

John Bellenden's Livy and *Les Decades* of Pierre Bersuire: The French in Bellenden's Scots

The earliest substantial translation of the Roman historian Livy into any dialect of English is John Bellenden's (c.1495–1545x8) rendering of the *Ab Urbe Condita* (hereafter *AUC*) into Scots. Commissioned by James V (1512–1542), Bellenden completed his translation of the first five books in 1533, receiving a total of thirty-six pounds for his efforts.¹ This essay explores Bellenden's recourse to Pierre Bersuire's (d.1362) French rendering of the *AUC* when preparing his translation of Livy. Commissioned by Jean II (1319–1364) and completed in 1358, Bersuire's *Decades* played a fundamental role in shaping Bellenden's prose, offering him a rich store of lexical possibilities from which to draw as he grappled with Livy's Latin. Beyond vocabulary, however, Bersuire also provided Bellenden with a model of how to approach and understand classical antiquity. Bersuire furnished his translation with a series of detailed glosses, explaining key points of cultural, political, and religious interest. Bellenden followed suit, preparing a commentary for his own translation in which he glossed Latinate loan-words and specific details concerning the cultural and political frameworks of ancient Rome. So too Bersuire's commentary suggested to Bellenden a collection of texts in which Livy's history might best be located for the sake of comprehension, most notably Ovid's *Fasti* and Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia*. Bersuire's translation-cum-commentary thereby functioned for Bellenden not merely as a crib, but as a model for understanding Rome's ancient

¹ In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, Bellenden is recorded as having received three discrete payments for the translation. John Bellenden, *Livy's History of Rome*, ed. by W. A. Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1901–1903), I, vii–viii. Hereafter 'Bellenden's Livy'.

past, a model which sought to approach antiquity, as far as was possible, on its own cultural and linguistic terms.

It is now over a century since Friedrich Bauman posited Bersuire as a source for Bellenden's Livy. Bauman's study, *Livius, Bersuire, und Bellenden*, was linguistic in focus and comprised of a series of tables comparing Bellenden and Bersuire's treatment of vocabulary, syntax, and specific grammatical constructions (accusative and infinitive, the ablative absolute, gerunds and gerundives etc.).² The data compiled by Bauman demonstrated persuasively that Bellenden was consulting Bersuire's French as he prepared his translation. Surprisingly, however, despite the rich and complex relationship between the two translations, Bersuire's influence on Bellenden has yet to inspire a more detailed discussion and the critical focus has fallen elsewhere. Thomas Rutledge identified Bellenden as fashioning himself as Gavin Douglas's (c.1476–1522) literary successor, with a special emphasis on the 'prologue' addressed to James V which prefaces the translation of Livy.³ More recently, Rutledge has argued for a new context for understanding Bellenden's Livy, 'away from the king and his court in Edinburgh and in rather closer proximity to the developing culture of King's College in Aberdeen'.⁴ John Macqueen included an analysis of the Livy translation in a wider study of humanism in early-modern Scotland, where he argued that the work exhibited 'the equation, wherever possible, of Livy's Rome with Bellenden's Scotland'.⁵ Recent work has also explored how Bellenden made use of the most recent developments in humanist scholarship to nuance

² Friedrich Bauman, *Livius, Bersuire und Bellenden: Vergleichende Studien zu Bellenden's Liviusübersetzung* (Leipzig-Reudnitz, 1905), pp. 53–82.

³ Rutledge, Thomas, 'Gavin Douglas and John Bellenden: Poetic Relations and Political Affiliations', in *Langage cleir illumynate: Scottish poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375 – 1630*, edited by Nicola Royan (Amsterdam, 2007), pp. 93–116

⁴ Thomas Rutledge, 'Reading and Writing History: John Bellenden's Livy', in *Premodern Scotland: Literature and Governance 1420–1587*, edited by Joanna Martin and Emily Wingfield (Oxford, 2017), pp. 144–158 (145).

⁵ John Macqueen, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 10–31 (11). For 'the general character of the Renaissance in Scotland', see Roger Mason, 'Regnum et Imperium: Humanism and the Political Culture of Early Renaissance Scotland', in *Kingship and the Commonweal* (East Linton, 1998) 104–138 (104).

his translation, consulting the proto-dictionary of Niccolò Perotti (1429–80), as well as an edition of the *AUC* prepared by the Flemish printer, Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462–1535).⁶

A fresh examination of Bellenden's engagement with Bersuire will, however, prove useful for two reasons. First, there is evidence of Bellenden's recourse to Bersuire which, although it was unknown to Bauman, sheds new light on how Bellenden was approaching his translation and engaging with classical history more generally. Bellenden prepared a series of notes for his translation, which served the dual purpose of glossing unfamiliar terms and pointing the reader to comparable accounts in external sources (most frequently to Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia* and Ovid's *Fasti*). Bellenden's commentary was inspired and textured, this essay argues, by the explanatory 'incidents' which peppered Bersuire's Livy. Secondly, Bellenden's appeal to Bersuire should properly be understood in the context of the wide array of hermeneutic tools from which Bellenden drew to complete his translation, the full details of which are only beginning to come to light. As is explored below, Bellenden consulted Bersuire's translation alongside the *Explanatio* of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, a glossary of technical lexis which prefaced Ascensius' early editions of Livy, and Perotti's *Cornucopia*, one of the most richly detailed reference works to have emerged from Quattrocento Italy. Bellenden was using these texts simultaneously as he went about his translation, bringing each of them to bear on the same moment of the Latin text. By returning to the question of Bellenden's engagement with Bersuire, this essay examines the confluence of critical voices at work in Bellenden's Livy.

Bellenden's translation of Livy survives in three manuscript witnesses. The earliest of these is a rough copy now preserved at the British Library which contains sections from Books One and Three and exhibits multiple deletions and autograph corrections to the main text of

⁶ John-Mark Philo, 'John Bellenden's Livy and the Tools of Translation', *Scottish Literary Review*, 9.1 (2017), 19–39.

the translation (British Library MS Add 36, 678, hereafter BL Manuscript). This copy also includes the earliest stages of the annotations which Bellenden prepared for the translation, which have been written in both Latin and Scots. The second witness, dated ‘not later than 1538’, is a fair copy of the translation and is now held at the National Library of Scotland (National Library of Scotland Advocates MS. 18.3.12, hereafter Advocates MS). This preserves almost all of Bellenden’s translation, with the exception of the final chapter of Book Five. The Advocates MS also includes a marginal commentary, which corresponds with the notes preserved in the BL manuscript. Here, however, the commentary appears exclusively in Latin. The margins of the Advocates MS have been trimmed in the rebinding process and thus the majority of these comments have also been truncated.⁷ The final witness, preserved at Aberdeen University Library, contains all five books, but lacks the verse prologue found in the Advocates MS as well as the annotations found in both the earlier witnesses (Aberdeen University Library MS 2740/box 63). William Craigie dated this copy to between 1550 and 1560, though Thomas Rutledge has recently suggested an earlier date of around 1538 with an appeal to watermark evidence.⁸ Although the version of Bellenden’s annotations which survives in the British Library Manuscript was included in the second volume of William Craigie’s edition of Bellenden’s *Livy* for the Scottish Text Society (1901–3), Bauman only gained access to this later volume after his study was complete.⁹ It is also worth noting in this regard that neither Craigie nor Bauman were aware that Bellenden’s marginal comments in the BL MS were reproduced in the more complete Advocates Manuscript, a fact which has only recently begun to be addressed in Bellenden scholarship.¹⁰

⁷ John Bellenden, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 2 vols, edited by Edith C. Batho and H. Winifred Husbands (Edinburgh and London, 1938–1941), II, 148.

⁸ Rutledge (2017), p. 153.

⁹ ‘Vol. II, der auch noch Notes und Glossary enthält, stand mir leider erst seit Mai dieses Jahres zur Verfügung, als meine Arbeit bereits abgeschlossen war’. Bauman, p. 8.

¹⁰ See Philo (2017), p. 21; Rutledge (2017), pp. 145–146.

This essay first explores the relationship between the paratexts included by Bellenden and Bersuire in their respective translations, namely their prologues, chapter divisions, and glosses. Bersuire provided Bellenden with an idiom for discussing the importance and practical application of classical history as well as a means of structuring and presenting his translation. The article then examines an episode from the second book of Livy's history and compares it with the translations by Bersuire and Bellenden. By analysing Bellenden's complex and multifaceted engagements with Bersuire, this article textures current understandings of classical scholarship in sixteenth-century Scotland, exploring another avenue of intellectual exchange between Scottish humanists and literary cultures on the continent. It was through the French example that Bellenden was inspired to approach Livy through a prism of comparative historical and poetic texts, embracing the accounts provided by the classical and late-classical authors suggested by Bersuire's commentary. There remains then a great deal to be said of the French in Bellenden's Scots.

John Bellenden, translator and poet, studied at St Andrews, gaining his licentiate in 1512. Between 1515 and 1522, Bellenden served as clerk of the expenses in the royal household. Bellenden's translation of Livy formed part of a series of historiographical projects undertaken during James's minority and reign. In addition to the Livy translation, these included John Mair's (c.1467–1550) *Historia Maioris Britanniae* (1521) and Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* (1526), a history of the Scots which ran the historical gamut from their mythical origins to the murder of James I (1394-1437), both of which were dedicated to James V. It has long since been acknowledged that Boece depended on Livy as an exemplar of style for his *Historia*.¹¹ In the dedicatory verse which precedes the Scottish chronicle, his printer, Ascensius, celebrates Boece for bringing the splendour of Livy's history to the Scots: 'he has

¹¹ See Nicola Royan, 'The Uses of Speech in Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia*', *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, edited by Houwen et al. (Leuven, 2000), pp. 75–93 (75).

brought the glory of Paduan Livy and his milky eloquence to the Scots'.¹² With 'milky eloquence' ('lactea [...] eloquia'), Ascensius echoes Quintilian's praise of Livy's 'milky richness' ('lactea ubertas'), thereby presenting Boece as a second Livy.¹³ Boece's *Historia* was subsequently translated no fewer than three times into Scots, including a verse translation by William Stewart (fl. 1499–1541), undertaken in 1531, and Bellenden's *The History and Chroniklis of Scotland* (1531; revised version printed c.1538), the latter of which had been commissioned by James himself.¹⁴ Bellenden's 'prolog' states that the Livy translation had also been commissioned by James – 'as 3e commandit me' – while the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer record the monarch's financial backing of the project: 'Nov. 30. To Maister Johne Ballentyne, be the Kingis precept for his labouris done in translating of Livie. xx li.' (Bellenden's Livy, I. 2; viii).

Between the editio princeps of 1469 and Bellenden's translation of 1533, no fewer than fifty editions of Livy were published across Europe. Interest in Livy had been piqued by two major discoveries in the first half of the sixteenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of an original 142 books, only 29 were thought to have survived. In 1518, two sections of the history previously assumed lost were recovered at the cathedral library at Mainz.¹⁵ This was followed by a second and yet more dramatic discovery in 1527 made by Simon Grynaeus (c.1494–1541), professor of Greek at the University of Basel, who unearthed a manuscript at a monastery in Lorsch containing five books of Livy's fifth decade (41–45). Before these discoveries were made, however, rumours abounded as to the survival of the

¹² 'historiae Liuique decus pataunini, / Lacteaue ad Scotos transtulit eloquia'. Boece (1527) aii^v.

¹³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* (10.1.32).

¹⁴ There is a third anonymous manuscript translation of Boece's *Historia*, known as the Mar Lodge Translation, which has been partially published by the Scottish Text Society: Hector Boece, *The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland*, edited by George Watson (Edinburgh, 1946). Cf. William Stewart, *The Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland*, edited by William Turnbull (London, 1858); John Bellenden, *The History and Croniklis of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1538).

¹⁵ These sections included the latter chapters of book 33 (33.17–49), featuring Hannibal's flight to Syria, and a section of book 40 (40.37–59).

missing decades. In a letter written towards the end of the fourteenth century and addressed to the Margrave of Moravia, the Italian humanist Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) responded to the promise that ‘totus vel maxima pars’ (‘the whole or at least the greatest part’) of the history had been found in the monastery of St Benedict at Lübeck.¹⁶ Though Coluccio had his doubts, the hope, however small, of recovering the lost books proved too strong a temptation to ignore. As the humanist and jurist Sicco Polenton (1375–1447) remarked in correspondence with Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), ‘tantum enim valet iocundissimum T. Liuii nomen, quod nihil insulsum reputatur, in quo vir ipse nominatus sit’ (‘indeed the most delightful name of Titus Livy carries such weight that nothing is thought absurd in which this man has been named’).¹⁷

There was already an established trend across Europe for the translation of classical history into the vernacular, and Livy was no exception. Italy could boast *La terza Decha de Tito Liuiio* (1478) published in Venice by Antonio da Bologna, while Spain had *Las Decadas*, translated by Pero López de Ayala (1332–1407) and first published in 1497. France had seen not only Bersuire’s (d.1362) *Decades* but also Robert Gaguin’s (c.1423-1501) *Les Gestes Romains* (1504), published at Paris by Jean Petit. So too Bernhard Schöfflerlin and Ivo Wittich had produced a German-language version of Livy, published as *Romische Historie* at Mainz in 1505 by Johan Schöffler (c.1475–c.1531). In early-modern England, Livy would be yoked to the most pressing political and cultural concerns of the day, from arguments over the rights of women to the subjects of Shakespeare’s plays. As with Virgil, however, some of the earliest and richest engagements with Livy were in Scotland.¹⁸

¹⁶ Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, edited by Francesco Novati (Rome, 1896) p. 219.

¹⁷ Sicco Polenton, *La Catinia, le Orazioni e le Epistole di Sicco Polenton*, edited by Arnaldo Segarizzi (Bergamo, 1899) p. 160.

¹⁸ For Livy’s reception in England, see Peter Culhane, ‘Philemon Holland’s Livy: Peritexts and Contexts’, *Translation and Literature*, 13.2 (2004), 268–286; John-Mark Philo, ‘Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* and Livy’s Legendary Rome’, *Review of English Studies*, 67 (2016), 250–274; idem, ‘Tudor Humanists, London Printers, and the Status of Women: The Struggle over Livy in the English *Querelle des Femmes*’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69.1 (2016), 40–79.

In fact, part of the mythology surrounding Livy and the lost books of the *AUC* concerned Scotland itself. One legend had Fergus II (*d.*501), ancient prince of Scotland, hide the history in its entirety on the isle of Iona, having rescued the work from the sack of Rome. As Boece tells it in the seventh book of the *Historia*, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–64) had hoped to travel to Iona while serving as a papal legate on a mission to Scotland, ‘with the intention of exploring, to see if he could find anything there of the decades of Titus Livius of Padua, which the wars in Italy had consumed’.¹⁹ The death of James I (1394–1437), Boece explains, unfortunately interrupted Piccolomini’s plans to visit the island.²⁰ There is an echo here of Enoch of Ascoli’s attempt in 1452 to scour northern Europe for Livy’s lost decades at the behest of Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455). Boece thus appears to be consciously associating Scotland with a wider Renaissance urge to recover and restore the lost books of Livy’s *History of Rome*.

Livy was a popular choice of reading material for members of the learned elite in Scotland. In his commentary on the *Eneados* (1513), Gavin Douglas refers to ‘the mast nobill and famus historian and mylky flud of eloquens, gret Tytus Lyuius’, drawing on St Jerome’s description of the historian as ‘flowing from the milky spring of eloquence’.²¹ Of the early editions which have survived from the period, some can be traced to a specifically Scottish provenance. These include the 1498 Venice edition prepared by Sabellicus, which was owned by Walter Ogilvie.²² As Thomas Rutledge notes, the same Ogilvie closely paraphrased Livy’s *praefatio* in his address to Henry VII (1457–1509), composed towards the beginning of 1502

¹⁹ ‘explorandi animo, si quid illic Titi Liuii Patauini Decadam, quas bella [...] in Italia absumpserant, inuenire possit’. Hector Boece, *Scotorum Historia* (Paris, 1527), fol. cxviii^v.

²⁰ *ibid.* fol. cxviii^v.

²¹ ‘lacteo eloquentiae fonte manantem’. Douglas, II, 35, f.n. 35; St Jerome, ‘Epistola LIII ad Paulinum’, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Tomus XXII, edited by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1864) column 541.

²² This copy is now held at Glasgow University Library (Sp. Coll. Bn-d.2).

and now preserved at the National Library of Scotland.²³ So too John Annand (*d.*1550), canon regular at St Andrews and principal of St Leonard's college, owned a copy of Ascensius' 1533 edition of Livy.²⁴

Born towards the end of the thirteenth century, Pierre Bersuire was a Benedictine monk, a friend of Petrarch, and in 1351 a prisoner of the Church. He authored both a *Repertorium* and *Reductorium Morale*, the latter of which included a detailed allegorical interpretation of Ovid, marrying pagan myth with the Christian faith. At the behest of Jean II (1319–1364), he undertook a translation of the three decades of Livy's history then known to exist. Completed in 1358, an illuminated presentation copy of his translation was prepared for Jean, now preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.²⁵ Following the death of Jean le Bon in April, 1364, the dedication was reworked for the young Charles V (1338–1380).²⁶ The sixty or so manuscripts of Bersuire's Livy extant are, for the most part, exquisitely illuminated, intended for 'un public princier et aristocratique' and produced with the greatest of care.²⁷

Bersuire prefaced his translation with a dedication to Jean II, which highlighted the practical utility of Roman history to a monarch. He also included a glossary of 'moz qui nont point de propre francois', that is, terms for which there existed no direct equivalent in French. The glossary contained detailed entries on some of the most frequently occurring and culturally specific terms to appear in Livy's history, covering political ('dittateur', 'senateur', 'chose publique', a calque for the Latin 'res publica'), religious ('prodiges', 'virge vestal', 'augur'),

²³ Thomas Rutledge, 'The Development of Humanism in Late-Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, edited by David Rundle (Oxford, 2012), 237–263 (245). Cf. National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 33.2.24.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 71.

²⁵ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. n. acq. fr.27401.

²⁶ Marie-Hélène Tesnière, 'L'exemplaire de dédicace du Tite-Live de Bersuire, et la réception de l'Antiquité vers 1358', in *l'Antiquité entre Moyen Age et Renaissance*, edited by Chrystèle Blondeau and Marie Jacob (Paris, 2011), pp. 127–138 (133).

²⁷ Marie-Hélène Tesnière, 'À propos de la Traduction de Tite-Live par Pierre Bersuire: Le Manuscrit Oxford, Bibliothèque Bodléienne, Rawlinson C447', *Romania*, 118.471–422 (2000) pp. 449–498 (449).

and martial vocabulary ('hastez', 'copies', 'trumphe').²⁸ As Jean Rychner notes, Bersuire's penchant for Latinisms would ultimately fall from favour among 'les grands traducteurs' of the sixteenth century, who preferred modern equivalents to Latinate coinage.²⁹ Nevertheless, Bersuire's Livy clearly enjoyed an enthusiastic readership in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest translators of Livy into Castilian, in fact, relied heavily on Bersuire's translation, following his French in detail.³⁰ The translation was first printed in 1486 at Paris by Antoine Caillaut as *Les Decades* and would continue to be published well into the sixteenth century. Bersuire's Livy also found a Scottish readership. William Gordon (d.6 August, 1577), bishop of Aberdeen, owned a copy of Bersuire's *Le Premier Volume des Grans Decades* (1530), while Bersuire's translation of the third decade was listed in a book inventory taken at Edinburgh castle on 26th March 1578.³¹

As Priscilla Bawcutt puts it, 'it would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of Paris to educated Scotsmen during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries'.³² Paris had provided the template from which Scotland's earliest universities had been designed and attracted 'the most distinguished and ambitious Scottish scholars'.³³ The theologian John Ireland (c.1440–1495), who eventually authored *The Meroure of Wyssdome* (1490), studied and taught at the Sorbonne from 1459, subsequently serving as rector in 1469 and again in 1476. So too William Elphinstone (1431–1514), bishop of Aberdeen and founder of its University, studied canon law at the University of Paris in 1465, later teaching at the University

²⁸ 'Cest li chappitres de la declaration des moz qui non point de propre francois', Bibliothèque national de France, MS Français 263, fols 2^r–4^r.

²⁹ Jean Rychner, 'Observations sur la traduction de Tite-Live par Pierre Bersuire (1354–1356)', *Journal des Savants* (1963, no. 4), pp. 242–267 (262).

³⁰ Frédéric Duval, 'Le glossaire de traduction, instrument privilégié de la transmission du savoir: Les Decades de Tite-Live par Pierre Bersuire', *La Transmission des Savoirs au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, 2 vols, edited by Pierre Nobel and Alfredo Perifano (Besançon, 2005), 1, 43–64 (49).

³¹ J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961) 34; 'SCOTLAND: Edinburgh castle, S11. Inventory, 26 March 1578', accessed online via the Medieval Libraries of Great Britain Project: http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/medieval_catalogues/S11/

³² Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 25–6.

³³ *Ibid.* 26.

of Orléans. Scottish scholars were also able to meet at Paris experienced printers who could open their works up to a wider European audience. The same Ascensius who was responsible for producing the editions of Virgil and Livy from which Gavin Douglas and Bellenden produced their translations was also publishing works by Scottish authors, including Hector Boece, John Mair, the grammarian John Vaus, and the logician, George Lokert (c.1485–1547). It does not seem unreasonable to assume that such scholars were able to access Bersuire’s translation via the Parisian presses during their travels, returning to Scotland with copies in tow.

As is explored below, Bellenden turned to Bersuire as a means of enriching his own prose, borrowing vocabulary and turns of phrase from the French translation. Such lexical enrichment complements the strategy adopted by Bellenden’s literary predecessor, Gavin Douglas, when translating Vergil’s *Aeneid*. As Douglas had explained in the verse prologue prefacing the first book:

Lyke as in Latyn beyn Grew termys sum,
So me behufyt quhilum or than be dum
Sum bastard Latyn, French, or Inglis oyß
Quhar scant was Scottis – I had nane other choys.³⁴

Scots is presented here as developing as the Latin language once did through inter-lingual borrowings. Here ‘bastard Latyn’ suggests an improper or untoward use of foreign vocabulary, the sense of impropriety underlined by Douglas’s justification that he had ‘nane other choys’. But if we read ‘bastard’ with an eye to its root sense, that is, ‘of illegitimate birth’, this speaks of a productive (albeit apparently illicit) union between two languages, such as that once enjoyed between ‘Latyn’ and ‘Grew’.³⁵ In this sense, ‘bastard Latyn’ signifies not only the

³⁴ Douglas, II, 6 (‘prologus’, 115-18). For a recent discussion of Prologue 1 and the question of lexical enrichment, see Nicola Royan, ‘Gavin Douglas’s Humanist Identity’ (2016), accessed online via Nottingham ePrints, <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/32350/>

³⁵ DOST, s.v. ‘bastard, *adj.*’, 1.

Latin which Douglas borrows, but also the illegitimate lexical offspring of Latin and Greek: Douglas's own borrowings are only the most recent issue in a long and productive lineage of inter-lingual encounters. As is explored below, Bellenden incorporated Bersuire's French, at times to elucidate items of technical complexity in the Latin original, and at others, to satisfy stylistic desiderata.

In his study of 1905, Bauman focused exclusively on the main text of the French translation. The internal evidence suggests, however, that Bellenden was also alert to the prefatory material included by Bersuire. In fact, Bellenden was not only familiar with Bersuire's dedication to Jean II but reworked his French prose into Scots verse for the 'prologue' addressed to James V. Here Bellenden took a special interest in Bersuire's comments concerning the practical use of Livy's history to the monarch:

Cest tout certain tres souuerain seigneur *que* tous excellens princes de tant *comme* il a lengin plus cler voyant et de plus noble et uieue qualite de tant vault il plus uolentiers encherchier et sauoir les vertueux faiz. et les notables oeures des *princes* anciens. et les sens darmes raisons et *industries par* les quelles il conquistrent iadix les pais & les terres. et edifierent empires et Royaumes. & les fonderent et acurent. defendirent et gouvernerent et tindrent par grans successions & longues durees. Afin que par semblables guises il peussent les leurs defendre et gouverner. & les estranges possider et conquerre [...] greuer les anemis. defendre leurs subgies. et aydier leurs amis.³⁶

(It is entirely certain, your majesty, that all outstanding princes, the more perceptive their intelligence and the more honourable and alert its condition, the more willingly they desire to search out and learn of excellent deeds, and the distinguished works of ancient princes and the knowledge of arms, reasons, and ingenuity through which they once conquered countries and lands and built empires and kingdoms and established and augmented them, defended and ruled them, and directed them through great succession and through long periods, so that by similar means they might defend and rule their own, possess and conquer foreigners [...] inflict harm on their enemies, defend their subjects and help their allies.)

Which principles Bellenden reworked into verse:

For in quhat sorte zoure hienes will delite,
3e may gett stories to zoure appetite.

Richt proffittabill till undermynde zoure fais

³⁶ Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 263, fol. 2^r.

And for to lere þe arte of chevelrie,
Seand how romanis be þare vertew rais
Abone þe pepill in riches, honeste,
Relligioun, manhede, witt and equite;
And, finalie, how þai all countreis wan
Be Ieoperdyis abone Ingyne of man.

Bellenden's Livy, I, 5.

Just as Jean le Bon will read how the Romans 'par labours [...] conquistrent la rondece du monde', so too James will discover how they 'all cuntries wan / Be Ieoperdyis abone Ingyne of man' (Bellenden's Livy, I.4). While the French king learns how the Romans were able to 'greuer les anemis', James will gather examples 'till undermynde zoure fais'. And just as Bersuire presented his translation as being of use to those who wish to learn 'l'art de chevalerie', so too Bellenden speaks of Livy as 'richt proffitabill [...] for to lere þe arte of chevelrie', where 'þe arte of chevelrie' directly transposes Bersuire's phrasing Bellenden (Bellenden's Livy, I. 5).³⁷ Bellenden thus reiterated Bersuire's emphasis on the practical examples of warfare and imperial expansion which Livy's history offered to the prince. So too Bersuire's description of Livy's 'tres haulte maniere du parler' would be echoed in Bellenden's reference to the historian's 'curious ressouns tonit [...] so hie', where both translators draw attention to the historian's elevated style (Bellenden's Livy, I. 2).³⁸ Bersuire's dedication to Jean thus afforded Bellenden an idiom for communicating the value of Livy's history, both in terms of its practical application and its stylistic qualities.

Bellenden's prologue goes further than Bersuire's, however, by granting a role to the monarch in the production of the literary work itself. In order to complete his endeavour, Bellenden invokes not only Bellona and Apollo, gods of war and poetry respectively, but also James:

3e ... writis in ornate stile poetically

³⁷ BnF MS Français, fol. 2^r.

³⁸ BnF MS Français, fol. 2^r.

Qwik flowand verss of rhetorick cullouris,
Sa freschlie springand in 3oure lusty flouris,
To þe grete comforte of all trew Scottismen
Be now my muse and ledare of my pen

(Bellenden's Livy, I, 1)

Here poetry is linked explicitly to nationhood, with the enjoyment of James's 'qwik flowand verss' presented as a patriotic act: the king's poetry is enjoyed by 'all trew Scottismen'. James, whom the poet and courtier David Lindsay (c.1486–1555) dubbed 'the Prince of Poetry', is for Bellenden on a par both not only with the gods, Bellona and Apollo, but also with Livy, 'þe prince of storie'.³⁹ With this invocation, Bellenden is in fact playing on Livy's own prose *praefatio*, in which he had expressed the desire, as Bellenden translates it, 'to convert our prayeris be Imitacioun of poetis, to Implore with solemne ceremonis þe favour of goddis and goddesses, to grant me ane happy ending to þe begynnyng of þis grete werk' (Bellenden's Livy, I, 11). What in Livy is only a hypothesis – 'si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset' ('if this were a custom for us too, as it is for the poets') – is now made fact by virtue of Bellenden's role as poet and his composition of a verse prologue.

Beyond the prologue, Bellenden also appears to have followed Bersuire in dividing Livy's books into distinct chapters (although he was probably also aware of Gavin Douglas's comparable divisions in the *Eneados*).⁴⁰ Typically, Bellenden includes a greater quantity of material in each chapter than Bersuire, and thus Bellenden's third book contains only twenty-five chapters, whereas Bersuire's has forty. There is, however, occasional cross-over:

Comment anthenor fonda Venise & Eneas vint en ytalie / & comme il fut Roy & les hoirs apres luy. Chapitre .ii.⁴¹

³⁹ David Lyndsay, 'The Answer to [...] the Kingis Flyting', in *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490–1555*, 4 vols, edited by D. Hamer (Edinburgh, 1931–36), I, 102.

⁴⁰ For Douglas's dividing of his translation into chapters, see Bawcutt, pp. 105–7.

⁴¹ Pierre Bersuire, *Le Premier Volume des Grans Decades* (Paris, 1530), aii^v. Hereafter 'Bersuire's Livy'.

How Eneas and antenor come in Italy efter the eversion of troy; how antenor foundit Venys; and how Eneas foundit lavyne, and was allyat with King latyne; of his sundry aventuris and deith. Capitulum Primum

Bellenden's Livy, I, 12.

In this particular instance, both chapters encompass the same material, concluding with the apotheosis of Aeneas. Bellenden occasionally reproduces the wording of Bersuire's chapter headings as well. Thus, for example, where Bersuire has 'De la grant mortalite qui fut a Rome', Bellenden gives 'Of sindry prodigies and of grete mortalite amang þe romanis' (Bersuire's Livy, hi^f; Bellenden's Livy, I, 249). Tellingly, in this section of Livy there is no single word corresponding to Bersuire and Bellenden's 'mortalite', only the phrase 'annus pestilens' (Livy, 3.6.2). Bellenden's word choice appears then to have been prompted by Bersuire. A similar effect is at work in the following chapter headings, where Bersuire and Bellenden pick up Livy's 'discors' with 'discention' and 'dissensioun' respectively in the following chapter headings:

Cy parle de la discention qui fut a Romme entre les peres et le menu peuple

Bersuire's Livy, eiii^f

how grete dissensioun raiff betuix the faderis & pepil of rome

Bellenden's Livy, I, 166

Beyond structure, Bersuire's translation also appears to have inspired the nature of the glosses which accompany the Advocates and British Library copies of Bellenden's translation. Gavin Douglas, it is true, had composed a partial commentary for the first book of the *Eneados*. The execution of their respective commentaries by Bellenden and Douglas differ considerably, however. As Rutledge notes: 'Douglas' is a wonderful repository of the variety of the long tradition of intervening responses to Virgil's epic ... Bellenden's commentary is markedly

more consistent in its antiquarian and comparative emphases'.⁴² The consistent attention which Bellenden pays to Ovid's *Fasti* and Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia* in his marginal commentary can be explained by the exegetical strategies adopted by Bersuire. The French Livy had liberally incorporated Latin loan words from the original, an approach which Bellenden adopted with no small enthusiasm in his own translation. Thus, for example, where Livy has 'Dialem flamen', Bersuire gives 'flamine dial' and Bellenden 'flamyne diale' (note in this instance that Bellenden prefers Bersuire's word order to Livy's); where Livy has 'patre patrato', the former offers 'le pere patrat', the latter 'pe fader patrat'.⁴³ To allow his readers to more readily grasp the sense of his borrowings, Bersuire wove a series of *incidents* into his translation, glossing specific items of lexis (e.g. 'aborigines', 'Immortelles', 'la science tertrique') or else pointing the reader to comparable moments in external sources, most frequently to Ovid's *Fasti* and Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia* (Bersuire's Livy, II^f; VI^f; VII^v). It is in antiquarian matters that Bellenden most often echoes Bersuire *incidents*, especially in the attention he pays to Ovid and Valerius Maximus, but also to Eusebius, Eutropius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Bersuire thus demonstrated to Bellenden not only how Livy might be translated, but also how he should be read, namely alongside a constellation of historical and poetic texts which provided comparative accounts of Rome's ancient past.

In one of the first chapters of Bersuire's translation, entitled 'Comment Romme fut fondee & edifice', he offers a chronological detail from the Judeo-Christian tradition:

Incident. Romme fut faicte au temps que Achaz regnoit en Judee apres Troye destruite le space de .iiii. cens et xx. ans ou enuiron auant lincarnation .vii. cens & .lii. sicomme dient Eutrope & Eusebe.

(Rome was founded at the time when King Ahaz reigned in Judea 420 years after the destruction of Troy or thereabouts and 752 years before the incarnation, as Eutropius and Eusebius attest)

Bersuire's Livy, Aiii^v

⁴² Rutledge (2017), p. 11.

⁴³ Livy (1.20.1), Bersuire's Livy, VIII^f, BL MS 4^v; Livy (1.24.4), Bersuire's Livy, VIII^v; BL MS, fol. 7^r.

Beside the equivalent chapter in the Advocates Manuscript – ‘How rome was foundit; of the slauchter of remus’ – we find the same gloss:

Roma (ut in[quiunt Eusebius et] Eutropius e[st] fundata te[m]pore] quo achas re[gna]uit in iudi[a] [post] euersam tr[oi]am] quadringe[entensi]mo vicensimo [anno] ante verbum [caro factum et Christi] natum septum[gent]tesimo [...] supra quintesimum.⁴⁴

(Rome (as Eusebius and Eutropius attest) was founded at the time when Ahaz reigned in Judea 420 years after the destruction of Troy and seven hundred [...] before the word was made flesh and the birth of Christ)

Bellenden has translated the French *incident* directly into Latin, supplementing the same moment in his translation with Bersuire’s appeal to the histories of Eusebius and Eutropius. Similarly, when introducing the Virginia episode, Bersuire refers the reader to ‘Valerius maximus libro sexto titulo de pudicitia’ (‘Valerius Maximus in the sixth book entitled ‘On Chastity’’) (Bersuire’s Livy, Liiii^f). So too beside Bellenden’s rendering of the same moment of Livy’s text, the margins of the Advocates manuscript preserve a fragmentary note nodding to the same passage in the *Memorabilia*, ‘[Valer]ius max[imus] lib[ro] de pudicit[ia]’ (‘Valerius Maximus in the book ‘On Chastity’’).⁴⁵

Bellenden goes beyond simply rehearsing Bersuire’s references, however, and actively engages with the literary and historiographical *locoi* suggested by the French glosses. Bellenden’s engagement with the sources suggested by Bersuire is apparent in his analysis of King Numa’s establishing of the calendar year. As Livy explains it, King Numa was the first to divide the year into twelve distinct months:

atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim menses describit annum [...] idem nefastos fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

⁴⁴ Adv. MS, 3. The equivalent section in the BL manuscript has not survived.

⁴⁵ Adv. MS, p. 298.

(And first of all he divided the year into twelve months according to the phases of the moon [...] He also established the *dies fasti* and *dies nefasti*, because it would sometimes be useful for no business to be conducted with the people)

(Livy, 1.19.6)

For which Bellenden gives in the BL MS:

And zit afore þe Institution of thir sacrifices he sett him to ordour the zeir; and first he Dividit þe zeire in xij monethis be courß of þe mone [...] Attore, Numa schew in his kalendaric sic days as war happy and sic days as war ~~mailhouris~~ and vnhappy, be superstitioun þat certane days mycht occurred in quhilkis the peple mycht gette þare erandis happelie spede, and vþeris sa mailhouris þat na felicity mycht follow be þare operatione.⁴⁶

Here Bellenden's translation of 'nefastos' has been suggested by a gloss offered at the equivalent moment in Bersuire: 'Fastes et nonfastes valent autant a dire comme bien heureux & malheureux' ('*fastes* and *nonfastes* mean as much as 'very fortunate' and 'unfortunate'), where Bellenden's 'mailhouris' has been prompted by the 'malheureux' of Bersuire's commentary (Bersuire's Livy, VII^v). The attention that Bellenden pays to the first book of Ovid's *Fasti* in the note accompanying this moment, however, has also been prompted by Bersuire:

Romulus annum divisit in decem menses, & primum mensem a suo parente vocavit martium, 2^m a venere matre enee. hunc errorem more suo reformavit numa & in duodecim distinxit menses⁴⁷

(Romulus divided the year into ten months, and named the first month *Martius* after his father, the second after Venus, mother of Aeneas. Numa amended this error in his manner and divided the year into twelve months)

With its focus on the account provided by the first book of Ovid's *Fasti*, Bellenden's commentary corresponds with a comparable *incident* in Bersuire's translation:

⁴⁶ BL MS, fol 4^v.

⁴⁷ BL MS, fol. 4^v.

Incident. Lan auoit iadis diuise romulus en dix. Romulus constituerat annum per .x. menses. Si comme dit ouide par ce que en dix moys une femme enfante. Ordinatio anni per duodecim menses. Et pour ce que par tant de temps souloient plourer les femmes leurs maris mors [...] comme dit Ouide au liure des fastes.

(Romulus had already divided the year into ten. Romulus had ordered the year into ten months. As Ovid says, because a woman bears a child over ten months. The arranging of the year into twelve months. And because for such a time wives are wont to weep for their dead husbands [...] As Ovid says in his book of the *Fasti*)

(Bersuire's Livy, VII^v–VIII^f)

Here Bersuire happily slips between the vernacular and Latin. Such code-switching is also to be found in Bellenden's notes to the BL MS.⁴⁸ Both Bersuire and Bellenden have in mind the same lines of *Fasti I* (27–40), where Ovid remarks wryly of Romulus' first attempt to establish the calendar that 'evidently you knew arms better than you did the stars, Romulus'.⁴⁹ Both translators, however, have chosen different points of focus in these thirteen lines of verse. Of interest to Bersuire was Romulus' choosing of a period which lasted the length of a woman's pregnancy ('until a child comes forth of its mother's womb') and the mourning assigned to the death of a husband ('for as many months from her husband's death a wife / maintains the signs of grieving in her widowed home').⁵⁰ For Bellenden, however, Romulus' naming of the first and second months after Mars and Venus was of greater interest: 'Mars' was the first month, Venus' the second: she was the head of this race, he was its father'.⁵¹ The attention which Bellenden paid to the comparative texts suggested by Bersuire was then by no means a passive repetition of references. Rather, Bellenden revisited these sources with his own desiderata, taking from them the details that spoke more immediately to his interests.

⁴⁸ See, for example, his gloss on the goddess Murcea: 'Murthea was þe samyn goddes þat we call Venus. Murcea Venus est dicta quod faciat hominem murcidum, id est, desidiosum'. BL MS, fol. 12^r.

⁴⁹ 'scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Rumule, noras'. Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 29–30.

⁵⁰ 'utero matris dum prodeat infans'; 'per totidem menses a funere coniugis uxor / sustinet in vidua tristia signa domo'. Ovid, *Fasti*, I.33–5.

⁵¹ 'Martis erat primus mensis, Venerisque secundus; / haec generis princeps, ipsius ille pater'. Ovid, *Fasti*, I.39–40.

When Bersuire introduces his chapter on Lucretia, he alerts the reader to Valerius Maximus' treatment of the same: 'Valerius maximus libro vi de pudicitia titulo primo' ('Valerius Maximus, in book six under the first title 'On Chastity'; Bersuire's *Livy*, xlx^v). Bellenden's translation of the Lucretia narrative in the Advocates Manuscript includes a fragmentary note in the margins pointing to the same moment in the *Memorabilia*: '[Valer]ius Max[imus] lib[ro vi] de pudiciti[a] cap[ut] dux [Roma]anae pudicitiae'.⁵² Bellenden's note accompanies the climax of the action, when Lucretia has resolved to take her own life, explaining that she intends:

“to be ane notabil exempill þat na vnchaist woman sall leif be Imytacioun of luces in tymes cuming”. Scho straik hir self with ane dagare (quhilk was hid vnder hir claitis) to þe hert, & fell to þe erde on hir said dagare.⁵³

Bellenden's quotation from Valerius' *Memorabilia*, namely the description of Lucretia as 'the leader of Roman chastity' (a quotation which is not found in Bersuire) suggests that the importance of this episode for Bellenden lies in its quality as 'ane notabil exempill' of outstanding fidelity. Intriguingly, Bellenden laid a greater emphasis on this element in the Scots translation itself, expanding Livy's simple 'exemplo' with both 'ane notabil exempill' and 'Imytacioun' (Livy, 1.58.10). This emphasis on the exemplary force of the Lucretia episode is reinforced by Bellenden's inclusion on this page of the Advocates MS with a quotation taken from an epigram on the death of Lucretia, attributed to Hildbert de Lavardin (c.1055–1133): 'Cum foderet tenerum ferro Lucretia pectus / sanguinis Hic torrens egrederetur. ait.' ('when Lucretia pierced her tender breast with the steel and the torrent of blood came forth, she said'). The pages of the Advocates manuscript have been trimmed but it is probable that the page once preserved the final lines of the epigram (the inclusion of 'ait' ('she said')) seems to anticipate

⁵² Advocates MS, p.112.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 112.

such a continuation): ‘testetur cunctis me non uiolasse pudorem / ante uirum sanguis spiritus ante deos’ (‘let my blood before my husband, my spirit before the gods, bear witness to all that I have not violated my chastity’).⁵⁴ Bellenden thus introduces another example of the Lucretia legend which highlights the preservation of *pudicitia*. Once again, Bellenden visited a comparative moment as suggested by Bersuire, but also enriched his commentary with examples of his own, serving to strengthen the didactic force of the Lucretia narrative.

Bellenden was putting Bersuire’s translation to use alongside the other interpretive tools at his disposal, including the *Explanatio*, Ascensius’ glossary of technical terms which prefaced his early editions of Livy. As Ascensius explains in the version of the *Explanatio* prefacing the 1513 edition, ‘these are the words which (since I thought they wouldn’t reveal themselves to everyone upon a first reading) I considered should be explained in a few words’.⁵⁵ For Livy’s ‘interregnum’, for example, Bellenden gives ‘interregne’ throughout his translation. Upon its first appearance, however, he includes an internal gloss for the sake of comprehension, expanding Livy’s ‘interregnum appellatum’ (‘it was called the interregnum’) with ‘This governance [...] was callit the Interregne, That is to say, þe vacance betuix deith of ane king to þe electioun of ane uthir’.⁵⁶ According to both the *DOST* and *OED*, Bellenden’s ‘interregne’ is the first recorded usage of the word in any dialect of English.⁵⁷ With ‘Interregne’, Bellenden in fact follows Bersuire, who had given ‘interreigne’ throughout his translation of the first decade (e.g. Bersuire’s Livy, VII^f). The explanation, however, is a close translation of Ascensius’ gloss on *interregnum* found in both the 1510 and 1513 editions of the *AUC*: ‘Interregnum spatium medium inter mortem regis & creationem noui’ (‘*interregnum* is

⁵⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. 6.5 (Berolini, 1885), 3*, 2*, h.

⁵⁵ ‘Haec sunt quae [...] quia non omnibus prima lectione se proditura putau: his paucis explicanda duxi’. Livy, *Quae Extant Decades* (Paris, 1513), s.p.

⁵⁶ Livy, *Titi Livii Patauini Historici Clarissimi: Quae Extant Decades* (Paris, 1510), III^f, cf. Livy, 1.17.6; Bellenden’s Livy, 43. Bellenden uses ‘interregne’ throughout his translation for *interregnum*. Cf. I, 103; I, 252; II, 111; II, 122; II, 195;

⁵⁷ *DOST*, s.v. ‘Interregn(n)e’; *OED*, s.v. ‘interreign’, 1.

the mid-space between the death of the king and the creation of a new one’).⁵⁸ Bellenden thus brought Bersuire and Ascensius together as he tackled a politically and culturally specific item of Livy’s Latin lexis.

Bellenden was also consulting Bersuire alongside the *Cornucopia*, an extraordinarily detailed reference work prepared by the Italian humanist, Niccolò Perotti. The *Cornucopia* was a vast, word-by-word commentary on Martial, which soon came to be used more as a reference work and dictionary. Thirty-eight editions of the *Cornucopia* appeared between 1489 and 1536, at least three of which had made their way into early Scottish libraries.⁵⁹ In the first book of Livy’s history, King Numa claims that he has received his orders from a divine source in order to justify the implementation of a religious rites at Rome. The examples below include Livy’s account of Numa’s practice and the respective translations by Bersuire and Bellenden:

simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressos nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent sacra instituere.

(He pretended that he was having nightly meetings with the goddess Egeria and that it was by her suggestion that he was establishing sacred rites that would be most acceptable to the gods)

Livy, 1.19.5

il faignit qu’il auoit la familiarite dune deesse laquelle il appelloit egerie & par nuyt il parloit avec elle et que par son admonition il uouloit instituer aucuns sacrifice[e]s qui seroient tres acceptable aux dieux.

(He pretended that he enjoyed the friendship of a goddess, whom he called Egerie and with whom he talked at night, and that by her admonition he wished to establish certain sacrifices which would be very acceptable to the gods)

Bersuire’s Livy, VII^v

he fenzeit þat he had familiare company on þe nycht with þe goddess egeria, & be hir avyse he wald Institute certane divine sacrifice quhilkis suld be maist acceptable to þe goddis.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Livy (1510) ddV^v.

⁵⁹ Martine Furno, *Le Cornu Copiae de Niccolò Perotti* (Genève, 1995) p. 14; John Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries* (London, 2006) p. 65; p. 250.

⁶⁰ BL MS, fol. 4^v.

Here Bellenden's 'fenzeit' and 'familiare' have been prompted by Bersuire's 'faignit' and 'familiarite', while the reworking of Livy's 'congressos nocturnos' ('nocturnal meetings') as 'on þe nycht', also appears to have been suggested by Bersuire's 'par nuyt'. Both Bersuire and Bellenden preserve something of Livy's 'acceptissima', 'sacra' and 'instituere', giving 'institutuer' and 'Institute', 'sacrifice[es]' and 'sacrifice', 'acceptable' and 'acceptable' respectively. Bellenden's gloss on Egeria, however, which accompanies this moment in both the British Library and Advocates Manuscripts – 'Egeria nimpha fuit cui pregnantes sacrificare solebant, quia eam putabant facile fetum ex alio egerere' – he has taken almost word for word from the definition offered by Perotti in the *Cornucopia*.⁶¹ Bellenden was thus bringing both works to bear on the same moment of Livy's history, teasing out the full range of cultural and semantic resonances for the benefit of his Scottish readership. We can thus recover something of Bellenden's method of translation: as he grappled with the Latin original, Bellenden had open before him an edition of Livy prepared by Ascensius, Bersuire's French translation, copies of Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia* and Ovid's *Fasti*, as well as one of the most recent developments in European lexicography, Perotti's *Cornucopia*. This confluence of critical and interpretative voices at work in Bellenden's Livy speaks of the experimental nature of Bellenden's project. In producing the first substantial translation of Latin prose into Scots, he turned to as many hermeneutic tools as possible in an effort to reproduce both the sense and historical context of Livy's original.

The first five books of Livy's history catalogue a series of extraordinary social and political upheavals, including Rome's transition from a monarchy to a consular republic (Book One), the exile of Coriolanus (Book Two), the rise and fall of the *decemviri* (Book Three), as

⁶¹ 'Egeria was a nymph to whom pregnant women were wont to sacrifice because they thought she delivered the child easily from the womb'. BL MS, fol. 4^v. Cf. Perotti, CXCIV, 4, 54ff: 'Egeria Nympha cui sacrificare praegnantes solebant: quia eam putabant facile foetam alio egerere'.

well as multiple demonstrations and secessions by the *plebs*. This seems perhaps a strange choice of subject matter to dedicate to one's monarch. But as Bellenden explains in the 'prologue', these examples are to be studied that they might be avoided:

Quhat realmes and cieteis for fault of Iustice lost,
Quhat vailzeand campious & dukis militare
For falt of wisdome bene tynt with all þare Oist,
Myne auctor shewis, and sum tyme will declare
The damage of division populare,
Quhilk haistilie (quhare na concorde is socht)
The commoun will resoluis in to nocht.

Bellenden's *Livy*, I. 3.

In this formulation, *Livy*'s many depictions of 'division populare' become lessons within the 'Advice to Princes' tradition, which enjoyed a 'distinctive flowering in the literature of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland'.⁶² As Sally Mapstone notes, the copying and composition of such literature was especially prevalent around the minorities and deaths of the Scottish monarchs between the reigns James II (1430–1460) and James IV (1473–1513).⁶³ When Bellenden completed his translation in 1533, James V had only in recent history managed to consolidate his role as monarch. James's minority had witnessed a special kind of civil unrest, with various opposing nobles making claims to the regency. Thus in 'The Testament' (1530), Sir David Lyndsay (c.1486–1555) refers to 'Quhat gret mysreule, in to this regioun rang, / Quhan our zong prince could noder spek nor gang'.⁶⁴ James did not simply mature into his personal rule, but had to wrest the reins of power from his guardian and captor, the Earl of Angus. According to Leslie's *De Origine*, at the age of seventeen James called a

⁶² Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450–1500', unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Oxford: 1986), 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 5.

⁶⁴ David Lyndsay, 'The Testament of the Papyngo', in *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490–1555*, 4 vols, ed. D. Hamer (Edinburgh, 1931–36) I, 71 (lines 526–7).

council of nobles to Stirling, ‘to steal his neck away from such a great yoke’ (‘ut ceruices suas tanto iugo subduceret’), and marched on Edinburgh and Angus, ‘accompanied by two thousand men’ (‘duobus hominum milibus stipatus’).⁶⁵ ‘Division popolare’ was also a familiar theme for Bersuire’s first readership in France. When Bersuire finished his translation in September, 1358, Jean II was still a prisoner of England and the revolution at Paris was only just coming to an end. For both Bellenden and Bersuire, then, Livy’s depictions of popular dissent had a pressing relevance.

In the following extract, tension builds to crisis point at Rome over private debt. Roman citizens, unable to repay interest on money borrowed, have been reduced to slavery. This section in particular presented some linguistic challenges for Bellenden, from technical vocabulary (*nexus*; *ergastulum*; *usura*) to the syntactical complexities of indirect speech. In the following extract, Livy describes the beginning of the unrest at Rome:

Sed et bellum Volscum imminabat et ciuitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant se, foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a ciuibus captos et oppressos esse, tutoriemque in bello quam in pace et inter hostes quam inter ciues libertatem esse

(But war with the Volsci was imminent and the state was at odds with itself and an internal hatred burned between the fathers and the people, primarily because of those enslaved on account of debt. They murmured that, though fighting abroad for freedom and power, they had been captured and overthrown at home by their fellow citizens, and that freedom was safer in war than in peace and among enemies than among citizens)

Livy, 2.22.1–2.

For which Bersuire gives,

La guerre des Vosques estoit appareillee & la cite de Romme estoit plein de discention entre les peres & le menu peuple. Et le peuple auoit dueil pour cause de ceux qui estoient prins & liez pour aucune debte / et disoit que eulx qui auoient dehors guerroye et combatu pour la franchise de la Cite estoient en lhostel de leurs propres cytoiens

⁶⁵ John Leslie, *De Origine Moribus & Rebus Gestis Scotorum Libri Decem* (Rome: ‘in aedibus populi Romani’, 1578), 428.

chetilz & dolens et que la franchise Rommaine estoit plus seure en temps de guerre que en temps de paix & entre leurs ennemys que entre leurs uoysins.

(The war with the Volsci was at hand and the city of Rome was full of dissention between the fathers and the commons. And the people were grief-stricken on account of those who were held and bound for a certain debt, and said that they who had fought wars and battled for the freedom of the city were chattels and wretches in the households of their fellow citizens and that Roman freedom was safer in times of war than in times of peace and among their enemies than among their neighbours)

Bersuire's Livy, eiii^f

And Bellenden,

Now was þe batall of the wolchis apperand haistelie aganis þe romanis, quhen þe ciete of rome was full of haitrent and dissensioun amang them self; for þe faderis and small pepill war of sindri & contrarius opinions. This dissencioun raiff in special throw certane Indigent pepill, quhilkis war haldin in captiuite for non-payment of dettis to þare creditouris. The small pepill lamentit heuilie, Sayand þai war send furth of þe said ciete, fechtand continually for þe liberte & empire þareof; And at þare returnyng þai war takin & opprest Be þe cietezanis, throw quhilk *nocht* allanerlie apperit þare liberte mare sikkir in tyme of were þan pece, bot was als mare sikkir amang þare Inemyis þan amang þare freyndis.

Bellenden's Livy, I, 166.

Bellenden's use of Bersuire is immediately apparent. While Livy uses the image of civil discord burning with hatred between the fathers and the people ('*intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat odio*'), Bersuire gives the simpler 'la cite de Romme estoit plein de discention entre les peres & le menu peuple', a phrasing which Bellenden reproduces with 'þe ciete of rome was full of haitrent and dissensioun amang them self'. Here Bellenden has followed Bersuire's treatment of *civitas* ('la cite de Romme'; 'þe ciete of rome') as well as *plebem* ('le menu peuple'; 'small pepill') and *discors* ('discention'; 'dissensioun'). Throughout their translations Bersuire and Bellenden reproduce *plebs* as 'menu peuple' and 'small pepill' respectively, and it seems probable that Bellenden was prompted to do so by the French example.⁶⁶ Both translators expand on the technical phrase '*nexos ob aes alienum*', that is,

⁶⁶ See Bersuire, aii^f; cix^v; aii^f; *et passim*; Bellenden, II.20, 43, 86, *et passim*.

‘those imprisoned because of debt’. Bersuire gives the literal ‘ceusx qui estoient prins & liez pour aucune debte’, rendering ‘nexos’ (‘bound’) with a doublet, while Bellenden expands with more detail: ‘Indigent pepill, quhilkis war haldin in captiuite for non-payment of dettis to þare creditouris’. Ascensius had deemed this phrase unusual enough to warrant definition in the *Explanatio*: ‘Nexos ob aes alienum, that is, those enslaved in chains because of debt, who were by the law of the twelve tables in temporary thrall to their creditors (‘creditoribus’) until they repaid their debt’.⁶⁷ So too Ascensius had glossed *aes alienum* as ‘debitum’.⁶⁸ Ascensius’s ‘debitum’ and ‘creditoribus’ may well have thus inspired Bellenden’s ‘dettis’ and ‘creditouris’ in the passage above.

The plight of one man in particular, a veteran of the Sabine war, enrages the people to such an extent that they fill the streets of Rome in protest. In the following extract, the specific points of comparative interest have been highlighted in bold:

inuidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore uestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferauerunt speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta **deformitate**, et **ordines duxisse** aiebant, **aliaque militiae decora** uolgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices aduerso pectore ostentabat.

(The remarkable misfortune of one man enflamed a spite which was already blazing of its own accord. A man of great age, bearing all the signs of his ills, cast himself into the forum. His clothes were covered in dirt, and the condition of his body was somewhat filthy, ruined through pallor and poverty. Besides this, his long beard and hair had made the look of his face savage. He was, however, recognised in such great deformity, and they said that he had led ranks of troops, and they, pitying him, openly mentioned other military honours. He himself showed them the witnesses of valiant battles in a number of places, namely the scars on his chest laid bare).

Livy, 2.23.2–4.

⁶⁷ ‘Nexos ob aes alienum .id est. vinculis addictos ob æratos: qui lege duodecim tabularum creditoribus in temporaneam seruitutem temporaneam donec aes alienum reponerent’. Livy (1513), aav^r.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

Et ceste enuie par soy naissante aluma & esprint la grande pourete et la misere de vng honneste vieillard qui se vint mettre en plain marche deuant aucuns de ses amys duquel la robe estoit toute vsee & comme pourie / le corps maigre & pale / la barbe longue & les cheueulx auoient efface la moitie de son uiayre / mais touteffois en celle **deformite** trouuoit il *que* se cognoissoit & disoit que iadiz il auoit este **cheuitaine** des gens darmes. Et monstroit en sa poitrine les traces des playes lesquelles il auoit receus en maintes batailles. Le commun peuple auoit pitie de suy & le souoit **des beaulx faictz de cheualerie** quil auoit faictz.

(And this resentment, born of itself, illuminated and shone a light upon the great poverty and misfortune of a virtuous old man, who took himself into the open marketplace in the presence of some of his friends, whose clothing was completely worn away and like dust, his body thin and pale, and his beard long, and his hair had disfigured half his face. But nonetheless in this deformity he found that he was recognised and said that he had once been a captain of men-at-arms. And he showed the traces on his back of the wounds which he had received in many battles. The commons felt pity for him and recalled the fine feats of warfare which he had performed).

Bersuire's Livy, eiii^v

This Invy and dissensioun of pepill, sproutand in þis maner, was gretumly inflambit be calamyte of ane agit man, quhilk was descendit of Illuster lynnage. This man past with þe ansengeis of all his eldaris to ane opin place, quhare maist confluence was of pepil, **eftir þat he was haldin in lang captiuite be his creditouris**, for dett In quhilk he was deuoluit. his clething **throw filth of presoun** was vile and horribil, the habit of his body was richt fowsom, for he was lene and near consumyt throw hunger. The hare of his berde was lang and taty, & the hare of his hede made his face elrage & wylde; zit *nochtwithstanding* þis **difformite** he was knawin, for he was **ane capitane** sum tyme in þe romane weris, and had done **grete vassalege for þe honoure & defence of þe ciete**, as weil apperit be sindri wannys and markis in his face and vther [*partis*] of his body.

Bellenden's Livy, I, 166–7.

Again, there are a number of lexical similarities between the translations of Bersuire and Bellenden. They both preserve Livy's 'deformitas', giving 'deformite' and 'difformite' respectively. With 'this Invy and dissensioun' for 'inuidiamque eam', Bellenden carries over something of Bersuire's 'ceste enuie', echoing not only Bersuire's word choice but also the decision to reproduce the pronoun 'eam' with the demonstrative ('ceste'; 'this'). Bellenden also follows Bersuire's reworking of Livy's verbal phrase, '[eum] ordines duxisse' ('he had

led ranks of troops'), into a concrete noun. He thus gives 'ane capitane' just as Bersuire had given 'cheuitaine des gens darmes'. Translating Livy's 'aliaque militiae decora', Bersuire's captain has achieved 'beaulx faictz de cheualerie' of the kind that Bersuire had highlighted in the dedication to Jean II. Bellenden embellishes the Latin here, giving 'grete vassalege for þe honoure & defence of þe ciete'. 'Vassalage' in Middle Scots implied a bravery befitting a knight. The word was imbued with notions of allegiance to one's superior and ultimately to one's king. Bellenden, translating Livy's 'virtutis' at another moment in the second book, similarly gives 'þis hie & singulare uassalage', while the heading of the following chapter promises 'the hardy Vassalege done be Chelia þe romane virgin' (Livy, 2.13.5-6; Bellenden's Livy, II, 6-7).

Having accumulated debt in the wake of the war, the veteran explains that 'ductum se ab creditore non in seruitium sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse' (he had been led by his creditor not into slavery but into a workhouse prison and torture', Livy, 2.23.8). Once again, Bellenden follows Bersuire closely in the rendering of technical lexis. For 'ergastulum et carnificinam', he gives 'presoun and bouchery', reproducing Bersuire's 'vne prison et vne boucherie' (Bellenden's Livy, I, 167; Bersuire's Livy, eiii^v). Ascensius had felt compelled to gloss 'ergastulum' in the *Explanatio*: 'The *ergastulum* was a place in which lesser slaves were forced to work in chains, as metal slaves are wont to do. Whence it is derived from 'ergos', that is, 'work'.⁶⁹ Perotti similarly glosses the word as 'locum in quo lapides aut metalla fodiuntur' ('A place in which stone or metal is dug out') and describes it as a synonym 'pro carcere' ('for prison').⁷⁰ Bersuire in fact includes an entire *incident* on the practice:

¶ Incident. Anciennement ilz auoient vne coustume que ceulz qui prestoient argent pouoient prendre & emprisonner leurs debtors quant ilz ne payoient & les lyoient &

⁶⁹ 'Ergastulum locus erat in quo mancipia deteriora in vinculis opus facere cogebantur: vt metallarij serui solent. vnde ab ergos quod est opus deducitur'. Livy (1513), aaiii^f

⁷⁰ Perotti, xxij, iii, 65ff.

faisoient seruir a toutes choses. Et ce fut la cause de ceste sedition / car le commun peuple vouloit que ceste coustume fust abatue & pource tous les debtors qui estoient liez ou non qui peurent eschapper sen vindrent tout incontinent au marche.

(Note. In olden times they had a custom whereby those who lent money could take and imprison their debtors when they didn't pay and bound them and made them serve in all manner of ways. And this was the cause of the sedition, because the commons wanted this custom to be overturned and thus all the debtors who were bound or not, who were able to escape, came immediately into the market.)

Bersuire's Livy, eiii^v

Bellenden, however, drives the meaning home with the addition of certain details. The elderly veteran appears 'eftir þat he was haldin in lang captiuite be his creditouris', while his clothing has been ruined 'through filth of presoun'. Bellenden also introduces some localised technical language in this passage to render the sense for his Scottish readers: 'doubling and non-payment', 'termes assignit', and 'vsire and okkir'. The first two of these phrases were familiar to the law-courts, while 'okkir' was a stronger form of usury, with connotations of crime or sin.⁷¹ This complements Bellenden's approach elsewhere. Thus for Livy's 'provocatio', that is, an appeal made to either of the consuls, he uses its local equivalent, 'appellacioun', used in Scots law of an appeal made from a lower to a higher tribunal or power. Bellenden's Livy, II.8; Livy, 2.8.1-2.). So too the verse prologue addressed to James had referred to the decemviri 'doand Iustice but appellatioun' (Bellenden's Livy, 3). The comparison of Bersuire and Bellenden suggests then that although Bellenden was first and foremost concerned with Livy's Latin original, as edited by Ascensius, he was also guided by the various readings offered by Perotti and Bersuire. Bellenden's Scots translation was thus textured in both form and content by Bersuire's French, to whom he turned repeatedly when negotiating the complexities of Livy's lexis and syntax.

⁷¹ Cf. DOST, s.v. Term(e n., 4; Non-, *adv. prefix.*, 6; Ok(k)er, Ocker, n., a

William Caxton, when composing his prose version of Virgil's epic, the *Eneydos* (1490), had been content to consult exclusively 'a lytyl booke in Frenche which late was translated oute of latyn by some noble clerke of Fraunce', namely Guillaume le Roy, who had himself relied on an Italian intermediary.⁷² This famously inspired the wrath of Gavin Douglas, who complained of Caxton's version that 'it haß na thing ado tharwith, God wait, / Ne na mair lyke than the devill and Sanct Austyne'.⁷³ Bellenden's appeal to Bersuire's French, however, differs from Caxton's exclusive use of le Roy. Bellenden put Livy's Latin firmly at the centre of his project, turning to Bersuire as another interpretative tool alongside Ascensius' *Explanatio* and Perotti's *Cornucopia*. Just as Douglas was concerned with following 'Maist reuerend Virgill, of Latyn poetis prynce', so too Bellenden endeavoured 'to follow þe prince of storie Liuius' to the best of his ability, yoking Bersuire to his project as he grappled with the historian's 'curious ressouns'.⁷⁴ This has further implications for how we approach Bellenden as a source for linguistic analyses of sixteenth-century Scots. It is true, as Cornelia Jumpertz-Schwab has shown, that Latin had no small influence on Bellenden's prose, resurfacing in both his lexis and syntax.⁷⁵ It is clear, however, that these same elements were also being nuanced by Bersuire's French, and that Bellenden was enriching his own translation by incorporating vocabulary from *Les Decades*.

Beyond lexis, Bersuire offered Bellenden a means of structuring and presenting his translation. With his dedication to Jean le Bon, Bersuire afforded Bellenden an idiom for addressing the utility and application of classical history, along with the underlying conviction that from the ancients 'peuent touz princes prendre exemples notables'.⁷⁶ Bellenden reworked

⁷² William Caxton, *Eneydos* (Westminster, 1490), 1^r.

⁷³ Douglas, 2.7 ('prologus', 142–3). For comment on the moral and theological significance of Douglas's comparison, see Royan, 7–8.

⁷⁴ Douglas, 2.3 ('prologus', 3); Bellenden (1901–3) I. 2.

⁷⁵ Cornelia Jumpertz-Schwab, *The Development of the Scots Lexicon and Syntax in the Sixteenth Century under the Influence of Translation from Latin* (Frankfurt on Main, 1998).

⁷⁶ BnF MS Français, fol. 2^r.

the principles set out by Bersuire's preface into a verse prologue addressed to James V in which he placed a similar emphasis on the practical utility of classical history to the monarch. Bellenden subsequently harnessed Bersuire's glosses, the 'Incidents' which appear throughout *Les Decades*, as a model for the notes which he prepared for his own translation. Perhaps most importantly for our understanding of the development of humanism in sixteenth-century Scotland and its rich engagements with classical poetry and prose, Bellenden took from Bersuire a means of understanding and interpreting the *AUC*. In practice, this meant situating Livy's history alongside a collection of comparative texts which were equally concerned with exploring Rome's legendary past. Bellenden's embracing, via Bersuire's example, of Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia*, Ovid's *Fasti*, and the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius Halicarnassus, is testament to a wider urge to return *ad fontes* among Scotland's humanists, and to understand and approach the classical text on its own cultural and linguistic terms.