

JAMES V AND BOOKS

Unlike his uncle, Henry VIII, or his father-in-law, Francis I, James V of Scots has never had a reputation as a reader, book collector, or 'father of letters'.¹ As his contemporaries saw it, James's chief interests (during the much briefer time of his reign) were less the 'clerkly' pursuits involving books than a variety of physical activities. Many of them were customary inclusions in the educational curriculum considered appropriate for royalty. Such were James's training in the martial arts (which, from the time he turned six, included riding practice, exercises with the sword, 'speris' [spears], 'culvering' [hand gun] and 'cors bow' [crossbow])² and, later, his hunting and hawking.³ Others — those, for instance, glimpsed in the lines of some contemporary verses, where James is warned not to 'ryd or rin [run] ov[i]r rekleslie, / or slyde with ladis upoun the yce'⁴ — are memorably unfitting to his position. Yet again they reveal his physical energy, as do further occasional references in the accounts, for instance to balls lost or needed by the king for his games of 'cachpuyll' [hand tennis].⁵ Musical skills were also a curriculum essential, but James's abilities and interests were sufficiently marked to be commented upon at the time. He not only sang in tune, it was said, but danced well, played the lute, perhaps also the viol, read music at sight, and delighted in hearing his own and foreign musicians perform.⁶

Much less can be discovered from contemporary sources about James's formal studies. From about 16 February 1516-17, when the king was five, his 'maister' [master] was the learned Gavin Dunbar, dean of Moray, and prior of Whithorn.⁷ Only a sketchy record survives, dating from 1522, of the educational programme devised for the king: he was to be

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- ¹ For details of these kings' bibliographic interests: P.C. Herman, 'Henry VIII of England (28 June 1491-28 January 1547)', *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 132, ed. D.A. Richardson (Detroit, 1993), 172-86; R.J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: the Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 462-77.
 - ² See *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1877-1916) hereafter *TA*, Vol. V pp. 146, 147, 195-96, 252, 254, 256, 258, 265, 275, 381; also N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London, 1984). See also David Lyndsay, *Testament of the Papyngo*, pp. 283-86. (All Lyndsay quotations are from vol. 1 of *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, ed. Douglas Hamer, 4 vols, STS (Edinburgh, 1931-36). All translations from Scots are derived from *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*.)
 - ³ *TA*, Vol. V pp. 277 or 259, for example.
 - ⁴ 'Schir, sen of men' pp. 38-39. The poem is attributed to 'Stewart' (possibly William Stewart, a servant of the king's mother, Margaret Tudor) in the Bannatyne Manuscript: see *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols, STS (Edinburgh, 1928-34), II, 256-57). It is unattributed in the Maitland Folio version, where the lines quoted are slightly different: 'To ryd or ryn our rakleslie / Or aventure to go on yce': see *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, ed. W.A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS, (Edinburgh, 1919-27), I, pp. 246-48.
 - ⁵ *TA*, V p. 275, VI p. 29.
 - ⁶ *State Papers Henry VIII*, IV p. 243; *The Letters of James V*, ed. R.K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh 1954) Hereafter *James V Letters*, pp. 163, 169, 170; *TA*, Vol. V pp. 252, 276; VI p. 261, VII pp. 118, 271, 414; and Thomas Wood, *Cantus Part-book*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 483, p. 176.
 - ⁷ *TA*, V pp. 96, 111, 129, 219; *James V Letters*, p. 388; John Lesley, *The History of Scotland from the death of King James I...to the year MDLXI*, ed. T. Thomson, (Bannatyne Club Edinburgh, 1830), p. 118.

instructed 'in all gude vertuis', 'to reide and write', and 'to speke Latin and Fransh'.⁸ A few details from another contemporary source are not complimentary of the results. Henry VIII's ambassador, Thomas Magnus, reported to Cardinal Wolsey in 1525 that the 'yong King [James was then thirteen] canne not by hym selff rede an Einglisshe letter, but by the helpe of some oone of his Counsaill; naither can [he] devise, but as...instructe by the same...'.⁹ Does this suggest a lack of scholarly promise in the prince; or a bias, perhaps want of understanding, in the reporter — who failed to remember that English and Scottish terms could vary sufficiently to be confusing? Or does it indicate a canny prudence in a young monarch well-schooled in the political arts?

However it is viewed, James's formal learning had ceased by the time the Earl of Angus took the king into his custody in 1526.¹⁰ James, then fourteen, was declared old enough to govern (though for the next few years this was so in name only). The premature end to his education was recalled later by one of the king's personal servants, David Lyndsay. His bitter regret was expressed as unequivocal condemnation of the 'wyttles fullis [who] tuke that young Prince frome the sculis', and who had, as he saw it, deliberately distracted the king from the serious business of acquiring the learning needed by a good ruler.¹¹ Lyndsay and others also might have contrasted James V's position in 1526 with that of his illegitimate half-brother, Alexander Stewart, in 1509, when he had been the eager pupil of Erasmus. The tutor had praised his student for his assiduous study in (among other subjects) rhetoric and Greek, law, and the theory and practice of oratory.¹²

The scholarly abilities and interests of James IV's legitimate child were not to be nurtured similarly, and the evidence that James V independently pursued any bookish activity once he began his personal reign has not been examined closely. It is worth attempting to do so, nevertheless, in the hope that the findings will not only add to the biographical details of a Stewart king whose character continues to be somewhat elusive,¹³ but also contribute to the existing information about how books (whether in manuscript or printed form) were regarded and used in Scotland during this era.

It might be thought that wills would be an obvious place to start the search for information on James's interest or taste in books, but the wills of both James V and his father were concerned with the question of who should take the reins of government.¹⁴ In the case of James V's will, moreover, debate about its authenticity and content has existed since its first appearance in 1542.¹⁵ Argument continues, although today only a copy of the instrument survives.¹⁶ The names it listed were purportedly of those James had wished to be in the council of regents, not the names of his executors or legatees. No surviving reference, furthermore, implies that a testament, in which James's personal goods could have been listed and disposed, was appended.

⁸ Historical Manuscripts Commission, hereafter HMC *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kelly* (London, 1904), pp. 11-12.

⁹ *State Papers Henry VIII*, IV p. 368.

¹⁰ W. K. Emond, *The Minority of King James V, 1513-1528* Ph.D. Diss, St Andrews, 1988, p. 493.

¹¹ See Lyndsay's *Complaynt*, 131-32, 161-66.

¹² See M. M. Phillips, *The 'Adages' of Erasmus* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 305-07; *Opera Omnia* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1703-06), Vol. II. pp. 554ff..

¹³ The most recent biography is J. Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542*, ed. N. Macdougall (East Linton, 1998).

¹⁴ For James IV, see *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, ed. T. Thomson, (Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1833), p. 4.

¹⁵ See A. Lang, 'The Cardinal and the King's Will', *Scottish Historical Review*, 2.12 (1906), pp. 410-22; M. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 135, 153-57; Cameron, *James V*, p. 295.

¹⁶ *HMC Report XI*, vi (Hamilton), pp. 219-20.

Another source that can sometimes fill the lacuna is an individual's library catalogue. When it alone exists, it perhaps can be equated with the testamentary list of 'literary remains'. James V's maternal grandfather, Henry VII, had a large collection of books (catalogued by the Royal Librarian Giles Duwes) of which about seventy volumes (chiefly on vellum, with overpainted woodcut initials) were the English king's personal possessions.¹⁷ As far as it is known, however, neither James V's father, James IV, nor his mother, Margaret Tudor (herself daughter of Henry VII), followed this lead. Indeed, the titles of only a few of their books have come down to us.¹⁸ In contrast, the library of James V's daughter, Mary, was partially inventoried (despite the disruptions of her final years), these lists supplemented in more recent times by the scholar, John Durkan.¹⁹ During her brief Scottish reign, Mary acquired about two hundred and forty-three volumes.²⁰ (Among them a 'fine Frescobaldi Ptolemy of 1490' is recorded as a likely inheritance from her grandfather. Did it come down through James V?)²¹ Mary's half-brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray,²² also had a notable book collection of nearly one hundred volumes. They included works of classical literature, history, philosophy and theology, as well as a few with unknown titles, taken from Mary's library after her death.²³ With the possible exception of the Ptolemy noted above, neither child appears to have inherited books that can be identified as previously owned by James V. The late imprint date disqualifies many at once; others, like the 'vi Mess [Mass] Buikis' of Mary's that were burned by Moray in 1569,²⁴ probably are lost, the official change to Protestantism the plausible reason for the destruction of (at least) the liturgical books once associated with their Catholic father. Despite this, it is known that one hundred and fifty or so books from Mary's collection came down to James V's grandson, James VI and I. These were noted by the king's preceptor, Peter Young, within his account of the royal books, which numbered six hundred by 1578.²⁵

James V's own preceptor, Gavin Dunbar, hardly had time for the task of cataloguing, but what of the king's chaplains and almoners, all of whom probably had university training? The chaplain, Sir John Kilgour, for example, appears regularly in royal records as heraldic

¹⁷ G. Kipling, 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. G.F. Lytle and S. Orgel (Princeton, 1981), pp. 117-64 (117-30); T.A. Birrell, *English Monarchs and their Books: from Henry VII to Charles II*, The Panizzi Lectures 1986 (London, 1987), pp. 5-7.

¹⁸ TA, V.83 refers to the transporting of 'the auld buikis' in 1516, but these were more likely to have been heraldic works, since they are associated with, Sir John Dingwell, a herald. On James IV's books see P. Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 79-80. On those of Margaret Tudor, see L. Macfarlane, 'The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor', *Innes Review*, 11 (1960), 3-21. (The beautifully illuminated book discussed—now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Lat. 1897—could not have been inherited by James V, for Margaret gave it to her sister (or sister in-law) between 1514 and 1538.) Margaret owned a second book of hours, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits lat. no. 1390: see V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I (Paris, 1927), pp. 216-17. No evidence survives to link James V to it.

¹⁹ See J. Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', *Innes Review*, 38 (1987), pp. 71-104.

²⁰ Durkan, 'Library of Mary', 74.

²¹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 17; Durkan, 'Library of Mary', p. 74; Pamela Robinson, 'John Leslie's *Libri Duo*: Manuscripts belonging to Mary Queen of Scots?', in *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History*, ed. R.C. Alston (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 63-75 at p. 73. On Ptolemy, see J.H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), pp. 23-27. Note David Lyndsay's reference to 'Tholomie', *Dreme* (749), and the lengthy section of the same poem, modelled on Ptolemy, called 'The Devisioun of the Earth' ll. 659-756.

²² He was James V's illegitimate son by Margaret Erskine.

²³ D.W. Doughty, 'The Library of James Stewart, Earl of Moray, 1531-1570', *Innes Review*, 21.1 (1970), pp. 17-29.

²⁴ Doughty, 'Library of James Stewart', p. 28.

²⁵ See J. Wormald, 'James VI of Scotland, I of England', *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 172, ed. D.A. Richardson (Detroit, 1996), p. 121.

painter — but of banners, masts, and sails rather than manuscript books.²⁶ Little is discoverable of the exact duties of others regularly paid, such as the conveniently located Sir John Sharp, chaplain and keeper of the palace of Holyroodhouse from the minority years until 1538.²⁷ The duties of the royal almoners, it is known, sometimes included those of reader, as well as confidant, confessor and alms bearer.²⁸ Of James's three master almoners, perhaps the most likely to have had an interest in the royal books was the last, George Clappertoun, who held the position from about 1538.²⁹ He was Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal from 1535, provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh, from 1540, and also a poet.³⁰ Regrettably, if either he, the chaplains, or the earlier almoners prepared any systematic account of James V's books, there is no record of it now.

What evidence survives of books inherited, owned, commissioned, read, or written by James, or of volumes dedicated to, or even gifted by or to him, remains uncollected. At first glance, the reason seems obvious: so little remains to gather. Yet records sometimes survive where goods do not. Treasurer's Accounts for 1538, for instance, contain a tantalising reference to a now lost volume, cited only as 'the Kingis buke'.³¹ Because the given title is unspecific, this book was probably, though not certainly, religious in content.³² Whatever its title and function, James V's regard for it is clear, for its handsome appearance can be visualized from the Accounts' details of its costly refurbishment.³³ The book took 'an elne' [ell], about a metre length, of 'purpure velvot' to cover. It also was provided with a 'poik' [bag] 'to keip it in'. Both cover and bag were decorated with gold 'cordis, frenzeis [fringes], knoppis [tassels] and borderis' and 'rubanyis of purpure silk', and they were lined with 'crammesy [crimson] satin'. Subsequently, two other volumes, both described simply as 'ane buke of the Kingis', were also richly refurbished.³⁴ Three more similarly described had clasps made for them, gold pairs for two and a silver pair for the other, by John Mosman, the goldsmith commissioned to refashion James's crown in the late 1530s.³⁵ For other books, the title or function is noted, and some of these can be grouped together. Not unexpectedly, many are associated with James V's daily devotions. One of the most distinctive is described as 'ane gret mating [matin] buke of the Kingis grace'.³⁶ A gift from James's trusted chief secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine, in 1539,³⁷ it was 'clespitt with gold'. Knowledge of its existence depends again on James's care for it: it appears in the Accounts because a green

²⁶ *Painters in Scotland 1300-1700*, ed. M.R. Apted and S. Hannabuss, (Scottish Record Society: Edinburgh, 1978), p. 57.

²⁷ *TA*, Vol. VI.p. 403 is the last known record of him.

²⁸ The men were usually also chaplains: see Durkan, 'Library of Mary', 82; J.B. Trapp, 'Christopher Urswick and his books: the reading of Henry VII's almoner', *Renaissance Studies*, 1.1 (1987), pp. 48-70.

²⁹ See *TA*, Vol. VII.pp. 125, 332, 475. 'Maister James Haswell' was the first known, followed by 'Maister James Scrimgeour', both, to judge by their titles, university graduates. They were highly commended by James V in his letters to the Pope: see *TA*, Vol. V.pp. 255, 310, 390, 428-30, Vol. VI.p. 151; *James V Letters*, pp. 155 (mentioning Haswell as personal chaplain before he became chief almoner), pp. 168, 218.

³⁰ See his (only surviving) work, 'In Bowdoun on Blak Monunday', *Maitland Folio MS*, ed. Craigie, Vol. I, pp. 243-44; also, *Ballatis of Luve: The Scottish Courtly Love Lyric 1400-1570*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. xxxiv and 68-70.

³¹ *TA*, Vol. VII.p. 113.

³² A.J. Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise: the role of women in the book trade in early modern Scotland', in *Women in Scotland c.1100-c.1750*, ed. E. Ewan and M.M. Meikle (East Linton, 1999), pp. 136-51 at p.137 is prepared to call this book 'James's personal bible'.

³³ The amounts for the materials and labour cost over £9 Scots.

³⁴ *TA*, Vol. VII pp. 285 and 337.

³⁵ *TA*, Vol. VII.pp. 196 and 285.

³⁶ *TA*, Vol. VII.p. 161.

³⁷ The gift possibly was related to James's efforts of behalf of Erskine's second son, John, and his nephew, Robert: see the several letters James wrote in their support to the Pope and his representative, Rodulph, Cardinal of Carpi, during 1538 and 1539, *James V Letters*, pp. 362-63, 366, 375.

velvet cover and poik, lined with red damask and, again, trimmed with gold, were made for it. In this instance, the skilled embroiderer-binder is named as 'Helene Ros'. She also ornamented one of the king's two other matin books,³⁸ as well as his gift, also a matin book, to the queen, Marie de Guise.³⁹ This gift additionally was bound with gold by David Chepman.⁴⁰ Later, in 1540, James's daughter by Elizabeth Carmichael, Lady Jane Stewart, who was brought up at court, also was given missal and matin books.⁴¹ Perhaps, despite their lack of titles, the 'certane Franche bukis' purchased by James at the time of his Paris marriage to Madeleine de Valois, also belong to this category. As the king's later gift to Marie de Guise reveals, matin books or books of hours were not unusual wedding gifts.⁴²

Evidently conservative in his beliefs, James V was far from indifferent to the reformist debate going on about him. While he did not publish his own opinions in book form, as his uncle Henry VIII did in 1521,⁴³ several Acts of James's parliaments formally condemned heretics and the importation of heretical books into Scotland.⁴⁴ Yet it should not be assumed that James's attitudes were unbending. During the 1530s, two scholars who took opposing positions on a 'hot topic' — whether the New Testament should be translated into the vernacular — each sought James's support, which suggests that at this time the king was believed to be open-minded in his views or at least persuadable.⁴⁵ Those involved were the exiled Scottish reformer, Alexander Alesius (Alane), and the German Catholic theologian, Johannes Cochlaeus. During 1533 and 1534, Alesius published two short tracts in the form of letters to James V, in which he advocated biblical translation.⁴⁶ Cochlaeus, with the backing of Erasmus and Ferdinand, King of the Romans, wrote a response, also for publication.⁴⁷ Since James V's acceptance of this latter book's dedication to him had been obtained first,⁴⁸ it cannot be argued that he was engaged in a bookish dispute whether he wished it or not. Of the king's replies, moreover, none were in a form that his secretariat might have called 'the all-purpose response'. James's letter to the Erasmus, for example, re-emphasized the 'old connection' with James IV and Alexander Stewart that Erasmus had raised

³⁸ See TA, Vol. VII, pp. 177-78, 408.

³⁹ See TA, Vol. VII, 141-2; it is listed among the King's personal expenses.

⁴⁰ On Chepman's relationship with Scotland's first printer, Walter Chepman, see R. Dickson and J. Ph. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing* (Cambridge, 1890), pp. 18-22; W.S. Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432 to 1650* (Aberdeen, 1955), p. 19.

⁴¹ TA, Vol. VII, p. 410.

⁴² TA, Vol. VII, p. 17; and see J. Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London, 1977), p. 34. (These books, costing 55 shillings, could not have been *de luxe* items.)

⁴³ See Henry's religious polemic, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherum*, (London: Richard Pynson, 1521).

⁴⁴ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, Vol. II. (Edinburgh 1814) pp. 295, 341-42.

⁴⁵ On this brief period of moderation, see D. Baker-Smith, 'Florens Wilson: A Distant Prospect', in *Stewart Style 1513-1542*, ed. J. Hadley Williams (East Linton, 1996), pp. 1-14. By 1537, such an attitude could no longer be assumed: in that year a book with the title, *The Trompet of Honour*, appeared in Scotland. It drew the ire of Henry VIII because of the unambiguous title-page honorific given to James V: 'Defender of the Christian Faith', which Henry claimed for himself; see J. Durkan, 'The Trompet of Honour (Edinburgh? 1537)', *The Bibliothek*, 11.1 (1982), pp. 1-2; and C. Burns, 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs', *Innes Review*, 20.2 (1969), pp. 150-94.

⁴⁶ *Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia*, (Wittenberg?, 1533.), and *Alexandri Alesii responsio ad Cochlei calumnias*, (n.p., n.p., [1533-34]); see also *James V Letters*, pp. 241, 260-61 and J. H. Baxter, 'Alesius and Other Reformed Refugees in Germany', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 5 (1935), pp. 93-102. As a canon of St Andrews during the 1520s, Alesius's attacks on heresy had brought him favour, but his increasing interest in Lutheran theology had forced him to flee to the Continent in 1532; see J.E. McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection* (London and Toronto, 1989), pp. 58-60.

⁴⁷ *An expedit laicis leger Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula* [Basle or Augsburg, 1533].

⁴⁸ See *James V Letters*, pp. 241, 252, 271.

in his initial letter, and agreed that, because of this family link, Erasmus 'did not write to a prince with whom he had no acquaintance'.⁴⁹ To Cochlaeus, moreover, the king sent written thanks for his dedication, and, more revealingly of his own opinion on the issue, a gift of £50.⁵⁰ A few copies of the books in this debate have survived. Although none are noted as the particular volumes originally owned by the Scottish king, the fact that they once did exist provides the group of books linked with James V's religious life with some valuable if little-known additions.

Still within the religious category are three or four more books that may be associated with the king. These, too, add some shading to his portrait. The previous hint of James's early moderation in religious matters is supported by the first work, *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, written by the king's personal servant and herald, David Lyndsay, in 1530. The second half of the poem is a 'Commonyng' [Conversation, Conferring] between the dying royal papyngo [parrot] and her executors, all three of them clerical birds of prey. Loyal to the crown to her death, the parrot leaves her heart to the Scottish king (1119); nevertheless she first attacks the corruption within church and state, offering some pointed advice on how the 'man worthy to weir [wear] ane croun' (1018) can make changes for the better. The bird's imminent death, it is implied, gives her the freedom to speak, and the urgent request of her insincere executors the inducement to explain in detail the present mismanagement. Yet these seventy-five plain-spoken (if at times sharply entertaining) stanzas could not have formed part of a work addressed to an intolerant king. For this substantial poem, furthermore, some evidence of its early publication adds weight to the argument for James's permissive attitudes early in the reign: Lyndsay's *Testament* was published in Scotland between 1530 and 1538, and most likely by the printer (Thomas Davidson) who soon after was officially appointed by the king.⁵¹

Toleration of literary attacks on church abuses is one thing, but James's connections with another work that was written at the Scottish court during the 1530s were apparently those of initiator. Although verses in Latin were composed by several members of James V's household,⁵² there is a record of the king's personal interest in the output of only one, George Buchanan. Buchanan, at court from 1536-1538 as tutor to Lord James Stewart,⁵³ possibly wrote his four Latin *justa*, on James IV and Queen Madeleine, during these years of royal contact.⁵⁴ If this was the timing, then the subject matter and purpose of the funeral poems would argue that James probably saw them, but there is no proof. In the case of Buchanan's later satires on the Franciscan order, however, there is equivocal evidence explicitly linking them, or the last of them, to James V. If that can be accepted, it is a possibility that James's interest was kindled by the first satire, the *Somnium* (c.1535), which was inspired partly by the self-mocking anti-Franciscan piece, 'This nycht befoir the dawing cleir', by the pre-eminent poet of James IV's court, William Dunbar.⁵⁵ The *Somnium*, however, looks also to classical writers, Martial, Lucan, and Cicero, and the following *Palinodiae* and *Franciscanus* look beyond Scottish writers altogether, to Juvenal and others. Even so, Buchanan himself

⁴⁹ *James V Letters*, p. 271.

⁵⁰ *James V Letters*, p. 271; *TA*, Vol. VI. p. 236.

⁵¹ D. Hamer, 'The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555)', *The Library*, Fourth Ser., 10.1 (1929), pp. 1-42 at 2-4.

⁵² See J. S. Inglis, *Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall* (Glasgow, 1935), pp. 117-18, and J IJsewijn and D. F. S. Thomson, 'The Latin Poem of Jacobus Follisius or James Foullis of Edinburgh', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), pp. 103-52.

⁵³ *TA*, Vol. VI pp. 289, 353, 430; *RSS*, Vol. II.p. 383. Stewart was James's eldest illegitimate son by Elizabeth Shaw of Sauchie.

⁵⁴ See *Georgii Buchanani...Opera Omnia*, ed. P. Burmann, 2 vols (Leiden, 1725), Vol. II.pp. 377-78.

⁵⁵ See P.J. Ford, *George Buchanan, Prince of Poets* (Aberdeen, 1982), pp. 48-54; P. Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 273-74. Dunbar's poem had not been printed, as far as is known, either before or during James V's reign; Buchanan (and the king) must have seen a manuscript copy.

made several subsequent claims, the first of them fifteen years later, that James V had requested him to write the *Franciscanus*, and, further, that he had given the king the only copy of the finished composition.⁵⁶ These assertions create strong connections between the work and James V, but it is worth remembering Buchanan's circumstances when he first made the claim. He had been addressing the Lisbon Inquisition, during a trial that he initially believed had come about because of the controversial contents of the *Franciscanus*.⁵⁷ Worth noting, too, is that by the time of the trial, James V was dead and in no position to contradict him.

To later eyes, the source of inspiration for the remaining work in this category has much to do with superstition, but in this period the belief that unusual natural phenomena — such as a lunar eclipse, or a comet — were divine portents was not wholly discredited. Thus was a comet, seen by the Scottish court at Perth in 1531, taken seriously as a sign of James V's impending death. The humanist scholar, Giovanni Ferrerio, then a visitor to the court, attempted to allay the fear by writing a small essay, which he called *De vera cometae significatione contra astrologorum omnium vanitatem libellus*, ['On the true significance of comets...']. This began with advice to James to renounce astrological predictions and trust only in God. It seems highly likely, although there is no surviving proof, that James V was given the manuscript text at the time. In its published form, the work would have interested him even more. When it appeared in Paris under Vascosan's imprint in 1540, Ferrerio had placed at the end lines to Queen Madeleine, James's first wife (fols 13^v-14^r) and others, nearer to the front (fol. 2), rejoicing in the subsequent wedding of James V to Marie de Guise.⁵⁸

James V most deliberately associated himself with books in the category containing histories and chronicles, historical romances, genealogies, and prophecies. His involvement was not unconventional: works in this group had long been considered to combine recreation with education (in their many examples of knightly and kingly behaviour, their moral and political lessons, and their sometimes propagandistic re-interpretations of the past).⁵⁹ In line with this attitude, James as a boy had listened to recountings (or readings) of 'antique storeis' and 'dedis marciall'⁶⁰ from David Lyndsay and, probably, from other servants whose duties were within the king's inner chamber.⁶¹ Lyndsay's list of stories survives, though not the exact names of his sources. Detail is just sufficient to suggest that they included versions of the sieges of Thebes and Troy (perhaps Lydgate's?), the histories of King Arthur, King Alexander, and Julius Caesar, and, to judge from the echo in wording, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.⁶² The heroes of these works were not only role models, but potent sources of imagery, their stories helping to create for James V a context into which the history of Scotland and its sovereigns could be placed with honour.⁶³

⁵⁶ See I. D. McFarlane, 'George Buchanan's *Franciscanus*—the History of a Poem', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), pp. 126-39 at pp. 127-28, and for later comments in his *Vita*, I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981), pp. 541-42.

⁵⁷ See McFarlane, 'Buchanan's *Franciscanus*', pp. 133-34.

⁵⁸ For details, see J. Durkan, 'Giovanni Ferrerio, Humanist: His Influence in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in *Religion and Humanism*, ed. K. Robbins, (Ecclesiastical History Society: Oxford, 1981), pp. 181-94, and James F.K. Johnstone and Alexander W. Robertson, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis: 1472-1640*, Third Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1929), p. 40.

⁵⁹ See R.F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers* (Toronto, 1980), pp. 136-67; A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 153-55.

⁶⁰ Lyndsay, *Dreme*, 31.

⁶¹ See Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, pp. 13-37 and J. Hadley Williams, 'David Lyndsay and the Making of King James V', in *Stewart Style*, ed. Hadley Williams, pp. 202-03. (The servant, Paul (or William) Galbraith, for instance, possibly was the poet noted by Lyndsay, *Papyngo*, 47.)

⁶² *Dreme*, 34-42. Cf. Lyndsay's 'Off Troylus, the sorrow and the loye' with Chaucer, *Troilus*, Vol.I pp. 1-4.

⁶³ James had a thirteen-piece tapestry 'of the historie of Eneas', for example, which he carried with him as he moved between royal residences; *TA*, Vol. VII.p. 165. See also M. Lynch, 'National Identity in Ireland and

Early in the reign, these very topics were addressed anew for the king by the eminent scholastic theologian, John Mair (Major).⁶⁴ His 'History of Greater Britain, both England and Scotland' (*Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*) of 1521 was formally dedicated to the nine-year-old James. Although many aspects of the book — its Latin prose text, Paris imprint, the clear Roman type of the Flemish humanist-printer, J. Badius Ascensius, and its advocacy of union between England and Scotland — showed it to be designed less for James than for an international, scholarly audience, its preface spoke to the young king of 'the glorious deeds of your ancestors' and ended with the hope that he may 'read to good purpose'.⁶⁵ Another Latin history of Scotland, the *Scotorum Historiae a prima gentis origine*, appeared six years later (1527), from the same Paris press. Its author, Hector Boece, like Mair an outstanding Scottish scholar who had studied abroad, also looked to a scholarly audience furth of Scotland, but he did not display Mair's critical rigour, nor follow his efforts to re-assess and demythologize Scotland's origins. With a rhetorical elegance based on that of the ancient classical authors, Boece returned to Scotland's legendary history, this well-expressed but conservative approach earning the book the greater popularity.⁶⁶

When James V at last was able to take personal responsibility for Scotland's government in the following year (1528), he was not allowed to forget the value or relevance to himself of these histories. He was addressed in formal Latin gratulatory verses,⁶⁷ which spoke of Scotland in terms of imperial Rome, until lately taken over by latter-day Catilines rather than Catos (43-46), and of James himself as the offspring of Jupiter (74-76), his future success thus assured. David Lyndsay, his herald and familiar, re-inforced the message a year later and, possibly with more knowledge of the king's level of Latin proficiency, addressed him in Scots, exhorting him to know the 'Cronecklis', 'Quhilk may be myrrour to thy Majestie' (*Papyngo*, 311-12). William Stewart, another servant at the court, at about this time began his *Buik of the Croniclis*, a metrical translation of Boece's history of the Scottish people, but, despite Stewart's opening hints that he worked with the king's needs in mind, there is no sure evidence that his translation into Scots was begun at James's own prompting.⁶⁸

On the other hand, the royal accounts of 1531 and '32 contain substantial and unusually explicit payments to the cleric and court servant, John Bellenden,⁶⁹ for the 'translatyng of the cronykill' and 'the translatyng of the croniclis'.⁷⁰ The king's personal interest in Bellenden's Scots form of Boece's work may be inferred from the translation's survival as both an illuminated manuscript and a substantially revised printed text, each of them produced handsomely enough to enhance James's prestige among monarch-collectors of

Scotland, 1500-1640', in *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, ed. C. Bjørn, A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (Copenhagen, 1994), pp. 109-36 at pp. 132-33.

⁶⁴ On Major, see J.H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 39-75; for his *History*, esp. pp. 62-63.

⁶⁵ John Major, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland*, ed. and trans. A. Constable, SHS (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. cxxxiii and cxxxv.

⁶⁶ On Boece, see further S. Mapstone, *Scots and their Books in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1996), p. 22; Burns, *True Law*, pp. 75-86.

⁶⁷ *Ad Serenissimum Scotorum Regum Iacobum Quintum...Strena*, in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1836), pp. 1-8 and unpaginated facsimile therein.

⁶⁸ See W. Stewart, *The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*, ed. W.B. Turnbull, 3 vols (London, 1858); for the hints, see lines 112-19; and for unspecific payments to Stewart: *TA*, vol. VI, pp. 39, 95, 97, 207.

⁶⁹ For biographical details, see E.A. Sheppard, 'John Bellenden', in *Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, Translated by John Bellenden, 1531*, ed. R.W. Chambers, E.C. Batho and H.W. Husbands, 2 vols, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1938-41), Vol. II, pp. 411-47.

⁷⁰ *TA*, Vol. V, p. 434, Vol. VI, p. 37. See also N. Royan, 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*', in *The Rose and the Thistle*, ed. S. Mapstone and J. Wood (East Linton, 1998), pp. 136-57.

de luxe works. The manuscript's painted title-page impaled the arms of James's first wife, Madeleine de Valois, with the king's own.⁷¹ Their arrangement, the result of overpainting the king's arms, is somewhat unorthodox, and suggests that James had the volume modified in about 1536, at the time of his marriage to Madeleine.⁷² The later revision printed on vellum by the king's printer, Thomas Davidson, was also a distinguished volume.⁷³ Its title-page wood engraving was a new version of the royal arms, perhaps in corrective response to the prominent armorial engraving — evidently unauthorized by the Scottish king or his Lyon court — used by Badius Ascensius for Major's and Boece's earlier works.⁷⁴ Notably, the open crown their works had featured was replaced by the closed imperial crown,⁷⁵ a sign (also used on his re-made signet seals and crown) that James possessed complete jurisdictional and territorial authority over his kingdom. The binding of the printed text underlined its Renaissance pretensions: within a distinctively tooled frame similar to the work of Francis I's binder, Etienne Roffet, it featured two medallions of Dido.⁷⁶

James V's second known commission to Bellenden — a translation of Livy's *History of Rome* — also reflected the contemporary humanist interest in ancient historical sources. In progress during 1533 and '34,⁷⁷ Bellenden's translation drew a picture of ancient Rome that bore some resemblances to James V's Scotland,⁷⁸ and his Latin borrowings extended and ornamented the Scots.⁷⁹ There was also at this time a payment to Bellenden for a 'new cornicle', but whether this was the substantially revised version of the translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* that was afterwards printed, or another work altogether, now lost, is unknown.⁸⁰

Whether James V had been involved personally in its publication or not, the well-produced volume with the title, *The New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament maide be...Prince James the Fifth*, would be placed in the present group of historical books linked to the king: as the record of the decisions of James's three parliaments, this volume formalizes very recent history under his governorship. As was the case for Bellenden's translation, however, the publication of James V's *New Actis*, c.1541, was the direct result of the king's conscious intervention and support. At least some copies were printed on vellum, and appropriately also featured the new version of the royal arms.⁸¹ Thomas Davidson, again the

⁷¹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 527.

⁷² See C. Burnett, 'Outward Signs of Majesty, 1535-1540', in *Stewart Style*, ed. Hadley Williams, pp. 272-93 at pp. 292-93.

⁷³ For a composite facsimile see *Hector Boethius, Chronicle of Scotland Edinburgh (1540?)*, (Amsterdam, 1977). On Davidson, see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals*, pp. 104-35; Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 99, 115-16.

⁷⁴ For an illustration, see Mapstone, *Scots and their Books*, p. 21.

⁷⁵ See further C. Burnett, 'The Development of the Royal Arms to 1603', *Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland*, I (1977-78), pp. 7-19, and also, R. Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland', in *People and Power in Scotland*, ed. R. Mason and N. Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 50-73 at pp. 63-64.

⁷⁶ See D.W. Doughty, 'Renaissance Books and owners in St Andrews and elsewhere: the humanists', *The Bibliotheck*, 7.5 (1975), pp. 117-33 at 119-21, but see also (on fine binders within Scotland), Durkan, 'Library of Mary', p. 72.

⁷⁷ *TA*, Vol. VI, pp. 97, 98, 206.

⁷⁸ See J. MacQueen, 'Aspects of Humanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Literature' in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 10-31 at pp. 11-19.

⁷⁹ See R. Lyall, 'Vernacular Prose Before the Reformation', in *The History of Scottish Literature Volume I Origins to 1603*, ed. R. D. S. Jack (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 163-82 at pp. 173-74.

⁸⁰ *TA*, Vol. VI, p. 97.

⁸¹ Dickson and Edmond, pp. 105-113, 118.

chosen printer, had been granted by James an exclusive licence for this particular task.⁸² James V's sponsorship also was important in another sense, for *The New Actis* went some way to fulfilling what his father had hoped to achieve by his 1507 patent to the press of Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, to print 'the bukis of our Lawis, actis of parliament, cronicles, mess [mass] bukis, and portuus [portable breviaries] efter the use of our Realme'.⁸³

Two more works that may be grouped within the historical / genealogical category of books associated closely with the king were compiled during James's personal reign by David Lyndsay. Each has responded in different ways to the need, especially great after the long regency rule, to re-assert the legitimacy of the Stewarts as reigning royal family, and of James as reigning monarch. In the first, *The Testament of the Papyngo*, Lyndsay weaves a genealogical thread into each of its two separate epistles. The first, to James V (227-345), is a traditional letter of advice on how to govern — a *speculum principis* ['mirror for princes'] — but it also stresses the rightfulness and responsibilities of James's place in the royal line:

Sen first kyng Fergus bure ane Dyadame,
Thou art the last king, of fyve score and fyve.
And all ar dede and none bot thou on lyve. (322-24)

The second epistle (346-625), to James's courtiers, enlarges upon the same theme, by relating in brief the histories of kings, princes, and those in authority. Notably, Lyndsay draws on very recent examples, including those of Cardinal Wolsey and the Earl of Angus, but he devotes most room to a chronological list of James's Stewart ancestors. Their reigns are described in educational terms, each Scottish monarch's abilities and flaws selectively revealed, and with the traditional warning appended, that God's is the only truly 'constant' court. Yet, *in toto*, these stanzas provide a resounding genealogical endorsement for James's present position, connecting him, at the end, to the great leaders of the ancient world, Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Agamemnon (606-08).⁸⁴

A second work, David Lyndsay's armorial register,⁸⁵ reinforces the rightfulness of James's position by the use of the formal science of blazon. Believed to be the first of its type in Scotland, the armorial register was compiled to assist Lyndsay in his role as the king's depute, the Lord Lyon King of Arms. The volume was far more than a set of personal notes: its contents provided, in a widely understood symbolic code, a systematic and comprehensive description of James V's Scotland. The king's own arms were placed first, and, according to heraldic convention, with those attributed to past mythical and classical heroes and present European monarchs. They were followed by the arms of James's queens, delicately drawn, then those of his nobles and gentry.⁸⁶ Although the volume's primary purpose was practical representation, Lyndsay greatly added to it by his insertion of brief explanatory statements. These were not solely technical comments, but were responses to contemporary issues. The discussion of the reasons for the unusual inclusion of the arms of those who had been forfeited for treason (fol. 66), for example, gave legitimacy to James V's recent actions towards the Douglasses, and the emphasis (fol. 27^v) on the early royal connection with Edinburgh's Trinity College through its foundress, Mary of Gueldres (James V's great grandmother), added weight and propriety to James's current patronage of it.⁸⁷

⁸² *ER*, XVI. 398-09, 480K (royal grants and pension); by c.1538-40 he styles himself 'prenter to the kyngis nobyll grace CVM PRIVILEGIO' (see *Boethius Chronicle (1540?)*) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland H.33.b.7].

⁸³ See *RSS*, I, no. 1546.

⁸⁴ See further, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, pp. 134-41.

⁸⁵ The MS is Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 31.4.3. It is more accessible, but differently foliated, as *Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1822). (Foliation quoted is from Laing's edition.)

⁸⁶ See Burnett's description, 'Outward Signs', pp.297-98.

⁸⁷ *James V Letters*, p. 217.

Also seen at this time as a branch of historical literature, prophecies had been popular from the twelfth century.⁸⁸ To James V they were highly relevant — mentioned in the histories, including those of Mair (who ridiculed but did not omit them), Boece, and Bellenden, as well as in the vernacular historical romance of John Barbour, known as *The Bruce*.⁸⁹ The sense of order that the prophecies claimed to create, by seeing in current disorder signs of future events, might have been sought eagerly by James during the late 1520s, when, more than once, he was declared king but allowed little chance to rule in his own right. In this context it was appropriate that, as well as those already mentioned, Lyndsay's list of the stories he told to the young king included several prophecies: of 'Rymour [(Thomas the) Rhymer], Beid [Bede], and Marlyng [Merlin]'.⁹⁰ Over time these texts had been used to interpret the outcomes of various battles and to forecast the reign of a great if as yet unknown king, recognizable by certain tokens, or events. In keeping, one of the two folktales Lyndsay grouped with these prophetic pieces, the story of 'The reid Etin [red Monster]', told of the release from magical imprisonment of the king of Scotland's daughter.⁹¹ The second folktale, of the 'gyir carling [giant witch]', also aptly recounted, with a mingling of the otherworldly and the domestic, the wondrous origins of Scotland's hilly geography.⁹² Touches of prophecy were also found within Bellenden's 'Proheme of the Cosmographe', the dream vision poem that preceded his translation of Boece in at least one manuscript version as well as in its printed form.⁹³ These were seen as inspirational works for the Scottish king. Lyndsay says as much when he reminds James that they were told to 'confort [comfort, strengthen]' him 'quhen that I sawe the [thee] sorye' (46).

The works so far considered have had few surprises. They are books that a king might be expected to own: that confirmed his religious beliefs, provided practical exempla from history, and enhanced his prestige or position. Did any others reveal James V's personal tastes? One such book was owned by his father. It was described as a 'Gestorum de Gower' — perhaps John Gower's vernacular work, the *Confessio Amantis*?⁹⁴ — but it is not mentioned again during his son's reign. On the other hand, a work dedicated to James IV, Gavin Douglas's *Palice of Honour* (c. 1503), was printed for the first time (c.1530-40) during the reign of James V, and by the printer he sponsored, Thomas Davidson.⁹⁵ Little can be drawn with certainty from this detail, yet in the roll-call of vernacular poets at the beginning of *The Testament of the Papyngo*, Lyndsay seems to be assuming that his first audience, James V

⁸⁸ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 188-902, 205-06.

⁸⁹ See Major, *History of Greater Britain*, trans. Constable, pp. 190-91 [Bk IV, ch. xiii]; *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer*, ed. J.A.H. Murray, EETS (London, 1875), pp. xiii-xv; *Barbour's Bruce*, ed. M.P. McDiarmid and J.A.C. Stevenson, 3 vols, STS (Edinburgh, 1980-85), II, Bk II, 85-90.

⁹⁰ See S. L. Jansen Jaech, 'The "Prophiseis of Rymour, Beid and Marlyng": Henry VIII and a sixteenth-century Political Prophecy', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26.3 (1985), pp. 291-99, and R.H. Robbins, 'Poems Dealing with Contemporary Conditions'; in *A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. A.E. Hartung, pp. 1385-1725.

⁹¹ See Lyndsay, *Dreme*, ll. 43-45, and, on 'The Red Etin', see J. Hadley Williams, 'James V, David Lyndsay, and the Bannatyne Manuscript Poem of The Gyre Carling', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26 (1991), pp. 164-71 at pp.165-66.

⁹² See Hadley Williams, 'The Gyre Carling', pp. 167-71.

⁹³ This was *The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland by Hector Boece*, ed. G. Watson, STS (Edinburgh, 1946). See stanza 8's reference to a 'crownit King.../With tender dounis rising on his beird', with which James could identify, and thus heed the counsel that follows. It is turned into an elegant compliment in the penultimate stanza, where the unknown king is named as 'vailyeant Hercules'.

⁹⁴ ER, XI.123; and see Bawcutt, *Dunbar the Makar*, p. 79 and, for further evidence that this work might have been Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and 'The Kingis Quair'*, ed. J. Boffey, A.S.G. Edwards and B.C. Barker-Benfield (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 18, note 53.

⁹⁵ See *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, ed. P.J. Bawcutt, STS (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. xv-xvi and W. Beattie, 'Fragments of "The Palice of Honour"', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, III, pt i (1951), 34-46.

and his court, admired and knew Douglas's works well.⁹⁶ In the same poem Lyndsay also praises the poet most closely identified with James IV's reign, William Dunbar, citing his poem, *The Goldyn Targe*, with a confident lack of elaboration.⁹⁷ *The Goldyn Targe* had been published with other pieces (including *The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedie* and the romance, *Golagros and Gawane*) by the Chepman and Myllar press during the previous reign.⁹⁸ It is highly likely that all of these poems, together with others written by contemporary poets and preserved only in manuscript form,⁹⁹ also were familiar to James V, as they evidently were to Lyndsay and his colleagues.¹⁰⁰ If so, in giving the king some idea of the literary tastes of the father he had known for only a little over a year, they perhaps helped to shape James's own.

James V, according to Lyndsay, received daily presentations of unspecified 'ballattis' and 'laisy', as well as more sober sermons, tragedies, and advice on how to govern.¹⁰¹ Disappointingly (if diplomatically), Lyndsay does not also note the king's opinion of them, yet something of his personal preference in style and genre possibly is glimpsed in what is known of his own attempts to write verse. John Bellenden was the first to refer to the king's poetic abilities. His poetic prologue to the translation of Livy, written in the first half of the 1530s, declares that the king 'writis, in ornate stile poetically, / Qwik flowand vers of rhetoric cullouris [figures of speech]'.¹⁰² His assessment of a poet who was also his monarch and employer was likely to be as favourable as could be managed, but Bellenden's choice of words later received some endorsement. The king's only known attempt at poetic composition was a literary flyting, both a quarrel and a contest in literary and imaginative skill. Perhaps James paid tribute to the striking example of the form produced by Dunbar and Kennedy in the previous reign, but, since the king's part has not survived, verbal and stylistic comparisons are denied us. It would seem, from his opponent's reply, that James V challenged the former on his prowess (or lack of it) in love. This was a topic well suited to the king's own bachelor state and chivalrous pretensions, and his style reflects it. His opponent (who was Lyndsay) claims that James V's piece was one of highly rhetorical insult: reference is made both to James's 'ornate Meter' (66) and his 'vennemous wryting' (16).¹⁰³ Lyndsay in turn attacks the king for his unselective amorous affairs. He uses a ribald anecdote of one of them to flatter his challenger yet also point out the importance for a king of proper self-government, in matters of love as in poetry. The concluding concession, that James V is the 'Prince of Poetry' (21) and 'flour [flower]' of 'flowand Rhetorik' (70), is therefore not without irony, and although the choice of words sits well beside Bellenden's earlier assessment, the two comments provide insufficient information on which to base large claims. Yet the few details do imply that James V looked with most interest on rhetorically ornate compositions (whatever the register), with themes of love, and (even more tentatively) that he wished to be seen as a leading contributor to the poetic efforts of his court.

That role was more likely to have been Lyndsay's (or Bellenden's, of whose poetry so little survives), though not, as far as is known of either poet, as the pre-eminent love lyricist. Of the eight often lengthy narrative poems Lyndsay wrote during James's reign, five were directly addressed to the king. *The Papyngo*, *The Dreame*, and *The Answer to the Kingis Flying* have been noted; others were the petitionary *Complaynt*, and a mock-serious attack on

⁹⁶ See *Papyngo*, ll. 22-35.

⁹⁷ See *Papyngo*, ll. 18.

⁹⁸ See D. Parkinson, 'Scottish Prints and Entertainments, 1508', *Neophilologus*, 75.2 (1991), pp. 304-10. Dunbar possibly was still at court in the earliest years of James V's reign.

⁹⁹ See note 55 for a possible instance.

¹⁰⁰ See J. Hadley Williams, 'Dunbar and his Immediate Heirs', in *William Dunbar: the nobyll poyet*, ed. S. Mapstone, forthcoming.

¹⁰¹ See *Papyngo*, ll. 37-39, 236-44.

¹⁰² 'Armipotent Lady Bellona', c. 1533, in *Livy's History of Rome. The first five books*, ed. W.A. Craigie, 2 vols, STS (Edinburgh 1901-03), Vol. I, i, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰³ See Lyndsay, *Answer to the Kingis Flying*.

a contemporary fashion (with an underlying commentary on church excess), *Ane Supplication in Contemptioun of Syde Taillis*. These five works, offering James V entertainment, counsel and tacit support, sometimes reveal an easy intimacy between author and royal addressee, but there is no certainty that the king commissioned any of them. Even so, it has been extrapolated plausibly from the extant bibliographic evidence that first editions of several of these poems were published during the reign by the king's printer, Thomas Davidson.¹⁰⁴ This was surely a circumstance less likely to occur had James V not approved of the poems sufficiently to allow their circulation beyond the court.

A strong sense of loss and incompleteness pervades the topic of James V and books, yet from the evidence so far gathered, it can be argued that James V was neither a great reader, nor a collector of the calibre of either his daughter, Mary, or his son, the Earl of Moray. Whether for his daily devotions, education, entertainment, or counsel, James V's books in the main were typical, rather than distinctive, of one in his position at this time. He looked after what he owned, all the same, and was not unaware of the prestige that fine bindings, engravings, or illuminations could bestow upon their owners. In humanist fashion he instigated the translation of key works in Scottish history. He seems to have encouraged writing in the vernacular, with the suggestion behind it that this was in part for his own practical needs. As an author, James remains just out of reach. The fact that he wrote at all is significant, a glimmer of what was to come from his learned, multi-faceted grandson,¹⁰⁵ but writing was not an uncommon occupation among monarchs. Perhaps some faint scribbles in a volume of treasury accounts one day will change the picture, by giving away the secret of James's intentions for the 'twa writing bukis of perchement' that were brought to him at Falkland in 1539.¹⁰⁶

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¹⁰⁴ See Hamer, 'The Bibliography', pp. 2-7. Notably, these early published works did not include *The Answer to the Kingis Flyting* (with its less than flattering picture of the king), which was first published in 1568.

¹⁰⁵ See Wormald, 'James VI and I', pp. 119-35, 280-85.

¹⁰⁶ *TA*, Vol. VII, p. 163.