**The Ruthven Manuscript of Gavin Douglas’ *Eneados* and a New Manuscript Witness of Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Epidorpides***

The *Eneados*, the first complete translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid* in what we now think of as the British Isles, was produced in 1513 by the Scottish poet and bishop of Dunkeld, Gavin Douglas (c. 1476-1522),[[1]](#footnote-1) ‘[a]t the request’ (I.Prol.83) of Henry, Lord Sinclair. [[2]](#footnote-2) Douglas’ translation survives in five manuscript witnesses (plus a selection of manuscript fragments),[[3]](#footnote-3) and in an edition produced in 1553 by the London printer, William Copland (d. 1569) (STC 24797) (53).[[4]](#footnote-4) The five manuscripts are:

1. The Cambridge Manuscript: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.12 (C)
2. The Elphinstoun Manuscript: Edinburgh, University Library, MS Dk.7.49 (E)
3. The Ruthven Manuscript: Edinburgh, University Library, MS Dc.1.43 (R)
4. The Lambeth Manuscript: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 117 (L)
5. The Bath Manuscript: Longleat, Marquis of Bath, 252A. (B)

Extracts from the poem’s fourth, ninth and tenth Prologues are also included in the Bannatyne Manuscript (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates’ MS 1.1.6, fols 9r-11v, 45r-v, 291r-4v), produced by the Edinburgh merchant George Bannatyne (1545-1607/9) between 1565 and 1568.[[5]](#footnote-5) These were copied from a now-lost print close to but not necessarily identical with the 1553 edition, and appear to have been further corrected using another unidentified source.[[6]](#footnote-6)

The focus of this article is the Ruthven Manuscript. It contains neither a scribe’s name, nor a date, but fols 1v and 301v contain the inscriptions ‘W. D*OMI*N*U*S RUTHEN’ and ‘PARtenet (*sic*)Wilhelmo D*omi*no de Ruthwen’. Douglas’ editor, Coldwell, proposed that this was William Ruthven, fourth lord Ruthven and first earl of Gowrie (c. 1543-84),[[7]](#footnote-7) and my own comparison of the signature on fol. 1v with documents signed by the fourth lord in the National Records of Scotland [NRS] (MSS GD 6/122; 112/39/10/6; 112/39/10/7) has confirmed his theory. Fol. 301v additionally contains the first three stanzas of Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid*,[[8]](#footnote-8) whilst fol. 1r contains, in a similar hand, a version of lyric beginning ‘As Phebus bryt in speir meridiane’, which elsewhere follows an extract from Chaucer’s *Troilus & Criseyde* in the aforementioned Bannatyne Manuscript (fols 230r-31r).[[9]](#footnote-9) At the top of fol. 301v we further find the name ‘Patrik Dru*m*mond’ and at the bottom the name ‘David Schaw’. I am as yet unable to comment on the identity of this latter figure, but Patrick Drummond may (as I discuss in another forthcoming article) perhaps bear some connection to Patrick Drummond, son of Lilias Ruthven and David, Lord Drummond. Lilias Ruthven was the daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven (b. before 1513, d. 1522).[[10]](#footnote-10)

The later William Ruthven, fourth lord Ruthven and first earl of Gowrie was the second son of Patrick, third lord Ruthven (c. 1520-1566), and his wife, Janet (d. 1555x7), the illegitimate daughter of Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus (c. 1489-1557). [[11]](#footnote-11) Ruthven was politically and militarily active throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a leading participant in the murder of David Riccio, secretary of Mary Queen of Scots, on 9 March 1565, and a key player in the King’s Party during the civil war which followed Mary’s abdication and imprisonment. He was subsequently made Earl of Gowrie in 1581. Swayed, however, by his growing resentment of the king’s favourite, Esmé Stewart, Earl of Lennox, he took an apparently leading role in the coup d’état in August 1582 (known as ‘The Ruthven Raid’). The king was seized by the Ruthven Raiders, and Lennox ousted from power. When James regained independence, Gowrie received a pardon and full remission. His political star waned, however, on account of shifting factions, and when a further attempt, associated with Gowrie, was made at capturing the king, Gowrie was arrested, imprisoned, condemned for treason, and beheaded at Stirling on 4 May, 1584.

We do not know where Ruthven acquired his manuscript of Douglas’ *Eneados*, but the fact that hehad a picture gallery and library built for him in his town house in Perth points towards his wider cultural interests. One might compare Gowrie’s no longer extant gallery with the Long Gallery at Pinkie Castle commissioned by Alexander Seton, first earl of Dunfermline (1556–1622), and lord chancellor of Scotland. As Michael Bath notes, ‘[t]he practice of painting the open-timber (board-and-beam) or barrel-vaulted (coved) ceilings of houses with elaborate decorative, figurative, and symbolic subjects was a feature of Scottish architecture in the period which coincides, more or less, with the reigns of James VI and Charles I’ and the subjects of such ceilings were ‘drawn from ancient history and mythology, with classical inscriptions and topics clearly reflecting the humanist tastes and pretensions of the owners who commissioned them’. [[12]](#footnote-12) As such, it is possible that Gowrie might have absorbed an interest in classical literature and mythology through the decorative scheme at the family home, or that the gallery itself reflects Gowrie’s prior literary interests. Gowrie’s mother, Janet, was also, as noted above, the illegitimate daughter of Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus,[[13]](#footnote-13) and the latter’s grandfather, the fifth earl of Angus, was Gavin Douglas’ father.[[14]](#footnote-14) We might thus speculate whether Gowrie acquired his copy of the *Eneados* through this familial avenue.

When, moreover, in 1584 Gowrie found himself heavily and dangerously embroiled in political intrigue that would shortly after see him lose his life, David Hume of Godscroft (1558-1629x31) encountered Gowrie in the very picture gallery mentioned above and:

found him in words, in countenance, and in gesture greatly perplexed, solicitous for his estate, besides the affairs of the Countrey, and greatly afraid of the violence of the Courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his Gallerie where wee were walking at that time (which hee had but newly built and decorated with Pictures) he brake out into these words, having first fetched a deep sigh; *Cousin* (says he) *Is there no remedie? Et impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus has segestes?*[[15]](#footnote-15)

Gowrie’s impromptu Latin quotation, translated as ‘And shall the impious soldier have these well-tillaged fields? The barbarian this standing corn?’, derives from Book I (ll. 70-1) of Virgil’s *Eclogues* in which a farmer laments that he is about to lose his lands through repossessions implemented under the Triumviri. The farmer’s situation mirrors something of Ruthven’s own political predicament following the Ruthven Raid, and certainly looks ahead to the forfeiture of Ruthven’s lands that occured after his later execution. As such, rather than being strictly historical, Hume - writing with the benefit of hindsight − may here have Gowrie look ahead to events that have not yet taken place. Either way, that Gowrie was apparently familiar, in fact or fiction, with at least part of one of Virgil’s works in its Latin original neatly complements his very real ownership of Douglas’ vernacular translation of the *Aeneid*.[[16]](#footnote-16) That Godscroft should have put the quotation into Gowrie’s mouth is furthermore appropriate given his own associations with the Douglas family. Godscroft was companion and secretary to Archibald Douglas, eighth earl of Angus (c. 1555-88), and later commissioned by the tenth earl to write a history of the houses of Douglas and Angus, in which he described the poet Gavin as a ‘man of singular wisedome and prudencie, and well lettered according to the times’.[[17]](#footnote-17)

This article takes as its focus the previously unidentified Latin verses on fol. 1v of the Ruthven manuscript (copied in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Scots hand not appearing elsewhere in the manuscript). These were not recorded by Coldwell in his description of the *Eneados* manuscripts and have not, to the best of my knowledge, been previously discussed elsewhere. They can, however, now be identified as extracts from books 3 (‘mane accinge’) and 2 (‘humiles nobilitat virtus’ and ‘te cura nunc’) of Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Epidorpides* (first published posthumously in 1573 in Geneva as *De sapientia et beatitudine libri octo, quos Epidorpides inscripsit* and again in 1574 as part of *Poemata in duos partes divisa* (Heidelberg)). I transcribe the verses below, supplying letters where the manuscript is defective or hard to read from a copy of the 1573 print (London, British Library 11403.aa.45.(1.)) and from an online edition of the *Epidorpides* from the 1574 *Poemata* producedby Dr Paula Konig.[[18]](#footnote-18) After examining first the career of Scaliger and his son and their Scottish connections, I consider what correspondences one might draw between the following epigrams and the translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid* which they preface.

Transcription of Edinburgh University Library, MS Dc.1.43 (fol. 1v)

**mane accinge, vespere examina**

quae Roriferis aurea subnixa quadrigis

matuta colores redit effundere mu*n*do

quasi principiu*m* \te/ moneat tum adesse reru[m]

Te tum Incipias noscere et apparare vita[e]

At blanda vbi nox faculis accincta coruscis

curis Labyrinthos abolet Laboriosis

Act*ae* recolens respice facta dicta lucis

tanqua*m* extimus aduenerit ultimusq*ue* finis

**Humiles Nobilitat virtus**

Quem haud accipit altu*m* facit in ste[mmate] virtus

si juncta simul duo su*n*t[[19]](#footnote-19) plenissima sors est

**Te cura nunc**

Tecu*m* peregrinab[e]re[[20]](#footnote-20) negligens teipsu*m*

Auersus ab iis, qua[e] tibi dant perennitatem

Pr[ae]cidere vita*m* solet is qui crastina vivit

The following translations have been kindly supplied by Dr Steven Reid of the University of Glasgow:

**Gird yourself in the morning, reflect in the evening.**

Golden Matuta,[[21]](#footnote-21) who is supported by her dew-bringing chariot, returns the colours that pour forth across the earth: then it is almost as if she warns you that the beginning of things is at hand. Then you must begin to know yourself, and prepare yourself for life. But when soft night, girded with glittering torches, expunges the labyrinths[[22]](#footnote-22) with their distressing concerns, consider as you go over them the actions and words of the past day, as if the furthest and final end has arrived.

**Virtue ennobles the humble**

Virtue places among the noble the person whom it in no way encounters as lofty. Fortune is at its fullest if the two things are joined at the same time.

**Now is your concern**

You will travel with yourself,[[23]](#footnote-23) neglecting yourself, turning away from those things which give you long life. He who lives for tomorrow tends to cut short his life.

Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) claimed to be descended from the Della Scalas of Verona and adopted the surname ‘Lescale’ (in French) and ‘Scaliger’ (in Latin), although it is highly likely that he was in fact the son of the Venetian painter, Benedetto Bordon.[[24]](#footnote-24) After an early career as a soldier, he studied medicine, perhaps in Ferrara, and soon started to translate and comment on classical texts, beginning with an Italian version of some of Plutarch’s *Lives*, printed in 1525 under his baptismal name, Giulio Bordone. In 1524 he moved to France in the service of Antonio Della Rovere, bishop of Agen, and set up a medical practice. He proved to be a prolific writer, composing love poetry, panegyric, and epigrams, and translating and writing commentaries on Greek scientific texts such as Aristotle’s *De animalibus* (1538), the Hippocratic *De somniis* (1539), the pseudo-Aristotelian *De plantis* (1556) and Theophrastus’ *De causis plantarum* (1566). He made his name by attacking Erasmus’ 1528 *Ciceronianus* and defending the Ciceronian style, first in a public letter printed in 1531, and then in two orations, published in 1531 and 1536/7. He also wrote a treatise on poetics (*Poetices* *libri septem*), which was published posthumously in 1561. On the basis of surface impressions of this work Scaliger was for a long time labelled ‘Aristotelian’ but his theories in fact depart quite significantly from those of Aristotle, especially with regard to the concept of *mimesis* and the role of character vs. plot in the tragic genre.[[25]](#footnote-25) Scaliger also made very clear in his treatise his admiration for Virgil (and his hero, Aeneas) and, in recognition of this, scholars now position his views on poetry somewhere between those of Aristotle and the latter poet.[[26]](#footnote-26)

As noted above, Scaliger’s *Epidorpides* were first published posthumously in 1573 in Geneva as *De sapientia et beatitudine libri octo, quos Epidorpides inscripsit* and again in 1574 as part of *Poemata in duos partes divisa* (Heidelberg). There is no known surviving manuscript witness — with the exception of the Ruthven manuscript being discussed here — but some of the individual verses within the collection are known to have circulated independently. The Dutchman Johan de Brune, for instance, quoted Scaliger’s *Epidorpides* in his 1624 *Emblemata of Zinne-werck*, a book of essays (and emblems) on human failings, but he did not quote those verses excerpted in the Ruthven manuscript.[[27]](#footnote-27)

Koning suggests that the short title, *Epidorpides*, is Greek for ‘Desserts’ (perhaps akin to Latin ‘nugae’ or ‘trifles’) and may suggest that the verses contained therein were written later in Scaliger’s career.[[28]](#footnote-28) The original fuller title, *De sapientia et beatitudine libri octo, quos Epidorpides inscripsit*, hints at the way in which the collection corresponds to the tradition of Banquets (of Wisdom) stemming back to Plato’s *Symposium*. It contains hundreds of epigrams on moral/ethical topics, echoing proverbial statements from the Bible and the works of classical philosophers, and was addressed to Scaliger’s acquaintance, Geoffroy de Caumont (c. 1525-1574), a prominent French (Protestant) ecclesiastic and later man-of-arms. His brother, Francis, was killed in the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of 23-4 August, 1572 and, although Geoffroy himself narrowly escaped from this, he was poisoned in April 1574.

A copy of Scaliger’s *Poetices libri septem* (Geneva?, 1561) survives in Edinburgh University Library (MS V.16.47) and was owned by William Sinclair of Roslin, knight, a member of the same book-loving Scottish Sinclair family connected with the commissioning of the *Eneados*.[[29]](#footnote-29) The Scaligers (both Julius Caesar and his son, Joseph Juste) were also well known to the Scottish poet and historian George Buchanan (1506-1582) and additional later Scottish humanists. During his time in Bordeaux, Buchanan was one of three *conseillers* appointed to enquire into Scaliger’s religious views, but the two subsequently became firm friends, with Buchanan frequently visiting Scaliger in Agen.[[30]](#footnote-30) The elder Scaliger clearly had a high regard for Buchanan and mentions him warmly in several of his texts. Buchanan himself wrote a poem recording one of his visits to Scaliger,[[31]](#footnote-31) and stayed in touch with his son, Joseph Juste. He is also thought to have owned a copy of Scaliger’s *Heroes* (poetry celebrating famous men), published in Lyons in 1539.[[32]](#footnote-32)

In addition to Buchanan’s associations with the elder and younger Scaliger, the theologian and later principal of Glasgow University Andrew Melville (1545-1622) befriended the younger Scaliger (Joseph Juste).[[33]](#footnote-33) Melville drew on two of his works (*De Emendatione Temporum* (1583) and *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606)) for his poetic commentary on the prophecies of Daniel 9,[[34]](#footnote-34) andhe also composed a number of prefatory poems/epigrams in honour of Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Poemata* (1574) (a book which he owned, and of which the *Epidorpides* formed a part).[[35]](#footnote-35) When Scaliger published an edition of Manilius’ *Astronomicon* in Paris in 1579 he recounted how Melville had advised him on textual emendations; ‘Andreas Melvinus Scotus, iuvenis eruditus admonuit me hic legendum esse, *lapsumque diem*’ (The Scotsman Andrew Melville, learned young man, advised me that this should read *lapsumque diem*).[[36]](#footnote-36) He also later praised Melville for the Latin oration (*Stephaniskion*) he contributed at the king’s request for the coronation of Anne of Denmark. When Scaliger died in 1609 Melville in turn referred to him as a ‘great man’ in a letter of 4 September sent to his nephew, James,[[37]](#footnote-37) and the close relationship between the two is further exemplified by the fact that Scaliger inherited Melville’s private garden when the latter left Geneva in the spring of 1574.[[38]](#footnote-38)

Finally, whilst resident in Poitiers, the lawyer and neo-Latin Scottish poet Hercules Rollock (c. 1546-1599) formed a friendship with Joseph and commemorated the publication of his Manilius with a 20-line encomium that additionally praised the elder Scaliger.[[39]](#footnote-39) This cumulative evidence of Scottish knowledge of the two Scaligers and their works thus complements the appearance of verses from the elder’s *Epidorpides* in the Ruthven MS, whilst Buchanan, Melville and Rollock each provide one possible means whereby Scaliger’s work might have travelled to Scotland. It remains unclear, however, both how the verses came to be copied into the Ruthven MS, and whether they were copied from a manuscript or printed source, or from memory.

In the final section of this article, I wish to consider what correspondences one might draw between the three extracts from Scaliger’s *Epidorpides* on fol. 1v of the Ruthven manuscript and the subsequent translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid* by Gavin Douglas. The first extract (‘mane accinge’) begins with a description of the dawn and counsels both effective preparation in the morning for the day ahead and calm reflection in the evening. The opening description of the goddess of dawn as ‘quae Roriferis aurea subnixa quadrigis/ matuta colores redit effundere mu*n*do’ (‘Golden Matuta, who is supported by her dew-bringing chariot, returns the colours that pour forth across the earth’) recalls several passages in Virgil’s original *Aeneid* also depicting or discussing dawn and her horse-drawn chariot, including:

Iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto

Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis

[and now the waves were beginning to be tinged with red from the rays of the sun and Aurora on her rosy chariot glowed in gold from the heights of heaven] (Book 7, ll. 25-6)[[40]](#footnote-40)

and:

Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis

iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem

[While they were speaking to one another, Dawn’s rosy chariot had already run its heavenly course past the mid-point of the vault of the sky] (Book 6, ll. 535-6)

Correspondences can be drawn, too, with the same passages in Douglas’ translation,[[41]](#footnote-41) and with the highly aureate description of a May morning found in his twelfth prologue,[[42]](#footnote-42) just as Scaliger’s exhortation to take time to reflect of an evening is paralleled in Douglas’ thirteenth prologue, where the narrator describes taking a break from his labours and walking through his local fields during a summer’s dusk. In both prologues, the narrator’s descriptions of dawn and dusk are inextricably bound up with reflections on the progress of the translation in which he is engaged.

In the second extract (‘Humiles Nobilitat virtus’), Scaliger stresses the importance of virtue over noble birth, but nevertheless asserts the particular strength of the two in combination. This same concept was commonly articulated throughout the medieval period in works such as Chaucer’s *Gentilesse* and ‘Wife of Bath’s Tale’ and romances such as *Sir Eglamour*, and an emphasis on Aeneas’ dual virtue and noble birth similarly runs throughout Douglas’ *Eneados*. Right from the very first prologue, Douglas highlights the exemplary qualities epitomized by Virgil’s hero:

[....] by hym perfytely blasons he

All wirschip, manhed and nobilite,

With eu*er*y bonte belangand a ge*n*till wy*ch*t,

Ane prynce, ane co*n*quero*u*r or a valȝeand kny*ch*t. (I.Prol.329-32)

The narrative that Douglas inherits from Virgil presents its readers with an apprentice monarch who must learn, through his turbulent journeys, lustful affair with Dido, and fierce battles on Italian soil, how to best rule himself and others, and several articles have been written about these aspects of Douglas’ translation, particularly the way in which Douglas increases the emphasis on Aeneas’ noble qualities. Thus Gray and Baswell both note that Douglas adds public and honorific titles — ‘manfull’, ‘gret’, ‘prynce’, ‘kyng’ — to Aeneas’s name when translating Virgil’s famed phrase, *pius Aeneas*.[[43]](#footnote-43) Gray also illustrates how Douglas increases Aeneas’ humanity and sense of empathy, and, in a related vein how he expands upon Aeneas’ moments of indecision and doubt to emphasise both his humanity and strength as a leader. Similar concerns with knightly virtue and nobility are, furthermore, highlighted in Douglas’ unique Prologue XI.

Correspondences with the third extract — in which Scaliger appears (in a rather unclear and roundabout way) to encourage his reader to focus not just on the present and immediate future but rather on the everlasting —are less easy to draw, but relatively similar sentiments are again expressed in Douglas’ Prologue XI. [[44]](#footnote-44) Douglas begins this Prologue by stating:

To speke of moral vertuus hardyme*n*t

Or rathar of dyvyne, is myne entent;

For warldly strenth is febill and impotent

In Godd*is* sight, and insufficient. (Prologue XI, ll. 25-8)

He then catalogues a number of vices hindering the progress of knightly prowess:

The first is hardy all owt mesure,

Of tyme nor rayson gevis he na cuyr,

No dowt he cast*is*, bot all think*is* suyr,

No*ch*t may he suffir, nor hys hait endur (ll. 41-4).

In sum, we can detect a number of thematic correspondences between the newly identified extracts from Scalier’s *Epidorpides* on fol. 1v of the Ruthven MS and text of Gavin Douglas’ *Eneados* that follows.

There are, moreover, additional ways in which the paratextual verses in the Ruthven MS speak both to each other, and to the translation they enclose. The appearance at the end of the manuscript of the first three stanzas of Robert Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid* (fol. 301v) creates a scenario whereby Henryson’s intertextual engagement with the individual history of Cresseid and wider literary tradition of Troy is both prefaced by, and stands as an appendix to, Gavin Douglas’ examination of Troilus and Criseyde’s literary descendants Dido and Aeneas. Such a juxtaposition is further appropriate since, as I have discussed in more detail elsewhere, Douglas both alludes to Henryson’s works throughout the *Eneados* and fashions himself as Henryson’s literary descendant. In the Prologue to Book VII of the *Eneados*, for instance,Douglas models the presentation of his authorial self on the narrator of Henryson’s *Testament*; feeling the effects of adverse weather both narrators comfort themselves with a drink, in the *Testament* just two stanzas after those quoted in the Ruthven MS.[[45]](#footnote-45) The Scaliger verses on fol. 1v speak themselves to this idea of reflection of an evening but also correspond thematically to the more advisory and ethical aspects of Douglas’ *Eneados* and linguistically to the aureate nature of Douglas’ translation and Virgil’s original verse. As such, we might see fols 1v and 301v as mirrors of one another and also as appropriate bookends to the intervening text of Douglas’ *Eneados* witnessed by the Ruthven MS.

That this copy of Douglas’ *Eneados* is surrounded by one set of verses in late fifteenth-century Scots − by a writer described as ‘hovering on the edge of a fully Renaissance outlook’[[46]](#footnote-46) − and by another set, in Latin, from a continental writer connected to key members of Scotland’s late sixteenth-century neo-Latin community, furthermore demonstrates something of Douglas’ own position as a ‘vernacular humanist’ in the middle of two literary periods now increasingly seen as continuous rather than discrete. The manuscript also reflects in broader terms something of the developing nature of Latin and vernacular humanism in sixteenth-century Scotland.[[47]](#footnote-47) The study of Latin culture in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland is now growing apace − with projects such as Alexander Broadie’s ‘Scottish philosophers in seventeenth-century Scotland and France’, Steven Reid’s ‘Bridging the Continental divide: neo-Latin and its cultural role in Jacobean Scotland, as seen in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637)’, and Nicola Royan’s project on ‘Gavin Douglas and the reception of Scottish humanism’.[[48]](#footnote-48) This article’s discovery of verses by Scaliger in a manuscript of Douglas’ *Eneados* owned by a prominent late sixteenth-century Scots nobleman is therefore timely and encouraging − one small part of a lager scholarly drive that seeks to better understand the impact of the Renaissance and Reformation on Scottish society. [[49]](#footnote-49)

1. *Vergil’s Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse*, (trans.) Gavin Douglas, ed. D.F.C. Coldwell, 4 vols, STS, 3rd Ser., 25, 27-8, 30 (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons Ltd, 1957-64). For biographical information about Douglas see: Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976); ‘New light on Gavin Douglas’, in A.A. Macdonald et al. (eds), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History, and Culture offered to John Durkan*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 54 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 95-106; ‘The Correspondence of Gavin Douglas’, in Janet Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 52-61; ‘Douglas, Gavin (*c*.1476-1522)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7882, accessed 7 Nov 2011]. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. In the first Prologue Douglas describes Henry, Lord Sinclair, as a ‘Fader of buk*is*, protecto*u*r to sciens *and* lair’ (Prologue 1, l. 85); he perhaps echoes Lydgate who in the Prologue to his *Troy Book* (c. 1412-20) described Henry V as a lover of books. Sinclair and his family owned Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 (a collection comprising a selection of Chaucer’s works, including *Troilus and Criseyde*, and several English and Scottish ‘Chaucerian’ works, most notably James I’s *Kingis Quair*); Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Acc. 9253 (containing the prose works of Sir Gilbert Hay); Cambridge, St. John’s College, MS G. 19 (a copy of Mirk’s *Festial* and the *Quatuor sermones*); and Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, MS GD 45/31/I-II (a manuscript of Norse and Scots historical material). For further information see Sally Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 4-6 and the introduction to *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and The Kingis Quair: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24*, (intro.) Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards (with B.C. Barker-Benfield) (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Priscilla Bawcutt has established that Douglas used the 1501 edition of the *Aeneid* printed in Paris by Jodocus Badicus Ascensius: ‘Gavin Douglas and the text of Virgil’, *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 4:6 (1973), 213-31. As with other contemporary editions of the *Aeneid*, this presented Douglas not only with Virgil’s text but also with a set of dense commentaries surrounding the text, and Maffeo Vegio’s supplementary thirteenth book, which describes the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia and Aeneas’ apotheosis. The three manuscript fragments (f) (covering Book I, chapter 2, ll. 13 to Book III, chapter 19; Book I, chapter 3, ll. 76 to Book I, chapter 4, l. 35; and Book I, chapter 8, ll. 7 to 70) are held in Edinburgh University Library, Laing Collection, II. 625. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *STC*: A.W. Pollard et al. (eds) *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640,* 3 vols, 2nd edn (London : Bibliographical Society, 1976-91).

   ‘53’ is the siglum used by Coldwell to denote this print. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland Advocates’ MS 1.1.6*, (intro.) Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scolar Press, 1980); *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, (ed.) W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols, STS, 2nd Ser., 22, 23, 26, 3rd Ser., 5 (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1928-34). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. *Virgil’s Aeneid*, (ed.) Coldwell, i, 101;Denton Fox, ‘Manuscripts and Prints of Scots Poetry in the Sixteenth Century’, in A.J. Aitken et al. (eds), *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), 156-71 (161-2). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. *Virgil’s Aeneid*, (ed.) Coldwell, i, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. These stanzas have been transcribed in the appendix to Denton Fox (ed.), *Robert Henryson: Testament of Cresseid* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd, 1968), 131. Fox suggests (9) that the text of the stanzas from *The Testament* ‘contains a number of errors, and was probably copied from memory’, although the manuscript ‘does provide one almost entirely correct reading at a place where all the other witnesses are in error’. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Edith Bennett, ‘A New Version of a Scottish Poem’, *Modern Language Review*, 333 (1938), 403. The stanzas from ‘As Phebus brycht’ and Henryson’s *Testament*, as well as the pentrials on fol. 1r, appear to me to be in the hand of William, fourth lord Ruthven. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. ‘Gavin Douglas’ *Eneados* and its Circle of Sixteenth-Century Scottish Scribes, Owners and Readers’ (forthcoming). In this article I build upon the prior work of Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, and Theo van Heijnsbergen (‘The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context’, in A.A. MacDonald et al. (eds), *The Renaissance in Scotland*,183–225) and explore in further detail the identity of the sixteenth-century Scottish scribes, owners, and readers of *The Eneados* manuscripts, in the process positioning these figures within several intricate and interconnected networks of book-producers, publishers and consumers located in and around Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and the neighbouring regions of Fife and East Lothian. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Sharon Adams, ‘Ruthven, William, fourth Lord Ruthven and first earl of Gowrie (*c.*1543–1584)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24375, accessed 18 Jan 2012] [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. See Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2003), 266 and Michael Bath, ‘Alexander Seton’s Painted Gallery’, in Lucy Gent (ed.), *Albion’s Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* (New Haven and London, 1995), 79-108. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Marcus Merriman, ‘Douglas, Archibald, sixth earl of Angus (*c.*1489–1557)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7866, accessed 6 June 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Norman Macdougall, ‘Douglas, Archibald , fifth earl of Angus (*c.*1449–1513)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7864, accessed 6 June 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. D. Reid (ed.), *David Hume of Godscroft’s The History of the House of Angus*, 2 vols, STS, 5th Ser., 4, 5 (Edinburgh: STS, 2005), ii, 305-6, 584. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. I have failed to uncover information about Gowrie's own education, but he clearly took pains to educate his sons. John Ruthven, third earl, was educated at Perth grammar school and then the University of Edinburgh where he was taught by Mr William Rind, his private tutor, and Mr Robert Rollock, principal of the University. He subsequently continued his studies in France and Italy and was elected rector at the University of Padua. Two further sons, William and Patrick, became a chemist/philsopher and physician/alchemist respectively. See James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, IV (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1907),pp. 264, 267; Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution*, revised edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 190;Amy L. Juhala, ‘Ruthven, John, third earl of Gowrie (1577/8–1600)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24371, accessed 6 Feb 2015] [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Reid, ed., *History of the House of Angus*, i, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Paula Konig (ed.), ‘Iul. Caesaris Scaligeri Epidorpidum Libri Octo. Ad Gotfrideum Caumontium’, http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Latijn/ScaligerEpidorpides.html [accessed 11 June 2014]. In the transcription bold type is used to distinguish the heading of each extract. Abbreviations and contractions have been expanded using italics; emendations or supplied text (where the manuscript is defective or hard to read) are enclosed in square brackets. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. In the 1573 and 1574 editions the word order here is instead ‘sunt duo’. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. The manuscript reads incorrectly ‘peregrinabire’. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Goddess of the Dawn. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Of dreams, presumably. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Translation of ‘peregrinab[e]re’ in the Latin original proves difficult on the account of the obscure MS reading (‘peregrinabire’). Reid takes ‘peregrinabire’ as following ‘solet’, since that seems grammatically correct. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Myriam Billanovich, ‘Benedetto Bordon e Giulio Cesare Scaligero’, *Studi Piceni Umanistici*, 14 (1994), 91-101. See also Vernon Hall Jnr, ‘Life of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new ser. 40:2 (1950), 85-70 and David Marsh, ‘Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Poetics*’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65:4 (2004), 667-76. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Hall, ‘Life’, p. 152: for Scaliger, the ‘end of poetry is not imitation: but delightful teaching by which the *mores* of minds are led to right reason’; ‘Scaliger cannot accept Aristotle’s contention that in plays plot is more important that character. The playwright, says Scaliger, uses action as a means to his end, which is to teach character. The audience learns to appreciate the good characters and imitate them in its actions in the world and will learn to contemn the bad characters and to abstain from similar actions’. See also Bernard Weinberg, ‘Scaliger Versus Aristotle on Poetics’, *Modern Philology*, 39:4 (1942), 337-60. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Alain Michel, ‘Scaliger entre Aristote et Virgile’ in J. Cubelier de Beynac and M. Magnien (eds)[*Acta Scaligeriana : actes du Colloque international organisé pour le cinquième centenaire de la naissance de Jules-César Scaliger (Agen, 14-16 septembre 1984)*](http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=oxfaleph010041564&indx=1&recIds=oxfaleph010041564&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=0&vl(353692466UI1)=all_items&scp.scps=scope%3A%28OX%29&frbg=&tab=local&dstmp=1402507040208&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&tb=t&vl(1UIStartWith0)=contains&vl(353692469UI0)=any&vl(freeText0)=acta%20scaligeriana&vid=OXVU1) (Agen: Société Académique d'Agen, 1986), 63-73 (esp. 67-72). The sheer number of citations of Virgil listed in the index to the recently published 5-volume edition of the *Poetices* exemplifies exceptionally well Scaliger’s knowledge and use of Virgil. See Iulius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem: Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, (eds and trans.) Luc Deitz, Fuhrmann and Gregor Vogt-Spira (Stuttgart: Frommmann-Holzboog, 1994-2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Paula Koning, ‘Les ‘‘Desserts’’ de Julius Caesar Scaliger, nourriture spirituelle pour les ‘‘Emblemata’’ néerlandais de Johan de Brune’, in Rhoda Schnur and Roger Green (eds), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis*. *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. Avila 1997* (Arizona: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), pp. 381-89; ‘Julius Caesar Scaligers *Epidorpides* in de *Emblemata* van Johan de Brune’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde*, 117:2 (2001), 166-87. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. I am grateful to Dr Koning for supplying via private correspondence information about the *Epidorpides* in this paragraph. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Most probably the William Sinclair who died in 1585. See John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: J.S. Burns & Sons, 1961), 144 and Father Richard Augustin Hay, *Genealogie of the Saintclaires of Rosslyn* (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1835), 122. For further information on the Roslin branch of the Sinclair family and their books see H.J. Lawlor, ‘Notes on the Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 32 (1897-98), 90-120. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. I.D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London: Duckworth, 1981), 87-90; Hall, ‘Life’, 130-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. George Buchanan, ‘Ad Julium Cesarem Scaligerum’, in Thomas Ruddiman (ed.), *Opera Omnia*,, 2 vols (Paris: J.A. Langerak, 1725), ii, 372. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. D.W. Soughty, ‘Renaissance books, bindings and owners in St Andrews and elsewhere: the humanists’, *The Bibliotheck*, 7:5 (1975), 117-33 (120) [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. See James Kirk, ‘Melville, Andrew (1545–1622)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18543, accessed 11 June 2014]; Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560-1625* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 70-1; Anthony T. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-93); and Ernest R. Holloway, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland 1545-1622* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), esp. 131-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Steven Reid, ‘Andrew Melville, Sacred Chronology and World History: The *Carmina Danielis* 9 and the *Antichristus*’, *Innes Review*, 60:1 (2009), 1-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri viri clarissimi poemata in duas partes divida*, 2 vols (n.p., 1574), i, sig. [\*3v];Thomas M’Crie (ed.), *The Life of Andrew Melville: containing illustrations of the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, during the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1819-24),i, 43-4; Roger A. Mason and Steven J. Reid, ed., *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception and Reputation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 258; M’Crie noted that an annotated copy of the *Poemata* belonging to Andrew Melville was in the College Library of Edinburgh. This is now EUL De.2.63. As Holloway, *Andrew Melville*,136 observes, the annotations Melville made to his copy of the *Poemata* include ‘his own critical emendations of the text, which consisted, in part, of references to those authors of antiquity which Scaliger himself had endeavored to imitate’. Two of Melville’s epigrams in honour of the elder and younger Scaliger were published in Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit and Arthur Johnstone, ed., *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum huius aevi illustrium* (Amsterdam, 1637), 116-17. These have been published as part of the new electronic edition of a selection of the *Delitiae* led by Dr Steven Reid and Dr David McOmish. See <http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/delitiae/display/?pid=d2_MelA_037&aid=MelA> and <http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/delitiae/display/?pid=d2_MelA_038&aid=MelA> [Date accessed: 1 October 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Scaliger, *Commentarius* in *M. Manili Astronomicon libri quinque: Iosephus Scaliger Iul. Caes. F. recensuit. Eiusdem Ios. Scaligeri commentarius in eosdem libros, et Castigationum explicationes* (Paris, 1579), 235 cited in Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, i, 126-7, 289 n. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. ‘D. Andreae Melvini Epistolae’ (Edinburgh, University Library, MS DC6.45, pp. 91-2). See Roger A. Mason and Steven J. Reid, ed., *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception, and Reputation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 280, no. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Holloway, *Andrew Melville*,135; Charles Borgeaud, ‘Cartwright and Melville at the University of Geneva 1569-1574’, *American Historical Review*, 5:2 (1899), 284- 290 (290). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Stuart Handley, ‘Rollock, Hercules (c. 1546-1599)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24030, accessed 11 June 2014]; Steven Reid, ‘Hercules Rollock, Joseph Scaliger, and Manilius: Rollock’s poetry in Poitiers, c. 1576-1579’, Feature Articles, ‘Hercules Rollock in France, Part 2’, *Bridging the Continental Divide*,www.dps.gla.ac.uk/features/display/?fid=rollock4 [date accessed: 11/06/2014]; <http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/delitiae/display/?pid=d2_RolH_013&aid=RolH> [date accessed: 1 October 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Latin original from R.D. Williams (ed.), *The Aeneid of Virgil Books 1-6* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1972); R.D. Williams (ed.), *The Aeneid of Virgil Books 7-12* (Basingstoke and London, 1973).Translations from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, (trans.) David West, revised edn (London: Penguin, 2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. The first chapter of Book VII begins, in Douglas’ translation: ‘Tho gan *th*e sey of bemys walxin red,/ And heich abuf, dovn from *th*e hevinly sted,/ Within hyr rosy cart*is* cleirly schane/ Aurora vestit into brovn sanguane’ (Book VII, chapter 1, ll. 1-4). The second passage above is translated as: ‘The quhile as *th*ai *th*us carpyt to and fra,/ Hir rosy charyot *th*e fresch Aurora/ Amydwart of *th*e hevy*n*nys assiltre/ Begouth fortil vproll and rayss onhie’ (Book VI, chapter 9, ll. 1-4). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Douglas prefaces each of Virgil’s books, plus his translation of Mapheus Vegio’s supplementary thirteenth book, with a unique prologue. It used to be thought that these prologues might have been originally independent compositions and thus that they bear little relationship to those books of the *Eneados* which they now preface. This view has since been modified, with scholars recognising that there is often a close relationship between prologue and book. See further Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), chapter 7; Lois Ebin, ‘The Role of the Narrator in the Prologues to Gavin Douglas’ *Eneados*’, *Chaucer Review*, 14:4 (1980), 353-65; Penelope Schott Starkey, ‘Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados*: Dilemma in the Nature Prologues’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 11 (1973), 82-98; A.E.C. Canitz, ‘The Prologue to the *Eneados*: Gavin Douglas’s Directions for Reading’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 25 (1990), 1- 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994),

    p. 278; Douglas Gray, ‘Gavin Douglas and ‘the gret prynce Eneas’, *Essays in Criticism*, 51 (2001), 18-34 (23). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Scaliger’s epigram verbally echoes (but does not share the sentiment of) an exclamation in the ‘Copa’ (barmaid) which forms part of the *Appendix Virgiliana*: ‘pereat qui crastina curat’, ‘to hell with him who thinks of tomorrow’. The *Appendix Virgiliana* is a collection of poems once ascribed as juvenelia of Virgil but now thought to be spurious. See Virgil, *Aeneid, Books 7-12. Appendix Virgiliana*, ed. H.R. Fairclough and G.P. Gould, Loeb Classical Library, 64 (Harvard and London: Harvard University Press, 2000), 440-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. *Eneados*, ed. Coldwell, VII. Prol. 90; *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. D. Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), ‘The Testament of Cresseid’, l. 37;Emily Wingfield, *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. A.C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Priscilla Bawcutt first posited that ‘Douglas can perhaps best be described as a ‘‘vernacular humanist’’’ (Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, 36). For further discussion of Douglas’ own positioning as a humanist see Alastair Fowler, ‘Gavin Douglas: Romantic Humanist’, in Alasdair A. MacDonald and Kees Dekker, ed., *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality: Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 83-103. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. For earlier work in the field see John Durkan, ‘The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland’, in David McRoberts, ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1962), 274-331 and John MacQueen, ‘Aspects of Humanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeeth-Century Literature’, in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. John MacQueen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 10-31. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. I would like to here acknowledge my thanks to Dr Steven Reid of the University of Glasgow for generously supplying me with a translation of the extracts from Scaliger’s *Epidorpides* and for sharing with me information about Melville and Rollock. I am also grateful to Dr Andrew Taylor of Churchill College, Cambridge, for many helpful conversations. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)