchanan to accept it.

² We learn both here and in another passage that "his doubts have been removed by attending the lessons of the Catholics and by reading Rofense and Aclitoben."—*Henriques*.

ex Anglia discessum usque ad proximum pascha (nam in Scotia magis disquirebam etiam quam disputabam et in Anglia de ea re vetitum erat disputare) necesse erat etiam de missa an esset sacrificium disputare, praesertim cum haec inter se connexa sint. Neque memini tamen unquam in ulla disputatione hanc rem a me agitatam nisi in disputatione quadam publica ad quam me et alios provocaverat Melchior Flavius Franciscanus. Argumenta vero quibus usus sum illic, agitavi cum aliis ac postea quibusdam recitavi, idque simpliciter.

Unane missa debeat esse an plures nunquam interposui meam sententiam. Illud saepe dixi multas res esse quae minus venerationis haberunt ex frequentia. Dixi me libentius audire magnam missam in secreto aliquo templo quam frequenti, quod in templis celebrioribus eo tempore plures contractus transigi viderem, quam in foro.

Ex his verbis quid maligni interpretes collegerint nescio, neque etiam id praestare possum.

Missas vero qui plures audiat quam ego in tantis occupationibus puto esse neminem, cuius rei testem habeo totam viciniam.

Missas autem a privatis dici imperari pro furto inveniendi ac aliis id genus absurdum putavi.¹

Orationem rem longe sanctissimam esse sentio. Multa tamen saepe dixi in eos qui temere orant, hoc est, non animadvertunt quid dicant, item in eos qui vel evangelium vel alias orationes quasi carmen magicum ad usus profanos applicant, ac certis verbis febrim depelli vel alios morbos credant: qua in re multos offendi vel qui fiduciam in his rebus collocant, vel qui quaestum hinc faciunt.²

In his erant qui clavem vertendo de furto divinant, qui salicis virgam fissam certis verbis coire faciunt, ac ex ea crucem depellendae febrim faciunt, ac alia multa id genus. Hi cum reprehenduntur statim Lutherani nomen reprehensoribus obiciunt.

Delectum ciborum, vestium, et confessionem auricularum certo tempore et modo ex institutione humana omnia sed utilia semper putavi, quae si quis non observet peccare quidem ex inobedientia

¹ Henriques has a footnote which, when translated, means "in margin without reference to the text."

² When Buchanan was afterwards asked if he held that all who prayed without attention thereby sinned, he replied, that in his opinion, those people grievously sinned who mechanically spoke the words of the prayer and thereby thought that sufficient. He, in the above passage, severely criticises those who expect disease to be expelled simply by using words, even if they be holy.

cum non solum *ecclesiae sed etiam principum legibus obediendum* sit, sed leve id peccatum esse si sine scandalo fieret, cum ad mores regendos tanquam leges civiles sint.¹

In cibus illud sensi: non cibum ipsum inquinare hominem sed vel inobedientiam, vel scandalum. Usus autem sum cibus promissive cum incidebat occasio fere per biennium: postquam vero ab Anglia egressus sum nunquam quod sciam nisi valetudinis causa quae magna ex parte mihi adversa fuit ex gravissimo Burdegalae coelo, unde longum morbum contraxi distillationis, qui nunquam nisi hac aestate intermisit.

Confessione semper usus ex more ecclesiastico etiam in Anglia, quanquam ibi non communicavi, cum in maximis rebus ab eis dissentirem.

Videlicet pontificis potestate quam semper maximam esse prae me tuli, sed ita ut pontificem in potestate concilii dicerem esse, quae res saepe canonici iuris studiosos offendit, aequae atque illud quod dicebam canonistarum scientiam esse periculis obnoxiam, quae concilii generalis uno decreto possit eis auferri.

Item quod aliquando dixerim pontificem praeter clavem Petri aliam hoc est multas rationes colligendae pecuniae habere qua omnium loculos aperiret.

Dissentiebam item ab Anglis de praeceptis humanis cum existimarem etiam profanorum ingrantium² leges et iussa sub poena peccati observanda: item quod nunquam persuadere mihi poterant Regem Angliae caput esse ecclesiae Anglicae.

Item de purgatorio, de libero arbitrio, de potestate pontificis, de votis, de ecclesia, in qua se nunquam mihi explicare poterant quid esset, aut quae. Itaque cum primum potui ut illinc evasi meam sententiam de Anglis explicavi, in ea tragedia quae est de Jo. Baptista, in qua quantum materiae similitudo³ patiebatur,

¹ Buchanan was much questioned regarding his views on Confession. He stated that it was a Divine law, that man should confess to the priest, that the time for doing so was fixed by human law, that the precept of confession was human. He considered that it was not a sin to fail to confess at the times ordered by the Church if scandal was not caused thereby,—at least it was a *venial* sin. It was venial as compared with sins which are contrary to human laws; it was not an unpardonable sin to disobey human laws, if neither scandal nor injury to one's neighbour arose therefrom.

² Henriques, *ingrantium*.

³ The phrase, *in qua—similitudo*, is repeated in Henriques' text.

mortem et accusationem Thomae Mori repraesentavi, et speciem tyrannidis illius temporis ob oculos posui.¹

Haec sunt quae memoria suppetunt mihi in quibus animus fere per biennium in Scotia et Anglia haesit aut interdum male sensit, aut in quibus cum male sentientibus consensi, et coivi societatem.

Burdegalae vero quicquid fui temporis illud in vero disquirendo consumpsi, adeo ut cum edoctus fuisset ex Roffensi et Clichtoveo, quanta esset orthodoxae ecclesiae autoritas protinus mecum statuerem in posterum minus mihi credere, atque ut rationes humanas in profanis disciplinis quaererem, in rebus sacris auctoritati scripturae crederem cuius neminem interpretem

¹ The statement, as here made, is perhaps the most important in the whole defence. It is certainly the most startling and throws new light altogether on the motive of Buchanan's drama,—the *Baptistes*. In spite of his heresies, Buchanan was faithful to the Catholic Church in its principles of government, if not in its methods and interpretations. Henry VIII.'s claim to be head of the Church was repugnant to Buchanan, as well as being an example of the tyranny of kings. Professor Hume Brown with his insight into the historical conditions of the times was certainly justified in inferring that the leading sentiments in the drama express the strong leanings of the writer, but his surmises as to the personalities represented were not correct, however near they may have been. Buchanan's confession in the above defence shows that Sir Thomas More was the prototype of Buchanan's *Johannes*. Professor Hume Brown suggests a fiery reformer of Buchanan's time, e.g. Berquin, while Professor De la Ville de Mirmont, suggests Patrick Hamilton (see p. 122 of this volume). We may presume that it is equally wrong to say that "Herod could hardly but suggest Francis I.'s past attitude towards the religious difficulties of the day," while Louise of Savoy was considered the prototype of Herodias. Again Professor De la Ville de Mirmont makes Herod to represent the James V. of Scotland, and Herodias to be Mary of Guise. Howsoever these happy suggestions may have been in conformity with Buchanan's drama, we must now consider them as improbable. Herod was evidently meant to represent Henry VIII., and Herodias was evidently Anne Boleyn. Then again, Professor De la Ville de Mirmont agrees with Buchanan's greatest biographer in saying that Malchus "undoubtedly stood in Buchanan's mind for his own relentless pursuer, Cardinal Beaton." It is now to be accredited to Buchanan that he did not vituperate his greatest foe to the extent that students of his works expected him to do. Malchus must thus represent Cromwell, and undoubtedly the representation is complete. Professor Hume Brown has no suggestion to make concerning Gamaliel, but Professor de la Ville de Mirmont has suggested Charles de Grammont, Archbishop of Bordeaux (see p. 122) and gives his reasons, which are strangely opposite to the suggestion of Professor Hume Brown that this Archbishop might seem to the people of Bordeaux to represent Malchus. We however are much clearer on this point, and the character seems to represent Cranmer. Then the Queen's daughter might be interpreted as a prophetic representation of the character of Anne's daughter, though the prophecy was not fulfilled in Elizabeth's actions.

praeter ecclesiae catholicae consensum suseiperem. Quae cogitatio adeo animum meum fregit ut per postremum biennium quod fui Burdegalae nullum insolentius verbum ex me auditum arbitrer cuius non esset mihi facilis ratio in Gallia ubi sermonis in iocando et comediarum in agendo summa libertas est non modo in alios sed etiam in regem ipsum. Itaque durissimae inquisitionis temporibus nmo me unquam levissima suspitione aspersit.

Sub finem anni 1543 Luteciam profectus sum¹ omnino ea mente [ut] in Scotiam redirem ac me restituerem ecclesiae. Ibi cum a Paulo pontifice maximo bulla veniae generalis promulgata esset omnibus qui se *reconciliare vellent ecclesiae, eam ego tum veniam libenter* amplexus sum, quippe qui omnes rationes sum secutus ut non modo erimen sed etiam suspitionem criminis a me removerem. Neque propterea destiti in patriam velle reverti, ut de scandalo quod illic excitarem omnibus publice satisfacerem, neque enim animo illic habitandi redire volebam, sed me purgandi. Nam praeter poenitentiam a sacerdote mihi indictam ego mihimetipsi aliam indixi mea sponte ut videlicet perpetuum mihi exilium consciscerem ubi me semel purgassem, praeterea ut meus labor ecclesiae semper deserviret nec ullos honores unquam aut fructus ex ecclesia pereiperem.

Interea Luteciae usus sum consuetudine eorum hominum qui longissime a suspitione abessent. Cum Jo. Ershin priore coenobii divi Colmoci, ac fratre illius mulieris quae mihi ereavit omnes molestias, familiarissime vixi, cum Gulielmo Cranstono,² qui nunc opinor est doctor theologus, eum Davide Panitario³ tum legato qui nunc est archiepiscopus Glascuensis ac legatus Scotorum in Gallia qui me saepe humaniter mensa sua excepit et cui praelecturus fueram literas Graecas⁴ nisi mihi morbus impedimento fuisset. Denique nullus fuit alicuius nominis tum Luteciae Scotus cuius familiari consuetudine non sim usus.

Verum eum ex destillatione in morbum articularem in omnes corporis artus diffusum incidissem, qui me tota aestate et autumno detinuit affixum lecto mea profectio in patriam impedita est.

Successit tempus illud quo per factiones domesticas Scotorum Angli magnam partem Scotiae armis obtinuerunt, ac totam occupaturi videbantur ut iam nec si possem redire liceret.⁵

¹ It is now certain that Buchanan did not leave Bordeaux until 1543.

² Appointed Principal of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, 1551.

³ Presumably David Panter, Commendator of Cambuskenneth Abbey. He was vicar of Carstairs, near Glasgow; latterly Bishop of Ross, not of Glasgow.

⁴ Buchanan stated earlier in the Inquisition that he had studied Greek, as well as Latin, Letters and Philosophy at Paris; he was not therefore self-taught in Greek, as has been supposed.

⁵ Henriques, *liberet*.

Itaque omnino de patria repetenda animum abieci et qui antea id solum cogitabam tum conditionem requirendam putavi ubi desperata salute patriae longissime ab eius malis audiendis abessem.

Offerebant mihi in Gallia amplas conditiones Abbas Jueriaci homo nobilissimus qui me etiam in morbo pecunia benigne iuverat, in Vasconibus item Episcopi Tarbellensis, et Condomensis, in aula regia Card. Lothoring, et Card. Giuriacensis, et Franciae Cancellarius suasu Jo. Gagnei theologi et lazari Bayfii, quorum domestica consuetudine usus sum aliquot menses in aula.

Ego tamen tenuiorem hic secutus sum, ut quam longissime, ut dixi, a patriae malis abessem. Hoc demum anno cum pacem cum Anglis factam audissem statueram iterum in patriam redire ac omnibus quod in me esset satisfacere.

Superiore ergo illo triennio multa per ignorantiam multa per negligentiam, iuvenilis aetatis impetum, pravam consuetudinem et dixi et feci, quae nequiter perverse et impie facta intelligo, quorum ego cum poenitentiam egissem anno 1544 putavi ea apud homines oblivione perpetua sepultura iri quemadmodum apud deum sepulta esse arbitror et spero. Quorum rationem mihi nunc non putavi reddendam. Neque singillatim reddere possum neque dubito tamen quin multo plura sint quam hic a me perscribantur. Novem vero posteriores annos ita egi et cum his hominibus, in luce Christiani orbis ut nec fingendis criminibus locum me praebuisse opiner cuius rei testem neminem fugio qui me familiariter novisse poterat. Qui fuerunt multi, et illustres homines, quorum non solum familiaritate, sed etiam convictu sum usus quadriennio proximo antequam in Lusitaniam venissem.¹ Ita enim vixi ut pauci admodum eo tempore me notiores fuerint Luteciae.

De mea vita et oratione postquam in Lusitaniam veni nullum testem reiicio. Quod si novem annorum inoffensus cursus perpetuo vitae tenore non satis magnum mutatae vitae inditium habet, si regressus ad ecclesiam et venia impetrata apud tales homines non valent, nescio quis portus est ad quem miseri confugere possunt. Ego vero confiteor me graviter in deum atque homines peccasse, scandalo fuisse ecclesiae Dei, idemque testor me cum saepe alias tum promulgatis indulgentiis peccata me confessum esse, ab eo tempore semper cavisse ne quem ulla in re quoad possem offenderem, et si quid in praesentia omiserim id me infirmitate memoriae, non alia ratione fecisse. Protestor item me nullam poenam etiam nunc recusare, donec omnibus quod in me est satisfaciam. Sin minus mihi hic in aliqua re creditur, illud a

¹ Also from a passage at foot of p. 401 we are assured that he was in Paris until he left for Portugal, and thus the problem of the years 1545-1547 is solved.

vestra humanitate peto, ut hic de Lusitanicis peccatis statuatis quod vobis visum fuerit severissima iudicii¹ forma. De his quae in Gallia a me admissa dicuntur vinctus in Galliam mittar ut illic ubi asperrime iudicia exercentur dem poenas, neque enim ego meis testibus uti possum neque adversariorum hic testimonia refutare neque notos homines allegare: multa praetera hic criminosa esse video quae in Gallia ne suspicionem quidem criminis habent.

In Britannia vero quae acta sunt non solum deprecor sed etiam ea detestor atque abominor. Vos autem viri doctissimi interim hoc expendere velim quam infirma sit iuventa non solum suapte natura sed etiam provocata contumeliis, ambitione inflammata, contentione accensa, callidorum hominum insidiis circumventa, doctorum hominum opinione et suasu impulsa, irarum impetu in praeceptis plerumque prouens, insidiis diaboli impedita,² consuetudine pravorum hominum corrupta, illecebris capta.

De me vero sic habetote. Quae mihi causa fuerat ad lapsa praecipua, eadem fuit ad odium praeteritae vitae potissima. Nam cum ab ineunte aetate in grammatica rhetorica et dialectica male institutum me intellexissem, statui mihi omnium opiniones audiendas, in nullius magistri verba iurandum. Ea ratio me provexit longius ut nihil non audiendum in quavis re putarem. Itaque cum Lutherani freti adversariorum ignorantia sese ostentarent, Christiani homines quae ipsi firma et solida putarent in disquisitionem vocari moleste ferrent, et convitiarentur magis quam responderent, factum est plerumque ut infirmiorum animi nutarent quod inopia probationum eos ad convitia descendere crederent, et ob eandem causam suos sensus non auderent omnibus nudare. Dum auxilium petere non audebant in luto haerebant. Postquam vero in Galliam veni aequae facile veritatem auditam arripui, nec ulla in re unquam pertinaciter egi. Me autem non esse pertinacem in ulla re cum omnes alii Conimbricae tum mei discipuli sciunt, a quibus facile me admoneri patior si quid interpretando errarim, aut siquid posterius occurrit de aliqua re quod melius dici possit, sine ulla ambitione detego meum errorem. Neque quicque in quo dubito ulla ex parte me plane profiteor scire. Eorum vero quae superius explicavi si quid pro explorato tenuissem, non erat cur ex Anglia discederem ubi nec opes, nec honores, nec securitas mihi defutura

¹ Henriques, *indicii*.

² Henriques, *impetita*.

erant: non recusassem ire in Daniam, quo me vocabat in spem maximae hereditatis maior amita mea, mulier orba, provecta aetate, et notae opulentiae omnibus ceteris qui mare Balthicum navigant.

Non toties infelici eventu reditum in patriam tentassem.

Non temporibus turbulentis redire recusassem.

Non ita rationes meas constituisssem ut, dum commodum revertendi tempus expecto, nullis certis sedibus haeream, aut certe me munissem literis pontificiis adversus invidiam potius quam simplici indulgentia, cuius ego etiam nunc vim eam esse volo ut meae conscientiae in solatium prosit. Quod reliquum est totum misericordiae Dei ac vestrae committo neque ullam poenam qua vos me dignum statueritis recuso. Illud tantum vos oro ne hominem qui nullam satisfaciendi rationem hactenus omisit, quod in se fuit, potius perditum quam servatum velit.

Orationes ad sanctos¹ veteri more semper probavi quibus vel oramus ut intercedant pro nobis, vel per memoriam eorum aliquid a deo petimus. Multae novae mihi visae sunt superstitiosae, et quae a sanctis simpliciter petunt ea quae a deo peti debent quae putantur ad certa mala afferre remedium, ut adversus vulnera febrim, etc. . . .

Picturae comparatio pontificis cum Christo, qui non ingreditur per ostium, etc., . . . omnis arbor non faciens fructum, etc., . . . resurrectio Christi in qua religiosi omnium ordinum custodiunt sepulchrum ac dolent ubi senserunt Christum surrexisse² . . . picturas varias in Anglia vidi quas in Gallia interdum explicabam expetentibus, e quibus aliquas in Scotiam delatas vidi per episcopum sancti Davidis Anglum cum esset legatus in Scotia quae nonnullos commoverunt.

De imaginibus probavi id quod tum vidi fieri in Anglia: ut hae quae superstitiose colebantur velut imago crucifixi quae vultu risus et alios affectus fingebat et imago darvel gadezim³ tollerentur, caeterae permanerent, utque quater in anno ad

¹ Buchanan afterwards stated that the saints ought not to be asked for that which only God gives, which is the life eternal and the remission of sins, and that he had always advised to go direct to God, because no saint was so merciful as God. The saints should only be our intercessors with God.

² This picture compared the Pope with Christ and was inscribed with the texts "He who entereth not in by the gate" and "Every tree that beareth not fruit," and to a picture of the Resurrection of Christ, which represented the monks of every order as guarding the sepulchre and expressing their grief on discovering that Christ was risen indeed. "These were probably German prints." The passage is quite corrupt.

³ See p. 71, footnotes.

minimum sacerdos interpretaretur populo quid sibi vellent imagines ac caeterae cerimoniae quae videbantur populo necessariae.

De Judaismo nunquam cogitavi. Anabaptistarum quae sit secta adhuc ignoro.

Epicureos in omni conventu semper detestatus sum nec verbo solum sed etiam carminibus interdum.

Libros nec habeo ullos nisi vetustos, nec aliud est de quo diligentius admoneo scholasticos in omni loco quam ut a lectione novorum librorum in omni genere doctrinae absistant donec veteres plane perlegerint.

Babylonem quae describitur in apocalipsi aliquando Romam putavi, ac eam etiam designari per mulierem. Verum cum mcccum reputarem in prophetis de re futura omnem interpretationem esse periculosam, quippe cum maxima pars tum demum intelligatur ubi eventus est manifestus, statim in ea re suspendi sententiam ac facile passus sum me cum multis id ignorare.

Georg. Buchanan mea manu omnia scripsi et signavi.

After the first Defence was received Buchanan had to undergo a severe examination. After that was over, he wrote the following, which is mainly autobiographical:—

“Tria fere tempora esse video, in quibus omnis mea versatur accusatio. Primum a postremis incipit annis quibus in Scotia fui, usque ad id tempus quo ex Anglia in Galliam veni, ac per aliquot menses legendo et audiendo quoad potui animum repurgavi, ac deinde communicavi quod fuit circiter quindecim dies post pascha anno domini 1541 si recte memini. Hoc ego totum tempus quoad memoria suppetebat, vobis ante descripsi. Multa autem ut fateor in Anglia et Scotia a me parum pie dicta et facta sunt. Nam in Gallia nihil memini nisi siquis me rogaverit de rebus Anglicis forte responderim.

Non dubito tamen quin ad vos in rebus Scoticis multo acerbiora vero delata sunt omnia, praesertim cum gravissimis factionibus absens oppugnarer. Praeterea cum ego e familia non adeo opulenta sim, sed certe nota et factiosa, non solum mea privata odia in me incubuerunt, sed ab inimicis etiam familiae communibus oppugnabar. Quanto autem odio prosequeretur meam familiam eius familia qui nunc est prorex in Scotia, quoties iudiciiis capitalibus, quoties ferro totam nostram gentem petiverint, nemini opinor ignotum est qui res Scoticas noverit.

Accedebat commune nominis Lutherani odium quod secundis populi auribus, summam fingendi licentiam hominibus invidis et malitiosis dabat.

Haec ego non ideo dico ut me purgem sed nequis vestrum admiretur si eadem quae ego facta fateor aut paulo aliter, aut etiam asperius facta ab aliis dicantur, praesertim cum hi quibus negocium datur ut inquirant de talibus rebus eorum testimonia recipiant libentissime, qui criminosissime, et acerbissime loquantur. Neque enim iudicum sed accusatorum partes sibi demandatas intelligunt. Itaque dum crimina omnia sine discrimine libenter arripiunt, malunt alienae saluti periculum creare, quam ipsi videri in quaerendo parum diligentes fuisse.

Quae omnia refutandi mihi in praesentia non video locum. Sed odio invidiae et malignis rumoribus praebendae sunt aures, apud eos auditores, qui¹ quid sit veri in re ipsa nosse non possunt.

Ut in Galliam veni omne tempus quoad potui in excutiendo vero posui, usque ad pascha proximum.

Et cum id quod concionibus et libris legendis nondum satis explicatum putabam ad And. Goveanum retulissem, ille partim negocii impeditus, partim disputando et docendo rem protraxisset in XV. diem post pascha, eo tempore liber omni scrupulo communicavi.

Proximum fuit tempus ab eo paschate donec in Lusitaniam veni, quo tempore nullam occasionem satisfaciendi deo et hominibus quoad eius fieri² potuit omisi. Nam quod meae conscientiae consolandae debebam id omnibus modis exsecutus³ sum, legendo audiendo, ecclesiae omni ex parte parendo et publicum et privatam absolutionem accipiendo.

Quod vero ad homines attinet cum in Gallia neminem me ostendisse dicto vel facto mihi conscius essem, non eram ea de re sollicitus. Scotis vero quos publice offenderam ut satisfacerem publice semper id unice cupienti occasio est erepta de manibus. Quos vero ita convenire familiariter potui ut meam voluntatem exponerem eis abunde satisfactum puto.

Hoc totum tempus prope sex annorum fuit, quo partim Burdegalae, partim Luteciae fui, et cum honoratissimo quoque qui in his locis erant familiariter vixi.⁴ Neque reor me in offensionem cuiusquam incurrisse.

¹ Henriques gives *quid* ² Henriques—*freri*. ³ Henriques—*executus*.

⁴ This statement proves that Buchanan left Paris to go to Portugal.

Tamen cum in tanta malignitate hominum difficile sit invidiam, difficillimum linguas malas effugere, video quod in Gallia mihi facillimum foret, idem hic mihi fore difficillimum,¹ ut cum testibus ignotis conflagam, apud eos qui nec me, nec illos nosse potuerunt, inter mores longe diversissimos cum occulta invidia pugnandum.

Itaque quod antea petii nec iniquum esse nec novum existimo id etiam nunc peto, ut apud severissimos Galliae iudices, ubi ius severissime dicitur liceat mihi cum illis experiri. Quod si fiat facile polliceor non magis mihi nunc ausuros molestiam exhibere quam per tot annos in Gallia praebere ausi sunt.

Tertium est tempus hoc quadriennium prope,² quod in Lusitania sum. De quo hoc tantum dico quoad per valetudinem licuit meam semper domum meum cubiculum noctes et dies patuisse, nihil clausi, nihil caelati apud me fuit: neque dicta, neque facta obscura sunt de quibus rebus facile vos cognoscere potestis praesertim cum neminem testem recusem.

Quam vero libere et clare haec nunc apud vos de hoc tertio tempore pronuntis, tam libere apud Gallos iudices de tempore quo in Gallia fui pronuntiarem neque enim qui clam nunc me oppugnant (si qui sunt) suam impudentiam prodere auderent ubi facile redargui possent palam."

B.—INVENTORY OF THE BOOKS OF COSTA AND BUCHANAN WHEN IN PORTUGAL.

When Buchanan and his colleagues—Teive and Costa—were arrested by the Inquisition at Lisbon, the Doctors and Deputies visited their rooms and examined their possessions. When they visited Teive's room, they found money and one book—John Calvin's *Christianae Religionis Institutio* (1536). The books of the other two prisoners were more numerous, and it is especially interesting to learn what books they had been cherishing. For information on this point we are indebted to Senhor Henriques, who gives an account of the Record given by the notary:—

"And at once the said Doctors, together with me, the Notary, went to the lodgings of Master Joamo da Costa, Principal of the

¹ Henriques prints *facilimum* and *difficilimum*.

² Buchanan must have come to Portugal at the beginning of 1547 or at the end of 1546.

said College, who is said to be at His Highness's Court, and, search having been made for all of his papers and books, the following were found, that is to say:—Two volumes, the title of which is *Precationes Christiana*;¹ ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Unio Discedentium*; another volume, the title of which is *Inquirdion Salmorum*;² ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Frases Divini Escriture*; ITEM, another volume, with the covers wanting, the title of which is *Anotaciones Sebastiane Monsteri*; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Dictionario Ebraico*, composed by Monstero; ITEM, another volume, the title of which [is] *Works of Clement Marot*; another volume of the Brivia——,³ in the French language.

And, at once, all the said senhores Deputy and Doctors went with me, the Notary, to the lodgings of the said Master George Buchanan, and, upon all of his books and chests being searched, there was found among them a volume, the title of which is *Greci Literature de Colampadio*; another volume, the title of which is *Arismetica Integra*,⁴ with the preface of Philip Melancthon; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Cicero's Oration pro Milone*, with an exposition by Philip Melancthon; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Orations of Julius*, with expositions by Philip Melancthon; all of which books the said Doctor Jorge Gonçalves, Deputy, ordered to be placed in safety, and he took charge of them.”

C.—LIST OF PASSAGES, PHRASES, AND SINGLE WORDS DELETED BY
THE INQUISITION IN BUCHANAN'S *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*.⁵

PASSAGES, phrases, and single words deleted by the Inquisition in George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 2nd edition of Alexander Arbuthnot, Edinburgh, 1583 (1st 1582), as seen in the copy 16 xii. 20 now in the Library of the Royal Ajuda Palace, Lisbon (Real Bibliotheca d'Ajuda).

¹ Evidently *Precationes Christianae*.

² This should be *Enchiridion Psalmorum*.

³ Writing here is almost illegible, but Senhor Henriques suggests that the book referred to was the *Bible*.

⁴ Should be *Arithmetica Integra*. Whether this book was returned to Buchanan or not, is not known, but it is certain that among the books he presented in later years to the University of St. Andrews there was a copy of this edition.

⁵ Drawn up and sent by Rev. R. M. Lithgow, Lisbon.

Folio 10v, lines 51-2, 2 words.	Folio 159v, lines 50.
„ 36v, „ 9-13.	„ 160, „ 48-9, 52-3.
„ 42, „ 49-50.	„ 160v, „ 37-9.
„ 45, „ 45.	„ 161, „ 5-8.
„ 46, „ 19-25.	„ 161v, „ 5.
„ 50v, „ 18.	„ 162v, lines 38-53.
„ 57, „ 44-7, 49-50.	„ 163, „ whole page deleted.
„ 63v, lines 45-6.	„ 166v, lines 42-4, 49-50.
„ 65, „ 33-48.	„ 167, „ 1, 5, 7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 36, 40, 47 (single words).
„ 68v, „ 14-5, 21-6, 28-9, 30- 41, 46-53.	„ 167v, „ 4-11, 15, 21, 24, 26- 7, 29-34.
„ 70, „ 9.	„ 168, „ 23, 31, 49, 50 (single words).
„ 71, „ 23-52.	„ 168v, „ 6, 7-16, 22, 40, 48.
„ 80, „ 14-5, 17, 49-53.	„ 169, „ 1, 2, 15, 19, 31, 46 (single words).
„ 80v, „ 1-2, 15-17.	„ 169v, „ 6, 7, 8, 17, 22, 47.
„ 83v, „ 26, 52-3.	„ 170, „ 21-2, 23, 25, 27, 29- 31, 44.
„ 84, „ 1-2, 10, 14.	„ 170v, „ 7-12, 15-7, 21, 24-5, 29, 37, 39, 40.
„ 99v, „ 2.	„ 172, „ 21.
„ 102v, „ 25-30, 41-53.	„ 172v, „ 48.
„ 103, „ 1-39.	„ 173, „ 1, 8.
„ 111v, „ 26.	„ 173v, „ 41.
„ 113v, „ 15, 18-22.	„ 174v, „ 9, 10.
„ 122v, „ 2-4.	„ 174, „ 18, 49, 52.
„ 123v, „ 35.	„ 176, „ 45, 46, 47.
„ 124v, „ 49-50.	„ 176v, „ 42.
„ 129, „ 45.	„ 178v, „ 8-9, 12, 14, 15, 31, 32.
„ 129v, „ 2-5.	„ 179, „ 13-4, 16, 18, 19, 21 22, 23.
„ 137, „ 33-42.	„ 179v, „ 27.
„ 138, „ 51.	„ 180, „ 53.
„ 145v, „ 26-34.	„ 180v, „ 3, 4, 5, 21, 22.
„ 146, „ 33-37.	„ 181v, „ 43.
„ 147, „ 13-51.	„ 182, „ 16-20, 24-6.
„ 149, „ 44-5.	„ 183, „ 7, 40-1, 42, 45, 47-51
„ 149v, „ 19.	„ 184, „ 27, 29, 31 to the end of page.
„ 150, „ 3-5, 22-3, 25, 34-5, 48-51.	„ 184v, „ All save last 11 words deleted.
„ 151, „ 33-6.	„ 185, „ 4-8.
„ 152, „ 28-9, 38-9.	„ 185v, „ 1-2, 44-50, 52-3.
„ 152v, „ 4-8, 14, 20-2.	„ 186, „ 1-4.
„ 153v, „ 14, 20, 54.	„ 186v, „ 19-24, 31-8, 43-8, 53.
„ 154, „ 1.	
„ 156, „ 4, 6.	
„ 156v, „ 28-31, 37-8, 53.	
„ 157, „ 1-3, 8-10, 13-5, 19, 26, 52.	
„ 157v, „ 4, 22-46, 53.	
„ 158 and 158v, this folio excised.	
„ 159, lines 6, 32-5, 39-40, 50-1.	

Folios 187-194 are excised, and a long note follows on margin of next page.

It begins "Hic liber qui totus scatebat evidentibus mendacijs et atrocibus in optimam reginam contumolijis excisus est."

Folio 195, lines 1-3, 19-31, 34-38, 43-4,	Folio 203v, lines 35, 36, 39.
49.	,, 204, ,, 6, 30-2, 34, 42-3, 50.
,, 195v, ,, 12-14.	,, 204v, ,, 31-2, 40, 44.
,, 196v, ,, 27-31, 44-5.	,, 205, ,, 22-3, 32-3.
,, 197, ,, 1-2, 7-18, 19-21, 23-4.	,, 206, ,, 19, 21, 22, 27-8, 31-2.
,, 197v, lines 32.	,, 209v, lines 25-29, 35, 36.
,, 199, ,, 32, 36, words deleted;	,, 210v, ,, 1, 2, 3, 4.
41, 42 words added.	,, 211, ,, 27, 28.
,, 199v, ,, 10-15, 32, 33.	,, 212, ,, 22-49.
,, 200, ,, 24-37, addition to 52.	,, 212v, ,, 52-53.
,, 200v, ,, 2-4, 6-7, 10-12, 14, 16,	,, 213, ,, 1-3, 5-13, 31-3.
21-3, 45-8.	,, 213v, ,, 5-6, 13-17.
,, 201v, ,, 13-15, 26.	,, 216, ,, 32, 43-8.
,, 202, ,, 2-7, 13-14, 20, 36-7.	

For these words deleted fol. 172, l. 21, 3rd word; fol. 172v, 48, 5th; fol. 173, l. 4th; fol. 173v, 41, penult; fol. 174, 18, 8th, 49-52, penult, *catholica* is substituted, and for fol. 173, 8, 4th and 22, 3rd word, *nona* is substituted, and for fol. 174v, 9, last word *nolebat*. For fol. 179v, 27, 4th last word, *lutherane* is substituted; for fol. 197v, 32, penult, 2 words *sectae lutherae*, and *catholicos* for fol. 180, 53, 3rd and 183, 7, 7th word.

DE JURE REGNI.

Folio 22v, lines 15-16.	Folio 29, 63, lines 1-19.
,, 23v, ,, 35.	,, C2 (34v), last half line.
,, 25v, ,, 1, 23-31.	,, C3 (35), lines 1-20, 34-45.
,, 28, 62, last 2 words of 270 and	,, C3v (35v), ,, 3-23.
all but 3½ lines here.	,, Dv (37v), ,, 37-50.

DIALOGUS.

Last 11 lines of verses "Ad eundem" (2 sets) excised.

The well bound volume in the Library of the Royal Palace of the Ajuda in Lisbon, in which the above deletions are found, has written upon it, "De S. Roque dado per Lopo Soares," from which it would appear to have come from the Convent of that name. The deleted words, save in the Latin verses at the close of the volume, cannot be read, and in many places the chemical used has quite burnt the part away.

Appendix II.

(Page 181.)

[BRIEF statement concerning the earliest known translation of the first part of the *De Jure Regni* recently discovered in a MS. of the 16th or early 17th century, by Professor I. Gollancz, the Secretary of the British Academy, in whose possession is the MS., and who allowed it to be brought to St. Andrews, so that it might be considered by those interested in the problem.]

This newly discovered translation of a portion of the *De Jure* is in a MS. volume containing a most interesting and unique MS. version of the play of *Mustapha* by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, the friend of Sir Philip Sydney,—the play (in its later expanded form first printed in 1633, though a fragmentary corrupt quarto edition appeared in 1609) may actually be in the handwriting of John Davies of Hereford, writing-master and poet, who wrote a sonnet in praise of *Mustapha* “as written, not printed.” The evidence of calligraphy seems strongly in favour of this suggestion. The writing of the translation of the *De Jure* is in a less beautiful hand, and, if by the same scribe, was written more hurriedly and with less care. The interesting fact of the two works being in the same volume may be explained by the close connection of certain principles enunciated in the play with the principles set forth in Buchanan’s treatise, much in the same way as Buchanan’s *Baptistes* set forth in dramatic form the views of the *De Jure*. It is a commonplace of literature that “the Tragedies of Lord Brooke might with more propriety have been called *political* treatises.”

It is well known that in 1664 the Privy Council of Scotland issued a proclamation prohibiting the circulation of copies of a MS. translation of the *De Jure*, and ordering the confiscation and destruction of all copies—the original work itself was suppressed by an Act of Parliament in 1584, *i.e.* five years after its first publication.

No copy of an early translation has hitherto been discovered; the earliest version known is that printed in 1680. The newly discovered text may well be assigned to the Elizabethan period, or the very beginning of the seventeenth century. As to its authorship, nothing is known. The subject is one that would have appealed to Fulke Greville himself, but without further investigation nothing definite can be said on this point. As a specimen of the translation the first part of the Dedication is here given in modernised spelling :—

“I had written many years since, when your kingdom was in trouble, a dialogue concerning the right of the Kings of Scotland in which, even from the beginning, I have desired to lay down what right and what power belongeth both to the Kings as to the Subjects, which book might seem at that time somewhat profitable to stop the mouths of those which followed the State of those times with violent and importunate clamours, rather than weighing directly what was just or right. Notwithstanding, I kept it for more peaceable times, and willingly dedicate it to our public quietness. For of late, looking over my waste papers, by chance I lighted upon this dialogue, and reviewing it methought I saw many things in it fit for your age, and therefore purposed to publish it that it might be a witness of my care and loyalty towards you, as also to admonish you of your duty towards your subjects. Many things do assure me that this my labour will not be vainly bestowed; first, your age which is not yet corrupted with false opinions, and above that your towardliness hasting of its own accord to the understanding of those things which are most excellent; besides this, your willingness in receiving the admonitions and instructions, not only of your teachers, but of all those which are accounted men of judgment and discretion; to these I join also your great diligence and judiciousness in examining your own businesses in which I know no man’s authority or greatness is available to persuade you unless it be joined with probable and sound reason,” etc., etc.

Appendix III.

(Page 24.)

A.—BOOKS WHICH BUCHANAN PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

Sir Robert Sibbald in his *Commentarius in Vitam Buchanani* (Edin. 1702) says: “Est etiam in eo collegio librorum, eidem a Buchanano donatorum, catalogus: qui omnes adhuc in bibliotheca extant.” With regard to these books, research has been made by the Rev. Dr. Lee, at one time Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary’s College and Rector of the University, and he was only able to come across nine of the books referred to. He, moreover, considered that there were not many more of Buchanan’s books in the Library. The

following are Dr. Lec's remarks upon the volumes, which were printed as an Appendix to Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan* (2nd Edition):—

1. Hieronymi Osorii de Gloria libri V. Conimbr. a Francisco Correa, A.D. MDXLIX. This volume has this inscription at the bottom of the title: "Ex libris communis bibliothecae Collegii Leonardini, ex dono doctissimi Magistri Georgii Buchanani, principalis ejusdem." The inscription is repeated at the end of the volume in the same handwriting,—not Buchanan's own, it is almost unnecessary to add.

2. Παυλου Ἀγινητου Ἱατρον ἀριστον βιβλια ἑπτα. Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asulani socieri, MDXXVIII. fol. This is a very beautiful copy of the *editio princeps*.

3. Homeri Poetarum Supremi Ilias per Laurentium Vallensem in Latinum Sermonem traducta: accuratissime ac solerti cura impressum ac emendatum hoc opus per venerabilem d. presbyt. Baptistam Farfengam, impensa vtro d. Francisci Laurini civis Brixiani, MCCCCLXXXVII. With regard to the accuracy of the impression, the following specimens taken from fol. I. may suffice:—'Agros' for 'Argos,' 'gratia' for 'grata,' 'fasta' for 'festa,' 'orgis' for 'rogis,' 'innuet' for 'juvet.' These errors are corrected on the margin, in Buchanan's handwriting I think. I see many others corrected in the handwriting of Professor Francis Pringle.

4. Marci Antonii Sabellici Annotationes veteres et recentes, ex Plinio, Livio, et pluribus authoribus. Philippi Beroaldi annotationes centum. Angeli Politiani Miscellaneorum centuria, etc. (eight other tracts). Impressit volumen hoc Jacobus Pentius de Leuco, Impressorum omnium accuratissimus MDII. Many marginal notes in this volume seem to be in our poet's handwriting.

5. Augustini Steuchi Eugubini Bibliothecarii contra Laurentium Vallam de falsa Donatione Constantini libri duo. Ejusdem de Restituenda Navigatione Tiberis. Ejusdem de Aqua Virgine in Urbem Revocanda. Lugd. ap. Seb. Gryphium, MDXLVII. These three last are in folio.

6. Arithmetica Integra, authore Michaelae Stifelio, cum praefatione Philippi Melancthonis. Norimbergæ, ap. Johan. Petreium, anno Christi MDXLIII. A quarto of 640 pages.

7. Terentiani Mauri venustissimus de Literis, Syllabis, et Metris Horatii Liber. (Johan Petit.). Venundantur Parisiis

in vico Divi Jacobi sub leone argenteo, apud Joannem Parvum. Bound up with this is Probi Grammatici Instituta Artium. Parisiis, 1.5.1.0.

8. Ephemerides Nicolai Simi, Mathematici Bononiensis, ad annos xv. incipientes ab anno Christi MDLIIII. usque ad annum MDLXVIII. cum meridiano inclytæ civitatis Bononiae diligentissime collatæ, etc. Venetiis, ex officina Erasmiana Vincentii Valgrisi, MDLIIII.

9. Le Epistole Famigliari di Ciccone, tradotte secundo i veri sensi dell' autore, et con figure proprie, della lingua volgare. Con privilegio del ommo Pontific et della illustrissima signoria di Venezia, MDLII (8vo). All these books are marked in the same manner as No. 1, both on the first and the last page.

There is also a copy of Buchanan's translation of Linacre's Rudiments, printed at Paris in 1540, with a great number of interlineations and marginal notes written in a very small hand,—whether Buchanan's or not, I am not able to ascertain.

B.—BOOKS WHICH BUCHANAN PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF GLASGOW (*Page 15.*)

Eustathii Commentarii in Homerum, quatuor voluminibus, Græce, in folio, Romæ, 1549.

Plutarchi Opera,¹ Græce, duobus voluminibus, fol. Basil. *Frobenius*, 1542.

Platonis Opera, Græce, fol. Basil. 1534, *Valderus*.

Procli in Platonis Tym. [Timæum] Commentarii, Græce, fol. Basil.

Demosthenis Opera, cum Commentariis Ulpiani, Græce, fol. Basil. 1532, *Hervægius*.

Lycophronis Cassandra, Græce, cum Commentariis Tzetzae, fol. Basil. 1546, *Oporinus*.

Commentarii Græci in Aristotelis Rhetoricam anonymi, fol. Parisiis, *Neobar.* 1539.

Apollonii Argonautica, Græce, in quarto, Florentiæ, 1496.

Aristophanes cum Commentariis, Græce.

Basilii Opera, Græce, fol. Basil. 1532, *Froben.*

Euclides cum Commentariis, Græce.

Stephanus Byzantinus de Urbibus, Græce.

Omnes ex dono viri optimi et doctissimi Georgii Buchanani, regii magistri. Strabo, Græce, fol.

Athenæus, Græce, fol. Basil. 1535.

Suidas, Græce, fol. Venetiis, *Aldus*, 1514.

Manuelis Moschopuli de Ratione Examinandæ Orationis Libellus, Græce.

Ex dono pariter Georgii Buchanani, regii magistri.

¹ "This book," says Professor Muirhead of Glasgow, "ought to have been entitled *Moralia Opuscula*." The above list is taken from the *Annales Collegii Glasguensis* tom. 1, f. 166-7, and printed as an appendix in Irving's *Memoirs* (2nd Edit.)

Appendix IV.

(Page 24.)

MR. GEORGE BUCHANAN'S OPINION

ANENT

THE REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF ST. ANDROS.

(From a MS. in the Advocates' Library.)

THIS is one of the few specimens of Buchanan's writing in the vernacular, and was first printed by Dr. Irving (*Memoirs*, 2nd edit., Appendix III.). It has, however, been thoroughly revised by Professor Hume Brown for the Scottish Text Society. As the original MS. could not recently be found in the Advocates' Library, we are indebted to Professor Hume Brown for allowing us to reproduce his text. The original MS. is not in Buchanan's handwriting, as is evident from the variations in the spelling of certain words, but must have been transcribed since Buchanan's time, during which the MS. was certainly never published. The original must have been written some time between 1563 and 1567, although the transcriber considers the year 1579 as the time of its composition. This, however, must be a mistake, as Mary was then no longer Queen, and the document makes reference to her still being on the throne:—"Item, that the Queen's grace, and lordis of the parlement, be requirit to pas ane act," etc. Thus it is reasonable to believe that the original was written after the Commission of 1563 was appointed, and not for the Commission of 1579. It has been doubted whether this is Buchanan's work or not. We see, however, throughout the work suggestions and terms which could only be familiar to one who had studied at the University of Paris. He refers to *portionists*, a term applicable to those who, as at St. Barbe, boarded with the principal or regent. Then the reference to *pedagogis* comes from one who is acquainted with the methods of private tutoring employed at Bordeaux; whilst the authors which Buchanan here prescribes for study are those who are read in his old Bordeaux College of Guyenne. These points alone would mark the work as that of Buchanan.

The whole scheme outlined here bears a striking resemblance to that of the College or School which had been founded at Geneva in 1536.

THE ORDINAR EXPENSIS OF THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITE.

Personis.

The Principal.
 Ane Lectour Publik.
 Vj Regentis.

Servantis.

The Principal ij.
 The Lectour Public ane.
 The Cuik.
 The Portar.
 The Stewart.
 The Pantriman.

For the Principal and ij fervantis ij quartis of ayl, ij bread, of xvj vnce the bread, ane quartar of mouton, or equiualent in fylver, or the fifche day, ij f.

Summa.

Of mault, xij gallons the bol, . . . xv blis and ane half.
 In bread of quheit, 6 blis.
 For kytchyn meat, xxxv lbis.

The public lectour j quart of ayl, ane bread and ane half.

Item half ane quartar of mouton at the principalis table. And he be maryit, or hald hous out of the college, that it falbe leful to hym to haif ane burdit in the college at the principalis table in his place, or ellis the pryce of the buirding abuve written.

Summa.

Of mault, vij blis 3 f.
 In bread, 4 blis 2 f.
 In fylver, xviii lbs.

The vj regentis euery man thre chopins of ayl, and xx vnce of bread dayly, and amangis thayme ane quartar of mouton and ane half, or equiualent ; that is, for fifche or flefche on the day v f. ; vz. on the fifche day ij course of fifche, and every man ane eg at the mailteth, or ane heryng, eftyr the feason and oportunitie.

Summa.

Of mault, xxxv blis.
 Of quheit, xxii blis, j f.
 Of fylver, lxxxj pundis v f.

The cuik, steward, portar, and pantriman, ilk ane of thayme ane bread, ane pyint of ayl the day, and half ane quartar of mouton, or equiualent, amang thayme, ane cours of fyfche at mailteth, xvi d the day.

Summa.

Of mault, . . . xj blis 2 f. 2 p.
 Of ait meil, . . . xv blis.
 Of fylver, . . . xxiii lbs vi fh. 8 d.

Wages of the Personis.

The principal ane hundreth pund.

The publik lectour ane hundreth markis.

The sex regentis sex scoir of pundis, to be diuidit at the principalis discretion, and paction maid with thayme.

The cuik and portar xij marks.

The steuart to be payit be the principal off the profet of the portionistis.

For colis, napre, veschel, and other extraordinaris concerning the hal and kitching xl pund 3eirly.

For reparation of the place xl pund 3eirly.

Of the quhilk reparation the principal fal geif coumpt 3eirly to the cenfouris and rectour for the tyme.

The Hail Soume.

In drynk of mault . . . lxix blis iij f. ij pkis.
 In quheit xxxj blis j f.
 In silver five hundret xlvij lbs. x f x d.

Item for ilk bursar, fa mony as falbe thocht necessair to be in the College of Humanite, ane bread and ane pyint of ayl on the day, the sext part of ane quartar of mouton, or the valour thairof.

The Ordre of the College of Humanite.

The scholaris that cumis of new fal addrefse thayme to the principal, quha fal caufe thayme to compone, and examine thayme, and eftyr thair capacite send thayme to ane regent with hys signet, and the regent fal writ thayme in hys rol, and assigne thayme place in hys classe diuidit in decuriis.

The bairnis of thys college fal heir na other lessons bot thair regentis, and the lectour public in humanite sa mony as falbe fund

able be the principal. And that quhilk is red in thys college sal nocht be red in otheris.

The bairnis of thys college fal nother ga furth be themselves nor jit with ane regent without the principalis leif. Al other thyngis partenyng to discipline scolastic to be doin as commodite and tyme occurris.

The nombre of the classis at the leist sex.

The lawast class¹ is for thayme that suld declin the namis, and the verbes actives, passives, and anomales, and eftyr that lear Terence and the rudimentis of grammar as followis. Thay sal bring to the classe paper and ink, and the regent sal cause thayme to writ twa or thre lynis of Terence, tellyng nocht only to thayme the lettres and the word but als the accent in sik lasar that the bairnis may easely writ eftyr his pronounciation.

And efter that he sal geif the interpretation in Scottis correspondant to the Latin, garryng thayme all writ. Syne he sal declair euery word, and cause thayme to writ severally all the nounes and the verbes that be in thair lesson, geif command to lear thayme against the nixt lesson, and als bring that lesson quhilk was maid in the classe without ony falt writtin. The nomenclaturis to haif charge to gather the lessons writtin, euery ane in hys awyne decurio, and bring thayme to the regent, and schaw hym quha has faltis. And geif the regent find falt quhairof the nomenclator has nocht advertysit hym, than he sal punyss baith the writar and the nomenclator, to mak thayme mair diligent in tyme to cum. And na man sal mend otheris faltis vntil thay cum to the regent. In thys classe thay salbe constrainit to speik Latin, and dayly to com-
pone sum smal thyng eftyr thair capacite.

The V. Classe.

Thys classe sal reid Terence, and sum of the maist facil epistles of Cicero, alternatim, and als the reulis of grammar assignat to thayme, without commentair, bot only the expresse wordis and sentence of the reul: and thay sal writ baith Terence and Cicero, euery man with hys awyn hand.

The IV. Classe.

Thys classe sal reid of Terence and Cicero sum thyng mair than the classis onder thayme, and als *de constructione octo partium*;

¹ The lowest Class would be Class VI. There were seven classes in the school or gymnasium at Geneva.

and the latter half of the 3eir sal reid sum epistles of Ouide, or other of hys elegyis, and als writ al thair lessons, except the grammar, and compone largear themes than the nether classis. And al thyr classis salbe vesit euey quarter of 3eir, and promovit hyear efter thair meritis.

The III. Classe.

Thys classe sal reid the grammar in Grek, the epistles of Cicero, and sum of the maist facil orations, with sum buik of Ouide, and the quantiteis of syllabes, and sum introduction of rhetorik, and sum of the bukis of Linaceris grammar, and salbe mair exercisit in composition than the otheris lawar.

The Secund and Fyrst Class.

Thyr classis sal reid the rethorikis of Cicero, and hys orationis, and for poetis, Virgil, Horace, Ouide, and sum of Homer or Hesiode. The auditouris salbe diligently exercisit in verse, and oration, and declamation euey moneth, ilk ane thair cours about. Item, generaly disputations to be had euey Saterdag fra ane efternone to four houris, ane classe aganis ane other, fixing themis alternatim, and syne componing on themis dicitur be regentis of other classis or other maisters.

At the end of the 3eir, in the moneth of August or thairby, all the huill classis sal propone themis oppinly, and affix thayme vpon the college wallis, or in the great schol or hallis. The principal sal cheis ane certain of the best of the fyrst classe and secund, and send thayme to sum of the honest men of other collegis, or sum other lernit man beyng present for the tyme, and desire that he propone thayme ane theme in prose and ane other in verse. Thair salbe twa bonnittis proponet to be given solemnly to the twa that makis best composition, with honorable wordis to encourage otheris in tyme to cum to emulation; and that the honest and principal personis of the vniversitie assistand, and exhortyng the studentis to be diligent, and raise thair curage.

Heir efter because the maist part of the countrey will be glaid to se thair bairnis, and mak thayme clathys, and provid to thair necessiteis the rest of the 3eir, thair may be gevin sum vacans on to the first day of October, on the quhilk day al lessonis begynnis againe in al collegis. At the quhilk day naine salbe promovit to na classe without he be examinat be the principal and regentis committit thairto.

The principal salbe diligent that euery regent do hys devtie, and that the bairnis be obedient, and to that effect mak sum particular reulis sik as salbe fund gud be the rectour and censouris for peceable governing of the college; and at the begynning of October, the principal sal present befor thayme the said regentis; and geif ony inlak be seiknes or other necessite, he sal present ane qualefyit persone to thayme. And geif the principal inlak, the vniversitie and conservatour or hys deputis sal conveyn, and cheiss of the hail vniversitie four of the best qualefyit personis to that office, and writ thair names: and eftyr prayer maid, that God of his gudeness wald send the sort apon hym that war habliast to exerce that estat to hys glore and common weil, ane barne sal draw of the four ane, the quhilk salbe principal, and thys to put away al deception and ambition.

The principal sal support the defectis of absens of the public reidar and regentis. And siklyk in the principalis absence, euery man in hys ordre sal haif hys jurisdiction and correction of the studentis.

The portar sal abyd continually at the zet, and receive the principalis signet of thayme that desiris to pas furth. Item, in sommer he sal ryng dayly at v houris to the rising; at sax to the lesson public; before viij, twys to the ordinar lection; at ten he sal knel; at half houre to xi knel; at xi ryng to the dennar; at grace knel; to repetition eftyr grace ring; or iij howris ring twyiss; at half houre to five knel; at v ryng.

Al the studentis remanyng in the college salbe distribut be chalmeris onder cure of the principal or sum regent or pedagogis lernit and of jugement, quha sal haif cure of thayr studie and diligens; bot nocht to reid ony particular lection to thayme, bot to cause thayme to geif compt of it that thay reid in the classe. Nor zit sal it be leful to the said pedagogis to ding thair disciples, bot only to declair the falt to the principal, or to thair regent, and refer the punition to thayme.

In thys college nayne sal persever regent in humanite abuve the space of vij or viij zeir.

The thre law¹ classis sal nocht be subject to cum to preaching or exercise public, except on the Sunday. The other preachyng and exercise days, ane regent salbe committit to se that thay be dewly exercisit and specialy in lerning to writ.

¹ In modern English this phrase would be "the three low classes," i.e., Classes IV., V., and VI.

THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHIE.

Personis.

Ane Principal.
 Ane Reidar in Medicine.
 And Regents iiij.

Servantis.

The Principal ij.
 The Medicine j.
 The Cuik.
 The Portar.
 The Stewart.
 The Pantriman.

The Principalis portion and salair as in the College of Humanite.
 The Medicins as the Lectour Public in Humanite.
 The rest vt supra proportionately.

Summa.

In bread.
 In drink.
 In sylver.

The bursaris 12 vt supra, euery ane xvi lbis the 3eir, or vt supra.

For colis, candil, napre, and veschel, xl pund 3eirly.

For reparation of the place, xl pund 3eirly.

The hayl subject to compt vt supra.

The principal to be ane man of iconomie, and sufficient doctrine to supple the regentis absens in redyng in thair seikness or laful besynes. Item, to haif al sik autorite on regentis, and studentis, and servants of the college, and to geif compt to the rectour and censoris as forsaid is in the College of Humanite at euery visitation.

The first regent reid the dialectic, analitic, and moralis, in the first 3eir and half; and the other 3eir and half, the natural philosophie, metaphysik, and principis of mathematik. Swa in thre 3eris thyr regentis sal pas be degreis the hail cours of dialectic, logic, physik, and metaphysik; the rest of the tyme to repet and pas thair actis. They sal reid sik bukis of Aristotil, or other philosophes as the principal sal praescribe to thayme.

Na man salbe admittit at the begynning of the 3eir to the philosophie that has nocht passit be the first or second classe of

humanite, or geif he be ane strangear, be jugit worthy of the first or second classe be trial of composition in verse and prose.

The Ordre of Redyng.

All the regentis sal begyn baith sommer and winther at vi howris in the mornyng to thair ordinar lessons, and at the begynning sal mak ane schort prayer for promotion of lernyng and the estat of the common weil. Thay sal reid vnto viij houris, the quhilk being strokin, the bel sal ryng to the medicinis lesson, quha sal reid on to ix houris; and fra ix to ten salbe intermission. In the rest of the howris thay salbe exercisit in disputyng and reidyng as the Colledge of Humanite; and the regent in euery classe sal cause the ane part to disput aganis the other. On Satterday euery classe sal propone certaine propositions, quhilk afoir none sal be examinat and disput againe be the regentis betuix viij and xj howris; and eftyр none the disciples of the superiour classe sal disput aganis the inferiour betwix ane and thre howris.

The Promotion of Thayr Degreis.

At the end of the first ij ȝeiris thay salbe maid bachelaris, quhair nocht only thay sal declair publicly quhat thai haif profetit be thair industrie and labouris, bot alswa thay sal ansuer priuatly to iiij examinaturis, deput be the vniversite, of the dialectic, logic and moralis; and quha beis nocht fund hable, salbe deposit to ane lowar classe. And siklik, at the end of the ȝeir and half followyng, to be examinat of the natural philosophie, metaphysik, and mathematik. The examinaturis salbe graduat, ane in theologie, ane that has red in philosophie, ane of profession of medicine passit maister, and ane regent in humanite; quha, on thair conscience, sal declair to the rectour and censouris quha ar worthy of promotion or nocht. Efter the quhylk declaration, the rectour sal decerne the onworthy to be deposit for tyme convenient to ane inferiour classe, swa that na man be admittit to resave degre except that he haif promouit in lettres.

To the banquettis of actis of bachelor and licence the riche sal nocht pay abuve xl s, the puir ten s, to augment the common portion of the colledge; swa that the convention of honest men of the vniuersitie be with modestie and temperance. Item, sa mony of the assistandis to thys act as be graduat in divinite, lawis, or medicine, or presently regentis in philosophe or humanite, sal haif for thair presens and decoryng of the act, ane pair of gluis. And the

principal of the said college sal tak head that thyr thyngis be per-
formit, as he wil ansuer to the jugement of the rectour and censouris.

The nombre of bursaris xxiiij, sustenit as is praescrivit in the
College of Humanite.

Nayne sal persevere regent in thys college langar than the space
of twa coursis.

The medicine sal reid iiij days in the weik, ane hore euery day
in medicine ; and geif he inlakis, the principal sal deduce sa mekle
of hys gaxis to be vsit to the common profet of the college.

THE COLLEGE OF DIUINITE.

Personis.

Ane Principal, to be Reidar in Hebrew.

Ane Lawer.

Servantis.

The Principal ij.

The Lawer j.

Cuik.

Pantriman.

Stewart.

Portar.

Their expensis vt supra. Vz. the principal as other principalis
The lawer 40 lbs. The cuik, portar, stewart, and pantriman, vt
supra. Bursaris xvij of thayme, sex in law and xij in theologie,
thair expensis vt supra. In thys collegis, because that the studentis
ar in nombre fewar and of gretar age than in the otheris, the
principal and lectour in Hebrew may be ane persone ; the quhilk
sal reid iiij days euery weik.

The Thursday ane student in diuinite sal expone ane pas of the
Scripture, the space of ane hore ; and that being doin, sal anso^r
to the objections of euery man that pleasis to disput aganis hym
the space of ane hore and half. The principal sal se that gud ordre
be kept in disputing, without superfluite of wordis nothyng partening
to the propos, without dinrie or pertinacite in contention ; and that
euery auditour in diuinite ansver hys cours about, as salbe ordanit
by the principal. To speik in the publik exercise, and expone the
Scripture, sal entice nocht only the auditouris of diuinite, sik as sal
be thought expedient, bot als the regentis in other faculteis.

The lawar sal reid dayly ane hore in law, except on the Thursday.

Thair salbe xvijj bursaris in thys college ; vz. sex in law, and xij auditouris in diuinite.

THE COMMON MAGISTRATIS AND OFFICIARIS OF THE VNIERSITE.

Ane Rectour.

The rectour most be ane discret and grave person, doctor or bachelor in the hyear faculteis, or principal of ane college, or presently regent in diuinite, law or medicine, of age abuve thretty zeris ; and salbe chosin be the hayl graduattis of the vniuersite, within ane of the thre collegis, the conservatour or hys deput being present ; quha sal requir the convention in thair conscience, that out of eucry college thair be ane chosin, quha sal declair the votis of the college faithfully gadderit, and declair hym rectour quha has moniast votis, swa that he haif nocht been rectour within twa zeris afoir. The rectouris tyme to be ane zer, without continuation ; and geif, be ambition or otherway, the maist part of the votis contenew hym, al thayr votis that tendis to continuation, to be nul.

The rectouris office is principaly in keping of the discipline scolastic, as in visitation of the collegis twyss or thryis in the zer, to se that the ordre be kept in teching, in mutations of classis, in disputations priuat and publik ; item, that the rentis of the vniuersite be nocht misspendit, that na idle person be haldin on the gegis or expensis of the vniuersite, nor onworthy promotit to degre, and mak ane registre of al that entres in the nombre of the vniuersite, and sal enjoy the priuelege thairof.

Conservatour.

The conservatour of priuelege most haif autorite to cal befor hym al actions or questions movit be thayme of the vniuersite againis ony personis in materis twiching studentis, as being studentis ; and hys decreit sal haif redy execution, notwithstanding ony appellation, without delay or appellation out of the vniuersite. Hys gegis to be payit to hym or hys deput of the archdenry ; because in tymes by past the archidene, or bischeppis, war conservatouris, or sum deput for thayme, and now is reasonable that thay susteine the samyn charge.

The thesaurar salbe chosin auis in the zer, the samyn day that the censouris beis chosin, and sal geif compt at the zeris end to the censouris the day afor the cheising of the new censouris.

The salair of the rectour, thesaurar, and censouris, to be payit of the casualiteis of the vniuersite, as it that cumis of the entres of the studentis in the rectouris bukis, and of the degreis. Als the beddel to be payit of the samyn. The gaxis of the rectour, censouris, thesaurar, and beddel, and als al thyr casualiteis, to be sa moderat that thay be nocht excessiue in na qualite.

Item, that the Quenis grace, and lordis of the parlement, be requirit to pas ane act that thre jeris efter the performing of thys reformation, na man be providit to susteine office of preachour or techour in the kyrk, except thay haif beine dewly graduat in the scholis.

The Rental of St. Leonardis Colledge.

In sylver,	.	.	.	132 lbsis. 2f. 4d.
Qwheit,	.	.	.	2 chald. 12 blis.
Bear,	.	.	.	13 chald. 11 blis. 2f. 2p.
Ait meil,	.	.	.	8 ch. 8 blis.

Sanct Salvatouris, Al being fre.

In sylver,	.	.	.	642 lbsis.
Qwheit,	.	.	.	3 ch. 13 blis.
Bear,	.	.	.	8 ch. 2 blis.
Aitis,	.	.	.	19 ch. 3 blis.

The New Colledge,¹ Al being fre.

In sylver, besyid Tannadyss				
quhen it sal vaik,	.	.	.	510 lbsis. ²
Qwheit,	.	.	.	3 ch. 8 blis.
Bear,	.	.	.	6 ch.
Atis,	.	.	.	5 ch.

The Hayl Soume.

In sylver,	.	.	.	1284 lbsis 2f. 4d.
Qwheit,	.	.	.	10 ch. 1 blis.
Bear,	.	.	.	27 ch. 13 blis. 2f. 2p.
Ait meil,	.	.	.	8 ch.
Aitis,	.	.	.	24 ch. 3 b. [8 blis.].

¹ By "New Colledge" is meant what is now known as "St. Mary's Colledge."

² Irving gives it as 110 lbsis, and yet his total is the same as that given in Prof. Hume Brown's text. Irving, however, spells *aitis* uniformly throughout the *Opinion*.

Appendix V.

(Page 105.)

SOME NOTES ON MSS. TRANSLATIONS OF BUCHANAN'S

Rerum Scoticarum Historia.

In the British Museum is "A History of the State of Scotland by George Buchquhanane, a Scotchman" (Hart. MSS. 7539). This copy, though incomplete, is in 88 paper folios, and contains Books XII. to XIX., the last being unfinished. It is written in a clear, but very small hand, and the lines are so close together and so interspersed with corrections (three or four versions of a phrase are frequently given) that many parts are difficult to read. The MS. is in good preservation, but is discoloured at the edges. The hand is of the early 17th century style, and the spelling is more English than Scottish. The writing is on both sides of the folios, and there are many marginal headings. The opening words are:

"James the 2d [the hundred and fourth king] as we have related was kild in the field." The words in brackets are written above the line and have been inserted later. The closing words are:

"But the lie was not likely to have credit long; therefore she feigned that the Protectour, to bring the kingdom of Scotland under" The narrative breaks off here.

There is another complete translation in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 4218) along with a *Refutatio libri de iure Regni apud Scotos*,—and both are in an 18th century hand.

The *History* was translated into the Scottish language and this translation, which is in the Glasgow University Library, was made by John Reid, or Read; who, according to Calderwood's MS., was "servitur and writer to Mr. George Buchanan." The MS., which appears to have been completed on 12th December 1634, and is clearly written, bears the following inscription: "The Historie of Scotland, first written in the Latine tungue by that famous and learned man George Buchanan, and afterwards translated into the Scottishe tungue by John Read, Esquyar, brother to James Read, person of Banchory Ternam whyle he liued. They both ly interred in the parishe church of that towne, seated not farre from the banke

of the river of Dee, expecting the general resurrection, and the glorious appearing of Jesus Christ there redimer."¹

Another translation is to be found in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. It is contained in a large folio and is beautifully written. It is a complete translation of the *History*,—"Interpreted by an English gentleman." The date given is 1659, and the MSS. is supposed to be the translation which was being printed in London about the Restoration time, and publication of which was prohibited by an order of Council, 7th of June, 1660. Irving, however, says that the proposed publication was "a translation of Buchanan's history and dialogue." This Glasgow MS. seems to be a free translation rendered into fairly good English. The folio formerly belonged to a John Buchanan and bears on the fly-leaf the words: "Ex libris Johannes Buchananus de Auchnaven."

Appendix VI.

(Page 186.)

The following letter, addressed to 'Monsieur de Sigongues, Chevalier de l'Ordre, et Capitaine et Gouverneur de la Ville et Chateau de Dieppe,' is the only specimen of Buchanan's writing in French:—

"Monsieur, ce que j'ay tant differé de vous escrire a esté pour l'occasion des troubles qui ont universellement regné, tant en ces quartiers, qu'en la France, au grand prejudice des deux royalmes. Et comme par la grace de Dieu nous avons en la fin quelque relasche de nos maux, il me semble (je le dis avec regret) que les vostres ne font que recommencer. Mais pour laisser ce propos, la presente sera pour me recommander humblement a vostre bonne grace, ensemble ce present Porteur Thomas Fairlie, qui est fort de mes amys, et autant amy qu'aymé de tous les miens. Le bien et plaisir que vous luy ferez, je l'estimeray fait a moy mesme, comme je fais celuy qu'avez par le passé fait a tous ceux que je vous ay recommandé qui se lonent grandement de vostre faveur, pour laquelle je vous demeure tres obligé; vous assurant, Monsieur, que si je puys quelque chose pour vous par deca, ou pour les vostres, que vous me pouvez livrement commander, comme celui qui sera tousjours prest a vous obeyer et fair service. A Sterlin, ce dousieme de Janvier, 1573, celui qui est de tout vostre,

GEORGE BUCHANAN."

¹ Irving's *Memoirs*, p. 282, 2nd edit.

Appendix VII.

(Page 218.)

BUCHANAN'S TESTAMENT DATIVE.

Maister
George Buchannane
Vigesimo Febr^u
1582.

The Testament Dative, & Inuentar of ye gudis, geir, soumes of money, & dettis, pertening to vmquhile ane rycht venerabill man, Maister George Buchannane, preceptour to ye kingis majestie the tyme of his deceis, quha deceist vpoun ye xxix day of September,¹ the zeir of God j^mv^clxxxii zeris, faithfullie maid & gevin vp be Jonet Buchannane, relict of vmquhile Mr Thomas Buchannane of Ibert, his bruyer sone, executrix dative, decernit to him be decreit of ye commissaris of Ed^r as ye same decreit of ye date ye xix day of December, the zeir of God foirsaid, at lenth proportis.

In the first, ye said vmquhile Maister George Buchannane, preceptour to ye kingis majestie, had no uyer gudis nor geir (except ye dett vndirwrittin) pertening to him as his awin proper dett ye tyme of his deceis foirsaid: viz. Item, yair wes awand to ye said vmquhile Mr George be Robert Gourlaw, custumar burges of Ed^r for ye defunctis pensiou of Corsraguell, restand of ye Whitsonday terme in anno j^m v^c lxxxii zeris, the soume of ane hundreth pundis.

Summa of ye inuentar - - - - - j^e l.

No diuisioun.

Quhairof ye quot is gevin gratis.

We, Maisteris Eduard Henrysoun, Alex^r Sym, & Johne Prestoun, commissaris of Ed^r specialie constitut for confirmatioun of testamentis, &c. vnderstanding yat efter dew summonding & lauchfull warning maid be forme of editt oppenlie, as efferis, of ye executouris intromettouris with ye gudis & geir of vmquhile Mr George Buchannane, & of uyeris hafand entreis, to compeir giudiciale

¹ To Buchanan's short autobiographical sketch (if it is his), which Professor Hume Brown and Dr. Irving include in their respective works, a note has been added to the effect that Buchanan died on 29th September, not on the 28th, as given here. This Testament Dative was taken from the records of the Commissary Court. Dr. Irving considers the record incorrect, so far as the above date is concerned.

befoir us at ane certane day bypast, to heir & sie executouris datiuis decernit to be gevin, admittit, & confermit be us in & to ye gudis & geir quhilk justlie pertenit to him ye tyme of his deceis, or ellis to schaw ane caus quhy, &c. we decernit yairintill as our decret gevin yairupoun beris; conforme to ye quhilk we in our soverane lordis name & autoritie makis, constitutis, ordanis, & confermes ye said Jonet Buchannane in executorie datiuie to ye said Mr George, with power to hir to intromet, vptak, follow & perseu, as law will, ye dett & soume of money abone specifeit, & yairwith outred dettis to creditouris, and generalie all & sindrie vyer thingis to do, exerce, & vse yat to ye office of executorie datiuie is knawin to pertene; prouiding yat ye said Jonet, executrix foirsaid, sall ansuer & render compt vpoun hir introuissioun quhan and quhair ye samin salbe requirit of hir, & yat ye said dett & soume salbe be furthcumand to all parteis haifand entres, as law will; quhairvpoun scho hes fundin cautioun, as ane act maid yairvpoun beris.

Appendix VIII.

(Page 244.)

BUCHANAN'S SCOTTISH RESIDENCES.

Buchanan when Principal of St. Leonard's College occupied a room in the house now occupied by the Headmistress of St. Leonard's School. Dr. Lee, in his researches, came across an inventory¹ of this chamber as it was in the year 1544:—

“In camera quae est prima versus orientem proximior templi in parte australi, fuerunt haec bona communia pertinentia ad locum collegii. In the first, twa standard beds, the foreside of aik, and the northside and the fruits of fir. Item, ane feather bed, and ane white plaid of four ells, and ane covering woven o'er with images. It. another auld bed of harden, filled with straw, with an covering of green. It. ane cod. Item, an inrower of buckram of five bredes, part green, part red to zailow. Item, ane Flanders counter of the middling kind. It. ane little buird for the studie. It. ane furm of fir, and ane little letterin of aik on the side of the bed, with an image of St. Jerome. It. an stool of elm, with an other chair of little

¹ Printed in the Appendix of Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, 2nd Edit.

price. It. an chimney weighing Item, an chandler weighing”¹

In connection with this it may be of interest to know something of the College buildings. In the year 1599, the furniture of the College is as follows:—

“Impr. In the hall four fixed boards. The hale beds almaist fixt. In every chamber ane board and ane furme pertainand thereto, w^t glassen windows, and the maist part of all the chambers ciellered aboue, and the floors beneath laid with buirdis.

Compt. of Vessels.

2 Silver pieces, ane maizer, w^t common cups and stoups.

3 Doz. silver spoons, ane silver saltfat, a water basin, an iron chimney fixed in the hall.

In the kitchen, an iron chimney, w^t sic vessels as is necessar therein, with fixed boards and almeries.”

Despite the number of letters which Buchanan addressed from Stirling and the importance of the work he conducted there, little interest has been shown by Buchanan’s biographers in his connection with that town. They have presumed that Buchanan, in his later years, resided within the Castle, although there is a local tradition that he lived in a house of his own in the Castle Wynd. There was certainly a study provided for Buchanan in the Castle, but it has been supposed that he had a private residence not far away; indeed, a house in the Castle Vennal was popularly known as George Buchanan’s House or “Ludging.” That he had no private house in the vennial, however, is now quite clear. Recent examination of records and title-deeds prove that there was only one large tenement in the Vennal, and it has been shown that one of the houses there belonged to David Erskine, Commendator of Dryburgh and Prior of Inchmahome. From an examination of the title-deeds held by the Town of Stirling, the following extract in modern spelling proves that Erskine had been resident there:—

“Sas., 1626, taken by John Norrie, in favor of Christopher Russel and Margt. Howson his spouse of ‘All and whole that Great tenement of land houses and stable and yard thereof sometime pertaining to the deceased David Commendator of Dryburgh and Prior of Inchmahom and lying within the said

¹Some part illegible.

Burgh of Stirling in the wynd called the Castle Wynd thereof on the eist (west) side of the same between the land of the deceased John Kinloch on the west, and the Castle Wynd on the west and north parts.'” This description is repeated in a subsequent Disposition and Bond of Annual Rent of same tenement, dated 27th February 1742, by John Watson to Andrew Neilson who acquired it from an Andrew Wood, and it is described as on the west side of the Castle Wynd, and the High Street on the east and north bounds it.¹

The examination of the whole title-deeds referring to the west side of the Vennal on which Buchanan's alleged “House” was situated reveals not one single owner or occupier of the name of Buchanan. Erskine was one of the superintendents of the young King's training in bodily exercises and accomplishments, and consequently local historians consider that “it is not difficult to understand how the Prior's Manse—or a portion of it—should have been assigned as a residence to His Majesty's preceptor.” Thus the matter stands, and Buchanan may have lodged in this old building which is reminiscent of the period. A controversy concerning this alleged residence of Buchanan was conducted by the Town Council of Stirling when it was proposed to demolish the structure, one member finally believing that if the shade of George Buchanan himself were to stand forth at the table, it would be the first to vote for the removal of the dilapidated pile.

Professor Hume Brown in his *George Buchanan: Humanist and Reformer* (page 353) has inserted a footnote which is almost the only information to be had concerning the scene of Buchanan's last days. “The following note was extracted about sixty years ago from a memorandum-book kept by George Paton, the antiquary:—‘George Buchanan took his last illness and died in Kennedy's Close, first court thereof on your left hand, first house in the turnpike above the tavern there; and in Queen Ann's time this was told to his family and friends, who resided in that house, by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate.’ Kennedy's Close was the second close above the Tron Church, and is now absorbed into Hunter Square.”

Dr. Irving in his *Memoirs of Buchanan* refers to a note written on the cover of a book and in a hand which appears to

¹This information was kindly communicated by J. S. Fleming, Esq., F.S.A. (Scot.), Stirling.

have been formed in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The note is "Scheriffhall, near Dalkeith, said to be the place of Buchanan's residence, where he wrote his history: this room is pointed out to the visitors of the place."

Appendix IX.

GEORGE BUCHANAN QUATER-CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS.

St. Andrews, 6th and 7th July 1906.

AFTER many centuries the city of the "college of the scarlet gown" on Friday 6th July cast aside its gay, holiday attire to don temporarily the garments of academic aspect—reminiscent of winter—that it might the more appropriately obtain precedence in the national commemoration of George Buchanan,—a man of European fame. As poet, humanist, and historian he had conferred such lustre upon his Alma Mater—having been for some time one of her distinguished principals—that the importance of the occasion and the fame of the man who had lived in the "old grey city" in historic days stirred the interest of all students of letters, and attracted a large gathering of scholars and educationists from all parts of the United Kingdom and from the Continent of Europe. Side by side at the shrine—the Alma Mater of learned men and women—were men of letters and representatives of the old Scottish loyalists and hero-worshippers, several of the latter having travelled from the most remote parts of Scotland to support Scotland's earliest centre of learning in her vigorous and successful endeavour to keep in remembrance and recall to the public notice the high national place Buchanan occupies as scholar and humanist. That the University should have inaugurated these celebrations—as representative in character as was possible—is to her credit, for she owes not a little of her prestige to the roll of distinguished men who, in days of yore, were associated with her fortunes.

CHAPEL SERVICE.

The Celebration proceedings opened with a service in the University Chapel,—St. Salvator's. The limited accommoda-

tion was fully utilised by a gathering consisting of the professors and lecturers of the University, graduates and undergraduates, and members of the public. To the right and left of the chancel sat the representatives of learned bodies at home and abroad, and in the professorial stalls places were reserved for the Rector (Dr. Carnegie), Principal Donaldson, Lord Reay, Lord Provost Bilsland (Glasgow), Lord Provost Longair (Dundee), and Provost Murray (St. Andrews). The service was appropriate, solemn, and brief, and included the singing of 'that noble Lutheran hymn,'—"A safe stronghold our God is still." The Very Rev. Principal Stewart, D.D., conducted the service, in which he was assisted by Rev. Professors Menzies, Herkless, and Kay. The praise was magnificently led by a special choir, consisting of young ladies from St. Leonard's School and students, and under the direction of Mr. R. K. Hannay, M.A., who acted as organist.

THE ORATION ON BUCHANAN.

The principal event of the day was Lord Reay's Oration on "George Buchanan." This was delivered in the Hall of the United College, which was filled to its utmost seating capacity with a representative gathering of members of the various Universities, public men, and St. Andrews citizens. Preceded by the maces, the members of the Senatus of the University, together with the distinguished visitors, entered the Hall in procession and took the seats reserved for them. Amongst those present were:—

Members of the University Court of St. Andrews—Principal Donaldson; Very Rev. Principal Stewart; Dr. John Ross, Dunfermline; Provost Murray, St. Andrews; Dr. Barrie Dow, Dunfermline; Rev. Dr. Blair, Dunblane; Dr. George A. Gibson, Edinburgh; Professor Herkless; Professor Lawson; Mr. E. Morrison, Bonnytown.

Members of the Senatus of St. Andrews—Professors Butler, Purdie, Menzies, Musgrove, Kay, Edgar.

Representing the General Council of St. Andrews—Dr. James Browning, Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. Campbell, Balmerino; Rev. Dr. Irvine Robertson, Clackmannan; Rev. George Johnston, Newburgh; Messrs. J. E. Grosset, Cupar; John Scott, Edinburgh; Walter G. Mair, Thomas Carmichael, Edward King, and D. Bayne Meldrum.



From a photo by

Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.

THE GATEWAY, ST. SALVATOR'S CHAPEL, ST. ANDREWS.

Representing the University Court of Glasgow—Dr. David Murray, Mr. Alan E. Clapperton.

Representing the Senatus of Glasgow—Professor Ferguson and Professor Latta.

Representing the General Council of Glasgow—Mr. William Graham, Rev. Dr. Donald MacMillan, Rev. John Anderson, Mr. Archibald Craig.

Representing the University Court and Senatus of Aberdeen—Professor Baillie.

Representing the General Council of Aberdeen—Mr. Patrick Cooper and Sir William J. Sinclair, M.D., Manchester.

Representing the University Court of Edinburgh—Dr. David F. Lowe.

Representing the Senatus of Edinburgh—Professor Hume Brown.

Representing the General Council of Edinburgh—Mr. David D. Buchan, S.S.C.

Representing the Edinburgh Students' Representative Council—Mr. J. B. Forbes Watson.

Representing the University of Paris—M. Bonet-Maury, Professor of Protestant Theology, and M. Salles, Professor au Lycée Janson de Sailly.

Representing the University College, Dundee—Sir George W. Baxter, LL.D., and Mr. George Ogilvie.

Representing the Town Council of St. Andrews—Bailies Ritchie and Todd, Judge Balsillie, Treasurer Wilson, and Dean of Guild Grubb.

Representing the Buchanan Society—Mr. A. W. Gray Buchanan, Polmont.

Representing the Franco-Scottish Society—Mr. James Maedonald, W.S., Depute-Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland.

Representing the Faculty of Advocates—Shcrrif C. N. Johnston, K.C.

Representing the Society of Writers—Sir Henry Cook, W.S., Edinburgh.

Representing the Society of Solicitors—Mr. John Campbell, S.S.C., and Mr. Thomas Liddle, S.S.C., Edinburgh.

Representing the Educational Institute—Mr. A. T. Watson, LL.D., Dumbarton.

Representing the Society of Antiquaries—Mr. J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D., Edinburgh.

The others present were:—Lord Provost Longair, Dundee; Mr. J. Peddie Steele, M.D., LL.D.; Mr. D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., Edinburgh; Mr. Alex. Menzies, LL.D., Kirriemuir; Rev. Alex. Gordon Mitchell, Killearn; Mr. Hew Morrison, LL.D., Edinburgh; Mr. J. S. Reid, Litt.D., Cambridge; Mr. J. Maitland Anderson, Sheriff Armour, Sir R. Rowand Anderson; Mr. G. W. Blackwood, Edinburgh; Dr. Buchanan, Glasgow; Miss E. Buchanan, Stirling; Rev. Dr. R. Menzies Fergusson, Bridge of Allan; Lady Helen Munro Ferguson; Rev. George Galloway, Kelton; Mr. W. S. Hamilton, W.S., Edinburgh; Mrs. Haldane; Mr. William Low of Blebo; Mr. J. L. Low, St. Andrews; Mr. John McKenzie, Madras College; Mr. Robert Munro, LL.D., Largs; Sir H. N. Maclaurin, Sydney; Rev. P. M. Playfair; Principal Peterson, Toronto; Mr. T. D. Robb, Paisley; Mr. Robert Smeaton, LL.D., London; Rev. W. Connan, Aberdeen; Mr. John A. Trail, LL.D., Edinburgh; Rev. Allan Wilson, Aberdeen; Mrs. Younger, Mount Melville; Mrs. Riddel Webster; Mrs. Rodger, Southcourt, St. Andrews.

The Rector (Dr. Carnegie), who presided, in introducing Lord Reay, said:—"Last year Scotland celebrated the 400th anniversary of the birth of its greatest reformer, John Knox. We are met to-day to celebrate the similar anniversary of its greatest constitutional reformer, George Buchanan—(applause). Both were sons of St. Andrews University and contemporaries. Such a gathering as this, 400 years after his birth, proved he was entitled to this great honour. The winnowing fan of time had dispersed all that was perishable; it had separated the dross from the gold, and there was revealed still before them not only the greatest poet of his time and a great scholar, but the founder of constitutional government. It was Buchanan who first in Britain proclaimed the divine right of the people and denounced the divine right of kings,—he even advocated their election by the people. He was thus the founder of the principles of liberty which prevailed in crowned and uncrowned Republics alike. Wherever the English community settled, there was government of the people for the people and by the people, as Buchanan advocated. To-day Buchanan the poet and Buchanan the scholar was no longer a vital force, but Buchanan the statesman and constitutional reformer had grown and must grow as the principles of constitutional liberty spread

throughout the world—(hear, hear). Just as John Knox's title to fame—immortal fame—was finally to be this sentence, "I shall never rest until there is a parish school in every parish in Scotland," so was Buchanan to receive evidence among the gods, holding out in his hand this sentence, "The people is the source of all power, and kings are to be allowed to reign only as they obey the will of the people and promote their good"—(applause). There was no question about Buchanan's place among the immortals, and as long as those principles of liberty and of popular government which characterised our race wherever it settled, endured, Buchanan's fame would endure—(applause). They were now to hear about this extraordinary man from the lips of a distinguished Peer, a linguist, and an able Governor in India, and who, as a statesman, was known to them as Lord Reay, but in the Highlands was known by the old and more enduring title—"The Mackay"—(laughter and applause).

Lord Reay, who was cordially received, said:—"My Lord Rector, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Senate, Ladies and Gentlemen, when you did me the honour to invite me to address you on this memorable occasion, I felt no little diffidence in accepting your gracious invitation, for on the subject of George Buchanan so much has been written, and his biography by Professor Hume Brown is so exhaustive and so admirable that no further tribute can add anything of value. It was, however, natural that this ancient University should wish to commemorate the striking career of the great scholar, so intimately associated with its early history. As your representative, I venture to pay dutiful tribute to one of the most illustrious of our countrymen, and to recall events which have exercised a lasting influence on the character of the nation. And even now, four centuries after Buchanan's birth, our generation has much to learn from the record of a life devoted to high aims and distinguished by its patriotism and constant self-sacrifice.

Buchanan was about fourteen when, in 1520, he was sent to the University of Paris, where at that time there would be at least two hundred Scotch students among the ten thousand students who attended its fifty colleges. Unfortunately, the University of Paris did not accept the reforms which Humanism and Lutheranism introduced; but Scholasticism was discredited,

and the literature of Greece and Rome inspired those who desired to shake off the unreality of the Schoolmen. Almost simultaneously the Reformers undertook their great struggle against the Church. This was the atmosphere into which Buchanan was thrown, and he accepted both Humanism and Lutheranism after long and patient inquiry. During his first two years of residence in Paris, he devoted himself mainly to the writing of Latin verse. His progress was hampered by ill-health and poverty. He returned to Scotland and joined the army, so that he might become acquainted with military matters. He served in the expedition of the Duke of Albany against the English Army, which ended in retreat; he returned home, and for a time he was forced to rest. Another incident in his life shows that Buchanan had natural military instincts. When he was tutor to the Marshal de Brissac's son, he chanced to hear the Marshal discussing matters with his staff; Buchanan muttered disapproval. He was called in, and all present agreed that he was right. Moreover, the result justified his intervention. Buchanan returned to Paris as Bursar of the Scots College, an office that barely saved him from the trials of cold and hunger. In March 1528 he graduated as Master, and in the following year was on the teaching staff of Ste. Barbe, the most famous of the Colleges, where he met Jacques de Gouvéa, the Portuguese scholar, who was Principal. Although he was now in receipt of a salary, his life was by no means one of comfort. His more important achievements during this period were certain reforms in the teaching of Latin, and the publication of the Latin translation of Linacre's Grammar; this went through seven editions.¹

After three years he left Ste. Barbe to become tutor to the Earl of Cassilis, and in 1535 returned with him to Scotland. At that time he began to use satire as a weapon against the abuses of the Monastic orders. The *Somnium*, the two *Palinodes* and the *Franciscanus*, the two latter written at the request of James V., show his great powers of invective in combination with his rare scholarship. They naturally provoked the fiercest hostility on the part of the dignitaries of the

¹ After his return to Scotland he was President of a Committee of four scholars who undertook to edit a Latin Grammar, and he took upon himself the part dealing with prosody.

Church, and in 1539 Buchanan was exiled; he escaped from his guards while they were asleep, and, finding Paris unsafe (Cardinal Beaton was there on an Embassy), he went to Bordeaux, where he and Élie Vincet were appointed to two vacancies at the Collège de Guyenne, under Jacques de Gouvéa as Principal. Montaigne thought this College "the best in France"; Latin was the principal study, while Logic, Philosophy, Greek, and the Bible, held a secondary place. Greek was not recognised by the University of Paris till 1600. Montaigne was one of the students of the College and afterwards spoke of Buchanan with admiration. Buchanan translated into Latin the *Medea* and *Alcestis* of Euripides, and wrote two original plays, *Baptistes* and *Jephthes*. In the *Baptistes* his political views were first made known.

Buchanan left Bordeaux in 1543, and in 1544 we find him acting as Regent in the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine in Paris, where he had as colleagues Turnèbe and Muret. He fell dangerously ill, and on his recovery found himself, at forty, without any assured source of income. Such is the picture of this Scot abroad. He was surrounded by devoted friends; and he loved Paris, as we know from his *Desiderium Lutetiae*. In 1545 he left that city, and in 1547 accompanied André de Gouvéa to establish a great school in Coimbra, where King John the Third was reconstituting a University. Buchanan got an appointment on the teaching staff for his brother Patrick. Everything went well with this centre of humanism until the death of the Principal in 1548. The Jesuits were determined to bring the University under their direct influence, and Buchanan and his colleagues were charged before the Inquisition. After a trial which lasted a year and a half, Buchanan was sent to a Monastery to be instructed by the monks. He made use of this incarceration by translating the Psalms into Latin verse—a task which the Jesuits imposed upon him as a penance. The version, in the opinion of Le Clerc, was "incomparable." In the 17th and 18th centuries it was a text-book in many of the best schools in Scotland. The rendering of the 104th and 137th Psalms is still universally admired. The dedication of this masterpiece to Queen Mary "every Scotsman ought to have by heart," according to James Hannay:

" O daughter of a hundred kings
That holdest 'neath thy happy sway

This ancient realm of Caledon ;
 Whose worth outstrips thy destiny ;
 Whose mind thy sex ; whose grace thy peers ;
 Whose virtues leave behind thy years—
 Behold in Roman garb I bring
 The work of Israel's prophet king.
 Rude is my song as born afar
 From the Muse-haunted founts of Greece,
 Under the frigid Northern star ;
 And but that aught that pleases thee
 Must ne'er displeasing seem to me,
 It had not looked on eyes save mine ;
 Yet such a virtue flows from thine,
 Perchance my sorry child may own
 Some graces that are thine alone !"¹

Almost at the same time, Knox, a slave in the French galleys, edited Balnave's 'Treatise on Justification.' In their school of adversity, Knox and Buchanan were being educated for their great task of emancipating Scotland. Although the King of Portugal wished Buchanan to remain, when he was set at liberty, and even supplied him with means, he left Portugal and sailed for England. England, however, was too disturbed, and in 1553 he again returned to Paris and acted as Regent in the Collège Boncourt. In 1555 he was appointed by the Marshal de Brissac (to whom he addressed a fine ode on the capture of Vercelli) as tutor to his son. For five years he was happy in the family of this great soldier, and his duties were congenial. Timoleon du Cossé, his pupil, was only twelve years of age; he was killed at the siege of Mucidan at the age of twenty-six. Buchanan accompanied de Brissac on his many expeditions between France and Italy. During this period he began his great poem, *De Sphaera*; it was never completed. He also devoted a great part of his time to the study of the Holy Scriptures. At last, in 1561, he came home to Scotland at the age of fifty-five, after an exile of twenty-two years.

When Buchanan returned to Scotland, he enrolled himself a member of the Scottish Church. This step was due to his critical study of the Scriptures during the last five years of his residence on the Continent. Until that time, he was ostensibly a Roman Catholic. But he was by no means a theologian,—he was a humanist; he was imbued with the spirit of Greek

¹ Translated by Professor Hume Brown.

and Roman literature. The negative side of the Reformation was probably its chief attraction for him. There is no evidence that he took part in any of the dogmatic struggles of his time. As a Protestant he was tolerant; as he had himself been the victim of persecution, he was not prepared to interfere with the exercise of private judgment. It is greatly to the credit of the leaders of the Scottish Church that they made him a Member of the Assembly which met on the 29th December 1563, and also of subsequent Assemblies, and that in 1567 he was appointed Moderator. He served also on most of the important Committees. In 1574 the General Assembly appointed Buchanan, with Peter Young, Andrew Melville, and James Lawson, to revise Adamson's Latin version of the Book of Job.

Knox, in 1566, wrote: "That notable man, Mr. George Bucquhanane, remains to this day, in the year of God 1566 years, to the glory of God, to the great honour of the nation, and to the comfort of those that deelyt in letters and virtue." It shows the sagacity of Knox that he did not alienate Buchanan, with whom he had very little in common. To the cause of Protestantism the allegiance of Buchanan gave additional strength. The exclusion of Buchanan would have been a great error. As Sir James Melville aptly put it, Buchanan was "of gud religion for a poet."

Soon after his return to Scotland, Buchanan enjoyed the privilege of reading Livy with Queen Mary after her dinner, and we may take it for granted that their conversation must often have turned to France, which both loved so well. Sir James Melville has left it on record that Buchanan was "pleasant in conversation, rehearsing on all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted" . . . "a Stoick philosopher, who looked not far before him."

Moreover, as Queen Mary had so strong a preference for St. Andrews, where Buchanan generally resided, he must have had many opportunities of meeting the Queen. He undertook also the functions of Court poet, writing Latin masques for the Court on the return of Mary from France, on her marriage with Darnley, and on the baptism of her son James.

It is painful to record that Buchanan, "despising wealth" according to Joseph Scaliger, had no fixed income and was

reduced to such ignominious appeals to the Queen as the well-known epigram, where wit feebly conceals want:

“ I give you what I have,
 I wish you what you lack ;
 And weightier were my gift
 Were fortune at my back.
 “ Perchance you think I jest ?
 A like jest then I crave :
 Wish for me what I lack,
 And give me what you have.”¹

In 1570 he was appointed Director of Chancery, and in the same year Keeper of the Privy Seal, which office he resigned in 1578 in favour of his nephew Thomas. This position gave him a seat in the Privy Council and in Parliament. By the latter he was appointed a Member of a Commission to examine a book on the “ Policy of the Kirk.”

Buchanan brought with him to Scotland a thorough knowledge of the French system of higher education. His admiration for all things French found expression in his *Adventus in Galliam*. It was quite natural that Moray, as Prior of the Abbey, should appoint him Principal of the College of St. Leonard at this University in 1566. In 1563 the number of students at St. Mary's was ten, at St. Leonard's ten, and at St. Salvator's eleven. Canon law, the logic and metaphysic of the Schoolmen, and Latin, formed the chief elements of the curriculum. Greek was unknown. It is rather remarkable in connection with the hold of Greek on the older English Universities, that at Oxford the study of Greek only gradually made its way against the most determined opposition. But Oxford and Cambridge accepted the new order, while the University of Paris was still opposed to both Renaissance and Reformation. In April, 1560, Knox was asked to draw up what is known as the First Book of Discipline, and by the autumn of that year the work was completed. It deals with the government, with the discipline and organisation of the Church, with education, and with pauperism. Lately, in our own time, the Church has taken up social questions. In so doing, it is undertaking duties which Knox and Chalmers considered to be essential to the maintenance of its vitality. Against the accusation that Calvinism is severe, this concern for the poorer brethren

¹ Translated by Professor Hume Brown.

shows that Knox was fully alive to the paramount precept of Christianity—charity. The success of the Reformation was probably due to the recognition of this duty, neglected by the Church in pre-Reformation days. The democratic character of the Reformation was illustrated by the provision made for public education. But we must remember that, as far back as 1494, by an Act of James IV., the barons and freeholders were ordered to keep their heirs at school until they had learned “perfyt Latyn.” Some of the burghs maintained elementary and secondary schools. There were also elementary Church schools, in many cases taught by women, and ordinary private schools. Knox proposed that every parish should have its elementary school. Education was to be compulsory. “All must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.” In every town and cathedral city secondary schools were to be established, in which logic, rhetoric, Latin, and Greek, were to be taught. Latin Grammar and Latin Literature were excluded from the University curriculum. Bursaries and scholarships were to provide for capable boys. At St. Andrews, one college should provide a course in Philosophy, the second a course in Law, and the third a course in Divinity. The object was to make the Universities institutions of *higher* education and to alter their mediæval character. The degree of Doctor of Divinity could not be taken before the age of thirty-five. The Book of Discipline reduced this to twenty-four, and for the Doctorate in Law the age was also shortened. The absence of Latin and Greek Classics from the University course, and the fact that they were to be taught only at secondary schools, which students would leave at sixteen or seventeen, show that the right enthusiasm for humanism did not inspire the authors of the Book of Discipline. Indeed, Scotland did not so wholly yield itself to the influence of Humanism as did other countries of Europe. Theology was the cardinal factor in the Reformation here, whereas in England the Italian Renaissance played a great part in stimulating the national life. The scheme of the Book of Discipline was not carried out; it has not been carried out even yet. It was a bold attempt to place the intellectual life of Scotland on a broad foundation. By an Act of Parliament, in 1563, Commissioners were appointed to investigate matters in the University of St. Andrews. Moray,

Maitland, and Buchanan, were the most important among the Commissioners. They produced a scheme which has been attributed to Buchanan. One of the Colleges was to be a Secondary School with six successive classes, in which Latin and Greek were to be taught,—Greek only in the three highest classes. The rule for the Saturday disputations, and the rule that the Regent was not to give lessons, were the same as those of the College at Bordeaux with which Buchanan was acquainted. The second College was to supply a three years' course of Philosophy and Medicine. The staff was to consist of a Principal, four Regents, and a Reader in Medicine. The third College was to teach Divinity and Law, with a Principal who would lecture on Divinity, and a Reader in Law. Buchanan must have felt that this scheme was wholly inadequate, but he had limited means at his disposal.

In 1579 another Commission was appointed, of which Buchanan and Andrew Melville were members. Their scheme made St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's Arts Colleges, the former with Regents in Law and Medicine. St. Mary's was to deal exclusively with Theology and to have five Professors. The first Professor was to teach Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, the first year; the second to apply these languages to the critical explanation of the Pentateuch and historical books; the third to apply them to the prophetic books; the fourth to compare the Greek Testament with the Syriac Version; and the fifth to lecture on Systematic Divinity. One omission is striking,—there is no reference to Church History. The students were to have a holiday only in September, and the course was to extend over a period of four years. Parliament ratified this scheme, but the University did not reap much benefit from it. As compared with the present state of things, with a faculty of Divinity only numbering four Professors and a much shorter course, the earlier scheme shows a better appreciation of the immense importance of the study of Theology than we moderns can claim credit for. The Church of Scotland, which at all times has had such eminent men among its Professors and Ministers, should take steps to secure better equipment, a more adequate representation of the various branches of Theology, at the Universities; the situation in England is no doubt worse, and lately an appeal has been made, I believe, by the Bishop of Birmingham, to remedy the evil. It is impossible to exaggerate

the importance of giving proper training to the clergy, if the Church is to exercise the potent influence which it alone possesses.

Buchanan was Principal of St. Leonard's from 1566 till 1570. Very little is known of his life during those four years. He was one of the electors, assessors, and deputies of the Rector, his name being entered as "*poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps*." He was never either Rector or Dean of the Faculty of Arts. In 1566 and 1567 no students were enrolled at St. Leonard's, but in 1568 more students entered St. Leonard's than St. Mary's, and in 1569 the number enrolled for the first time in St. Leonard's was twenty four, at St. Mary's only eleven, and at St. Salvator's only eight. It is natural to attribute to Buchanan this ascendancy of St. Leonard's. The Principal of St. Leonard's was bound to deliver divinity lectures every Wednesday and Friday, and it is very much to be deplored that no record exists of these lectures. By the Book of Discipline a weekly exercise of "prophesying" was to be held, at which Ministers and learned men of the neighbourhood were expected to appear, and it is probable that Buchanan was present at these exercises. With regard to his merits as a teacher we have this testimony: "Buchanan was of such flexibility of mind that with boys he became a boy; he had alike the faculty and the will to adapt himself to every time of life, yet always in such a way as never to forfeit the respect due to himself." His affection for young men is shown by the letter of introduction which he gave Jerome Groslot to Beza, and by two poems in memory of Alexander Cockburn, who died in 1564, at the age of twenty-eight, and whose early death he seems to have considered as a loss to the literature of the country.

Buchanan always took a keen interest in the University of Glasgow, and it is probable that he induced Queen Mary to confer grants on the University, and, in the new foundation of the College of Glasgow made by the town in 1572, Buchanan took an active part. The 'Erectio Regia' was also probably due to the influence of Buchanan with Morton. Buchanan is mentioned in the deed as "our dear Privy Councillor, Pensioner of Crossraguel, and Keeper of the Privy Seal." A valuable gift of Latin and Greek books to the College is further evidence of Buchanan's desire to promote its efficiency.

The Privy Council in 1570 appointed Buchanan tutor to James VI. who was then only four years old. A number of able men were appointed to train the young king, and four young nobles were selected as his companions. The Privy Council and Buchanan realised how much of the future of the United Kingdom was involved in the education of James. The appointment of Buchanan was significant; the Privy Council must have known the advanced views with which he would imbue the king's mind. He had no thought of ingratiating himself with his Royal pupil; his one thought was how best to ingratiate him with his subjects. His programme of studies for a boy of eight or ten is certainly alarming, and I do not think that an Inspector of our Education Department would give his sanction to the time-table. After morning prayers the young prince read Greek, the New Testament, Socrates or Plutarch, and he was exercised in the rules of grammar. After breakfast came Cicero, Livy, Justin, or Modern History; in the afternoon he applied himself to composition, and, when time permitted, to Arithmetic, or Cosmography, which included Geography, or Logic and Rhetoric. David and Adam Erskine, Commendators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, relatives of the Earl of Mar, were appointed to superintend his training in bodily exercises and accomplishments. We may think the scheme rather too ambitious, but at any rate it reflects credit on the rulers of Scotland as showing their determination that the king should have every advantage deemed necessary to prepare him for his grave responsibilities. The scholarship of the king was remarkable, though Buchanan fully realised that this was not of primary importance. In a poem addressed to Randolph, the English Resident, we have his views thus set forth: "You often urge me to paint for you what manner of king I should wish, were God to grant one according to my prayer. Here, then, is the portrait you want. In chief, I would have him a lover of true piety, deeming himself the veritable image of highest God. He must love peace, yet be ever ready for war. To the vanquished he must be merciful, and when he lays down his arms he must lay aside his hate. I should wish him to be neither a niggard nor a spendthrift, for each I must think works equal harm to his people. He must believe that the king exists for his country and not for himself, and that he is in

truth the Common Father of the State. When expediency demands that he shall punish with a stern hand, let it appear that he has no pleasure in his own severity. He will ever be lenient if it is consistent with the welfare of his people. His life must be the pattern for every citizen, his countenance the terror of evildoers, the delight of those that do well. His mind he must cultivate with sedulous care, his body as reason demands. Good sense and good taste must keep in check luxurious excess."

In these lines of Seneca appended to the dedication of the *De Jure*, the same thought is tersely expressed :

" Rex est, qui metuit nihil,
Rex est, qui cupiet nihil
Hoc regnum sibi quisque dat."

In his Birthday Ode, Buchanan had laid down for the "*felices felici prole parentes*" of James what he considered to be their duty. The opening lines of the poem gave expression to the satisfaction felt at the prospect of union with England, which in every respect was preferable to the French alliance. These are the lines:—"Grow and be strong, long wished-for boy, happy pledge for thy country's weal, to whom ancient bards have promised the peaceful glories of the golden age. And thou, happy Britain, joyfully lift up thy head, thou so often stricken by foreign foes, so often on ruin's brink from the swords of thy own children: bind thy hair with olive, and repair thy ruined homes, for the stars now promise thee eternal peace. Now Saxon oppresses not Scot, nor Scot Saxon, nor stain their swords with the blood of their kindred, nor make the cities of the other their prey. They whose delight was mutual war now join right hands in peace. And ye, happy parents of this happy child, train him from his tenderest years to virtue and justice. Let piety be his companion from the cradle, moulding his thoughts and growing with his years."

Buchanan dedicated three books to his Royal pupil: the *Baptistes*, the *De Jure Regni*, and the *History*. The *Baptistes* was written in 1540-41. In 1576 he dedicated it to James, who was only ten, and he tells His Majesty: "This little work must seem to have a peculiar interest for yourself, inasmuch as it sets before you in the clearest manner what torments and miseries tyrants endure, even when they appear to be most prosperous. And this lesson I deem not merely beneficial, but

absolutely necessary for you, so that you may early begin to detest what it must be always your duty to avoid. Moreover, I wish my book to be a standing witness with posterity that not with your teachers but with yourself rested the fault, if, impelled by evil counsellors or your own undue desire for power, you should ever depart from the lessons you have received."

In 1579, when the king was thirteen, he dedicated to him the *De Jure Regni*. He praises him for the brightness of his abilities, his intellectual interests, his independence of judgment while enquiring into the truth of things and opinions. He congratulates him on his aversion to flattery,—“*tyrannidis nutricula, et legitimi regni gravissima pestis,*” “*naturae quodam instinctu oderis solaecismos et barbarismos aulicos*”—affected by the “*elegantiae censores.*”

Hallam remarks that “the three great sources of a free spirit in politics,—admiration of antiquity, zeal for religion, and persuasion of a positive right,—which animated separately La Boétie, Languet and Hottoman, united their stream to produce the treatise of George Buchanan, a scholar, a protestant, and the subject of a very limited monarchy.”

In the dedication of his *History* Buchanan states that miserable ill health had prevented him from discharging his duties as tutor, and that this work would in some degree make amends for the unavoidable neglect. He urges James to follow the example of his good predecessors, especially of David I., and to eschew that of the bad. The admirable style of the *History*, as well as its contents, prove that Sir James Melville was wrong, when he stated that Buchanan “in his auld dayes was become sleperie and cairless,” but he was right in saying that he “followed in many things the vulgair oppinion, for he was naturally populaire.” If James had accepted the warnings of Buchanan, the history of the House of Stuart would have been very different from what it turned out to be. But although James was, according to Mark Pattison, “the only English Prince who has carried to the throne knowledge derived from reading or any considerable amount of literature,” his mind was not amenable to liberal ideas, and he was a pedant and an absolutist by nature. He bitterly resented Buchanan’s views, and Buchanan’s death alone saved him from being tried for sedition at the instance of the King. Buchanan, however, was fully justified. He foresaw the course of things.

His treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and his *History of Scotland* were condemned by Act of Parliament in 1584, two years after his death. In 1664 the Privy Council of Scotland issued a proclamation prohibiting the circulation of a manuscript translation of the dialogue.¹ In 1688 this order was repeated, and in 1683 the University of Oxford publicly burned the political works of Buchanan, Milton, Languet, and others. Buchanan's fame gave to his treatise its abiding influence. During the 18th century three editions were published, in 1789 an English translation was published, and in 1843, the year of the foundation of the Free Church, another translation appeared. The ideas developed by Buchanan were not new. John Major had already in his *History* stated that, "As it was the people who first made kings, so the people can dethrone them when they misuse their privileges." Buchanan, however, admits that the people can make a king as little as they can make an artist or a physician, although they can choose him; they can make and interpret the laws which the king preserves and administers. The function of the king is that of a physician. He preserves the health of society and restores it when it is lost. As far back as the 12th century, John of Salisbury said: "When he is the true image of God, the king should be loved, honoured, obliged; when he is the image of all that is evil, he should in most cases be put to death." In the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas taught that the end of government is the good of the community. Duns Scotus represents the people as the sole source of political power, and Marsilius of Padua, at one time Rector of the University of Paris, in a pamphlet written about the year 1324, says: "est enim multitudo dominus major," and the description given of the "multitudo" in the *De Jure Regni* is: "Reliqua est imperita multitudo, quae omnia nova miratur, plurima reprehendit neque quicquam rectum putat, nisi quod ipsa aut facit, aut fieri videt, quantum enim a consuetudine majorum receditur, tantum a justo et aequo recedi putat." In Switzerland, I believe, the *referendum* has generally been exercised in a conservative sense. Gerson, the Chaneellor of the University of Paris, quotes Seneca, who said that "There can be no more acceptable sacrifice to God than a tyrant," and Milton afterwards seems to have given his approval to this view. I may

¹ See Appendix V.

conclude with a very apt definition given by Isidore of Seville in the ninth century: "Reges a recte agendo vocati sunt, ideoque recte faciendo, regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur." The Reformers found a situation in which supremacy over kings was claimed by the Church, which alone had the power to loosen the bonds of allegiance. They had, therefore, to face the question of the limits of this allegiance. It is inaccurate to attribute as novel to the Reformers opinions which had been held before.

Buchanan joined in the rebellion against Scholasticism. His mind was steeped in the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, but he applied its teachings to the problems of his own day. He drew lessons from the past in order that a better future might be secured to his countrymen. Humanism was incompatible with the dogmatic system of the Church. In so far as Humanism and the Renaissance asserted the right of "private judgment," they paved the way for the Reformation. Buchanan, in his *History*, looks upon the Reformers as "the champions of liberty." Protestantism represents to him the struggle for liberty. Queen Mary was certainly not justified in calling him an "Atheist." His *Epicidium* on the death of Calvin reveals his conception of the Calvinistic Theology, and his appreciation of the struggle in which Calvin was engaged. Calvin filled with a draught of Deity lives in an eternal and nearer enjoyment of God. God is the soul of the soul, and, when the draught of Deity has been taken, the soul, which before was shrouded in darkness, illusioned by empty appearance and grasping at mere shadows of the right and good, sees the darkness disappear, the vain *simulacra* cease, the unveiled face of Truth reveal itself in light. Buchanan could not have written thus had he not accepted the doctrines of the resurrection and of regeneration. Knox would have stated it differently. He was in a different position, as the leader of the Democracy; he had to speak plainly so as to raise the Church on definite dogmatic lines and to denounce what he considered dangerous. The times were not favourable to a symposium; the alternative was martyrdom. Buchanan had experienced the amenities of the Inquisition at Lisbon; we may well marvel that he was so fair, in his *History*, to the Catholics. In dealing with the great problems of life,

he had no other aim than the discovery of Truth. Being thoroughly in earnest, he made allowance for the errors of others. It was an exceptional attitude in those days.

Buchanan wrote his *History* at the request of his friends who thought such a work "more worthy of his advanced years and of the expectation his countrymen had formed of him." In a letter to Tycho Brahé, in 1576, he had written that bad health had compelled him "spem scribendi carminis in posterum penitus abjicere." He was here referring to the poem *De Sphaera* at which he intermittently worked at least for twenty-five years and which he left unfinished. Reluctantly, he writes to a friend in England, in 1579, he had abandoned his astronomical aims in poetry, "neque enim aut nunc libet nugari, aut si maxime vellem per actatem licet. Accessit eo historiae scribendae labor." He gave up *De Sphaera* as being less serious than the *History*. In 1577 he writes to Randolph: "As for the present, I am occupied in writing of our historie, being assurit to content few and to displease many thairthrow. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippen not for it,¹ nor nane other writings from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhilk haldis me busy both day and nyt."

In another letter to Randolph he says: "As to my occupation at this present time, I am bisy with our story of Scotland to purge it of sum Inglis lvis and Scottis vanite; as to Maister Knoks, his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thair in consultation to mitigat sum part the acerbiti of certaine wordis and sum taintis quhairin he has followit to much sum of your Inglis writaris as M. Hal et suppilatorem ejus."

As a historian, Buchanan must not be judged by the tests which we apply to the writers of history in our times. His *History* must be judged by the standard of Livy, Salust, and Tacitus, as in the first place a literary work. But we must give credit to Buchanan for expressing not only his own views in a brilliant style, but for introducing the arguments of the other side, so that the reader may be able to form his own judgment. The best example of this method is to be found in his quoting the letter which Queen Mary sent to France after her marriage with Bothwell. But the *History* shows an absolute want of appreciation of the Reformation as

¹ "Do not reckon on receiving it."

a religious movement. He seems to have looked upon the Reformers chiefly in the light of *vindices libertatis* rather than of *evangelici professores*. And as Knox, the greatest figure of the time, is only mentioned four times, Buchanan evidently had no idea of the position which would be assigned to his great contemporary by posterity. Buchanan enjoyed a European reputation, and probably considered him his intellectual inferior. Knox was a leader of men and was fighting a battle against tremendous odds, in which he had to set in motion popular forces and at the same time to control them. Buchanan approached the great problems from an academic point of view. That he strengthened, by his classical utterances, the great cause for which they both were doing battle, there can be no doubt.

De Thou, who takes a very high rank among the historians of those days, states that "Buchanan in his old age undertook a History, which he wrote with such purity, sagacity, and insight (although from that inborn love of liberty, peculiar to his nation, somewhat severe on the pride of kings), that his work seems the production, not of one trained in the dust of the Schools, but of one who has passed his life in the conduct of affairs," and, a century after, Dryden paid his tribute to Buchanan, who, "for the purity of his Latin and for his learning, and for all other endowments belonging to an historian, might be placed among the greatest, if he had not leaned too much to prejudice and too manifestly declared himself a party of a cause, rather than an historian of it. Excepting only that (which I desire not to urge too far in so great a man, but only to give caution to his readers concerning it), our isle may justly boast in him a writer comparable to any of the moderns, and excelled by few of the ancients." Buchanan did not suppress his own strong convictions, and, with the personal knowledge he possessed of the rulers of Scotland and of the governing class, it could hardly have been expected that he would refrain from emphasising what he believed to be the truth. That he was fair-minded, his estimate of the character of the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, may be adduced by way of evidence. He was perfectly justified in his adverse criticism of Cardinal Beaton and of the policy pursued by the House of Hamilton.

Four editions of the *History* appeared during the sixteenth

century, and three in the 18th, and many translations were made in England and Scotland during the 17th and 18th centuries. Altogether nineteen editions were published of the *History*, the last in 1762.

Buchanan, as a typical representative of the New Learning of the first half of the 16th century, necessarily chose Latin as the medium for the expression of his thoughts. He thus addressed himself to the whole republic of learning. "Modern Languages," he would have held with a greater and later philosopher, "would play the very bankrupt with my works." His vernacular writings are perhaps only of value as reflecting the influences derived from the habitual use of the Latin idiom, and these writings, interesting as they are to the historian, cannot claim for Buchanan any important place among the men of letters of his country. It is then by his Latin works that his place must be adjudged, and from this standpoint his place is of very high rank in the history of Humanism. Perhaps the most fascinating of his contributions to this department of literature are his Latin plays. His *Jephthes* is indeed the earliest specimen of a Senecan drama composed by a Northerner; his *Baptistes*, similarly Senecan in form, is closely connected with the whole movement of the period, when the form of the later Roman Drama, Tragedy in particular, became associated with the pressing problems of Church and State,—problems which, in Germany more especially, produced what has well been called "a Christian Terence" with a "Christian Seneca" as a counterpart. This play of *Baptistes* put in dramatic form the principles afterwards enunciated in the famous prose work, *De Jure Regni*. It is significant that both works received great attention during the middle of the 17th century, when kindred questions were agitating men's minds; and that Milton, between whom and Buchanan there was much in common, seems to have been acquainted with both works and to have been influenced by both. When one recalls the condition of the vernacular drama of Scotland at this time, with its indecorum and want of art, one feels how much the 16th century dramatists owed to the example of the Humanists, who preferred the declamatory and rhetorical drama of Seneca, with all its limitations, to the crude form of the native drama. Buchanan was too early in date to witness the fruition of

Humanistic influences, so far as the vernacular literature was concerned. These results were to be for the next generation. It is enough for him, and for his assured place among his contemporaries, that his was the power "to make King David speak the language of Horace and Virgil"; that, according to one enthusiast, "Virgil never made better verses, and fifteen centuries were needed to produce another poet like Virgil"; and that the licence of his amatory verse was strictly in accordance with the classic examples set by Catullus and Tibullus. Yet while so much of the form is derivative in the spirit of these Latin poems, we are constantly reminded of Scottish grim humour and satire, and Buchanan stands forth as another Dunbar, to mention but one of his great contemporaries who spoke in native Scots with all its grand vitality and Rabelaisian vigour; and withal, the joy and enthusiasm for the Scottish nation and his native land find full expression in Buchanan's verse, in spite of the formal style of the humanist:

"The glory of the quivered Scots
Is the bold heart and hardy frame
That fear, nor want, nor toil can tame;
Whose joy is in their native woods
To chase and strike the various game,
And fearless breast their mountain floods;
Whose good right hands their soil can keep,
Nor need high walls nor fosses deep;
Who count all gone, if honour's gone;
Whose faith can ne'er be bought nor sold;
Who deem a friend heaven's dearest boon;
Who barter not their soul for gold."¹

The esteem in which Buchanan was held by his contemporaries is shown by Beza, who looks upon Buchanan as his superior, and by the following letter of Languet, the distinguished friend of Sir Philip Sidney: "So well are you known to the whole Christian world by your virtue and the many monuments of your genius, that there is hardly a lover of learning and sound instruction who does not pay you the tribute of his ardent reverence and admiration. I count it my great happiness that in Paris, some twenty years since, it was my good fortune not only to see you and to enjoy the benefit

¹ Lines 173-179 of *Francisci Valesii et Mariæ Stuartæ, Regum Franciæ et Scotiæ, Epithalamium*, translated by Professor Hume Brown.

of your learning and the delightful charm of your conversation, but also to entertain you as my guest along with others of the highest distinction,—Turnèbe, Dorat and others. We then heard much from you to our utmost profit and delight. Of all this I now write to see whether I can recall to you who I am, but be I who I may, be certain that your virtues are my profoundest admiration. For many years I lived with Philip Melanchton, and I then thought myself happy. On his death, after many vicissitudes, I at length came to this country as to a safe port, finding none safer elsewhere, though here also for many years the storms of civil war have been raging. Nevertheless, amid these storms the light of the gospel is shining, and the true way of salvation is preached to us, and superstition driven out of the churches to the great indignation of Spain, which is still under its dominion. It was by the command of the Prince of Orange, the chiefest ornament of our age, that I came here with himself. By his courage and genius he has till now so successfully coped with the mighty resources of the Spanish King that he has won for himself undying fame. . . . Erasmus was invited to undertake the education of Ferdinand, the brother of the Emperor Charles, but refused the task. You I count both more fortunate and more noble in consenting to the request of your countrymen to imbue the youthful mind of your prince with precepts which, if his manhood follow them, will lead to the highest happiness of himself and his subjects.” This letter was written from Delft.

To his old friend, Élie Vinet, Buchanan wrote: “Now in my 75th year, I sometimes recall through what cares and toils (passing every port where men are wont to find joy and refreshment), I have in my voyage of life at length struck on that rock beyond which, as it is most truly said in the 90th Psalm, nothing remains but labour and sorrow. The memory of friends, of whom you are almost the only survivor,—this is now my one consolation. . . . I have long bidden farewell to literature, and my only thought now is, with as little noise as possible, to leave a generation with which I am no longer in sympathy,—as one dead, that is to say, to leave the haunts of the living.” De Thou always preserved in his memory this last sentence.

Henri Estienne had called him “poetarum nostri sacculi facie princeps,” and Joseph Scaliger said “that in Latin

poetry Buchanan stood alone in Europe, and left everybody else behind”;

“ Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes ;
Romani cloquii Scotia finis erit ?”¹

Dr. Johnson said that he was “ not only a very fine poet, but a great poetical genius.” Finally, by way of specimen I cannot refrain from quoting Dr Hume Brown’s charming tribute, to wit, his free translation of the *Calendae Maiæ*, in its elegance equal to anything in Horace :—

“ Hail ! sweetest day,
Day of all pure delight ;
Whose gracious hours invite
To mirth and song and dance,
And wine, and love’s soft glance.
Welcome ! with all thy bright hours bring
Of quickened life and beauty’s dower—
The certain heritage of Spring.
In thee each year doth hoary Time
Renew the glories of his prime !

When, still rejoicing in her birth,
Spring brightened all the new-made earth,
And in that happy golden age
Men knew no lawless passion’s rage,
Thy train of joys embraced the year ;
Soft breezes wooed the untilled field,
Its blessings all unforced to yield.

Even in such mildest atmosphere
Forever bask those happy Isles,
Those blessed plains that never know
Life’s slow decay or poisoned flow.

Thus ’mid the still abodes of death
Should steal the soft air’s softest breath,
And gently stir the solemn wood
That glooms o’er Lethe’s dreamless flood.

And haply when made pure of stain
By cleansing fire, the earth renewed
Shall know her ancient joys again,
Even such mild air shall o’er her brood !

Thou crown of the world’s failing age,
Of life’s sad book one happy page.
Hail ! sweetest day—memorial bright
Of early innocent delight,
And sure pledge of the coming day
When it shall be eternal May.”

¹ “ Where Scotland curbed the march of conquering Rome
The Latian Muse will find his final home.”

We are justified in honouring the memory of Buchanan as the greatest scholar Scotland has produced. He was a typical Scot,—his rugged independence of character, his love of liberty, his strenuous activity, his sense of duty to his king and country, his disinterestedness, his brilliant scholarship, his affection for his friends, his fortitude, his sincerity, and his simplicity, were remarkable. We can only think of granite in connection with such a heroic figure. Buchanan's life was a constant struggle, and he died penniless. He did not seek to win either the favour of princes or that of the "multitude." He was by nature averse to all that was mean. The nobility of his soul places him in the front rank of the men of whom we may well be proud. Scotland owes him a debt of gratitude. We can best acquit ourselves of this debt by following in Buchanan's footsteps. Strength of character, independence of judgment, scorn of luxury, fearless assertion of individual convictions, are perhaps more rare in our day than in the sixteenth century. Buchanan did not hesitate to tell his royal pupil truths which the latter warned his son Henry were "scandalous libels." The same courage is required to tell the leaders of the Democracy that they are quite as liable to go astray as those who wield a sceptre. The Divine Right of Kings is no longer misused, but we have to oppose the insidious delusion that "*vox populi est vox Dei*."

It would not be difficult to draw a picture of Buchanan addressing his countrymen from a platform in very outspoken accents. Buchanan entered a protest against the evils of his day and used the means which he considered appropriate. His own advancement he never considered, where the *salus reipublicae et ecclesiae* was at stake. Had he lived in these days, his scathing satire would have been directed against the evils of plutocracy and democracy, and the tyranny of public opinion. No worse form of Government can be imagined than a corrupt Democracy. Buchanan would not have spoken of Capital as the enemy, because he would not have been ignorant of political economy. Capital is essential to civilisation and to the welfare of every class of the community. It is the abuse of power, whether by Capital or by Labour, which constitutes the public peril.

Every generation has to deal with the dangers which beset the Commonwealth; it has the same proneness to error. Its

safety depends on the wisdom and courage of those who understand the signs of the times and on its readiness to listen to them. History gives us ever recurring pictures of timely warnings unheeded and consequent disasters. The men who failed to convince their contemporaries are rehabilitated, and those who pandered to the passions of their contemporaries receive a just retribution in the verdict of history. We have come here as pilgrims to this venerable seat of learning to worship at the shrine of truth. We believe that this ancient University, as well as the other Universities of Scotland, will maintain the traditions bequeathed to us by such pioneers as Buchanan. To the vigorous assertion of their principles by Buchanan and his friends we owe the existence of our liberties. The Universities have no nobler duty than to inspire the rising generations of young Scots with the firm purpose to maintain these liberties, and to use them in such a manner as would have satisfied Buchanan that he had not lived in vain."

Principal Donaldson, in proposing the hearty thanks of the gathering to Lord Reay for his "masterly, interesting, profitable, and very valuable address," said:—"The wise problems he has brought before us and the wise sayings he has uttered will be heartily pondered by us—(applause). We might have had a larger number of humanists with us had it not been for the circumstance that in Germany and France the summer session was going on, and a number sent excuses saying they could not leave the examinations in which they were engaged. I have received from one Continental scholar the following message:—

UNIVERSITATIS SENATUI ET COLLEGIATIS ET ADVENTORIBUS
 GEORGII BUCHANANI QUARTA SAECULARIA CELEBRATURIS
 SALUTEM.

Καλὸν ἀρετᾶς ὑπόμνημα ἃ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμᾶ.

Senatus populusque Argivus in decreto modo eruderato facto sub divo Marco.

Tela quatit fera barbaries : tu, Scotia, scuto
 Mundum atque humanas protege munditias.

Franciscus Buccheler professor Bonnensis IV non. Jul. a. MCMVI.



LORD REAY.

(President of British Academy.)

The Greek, when roughly translated, reads:—‘Honour done to good men is a beautiful commemoration of virtue and excellence.’ The meaning of the verse in Latin cannot be rendered in English owing to the play upon words, but may be given thus:—‘Barbarism hurls about its savage weapons. Thou, O Scotland, with thy shield do thou protect the world and the refinements of mankind.’”

The thanks of the meeting were cordially awarded to Lord Reay, as also to Dr. Carnegie for presiding, and this part of the proceedings came to an end.

GRADUATION CEREMONIAL.

The Rector having vacated the Chair, Principal Donaldson, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, presided and officiated at a special Graduation Ceremonial. After the proceedings had been constituted with a prayer in Latin, Professor Lawson, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, in presenting the various candidates for the LL.D. degree, said:—

“Mr. VICE-CHANCELLOR, on this historic occasion when we are met to do honour to the memory of our most famous Scottish Humanist, who was in youth a student of this University, and in later life Principal of one of its colleges, it has seemed fitting to the *Senatus Academicus* to select for laureation a number of eminent scholars whose life-work has had some connection with the favourite studies or accomplishments of George Buchanan. In the name of the Senate, therefore, Sir, I have to present to you, to-day, for the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, a group of men and women as eminent as any that ever, in the long history of the University, at one time received this academic distinction. The body of honorary graduands would have been larger and still more completely representative but for certain accidents of time and circumstance which have compelled some other illustrious scholars to forego the pleasure of our celebration. It would have been larger but for another circumstance which ought not, at such a time, to be overlooked. Those of our own *alumni* who are pre-eminent as classical scholars and who have done note-worthy work in classic fields—such men, to name only three among many, as Mr. Andrew Lang, Dr. Gunion Rutherford, and Dr. John Masson—the interpreter of Lucretius, are already enrolled among our honorary graduates. Though, for this sufficient reason, scholars of our own household are absent from this honourable company, those who are here, are, I

believe, as completely representative as the most captious could desire. There are highly gifted interpreters of classical poetry, philosophy, history, oratory, and archaeology; and, that the *literae humaniores* may not be too narrowly interpreted, there are other scholars who have accomplished something worthy of note in literature, history, and philosophy imbued with the classic spirit. They come from many Universities old and new, and from many countries. The pleasant land of France and the classic realm of Hellas send representative learned men, as do England, Ireland and Scotland. America, almost at the last moment, has failed us, to our great regret.

By a happy chance, our severely democratic selection, according to the order of the alphabet, has brought first for presentation, among the pilgrims to the shrine of St. Andrew, Professor Gaston Bonet-Maury, the representative of France and of the University of Paris—the land and university and city so intimately associated with the career of Buchanan, so dear to his heart, so justly celebrated in his verse. For to him the land was fair and bright, ‘the gracious nurse of excellent arts,’ and the city was Amaryllis, of whom he lovingly dreamt in absence, counting the west winds happy that were on the way to her presence. But, Sir, the first of our honorary graduands is not only eminent in his representative capacity as a Frenchman and a Professor in the University of Paris—that mother university of northern Europe, whose fame has been invariably resplendent through an almost unequalled history—he is himself a man of the very highest distinction as a scholar, as an educationist, and as a man of letters. Professor Gaston Bonet-Maury, Litt.D., S.T.D., is a member of the Faculty of Protestant Theology, and is at the head of the department of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Paris. A student of Geneva and Strasbourg, and destined for the ministry of the Reformed Church, Professor Bonet-Maury early shewed his zeal for learning as well as his special predilection, in his thesis *Josias Bunsen: a Prophet of Modern Times*. Throughout his long and versatile career he has investigated, by preference, work of precursors of the Reformation, and modern religious movements. He has written on Arnold of Brescia, Gerard de Groote, *The Netherland Origins of the Imitation of Christ*, and likewise on the *Origins of Unitarian Christianity among the English*, and on the *Congress of Religions at Chicago in 1893*. He has also done excellent work as a translator from the German—*The Emperor Akbar* and Döllinger’s *Letters and*

Declarations on the subject of the Vatican Decrees. Professor Bonet-Maury has also been a diligent and learned contributor to many historical and theological journals; he has taken an active part in library and educational administration, and he has, for long, been a member of the Commission charged with the selection and supervision of bursars sent to study in foreign countries. As a scholar, a historian, and an educationist, he is appropriately submitted to you at a Buchanan celebration.

As the Scotsman who has the amplest claim to be honoured on this occasion Professor Peter Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Ancient Scottish History and Palaeography in the University of Edinburgh, is now presented to you. He has more than followed in the footsteps of Buchanan as the historian of his native country, alike in his succession of volumes—*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, *Scotland before 1700*, in the *History of Scotland*, now in course of publication and in his various monographs dealing particularly with the age in which Buchanan lived, *Life of John Knox*, *The Scotland of Mary Stuart*, and, above all, in *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*. This last work is at once the most complete and sympathetic life of Buchanan. It unites detailed and elaborate research with literary feeling and freshness, and the most ardent admirer of the great humanist will find, throughout, enthusiastic appraisement of his character and achievement. Our histories, no less than our history, may be starred with battlefields. On many great questions of public policy and human character we may debate keenly. But no student of history will deny to Professor Hume Brown just comprehension of the complex whole of Scottish national life, in civil struggle, love of poetry, and intensity of religious conviction; nor will any fail to concede that he is worthy of the highest honour from his countrymen for his patient research, his clear exposition, and his genuine Scottish spirit.

The next of our honorary graduands is a typical humanist of these later centuries—Emeritus Professor Samuel Henry Butcher, Litt.D. of Dublin and Oxford, LL.D. of Glasgow and of Edinburgh, and one of the Members of Parliament for the University of Cambridge. A distinguished Cambridge student, Professor Butcher was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in his own University. Soon afterwards he was invited to Oxford, a most unusual honour at that time, and he became a Fellow of University College there. He lectured on Homer and Demosthenes and acquired great fame by his learning

and eloquence. Called in 1882 to succeed Professor Blackie in the Greek Chair of Edinburgh University, he filled this position for almost twenty-one years, and had a popularity and success rarely equalled in Scotland. During his tenure of office he was a most efficient member of the Scottish Universities Commission. In extension of his labours upon Homer and Demosthenes he translated the *Odyssey*, in conjunction with Mr. Andrew Lang, and edited the works of the great Greek orator. He translated and expounded the *Poetics* of Aristotle in one of the very finest editions of any ancient classic. He was recently elected a Member of Parliament for Cambridge University, and his first speech in the House of Commons will long be remembered for its fine combination of simple eloquence and sane statesmanship. It gave excellent justification for the application to Mr. Butcher, by his friends, of a compliment paid by Samuel Johnson, almost a century and a half ago, to his great countryman Edmund Burke: "Now, we, who know him, know that he will be one of the first men in the country."

In Professor Samuel Dill, M.A., Litt.D. of Dublin, LL.D. of Edinburgh, Honorary Fellow of Christ Church, Oxford, and Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast, I present to you another eminent Irishman who has gained in England the highest distinction as a scholar and classical teacher. He has filled important posts with signal success. He has been headmaster of Manchester Grammar School, and Governor of Owen's College, and a Professor at Belfast. He has made most valuable contributions to classical learning, and is best known as the author of two important treatises on Roman social life—*Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, and *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*.

I have to ask you to confer the degree, *in absentia*, upon Robinson Ellis, Esq., Corpus Professor of Latin Literature in the University of Oxford. Professor Ellis has laboured in many portions of the great field of classical scholarship. He has edited the *Minor Poems* of Vergil, *New Fragments of Juvenal*, *Orientalii Carmina* in the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum as well as the works of Velleius Patereulus and *Specimens of Latin Paleography*, from MSS. in the Bodleian Library. But his chief and enduring title to fame rests upon his great edition of Catullus, and upon his poetic rendering into English, in the metres of the original of the work, of the great Latin lyricist.

Professor Percy Gardner, Litt.D., F.S.A., whom I next present to you, is an eminent classical scholar, with somewhat different

interests from those of Professor Ellis, but with kindred fame in his own special sphere of study. A brilliant student at Cambridge, after graduation he joined the Ancient Coin Department of the British Museum. He was Disney Professor of Archæology from 1880 to 1887, and in 1887 he succeeded Professor W. M. Ramsay at Oxford. He is one of the greatest authorities on ancient coins, and on many phases of ancient history. He has published *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, *New Chapters in Greek History*, *A Manual of Greek Antiquities*, and *A Grammar of Greek Art*. He has not confined himself to these studies, however, but has published, also, *Exploratio Evangelica*, and *Historic View of the New Testament*. He has contributed to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, which he edited, and frequently, and on many subjects, to the *Quarterly Review*, *Contemporary Review*, and *Hibbert Journal*.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I know you will count yourself fortunate, on this day when we commemorate one of the earliest translators of Euripides, that you have, among others, to promote to the degree of Doctor of Laws, an illustrious Greek scholar, diplomatist, and patriot, John Gennadius. His lineage, his learning, and his services to his country are alike distinguished. The descendant of "a Patriarch of Constantinople, who, in his lay days, had been present with the Emperor Palæologus at the Council of Ferrara held in the fifteenth century with a view to the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches," the son of George Gennadius, the famous Greek scholar and patriot, who earned, during the War of Independence, the peerless designation, Saviour of the Country, Mr. Gennadius had every incentive to high-minded devotion to Hellas. He has amply fulfilled the most ardent hopes of his ancestors. From early youth to the present time he has devoted himself with keen enthusiasm and bright intelligence to the economic, political, and social liberation of Greece. He has been his country's representative in many lands, and he once enjoyed the unique distinction of being Envoy Extraordinary to three Courts simultaneously. In the stirring time before the Russo-Turkish War, and after its close, he was charged with most important diplomatic work, and he was able, at Berlin and at Constantinople, as well as in London, to render service to Greece of the highest, indeed of imperishable, worth. He has been a prolific and versatile, as well as a learned writer, and his articles and books deal with many subjects—philological, economic, educational, literary, and devotional. He

has received many honours. He is a D.C.L. of Oxford, and an honorary member of the International Congress of Orientalists, the Council of which, in 1891, awarded him a gold medal for a paper on *The Influence of Greek Civilisation on Oriental Nations*. He has the Grand Cordon of the Netherlands. He is a Grand Officer of the Order of the Danebrog of Denmark, Grand Officer of the Iakowa of Servia, Commander of the Iron Crown of Austria, Officer of the Majidieh of Turkey, and Commander of the Greek National Order of the Saviour. In brief, Sir, I present to you Mr. Gennadius as a subject of the modern Hellenic kingdom, who recalls, by his courage, work, and wisdom, that Greece of old which is an inalienable possession of every cultured human spirit.

I have now, Sir, to present to you two women scholars of the highest eminence, one of them, unhappily, in absence. They are Miss Elizabeth Saunderson Haldane and the Countess Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli. Miss Haldane is well known at St. Andrews and in Scotland. She has won great distinction as a philosopher and woman of letters, who has advanced the cause of learning and of pure thought. Her earliest work bears upon the philosophy of Hegel whose salient reflections upon the greatest subjects she has collected and edited in her *Wisdom and Religion of a German Philosopher*. She has also translated Hegel's *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, thus making accessible to English students the most penetrating and compact history of philosophy ever written. Her latest and greatest book is an elaborate life of Descartes, which is admirable alike as a biography and as an exposition of the system of the great French thinker. While the ample learning, intellectual vigour, and rich human sympathy, manifest in this volume, must be regarded as Miss Haldane's highest and most just title to academic recognition, she will not least be remembered in St. Andrews for her excellent brief monograph on James Frederick Ferrier, whose picture looks down on our proceedings. In this she has done tardy justice to one of the finest speculative intellects of last century, and one of the most gifted professors who ever taught in this College.

The Countess Lovatelli, whom I ask you to laureate in absence, is one of the most illustrious living classical philologists and archæologists, and her works are as remarkable for poetic feeling and literary elegance as for wealth of erudition and accuracy of scholarship. For thirty years she has been writing on archæological subjects, and her papers have appeared from time to time in various

learned Italian journals. Typical contributions are her *Marriage of Helen and Paris on a bowl of the Esquiline*, *Cupid and Psyche*, *The Feast of Roses*, and *Ancient Monuments Illustrated*. Her latest work is called *Varia*, and was published in 1905. "Her papers range over the entire field of antiquarian research in Rome, and they give many vivid pictures of the by-ways, sacred groves, and other places connected with the workshop of the gods. They shew familiar knowledge of the classical writers to whom she appeals, and of the modern works in various languages which deal with Roman life and religion in ancient times." It would be difficult, Sir, to find any Italian scholar, man or woman, who could more appropriately be honoured on a day commemorating Buchanan, who was poet and man of letters, as well as historian.

I have further, and fittingly after the Countess Lovatelli, to introduce to you Emeritus Professor John Pentland Mahaffy, M.A., D.D., Mus. Doc. (Dublin), D.C.L. (Oxon.), C.V.O. Dr. Mahaffy was formerly Professor of Ancient History in Trinity College, Dublin, and he is one of the most accomplished and versatile scholars and writers in a country noted for bright wit and keen intelligence. He has translated and expounded Kant, and he has written the life and discussed the teaching of Descartes. He has written on primitive civilisation, on Greek social life, and on Greek antiquities. He is the author of an admirable history of classical Greek literature, of a history of Alexander's Empire, and of the empire of the Ptolemies, and he has edited a translation of Duruy's *History of Rome*. Professor Mahaffy's vast learning and many accomplishments have won generous recognition from many famous foreign Academies and Societies. Rome, Athens, Berlin, and Vienna have been pleased to do him honour, and on such an occasion as this, our venerable University will honour herself in enrolling Dr. Mahaffy among her graduates.

After a venerable Irish man of letters I present a most venerable English scholar, the Nestor of British Latin Scholarship, Professor John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor, of the University of Cambridge, D.C.L. of Oxford, LL.D. of Aberdeen, and D.D. of Glasgow. A distinguished Cambridge student and Fellow of St. John's College, Professor Mayor has filled his present Chair for more than a generation. His wide fame as a Latin scholar rests upon his editions of Juvenal and of Cicero's *Second Philippic*, upon his *Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature*, and upon his numerous contributions to the *Classical Review*, to the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*,

and to the *Journal of Philology*, which he at one time edited. While he is eminent among the Latin scholars of the world, Professor Mayor has not restricted his interest to ancient times, or to classical themes. He has edited the *Schoolmaster* of Roger Aseham, and the *Speculum Historiale* of Richard of Cireneester, as well as *Two Lives of Nicholas Farrar*, and *The Autobiography of Matthew Robins*. He has written upon the Spanish Reformed Church, and has published a volume of addresses and sermons *On Plain Living and High Thinking*. He thus takes his place as an illustrious classical scholar, who is eagerly enthusiastic about the deepest religious problems and the nearest concerns of the spiritual life.

The next of our honorary graduands is a colleague of Professor Mayor. Like him, Professor James Smith Reid was a distinguished student of the University where he now fills the Chair of Ancient History. He is M.A., LL.M., and Litt.D. He has devoted the greater part of his leisure to the elucidation and interpretation of Cicero. He has edited many treatises and speeches of the famous Roman orator, and he appropriately takes his place on our Buchanan list, as Cicero, on whose works he has spent so much fruitful labour, was, *par excellence*, the teacher of the sixteenth century humanists in style, and not a little in substance.

Professor William Rhys Roberts, M.A., Litt.D., is a representative of the learning which is to be found in the modern English universities, now taking so great a part in higher education and in scholarly and scientific research. As Professor of Classics in the University of Leeds, he is known as one of the most accomplished Greek scholars of the younger generation. He has not only taken an active part in modern university education, but has written upon it for the benefit of Wales, where he was formerly professor. He has also written on "The Ancient Bœotians." His most notable contributions to classical culture, however, are his learned and complete editions of certain great Greek treatises on aspects of Rhetoric: Longinus *On the Sublime*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *The Three Literary Letters*, and Demetrius *On Style*. In these volumes Professor Rhys Roberts has not only done excellent critical work for students of Greek style and Greek literature, but he has given a vigorous impulse to study of literary theory in modern languages and literatures as well.

As the last of the Senate's selected graduands I present to you Emeritus Professor Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, Litt.D., D.C.L.,

Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Professor Tyrrell occupied, in Dublin, successively the chairs of Latin, Greek, and Ancient History, and his pre-eminence as a scholar was fittingly recognised by his selection as one of the original Fifty Fellows of the British Academy of Letters. He has edited the Letters of Cicero, the *Bacchae* and *Troades* of Euripides, and the whole of Sophocles. He has rendered *The Acharnians* of Aristophanes into English verse, and he has done valuable work for the interpretation of Plautus and Terence. He excels as a writer of Greek and Latin verse, and is thus, in the manner of part of his work as in the spirit and body of the whole of it, a true follower of the humanists of the sixteenth century" (applause).

Principal STEWART, Dean of the Faculty of Divinity, in presenting the candidate for the degree of D.D., said :—

"I have pleasure, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, in presenting to you for the degree of Doctor of Divinity the Rev. Alexander Gordon Mitchell, Minister of the Parish of Killearn. On this important and interesting occasion, it is gratifying to the Senatus Academicus that it is possible to include among our Honorary Graduates one so closely connected with the place of George Buchanan's birth. The general grounds on which this degree is ordinarily conferred are in this case not wanting, for Mr. Mitchell is an excellent and much respected minister, discharging his pastoral duties with zealous care. But he has steeped himself in the associations of his parish, and, being an excellent Latin scholar, has rendered into English verse the *Jephthes* and *Baptistes* of George Buchanan, besides some of his minor pieces. Mr. Mitchell's prefaces and notes, as well as his translations, are executed in scholarly fashion, and altogether he has so identified himself with his author, that to confer upon him the honour which I ask for him at your hands, is at once most appropriate to the occasion, and a recognition of meritorious work." (Applause).

After the graduation ceremony was completed, the Vice-Chancellor said :—"It is usual for me at graduation ceremonies to address the graduates—(laughter)—but such an address would be totally superfluous on the present occasion. I regret that many scholars who would have gladly been present have been unable to do so through official engagements, but we are delighted to see so large a gathering of able men who have done much to elevate, reform, and soften the manners of this age, to spread the feeling of brotherhood among the nations of the earth, and to encourage unselfish exertions of the intellect

and of the pursuit of the beautiful and true. May you long be able to continue the noble tasks you have set before you, and may you see your work prosper and bear fruit to your own joy and the good of all"—(applause).

The proceedings then terminated with the benediction.

CELEBRATIONS DINNER.

In the evening a dinner was held in the Hall of the Students' Union. The Vice-Chancellor presided, and the croupiers were Principal Stewart, and Professors Lawson and Herkless. After covers were removed, the Vice-Chancellor said:—

"Gentlemen, before proposing the first toast, I have to express my deep regret—which is no doubt the regret of you all—that the Chancellor of the University, Lord Balfour of Burleigh is not able to be with us—(applause). He had made up his mind to be here, but a violent attack of gout has required him to go to distant waters. Then Principal Story is unable to be present owing to the state of his health. He is an old student of this University, and he would have liked to come back to the old place, which is quieter than Glasgow—(laughter). We should have been delighted to hear him speak in his own graceful style on Buchanan who forms one of the many links that connect the University of Glasgow with the University of St. Andrews. I now come to the toast of "The King and the Royal Family." Buchanan had a difficult business with his King—(laughter)—and I am sorry to say he did not succeed altogether as could have been wished. It is a curious thing that the same experiment was tried with the present King, but with better results. His father had the high idea that his son would be much the better of hearing lectures on ancient history by a pupil of Niebuhr, and he brought teacher and pupil to Holyrood Palace. I saw much of the teacher at the time, and he said to me he tried to make a constitutional king of the prince. Whether *he* did it or not, certainly there has been success in the matter, for a better constitutional king never existed—(applause). There is one peculiarity about him. He always says the right thing and he never does the wrong thing—so far as a king is concerned—(laughter). We have to be thankful for that and we have also to be thankful for the Royal Family. They are always ready to take part in



From the portrait

by Sir George Reid.

PRINCIPAL DONALDSON, M.A., LL.D., ST. ANDREWS.

(Convener of Buchanan Quater-Centenary Celebrations Committee.)

charitable work, and they are quite willing to go to distant lands to represent the Throne and to conciliate native populations—(applause).

The toast which I have now to propose is "The Memory of George Buchanan"—(applause). I suppose that this toast has been entrusted to me because I am his successor in the office which he held in this University, but I have also this qualification, that I belong to a generation which was taught to reverence that memory from its earliest days. When we gathered round the fireside in the long wintry evenings to hear stories of adventure, the exploits of Wallace and Bruce were sure to be rehearsed, and our elders would tell us of the strange disguises and escapades of James V., and then would come in the anecdotes of George Buchanan, whom with delight and pride we were wont to call "Geordie"—(laughter). These anecdotes did not include the scandalous stories fabricated by his contemporary, James Laing, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and men of a like stamp, who rejoiced in blackening the character of Luther and Calvin and of other heretics, amongst them Buchanan, whom they believed to be the children of the Devil. The tales told to us represented Buchanan as a man free from conventionalities, who was a Professor of St. Andrews College, who could match anyone in his knowledge of ancient and foreign languages and who delighted in humiliating the arrogant, in speaking the truth to kings and nobles and who was very witty in rebuking fools, of whatever rank they might be, that tried to make fun of him. We were particularly pleased, for instance, with the story of George and the Bishops. Three Bishops met the old man, the first said to him "Good-morrow, Father Abraham," the second "Good-morrow, Father Isaac," the third "Good-morrow, Father Jacob." George replied, "I am not Father Abraham, and not Father Isaac, and not Father Jacob, but I am Saul the son of Kish and have been sent to search for my father's lost asses, and lo! I have found three of them"—(laughter).

Our ideas in regard to Buchanan underwent a transformation when, at the age of 14 or 15, we reached the highest class of our Grammar School. There we had a religious lesson on every Monday morning, which we could prepare without sin on the previous Sunday—(laughter). Our religious exercise was to translate Buchanan's Latin version of the Psalms into English.

The teacher's introduction to this exercise made an indelible impression on us. He read the dedication of the book to Queen Mary, in the belief that it was the most beautiful dedication that had ever been penned. He lingered on each line of it, explained to us its beauties and showed to us how appropriate each word and phrase were, how graceful were the allusions in it and how the whole was in every way perfect. The absorbed pleasure which he took in the poem impressed us with the idea that there could be music in words as charming as the melodies composed by the most gifted musician—(applause). Every Monday the same thought was brought home to us and there was a special rapture in his handling of the 137th Psalm, which he regarded as the most beautiful of Buchanan's renderings. We gladly committed it to memory. From the Psalms we passed by a circuitous route to the "History." Our teacher often framed his themes for translation from English into Latin out of that book, and, discovering this, we searched the volumes of the history for the passages on which he based his themes. It was thus that we learned the beauty of Buchanan's prose. That sense of beauty still remains with me—(applause). I have lately read his account of the founder of this College in which we now are, and, in my opinion, nothing could be more exquisite than the description which he gives of Bishop Kennedy's noble character, or more masterly than the skill with which he has composed the great speech which he attributes to him.

From the history we naturally passed to the study of the plays, especially *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*, and some of us tried our hands at translation. At this time (1845-6) Buchanan must have been in great repute, for several renderings of some of his poems and choruses appeared in journals. Especially there was a version of a chorus in *Jephthes* which was published in *Chambers' Journal* that struck us as being exceedingly good, and some of the lines remain in my memory to this day. One of the verses ran:

When, O when, shall light returning
 Gild the melancholy gloom,
 And the golden star of morning
 Yonder solemn vault illumine?
 When shall freedom, holy charmer,
 Cheer thy long benighted soul:
 When shall Israel, proud in armour,
 Burst the tyrant's base control?

All this you will allow was a good preparation for forming a true estimate of Buchanan when we came, in later years, to study his works thoroughly—(hear, hear!). And then and now I was and am of opinion that Henricus Stephanus was right when he put upon the title-page of his first print and the first edition of the Psalms, that Buchanan was “*poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*.” Our University at once endorsed this opinion, for it was embodied in our Minutes when his name was mentioned—(applause). It was confirmed by all the great scholars and literary men of that period. Indeed Henricus Stephanus was exceedingly well qualified to judge. He had taken special pains to acquire the power of writing Greek by varied exercises. He did the same with Latin. Like Buchanan he travelled far and wide, he knew the best scholars of his time in Europe, and he printed and exercised his critical faculty on nearly all the Greek and Latin Classics. Though he did not succeed in making remarkable verses himself, yet he knew well what was good poetry, and his verdict may be pronounced true for all ages. One age may become partially blind to the excellences of another age. Frederick the Great regarded Shakespeare as a barbarous poet, and so did the literary men and the French Academy of the time. The reputations of our greatest poets have risen and fallen at different epochs, but there is a certainty that the truly great will receive full appreciation at some time or another, and Buchanan is one of these great—(applause). If we do not appreciate him now, we should ask ourselves how it is that we differ so much from the remarkable men of the Sixteenth Century, who pronounced Buchanan easily the first of the poets of his own age.

There is a peculiarity about the Latin of Buchanan which deserves special notice. It was not a patching together of fragments or choice bits from various Latin writers. He had made the language completely his own, and as Cicero, Livy and Tacitus had styles of their own, so Buchanan's style is the product of his own mind. In this matter he stands almost alone among modern writers of Latin poetry, the nearest to him being Jacob Balde, who was born 98 years after him and produced exquisite and powerful odes in the metres of Horace. In his honour the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Ensisheim, his native place, are making arrangements for erecting a statue, and surely the countrymen of Buchanan

ought not to be behind them in paying respect to the memory of their great poet.

It seems to me that while we honour the poet, it is still more our duty to consider and honour the man. Here again we have not an imitator, but one who lived his own life, free from ambition or other like stimulus, simply because he could not but live that life. He was trained under the influences of the great writers of antiquity, and they unquestionably moulded him to a certain extent, but it was the living man that they moulded, not mere dull matter. He was not a product of antiquity, but a powerful spirit of the sixteenth century, and in this view he deserves our attention—(applause). He looked upon this life in all its concrete aspects, he enjoyed the beauty of nature, above everything he valued friendship with man. He bore inevitable ills courageously, he faced difficulties without flinching, he enjoyed the good that came to him, and he looked forward to his end with hopefulness and courage. He had religion, but it was free from superstition and fanaticism, and the trend of his thought was very different from that of the ecclesiastics in the midst of whom he lived. This comes out very strikingly in a portion of his autobiography where he laments the evil treatment which he received from great officials of the Church for his satire on the Franciscans. He believed that in this world the laughable and the serious were blended together and that it was the part of man to enjoy the laughable as well as to face the serious. Now in his age most of the monks were the real comedians of destiny. They professed to teach others and were grossly ignorant themselves. They took on them vows of poverty and amassed riches. They bound themselves to control the flesh and feasted on luxuries. They were sworn celibates, but their Leonoras were numerous. Was not all this ridiculous? and why should there not be poems to exhibit the absurdity? In Greece, poets sacred to the gods exhibited in their plays before vast multitudes caricatures of the gods, of Heracles and Dionysos for instance, and the gods were supposed to enjoy the fun. They also lampooned the greatest men of the day, and the great men laughed. The Roman soldiers jeered at their victorious general, when they marched in the triumphal procession along with him, and he was not offended. Why should the monks have done otherwise? Buchanan could not comprehend this. Their persecutions

appeared to him altogether out of harmony with nature and utterly unreasonable.

Buchanan delighted in the external world. His poems abound in allusions to groves and forests and bowers and rivers and fountains, with aptly descriptive epithets. He paints every aspect of land and sea and sky, but there is no mystic interpretation of nature. He delights in the external objects as they present themselves to the senses and does not look beyond this. In all his descriptions, man is in the foreground. He has written beautiful lines on the two countries which he knew best,—Scotland and France. His picture of Scotland is that of a country where the people hunt and swim and endure hunger and are nerved to brave deeds by continual hardships, and he proudly thinks of the Scots as the nation which finally checked the forward movement of the Roman arms. France on the other hand smiles with every blessing, its climate is perfect, its inhabitants are cultured, polite, and brave, the land is fertile and the cities are beautiful. He evidently had a strong passion for “*beata Gallia*,” and was always happy there.

Buchanan's love of nature was subordinate to his love of man. Buchanan was a true lover of man. He loved men not philanthropically because they were destitute, but simply and heartily because they were lovable. Friendship was the moving power of his life. He liked to talk with his fellow men on all subjects that concerned them, and no man ever made a greater number of steadfast friends. He knew well nearly all the clever and cultured men of his age. They sought and enjoyed his society, and his epigrams show that he appreciated and praised their writings without a tinge of envy or rivalry. There is a very touching proof of the effect of friendship on him in one of his poems. He describes in strong language the horrors of the gout, with which he was tortured, and then tells how the agonies entirely disappeared when some of his intimate friends came to talk with him and look after his wants.

One of the marked features of his life was his love of freedom. In reading the Greek writers he had imbibed a hatred of tyranny. He read in the history of Rome the gradual development and extension of the power of the people. He had drunk in from Cicero and Livy and other Latin writers a belief in the people and their rights, and he deeply

sympathised with Tacitus when he expressed his sorrow that the Republic had disappeared. Curiously enough, too, he found in the fabulous portion of the history of Scotland, written before his time, the same development of the power of the people as in Livy. Inspired with this devotion to liberty, he wrote his masterly treatise *De Jure*, and though he did not persuade his kingly pupil to adopt his ideas, it is agreed on all hands that his work had no small share in guiding the movements which have culminated in our Constitutional Government.

Buchanan therefore seems to me a great poet, a true patriot, a man of sturdy independence of mind and character, the warmest of friends, and the glory of Scotsmen. In this belief, I ask you to drink enthusiastically the "Memory of George Buchanan"—(applause).

Professor Mahaffy said:—When I was asked to propose the toast of "The University of St. Andrews," I was told to confine myself to within ten minutes. But if you, sir, can occupy twenty-five minutes speaking of one member of the University, how can I cover its history in less than ten minutes?—(laughter). So you will excuse me if I say nothing about my utter unworthiness to attempt so high a duty. For that is a deduction which is seldom taken as serious, till the speaker has proved it by his speech. It is a signal instance of the insight of an Irishman who said there were a terrible lot of lies going about the world, and the worst of it was that more than half of them are true—(laughter).

When I reflect on its history there are two or three points on which I should like to dwell. The first and distinguishing feature of the University is its antiquity. I have seen a great number of new colleges, but every one of them lacked that peculiar flavour which is given by antiquity. The great difference between civilized man and the barbarian is that the civilized man has a respect for antiquity and a care for posterity, whereas the barbarous man has neither. The antiquity of this place is a great and noble feature, and shows that centuries ago there were civilized and great men here, and we do well to imitate their virtues and carry them on to our posterity. But as an old lady said to a Dublin cabman who was helping her into the cab, "You know I am very old." He gallantly replied, "No matter what age you are, you don't

look it"—(laughter). You all know the difficulties of age. Individuals when they become old become weak. But in Universities you have the constant infusion of youth every few years, and, above all, in St. Andrews we find the grace of youth with very few of the weaknesses of age. The next feature of this University which I commend is its smallness. There is nothing more important in this life than quality as against quantity. There is no democratic intellectual life except in a small society. Aristotle and Plato always limited their ideal polity to 10,000 citizens, and your authorities have ruled that a ten minutes' speech is of ideal length. My third point implies that a little controversy puts life into a thing—(laughter). For I should like to speak on the extraordinary privilege and blessing of not having a great school of practical science in this place. I understand it has been relegated to Dundee, an excellent place for marmalade. Practical science is always crying "Give, give." I know that the Rector is to reply to this toast, and I suppose there is no man in this country who has the needs of the various Universities more constantly brought home to him—(laughter). He honours education generally, just as he honours the great benefits of modern science, and I am proud to think he values this University which pursues letters as a great thing independent of modern science, for, believe me, however we may develop in material wealth there is something in literature and philosophy superior to anything else—for it is the pursuit of the beautiful, the good, and the true—(applause).

The Rector, in reply, said:—I have found in my visits to St. Andrews that they did everything relating to celebrations of this kind remarkably well,—so well that I wonder how they chose the Rector to reply to such a eulogy upon the University as Professor Mahaffy has made. You know that the modesty of Scotsmen is such that the national prayer is said to be "O Lord, gie us a guid conceit o' oorsels," and some people in other countries have been kind enough to say that the prayer has been fully answered—(laughter). As for the charms of St. Andrews, so beautifully depicted by Professor Mahaffy, the Rector has done nothing to increase them, and therefore he can speak freely. Every visit he makes to the venerable University convinces him more and more that every word spoken in its praise is well merited—(applause). I find a happy family here—such loyalty, such devotion, as is rarely met with in institu-

tions even of this kind where I do think loyalty is very pronounced as a rule. I quite agree with the eminent professor about small universities. I had the question to consider whether I should go on in America giving to large universities, or whether I should take up the question of small and struggling universities. I chose the latter. My secretary told me before we sailed from New York that we had given aid to 125 small universities between January and March, and that we had 250 more cases to investigate. We are doing a wholesale business now in small colleges—(laughter). It is astonishing—I confess it is a revelation to me—the thirst of the American people for education—(laughter). I think they rank with Scotland in that respect. They are doing much on small sums, and the saying about cultivating literature upon a little oatmeal applies to the professors in the western states; and yet no body of men is doing finer work and more of it for so little money as the American professors—(applause). I believe that patriotism is more intense in a small country than in a large, as the Professor contends, but I find in America a devotion to the Union which is marvellous. Every State has its flag which is shown at all State ceremonies, but so far from being a rival to the greater flag, the Stars and Stripes, representing all the States and the sentiment of Union, I believe it is a contributing force to this higher sentiment. It is well that a man should say with pride, "I am a Virginian," and another that he is a Pennsylvanian. Patriotism for the Union is a broader and higher patriotism than that for the State, and it has this great advantage that it dedicates a Continent to peace—(applause). The American Union will in the life of some of you have 250 millions of English speaking people, all in fellowship with the mother land, in concert with whom our race will some day be strong enough to say to the world "We do not like this mode of settling disputes by war." We shall give disputants what we Scotch call an "intimation" that it will be distasteful to us for nations to go to war, and shall be the power which, by raising our arm, can compel peace—(applause). Gentlemen, not a shot will then be fired. I don't agree with Professor Mahaffy in regard to what he said about science—(laughter). I have just been reading a book which I was astonished to find had been written by an unknown professor in one of these small colleges near Pittsburg. Let

you who dwell in the realms of literature and classic lore read that book and know something of the mysteries that surround you. "The New Knowledge" is the title of the book. Get it and read it, and you especially, Professor Mahaffy—(laughter). There is no rivalry in learning. One branch is not greater than another. As for science, the Cinderella of the Universities, the little pittance she is now beginning to get should not be grudged. Science will justify the funds spent upon her, mark my words. You classical men have been getting millions and millions annually ever since the Universities began with theology as supreme, and then classics succeeded to the throne, which were better than the old theology, but which in turn must now admit science. If a University is to be a University it must embrace all branches, for all knowledge is a sisterhood—(applause). St. Andrews thanks you, Professor Mahaffy, for your kind words, and also the distinguished gentlemen who have come here upon this occasion. As Professor Lawson read the names to-day, there was not a man in the room who did not feel that St. Andrews had been greatly honoured. You don't find their names blazoned in the newspapers. Quietly they have lived and modestly produced the results, and I tell you when a man who, like myself, has been in business all his life, has such noble, self-sacrificing lives revealed to him, he takes his hat off to you, gentlemen, and acknowledges that there is something far higher than mere material wealth—(applause).

Professor Herkless, in proposing the toast of "The Houses of Parliament," said:—This toast commends itself to us in connexion with the festival of George Buchanan. Buchanan was keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, as you remember, and had a seat in Parliament. I believe he sometimes was in attendance in Parliament, though he has made no impress upon its records. It was a good time in which he lived. There was no general election possible. There were no women graduates of the Universities—(laughter)—who took respectable individuals like the Rector, the Vice-Chancellor, Principal Stewart and myself and a few other harmless members of the Court into law courts—(hear, hear). Nor was Buchanan's a time when a member of the Government was attacked by very indignant and strange females. His was a century when a Cardinal was stabbed in his castle, when an Archbishop was

hanged, and when a Regent was made shorter by his head, to use a phrase of Drummond of Hawthornden; but his was not a time when a distinguished member of parliament was followed by a clamant woman with a toy whip and a demand for the franchise—(laughter). In this University of ours we have attempted to attach many distinguished men to our body. We have shown you to-day some distinguished men whom we are proud to welcome. We have been careful from time to time to associate with ourselves men of great influence, such, for example, as members of the Carnegie Trust—(laughter)—and we have also been careful to attach distinguished Members of Parliament. It may certainly be believed, on the other hand, that, however celebrated and useful the Houses of Parliament may be, they are certainly made better by the inclusion of men distinguished in Letters and in Science. To-day we have by an Honorary Degree joined to ourselves a distinguished humanist, the former Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh and now Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, and we have also as a member of the University the noble Lord who is to reply to this toast—one who is an ornament to that House in which he sits—a man of letters whom the students of a former day chose as Rector of this University—(applause).

Lord Reay, in reply, said:—I believe I am right in saying that public opinion at this present time watches with greater interest the debates of the House of Lords than those of the other House; that the question is more often asked—What will the House of Lords, than what will the House of Commons do with such and such a measure? I shall not mention which—(laughter). All I can say is that I sincerely trust that whatever is done by the majority of the House of Lords, a conflict between the two Houses will be avoided—(applause). It is satisfactory that the majority of the House of Lords is led by a sagacious and cautious statesman—Lord Lansdowne. The House of Lords conducts its business in such a way that you cannot accuse it of being obstructive. No one ventures to speak in the House of Lords, if he has not, at all events, some knowledge of the subject. I am not criticising the House of Commons, but there are certain advantages in having an hereditary assembly. In the House of Lords subjects of a highly abstruse nature can be appropriately discussed by experts.

Let me give you an instance. You are aware that a great controversy has arisen in regard to the safety of Greenwich Observatory. That is a most important matter, because we are not only responsible to these islands, but we have a mandate, a very honourable mandate, from the whole world to look after the moon—(laughter). It is a very remarkable fact that in scientific matters, as there is such a wide field to cover, an understanding has been come to amongst the astronomers of various countries that each country should have its own department of astronomical research. We are responsible for the moon, and if anything goes wrong with the Greenwich Observatory we shall be called to account by the whole scientific world. The subject was dealt with in a rather cursory fashion in the House of Commons, but it was dealt with by a Scotsman—Lord Crawford—in the House of Lords with consummate ability. He gave us a lecture—I cannot tell you how many peers were able to follow it—but at all events it was one of the most remarkable and most scientific speeches I ever heard in the House. It was endorsed by Lord Kelvin, and it made a deep impression on the House. Foreign, Indian, and Colonial affairs are discussed in the House of Lords by experts—men who have had practical experience and who speak with a deep sense of responsibility—(applause). There is one advantage of the House of Commons I would like to mention, and that is the presence in that assembly of University representatives, who, in the present debates, have spoken on educational questions with authority. I hope this will be the last Education Bill they will have to discuss for some time. We have in the future to improve our educational system and to avoid these controversies—(hear, hear). I trust that nothing will ever occur to disturb the great privilege of Scotland—that education does not divide parties North of the Tweed, and that we are all determined to maintain and expand the system we have inherited through the wisdom of our ancestors—(applause).

The toast of the “*Literae Humaniores*” was proposed by Dr. Steele of Florence, who said: “The significance of this subject has been well summarised by an American poet as

The glory that was Greece,
And the grandeur that was Rome.”

The languages and the literatures of these two civilisations are still among the most valuable assets of cultured humanity—assets never

to be despised so long as the world responds to the watchword of the great Humboldt: "Cherish the Beautiful, the Useful will take care of itself." In these days, when every interest struggles for existence, the Greek and Roman culture has difficulty in maintaining its foothold on the territory of education. Let us hope that, in language with which Professor Mahaffy and our Irish guests are familiar, it will assert in that territory its 'tenant right,' with 'fixity of tenure' and claims for 'unexhausted and inexhaustible improvements.'" Dr. Steele concluded by proposing the healths of "the Hellenic scholar and diplomatist," Dr. Gennadius; of the "greatest of living Latinists," Professor J. E. B. Mayor; and of "that brilliant archaeologist who had been the life and soul of the Hellenic Society," Dr. Percy Gardner.

Dr Gennadius said:—In the very learned address to which we were privileged to listen this afternoon, Lord Reay referred to the fact that the principles enunciated by George Buchanan, with regard to the relations of sovereign and people, were not absolutely original with him, but that there were former exponents of the same ideas, of a date not very distant from his own. That is true, as indeed were accurate all the learned observations in that remarkable paper. But I might perhaps venture to add that the first who defined the relations between a sovereign and his people—the relations according to which most of the nations in the enjoyment of liberal institutions at the present day are governed—were the Greek philosophers. They first conceived them, and the Greek States first practised them—(applause). If Buchanan expressed these ideas so forcibly, so clearly, so convincingly, it was because he was imbued with that which was then known as the New Learning, but which was as old as the civilization we now enjoy—namely, the teaching of Greek philosophy and of Greek literature—(applause). George Buchanan was one of the few fortunate men who, in his earlier years at all events, was privileged to sit at the feet of those who shaped that most remarkable event in history which goes by the name of the Renaissance of Letters and Arts, but which actually was nothing less than a resurrection of man—the intellectual revival and the ethical reform of man. That event was brought about, as you are aware, by the illustrious but unfortunate Greek refugees who fled from Constantinople when that bulwark of Europe and outpost of civilization fell; and in seeking a refuge, they shed over Western



J. P. STEELE, Esq., B.A., M.D., LL.D.

(Donor of the prizes for translations of Buchanan's poems and for the essay on "16th Century Humanism as illustrated by the Life and Work of George Buchanan," 1906.)

Europe the light that had been illuminating Constantinople. It will always remain the pride of Greece that even when laid low and prostrate she was able to shed light around her and benefit the human race—(applause). It was after being thus tutored and trained that George Buchanan was privileged to be the first to bring to you in Scotland and initiate you in that love of Greek literature, which has ever since been a prominent characteristic of Scottish education; and your capital city prides itself in the appellation of Modern Athens, more for its culture, than for its topographical conformation. But the relations between Greece and Scotland may, I think, be traced to a much earlier date. It was a Greek, Pytheas of Marseilles, who in the third century before Christ, first made a scientific exploration of the shores of Caledonia. It was Greek missionaries from Asia Minor who established the Celtic Church; and in that Church the cultivation of Greek letters remained for many centuries a distinctive feature. It was a Greek ship which brought Buchanan home from his detention at Coimbra. At a comparatively recent date a countryman of mine, Alexander Negris, taught Greek at Edinburgh, and there edited some of the Greek classics. And latterly, the munificence of the late Marquis of Bute established in your University a Chair for Modern Greek,—a form of the ancient language which Professor John Stuart Blackie loved and cultivated, and of which my most honoured friend, your venerable Principal, published years ago, an elementary, but most excellent grammar. Thus living in your midst, I venture to say I feel not quite a stranger—(hear, hear, and applause). Indeed I am filled with a sacred sense of gratitude at the recollection of the names of Gordon and Cochrane, and other brave and generous Scotsmen who fought for the emancipation of Greece, who suffered and struggled, and triumphed in common with our fathers a generation ago—(applause.) Of that benefaction and sympathy I deem the enviable honour you have conferred upon me to be but a continuation—a testimony of your goodwill and friendship toward my country—(applause).

Professor J. E. B. Mayor also replied. He said:—What do you understand by this toast? Because as you understand it one way or another, the study of Latin and Greek will die or flourish. If you understand by 'litterae humaniores' 'littera scripta,' it will die. If it is 'littera dicta,' it will live. This

principle really runs through the teaching of all language. In many of our schools there is absolutely no difference between Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and German. They are all dead languages, and if they are taught in this extraordinary way they will remain dead. If we treat language as painting or architecture—if we look to the eye and the hand—we shall be excluding the voice of nature. You may read a million pages of Latin or Greek, and you may learn to spell, but you will learn nothing about the laying of words together. But let a boy say aloud but a single ode of Horace or a single Georgic, and he begins to feel something of the order of words. If you have anyone to teach, you will not do it by any but the best works of the great masters. Take actual Latin and turn it into English, and let every single sentence be of the highest kind. It is time that the teachers of Greek should know the Greek alphabet. There are four of the Greek letters that we name in a way of which Plato had not the least conception. Germany and England are equally to blame. England does not know the last letter, and Germany does not know the first. We say in the apocalypse, "Alpha and Omega," Luther and Goethe say "A und O"—(laughter and applause).

Professor Percy Gardner, in reply, said:—Those who are in my position usually listen to the speeches of their predecessors in an unchristian frame of mind, in the hope that they will leave something of importance to be said—(laughter). My position to-night is entirely different. There are thousands of things one might say in regard to *literae humaniores*, and one has time to say but a single thing. I would only recall one statement—an interesting statement amongst many interesting statements—made by Lord Reay. He spoke of the classical learning, the humanism of Buchanan, and he praised it because Buchanan studied the ancient literature and philosophy in the spirit of his own age. We are aware that the old Universities of England and Scotland are different from all Universities throughout the world, because the primacy in their studies is preserved to *literae humaniores*. The younger Universities which are springing up in the northern towns of England naturally start from a different point. Many people regret the relegation of the classics to a lower place, but I do not believe that in the long run it will be a bad thing. The result is that now *literae humaniores* have to justify themselves before the

world, and I do not doubt that they will succeed in it. I have myself seen in the country of your Rector, Latin making its way, making conquests in some of the more obscure Universities in Western America, whenever there happens to be an enthusiastic and able teacher—(applause). What we shall have to do in this country is to adopt the principle of Buchanan, and introduce modernity into the study of *literae humaniores*, to study the literature of Greece and Rome, not in a dry mechanical fashion, not as a mere method of teaching boys grammar, but as the foundation for the study of man to which it forms the best possible introduction—(applause). The past century was a great century for the study of nature. Our century perhaps will be a great century for the study of man; and the study of man may perhaps in the course of it be put in almost as satisfactory and exact a position as the study of nature now occupies—(applause). I think the spirit is already among us, and such Associations as the Classical Association of Great Britain and the Classical Association of Scotland, which are due in part to the influence of the younger Universities, are already doing a great deal to revive the study of the ancient classics. I am sure you wish the classics all success, and I will express a hope that they will retain their honourable position in the old Universities of England and Scotland, and that they will retain it by fully rising to the needs of the age—more especially in this most ancient and most charming University—(applause).

Dr. Tyrrell proposed the toast of "English Literature." He said:—On this occasion it may seem irrelevant to invoke the sacred name of Shakespeare, but from one point of view at least it is entirely relevant, if I am right in my belief that the two greatest heirs of Shakespeare were two Scotsmen. Who has come nearer than Robert Burns in his delightful lyrics, with their sincerity, their music, their philosophy, their simplicity, to those exquisite songs of Shakespeare which run like a golden thread through the fabric of his immortal dramas? Who but Sir Walter Scott has succeeded like Shakespeare in recreating the past, in reviving for us the great personages of old, in presenting them to us in their habit as they lived? Shakespeare, dealing with the nearer past, raises for us the curtain of feudalism, while, going back to long bygone times, he evolves for us ancient Rome and her heroes, with a skill that seems little short of a miracle. So Scott dealt with the near past in

the Covenanters, and with the remote past in the Crusaders. His ancient characters were not less true to nature than his more modern, and they all spoke and bore themselves in a manner characteristic of their time. Thus we find, I think, two Scots who were in a peculiar sense heirs to the genius of Shakespeare, at all events to some phases of that myriad-minded man. They were admitted at least into some chambers, and rich chambers, of his great treasure house. That seems to me a thing we should not forget in speaking about the Scottish genius, especially when we consider the failures of others, even great literary men, to achieve the same feat. Far be it from me to say that Bulwer Lytton was a failure, but his ancient Romans were very stiff and spoke an intolerable jargon. When we come nearer to our own times, we meet something to make us shudder. We find the dialect of ancient Rome mixed up with yesterday's slang. "By the Genius of Livia, it was a near shave"—(laughter). "By the temple of Pollux, that will suit me down to the ground."

Literature—Scotland—ten minutes! Who could even begin to do justice to such a theme? There has not been a century, and there has hardly been a generation, in which Scotland has not produced great literary men—(hear, hear). One can here mention only a name or two—the philosopher who aroused Kant from his dogmatic slumber, the sage who showed the blessedness of silence in so many eloquent volumes, and the Scot who has given us the best biography which the world has yet seen. Scotland is embarrassed by her riches. She is a country in which so many great literary luminaries have arisen, that we can best describe her in the words of an ancient Latin poet as "Altrix terra exsuperantum virum"—"The foster-mother of outstanding genius"—(applause).

I daresay you all remember Dr Johnson's visit to this town. His sojourn was extremely pleasant. He was in the habit of speaking of Mary Queen of Scots, who resided here so constantly, as the "Queen of St. Andrews." When Johnson was leaving the town he asked Boswell to give him a quotation suitable to the occasion, and Boswell replied with the words of Aeneas,

Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.

This University may be fairly described as the Queen of St. Andrews, and we who have been congratulating her on the quatercentenary of her great *alumnus*, and especially those of

us who have received the enviable honour of being enrolled among her graduates, may leave this historic town with the words happily suggested by Boswell to Johnson—"Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi"—(applause).

Professor Lawson, in reply, said:—I do not see why those who arranged this toast-list should have distinguished English Literature from *literae humaniores*. There was a time when they might have done so, but in the year 1906 they might have been a little more polite—(laughter). English Literature is supremely civilized and civilising, and if I had more than five minutes I might demonstrate this. In this year of grace any successful education in the *literae humaniores* must be based upon adequate study of the English language and literature—(applause). Nothing can be more absurd than the supposition that boys, or anyone else, can be taught ancient language and literature if they are not acquainted with what is best in their own language. But one must also add that it is quite impossible to teach the English language or English literature without constant and careful reference to the *literae humaniores* in the old sense. It is a great calamity that George Buchanan did not render a portion of his poetry into the language of his native country, and, perhaps, I may say, forgetting for the moment the presence of Professor Hume Brown, that the only considerable treatise which is in his native tongue as well as in Latin might well have been left in the comparative obscurity of the Latin language.

Principal Stewart gave the toast of the "Honorary Graduates." He said:—Mr. Vice-Chancellor, my Lord and gentlemen, I had intended in submitting this toast for your acceptance to make some remarks which would doubtless, like C. S. Calverley's celebrated joke, have been "full of intricate meaning and pith," but I shall deny myself and spare you. I feel that at this late hour and on such an occasion it becomes one whose voice has been often heard in this hall to keep silence and so make way for those friends from a distance whom we are so glad to see with us, and whom we may not soon have an opportunity of hearing again. I think that I shall but discharge my present duty by asking you in a word to drink to the health of the Honorary Graduates of this day. We have honoured ourselves in honouring them. We trust that they are enjoying their visit to St. Andrews, and that they will bear

with them, when they leave, a pleasant recollection of our ancient city, and a fresh interest in, as well as a real affection for, their new *Alma Mater*.

Professor Hume Brown, in reply, said :—I am sure I speak for all my fellow graduates when I say that we are deeply conscious that we have received our honour from a noble source. There are other Universities in Scotland besides the University of St. Andrews; there is the University of Edinburgh, to which I have the honour to belong. I hope it is an admirable institution, and so I hope is the University of Glasgow, and also the University of Aberdeen. But, as Professor Mahaffy has truly and happily said, these three Universities, great and prosperous though they are, all lack one thing. They do not possess the halo which is the crowning glory of the ideal seat of learning. Let us imagine that by some unhappy spasm of nature St. Andrews was to be swallowed up to-morrow. We could not reproduce it like San Francisco! There would go with it more than stone and lime and timber. There would go with it some of the most august and sacred of our national memories. For us Scotsmen, St. Andrews with its venerable University is, in very truth a “city of the soul,” an ideal “city of the mind”—(applause).

Professor Bonet Maury in reply said :—“M. le Vice-Chancelier, My lord et Gentlemen, c'est avec grand plaisir que je vous remercie des vœux que vous avez exprimés en faveur des gradués de ce jour, et qui m'ont été au cœur. Je saisis avec joie l'occasion de remercier l'Université de St. Andrews de l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait en me conférant le grade de Docteur en droit; cet honneur rejaillira sur l'Université de Paris tout entière, qui m'a délégué ici. Les relations amicales entre la France et l'Ecosse ne datent pas d'hier. N'est-ce pas l'immortel Shakspeare qui a écrit :—

But there's a saying very old and true,
If that you will France win,
Then with Scotland first begin?

Un siècle avant la fondation de cette Université-ci, nous avions à Paris un *Collège des Ecosseis*, fondé en 1325 par David évêque de Moray, et, en outre, dans vingt autres collèges ou Universités de France, les maîtres écossais étaient recherchés pour leur talent à enseigner le grec, la philosophie, la médecine ou la théologie.

Tous leurs noms ont été éclipsés par celui de George Buchanan, qui n'était pourtant ni philosophe, ni théologien, à peine helléniste.

Il a conquis une renommée européenne, comme poète latin et professeur d'humanités, comme historien et théoricien politique. Nos Universités françaises ont gardé, dans leurs archives, le souvenir des brillantes leçons qu'il a données aux Collèges Sainte Barbe et du Cardinal Lemoine, à Paris, et au Collège de Guienne à Bordeaux. Il a eu des élèves, qui sont devenus des hommes illustres, entr'autres Michel de Montaigne, mais surtout, il s'est fait partout de chauds amis par son caractère loyal, généreux, son esprit humoristique et ses moralités. Buchanan fut un type authentique de la nation Ecossaise, il admirait et aimait la France, nos compatriotes lui ont bien rendu cette affection. De Thou a dit de lui : " Buchanan était né sur les rives de la Blane ; mais il était nôtre par l'adoption."

J'apporte les salutations de la plus vieille Université de l'Europe à la plus vieille Université d'Ecosse, qui a su se maintenir éternellement jeune par le talent de ses recteurs et par l'esprit progressif de ses maîtres. Puisse-t-elle croître et prospérer dans la culture des lettres, des sciences historiques et naturelles, de la théologie ! Puisse-t-elle avoir toujours à sa tête des hommes animés de l'esprit de George Buchanan ! Puisse-t-elle nous envoyer à Paris des étudiants ou des étudiantes qui seront les bienvenus dans notre nouvelle Sorbonne ! Puisse-t-elle, enfin, par un échange actif de maîtres et de travaux avec les Universités françaises, contribuer pour sa part à augmenter cette *entente cordiale* entre la grande Bretagne et la France, dont votre Roi magnanime a pris la noble initiative et que nous saluons avec espoir comme une des plus sûres garanties de la paix du monde et du progrès de la justice, de la liberté et des lumières dans l'humanité !"

Professor Dill, with whose name the toast was also coupled, said :— "High as the honour is that you have conferred upon us, it is all the more so from the fact that it is associated with the celebration of the great humanist whose memory is one of the greatest treasures of this University. After making the round of the scenes which have made this place so famous, one could almost pardon a little Paganism in erecting an altar to the *genius loci*—a force, the subtle influence of which we can hardly estimate. In the feverish activity of our educational movements some of us are perhaps apt to forget how true an education may be drawn from the very atmosphere and traditions and associations of an ancient seat of learning—(applause). The very stones of this place are educators. I congratulate the

youth of St. Andrews on spending their happiest and most impressionable years in a scene where modern research is consecrated by the memory of great movements of the human spirit, and I congratulate myself and my colleagues on having to-day attained a rank amongst your graduates"—(applause).

The Rev. Dr. Blair of Dunblane proposed "Our Guests." He said:—"I thank Professor Dill for the last words he uttered. Students of St. Andrews have a high pride of their University and a love to her and her sons which is unquenchable. I think I am about the oldest member of the University here,—Sheriff Campbell Smith and others in this room are my juniors. I have still the honour to be a member of the University Court, and it is in that capacity I am asked to propose the health of our guests. I do not know how many of them are present, but to all of them, coming from so many seats of learning, we are very greatly beholden for coming to swell the tide of this high occasion, the four hundredth anniversary of Buchanan's birth. I rejoice that we are following that great humanist with our grateful regards, as we have done this day, and I trust that in future generations this University will continue to hold his memory in the same reverence and high honour. The gentleman who is to reply to this toast is Sir Henry N. Maclaurin, Chancellor of the University of Sydney. When I matriculated sixty years ago, there was a student named James B. Maclaurin, a brilliant mathematician, the gold medallist of 1848, and who graduated in 1849. After him came his younger brother Henry Normand Maclaurin, who matriculated in 1850, a distinguished classical scholar who became M.D. and went to the Colonies, like many others of the noble sons of our *Alma Mater*, carrying her dear name across the globe. I do not know if this is the identical student who gathered his laurels here in the fifties, though I rather think it is he. But whether or not, I ask you to honour this toast, coupled with the name of Sir Henry Normand Maclaurin, Chancellor of the University of Sydney"—(applause).

Sir Normand Maclaurin, in reply, said:—"There is only one pre-eminence that I have among the guests, and that is that I come farthest to do honour to George Buchanan, and I plead guilty to being the very Maclaurin that Dr. Blair mentioned. I have the misfortune to belong to a young University, but we are as old as we can be, and we are getting older every day—(laughter). We hope to be able to quit ourselves like men,

and we try to model ourselves on the old Universities whose example is worthy to be followed. There is no University more esteemed in New South Wales than the University of St. Andrews, for I can assure you that many graduates of St. Andrews have occupied prominent positions in that Colony and have been in the forefront of every intellectual movement there. Their names I need not mention, for, like me, they belong to the past generation. But they are still held in veneration, and the University to which they owed their degrees is esteemed in the highest possible way. I believe that the prosperity of St. Andrews is not altogether unconnected with a gentleman who lived and died in New South Wales, who, on his death, showed his recognition of the University in the most practical of all ways—by conferring upon it a very large sum of money—(applause). He could not have done better. Could anything be better than to revive the fortunes of an institution to which Scotland owes so much? Is there any sight more pleasing to us than to see this old University reviving its youth?—(applause). I trust that the progress that the University has made during the last fifty years will continue and that even some day it may attain the magnitude of which Professor Mahaffy thinks so little. It has been a great pleasure to me to come here and revive associations of so many years ago—to think of the great many people I have known here, and whose spirits are with us this evening”—(applause).

The Lord Provost of Glasgow proposed “The Chairman.” He said:—“Speaking as a west countryman, I feel deeply indebted to those in charge of the arrangements for having entrusted me with this toast. We esteem very highly what you have done in these celebrations in memory of our very noted west countryman, George Buchanan. We in Glasgow, and I also speak for Killearn, appreciate the honour you have done the minister of Killearn. Speaking of Dr. Mitchell’s translation of some of the works of Buchanan, I may tell you that the very beautiful and artistic illustrations of that beautiful book were done by the daughter of a former minister of that parish—(applause). We appreciate you, sir, our chairman, as the successor of George Buchanan, and we of the west also feel interested in this University because of the close and cordial relations that exist between St. Andrews and Glasgow. We are indebted to your University for sending us our venerable

Principal, Dr Story, and we all join in your wishes that his health may be restored--(applause). You have also sent us other notable professors, and we think we have sent some of our best men to St. Andrews--(applause).

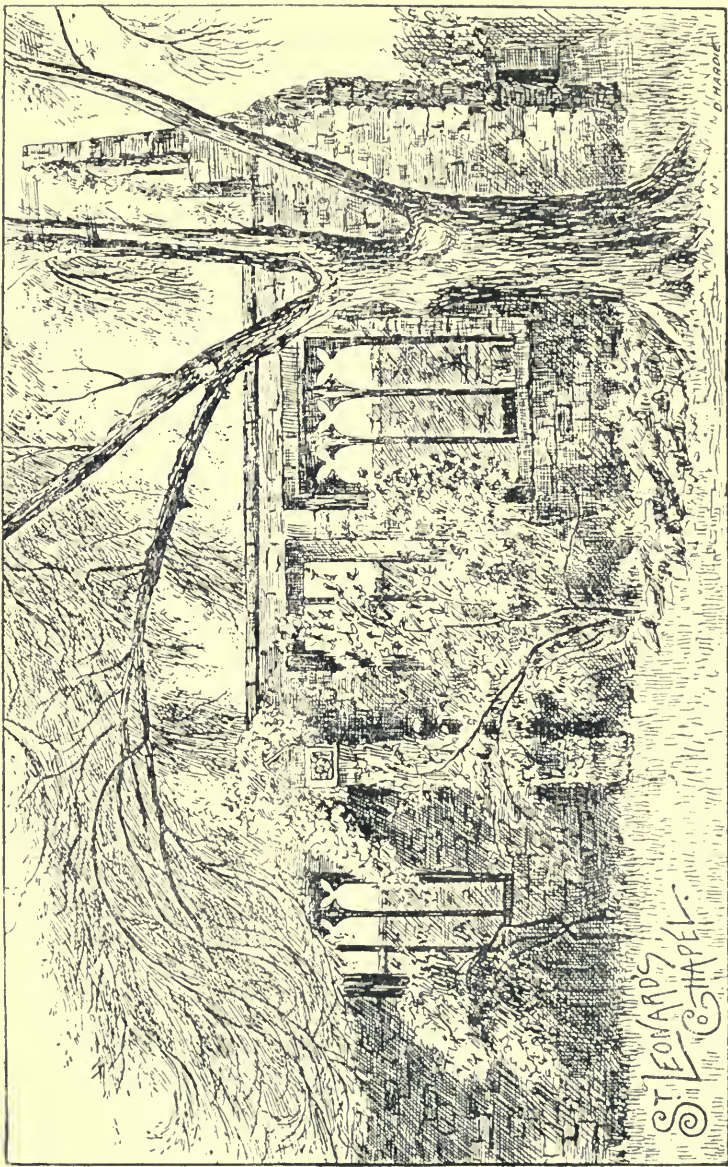
The Vice-Chancellor, in reply, said:—"I thank the Lord Provost of Glasgow for the kind words he has spoken in proposing this toast and all of you for the reception which you have given to it. It seems to me very appropriate that the Lord Provost of Glasgow should take part in the celebration of Buchanan's Quatercentenary, for Buchanan was attached to Glasgow and showed his affection for it by gifts of books and otherwise. It is a great satisfaction to me that George Buchanan's merits have been so heartily acknowledged this day. In fact we have done the right thing in honouring him, and I hope we will continue to honour him"—(applause).

The proceedings terminated with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne."

EXHIBITION OF BUCHANAN BOOKS AND PORTRAITS.

On Saturday forenoon the ladies and gentlemen visiting St. Andrews in connection with the Celebrations gathered in the University Library, and had the pleasure of seeing a magnificent collection of various editions of Buchanan's works, including rare and valuable first editions. These had been brought together by Mr. J. Maitland Anderson, Librarian to the University, who had laboured steadfastly and successfully to make the collection as interesting and complete as possible. He had received volumes on loan from the Scottish Universities, from the Advocates' and Signet Libraries of Edinburgh, and from private individuals. The volumes were chronologically arranged, and separated into their different classes. There were a number of early copies of the *History*, with a list of the passages deleted by the Inquisition. Photographs there were of four of the important documents connected with the imprisonment, trial, and sentence of Buchanan, and which have been preserved in the archives of the Inquisition at Lisbon. In the Senatus Room was a collection of paintings of Buchanan.

Under the guidance of Mr. Anderson, the visitors were conducted to St. Leonards, where they beheld the Chapel of the College of which Buchanan was Principal. The ruins of the old chapel are rich in tombs, and close by is the house in which



EXTERIOR OF OLD ST. LEONARD'S CHAPEL.

By kind permission of J. & G. Innes, St. Andrews.



From a photo by

Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.

ST. SALVATOR'S TOWER, ST. ANDREWS

(FROM THE QUADRANGLE).

Buchanan is said to have lived, and where he and Queen Mary studied classic literature together and "talked of their beloved France." Thus, in visiting these and the other and better-known ruins with which St. Andrews is resplendent, the imagination took flight into bygone years and realised something of the ancient grandeur midst which the great Humanist studied and taught.

GARDEN PARTY.

In the afternoon a garden party was held in the grounds of the United College, which were tastefully laid out with seats and lounges and which were more trim and neat than usual for the reception of the distinguished gathering.

Principal and Mrs. Donaldson extended a kindly welcome to each and all of the guests who entered the Tennis Courts from the College Quadrangle. Tea was served "on the Terrace," and soon small groups were dotted all over the lawn. The whole spectacle was a brilliant one as seen amid the beauty of a well-trimmed lawn and ivy-clad walls. The sun "shone resplendent" on the "fair ladies" who, for once in a while, did not outvie the "scholarly" gentlemen in colour-show. Not that the toilettes of the ladies were not beautiful and in lovely tints and harmonies, but the gorgeous gowns and hoods of the *savants* and University dignitaries from far and near added infinitely to the effect of the scene. For more than an hour the panorama was complete; groups here and there engaged in discussions on things ancient and modern. Lulls in the conversation there might have been, but only to appreciate the more fully the excellent music coming from a distant corner of the lawn, where Herr Iff's string band helped to complete the enchanting spell. But the old college clock tolling the fifth hour dispelled this "vision of the pageantry of mediaeval days," and the guests lingeringly left behind the last scene of a great festival, the memory of which will long be cherished by those who were fortunate enough to take part in it.

Here ended the impressive and noble tribute of Scotland's oldest University to one of the greatest of her sons.

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