

**George Buchanan's De Maria Scotorum Regina: A
translation with textual and contextual annotations**

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this dissertation is to present readers with 1) a new critical Latin edition of George Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione, foedo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena & tragica plane historia* (hereafter referred to as *De Maria Scotorum Regina*), based on a first edition of the Latin text and the edited version found in Thomas Ruddiman's *Georgii Buchanani, Scoti, Poëtarum sui seculi facile Principis, Praeceptoris Jacobi VI. Scotorum, & Primi Angl. Regis, Opera Omnia, Historica, Chronologica, Juridica, Politica, Satyrica & Poetica* (hereafter referred to as *Georgii Buchanani Opera Omnia*), 2) a modern English translation, in which older English translations are taken into consideration and modern translation theories are incorporated into the translation process, of the critical Latin edition, and 3) explanatory and contextual annotations that pertain to the religious, social and historical circumstances of the period, along with the text's original side-notes, and the translation of said side-notes. The introductory chapters consist of a description of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, the author, George Buchanan, and the context of the text itself. This dissertation is presented in fulfilment of conditions for awarding the degree *Magister Artium* in Latin at the North West University.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina*¹ is based on a select period of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots – specifically the period concerning the murder of her second husband, Lord Darnley.² Mary was – and still is – an important and famous historical figure, who was heir to the Scottish throne and who ruled in a turbulent period of British and Scottish history.

The *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, a pamphlet-text that forms part of a greater work, known, in short, as the *Detectio*, which itself is overwhelmingly politically influenced, was produced at the instruction of Queen Elizabeth I³ in 1568 (Staines, 2009:30-31). Elizabeth requested that one of Mary's half-brothers, James Stewart, also known as the Earl of Moray, recruit George Buchanan,⁴ a Lutheran historian, poet and humanist scholar to secretly produce an elaborated – sometimes outright fictional – account of Mary's subversive actions. The production of the text was thus an attempt to justify a rebellion against Mary (Erskine & Mason, 2012:49). Buchanan, who was personally affiliated with Mary, was the obvious choice, since “his intellectual interests and political theories pervade the summary of Mary's misdeeds and give force to the evidence against her.” (Erskine & Mason, 2012:49).

The text of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, which was written in Early Modern Latin, was an account by Buchanan of the life of his former Latin student; and can be described as a politically driven criminalisation of Mary. Buchanan's works provide an important source for a period which has proven to be fundamental in the development of both the Catholic and Reformed Church traditions.

For the purpose of this study, a critical Latin edition of the text will be collated from two specific Latin editions, namely a first edition of the Latin text (1571), published in London by John Day, and the edited Latin text (1725), known as *Georgii Buchanani Opera Omnia*, of Thomas Ruddiman, a Scottish classical scholar. The texts are similar in content, structure, grammar and vocabulary, but differ considerably in the spelling of words. These various spellings can be ascribed to 1) the inaccuracy of the transcription of Ruddiman's secondary text from a first edition, 2) the various spellings of Latin words peculiar to Early Modern Latin, and 3) accidental misspellings (e.g. the misspelling of *Bothuelius* in the side notes of Capitulum V). The first edition, which is the closest to the original composition, must be regarded as the most authentic and will form the basis of the critical Latin edition (i.e. the copy-text). This new critical Latin edition will also be furnished with Thomas Ruddiman's personal references, references made to other ancient authors, and notes on all spelling changes and corrections.

¹ The full title reads: *De Maria Scotorum Regina totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione, foedo cum Bothuelio adulterio, nefaria in maritum crudelitate & rabie, horrendo insuper & deterrimo eiusdem parricidio: plena & tragica plane historia* (“About Mary Queen of Scots and about the whole conspiracy against the King, the scandalous adultery with the Earl of Bothwel, her infamous cruelty and fury towards her husband, moreover, the dreadful and meanest murder of the same man: the full and plainly tragic history”).

² Hereafter referred to as “Mary”.

³ Hereafter referred to as “Elizabeth”.

⁴ Hereafter referred to as “Buchanan”.

It is certainly no surprise that the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* has previously been translated. The first of these translations is the Middle Scots translation, which was published in the very same year as the first Latin edition of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*'s publication. The second translation followed one year later, when it was translated into French. This was followed by a direct translation of the Middle Scots translation into English in 1689. The latest English translation that could be found is that of Gatherer (1958), who based his translation solely on the later Latin text of Thomas Ruddiman's *Georgii Buchanani Opera Omnia* of 1725. Gatherer's translation is quite literal. It does not seem to be rooted in any translation theory and no context to the content of the document or its author is provided. It is, like all of the other known translations, not furnished with any explanatory or contextual annotations. The history concerning the publications of the Latin translations therefore renders its content inaccessible and unsatisfactory to researchers and students of church- and political history, as well as to authors and readers of historical novels, who desire to further their research on the author, 16th century history, the original text or the character of Mary, Queen of Scots, as portrayed by Buchanan. The development of translation theories over the past century has provided valuable insights which will contribute to the quality of a new modern English translation.

The aim of this study is therefore to produce both a critical Latin edition of the text and a modern English translation, based on the translation theories that will be discussed in the fourth chapter. A general overview concerning the main character of the text, i.e. Mary, and the author, i.e. Buchanan, will be provided in the second chapter, while the addition of annotations to the text will supply the historical, political and social context, which did not receive attention in any of the existing translations.

The study consists of: 1) a summary of the religious, social and historical circumstances relevant to the milieu in which the text took shape; 2) a new critical Latin edition of the text; 3) a demonstration of the application of translation theories, specifically relating to Latin documents from the Early Modern period; 4) a translation into modern English, making a text first published in the 16th century available to 21st century researchers of the Early Modern period as well as to non-specialists in the form of an accessible source in modern English; and 5) information relating to the historical, social, and political references in the text by means of annotations.

CHAPTER 2: THE MAIN CHARACTERS

Mary, Queen of Scots⁵

Mary Stuart,⁶ more commonly known as Mary, Queen of Scots, was born on the 8th of December 1542 in Linlithgow Palace, Scotland (Bowen, 2015:20; Guy, 2005:27). She was the daughter of King James V of Scotland,⁷ who passed away only 6 days after her birth (Fraser, 2010:36), and his second wife, Mary of Guise (Fraser, 2010:29-30; Guy, 2005:30-31). Mary of Guise, although French by birth, died in Scotland, after falling seriously ill with a severe case of oedema not long after she attempted to fend off the Protestant English army with her French auxiliary (Fraser, 2010:131-133). Mary, who would have been the youngest of the three legitimate children of King James V and Mary of Guise, was the only child to survive the date of her father's death, since both of her brothers, Robert and James, passed away in 1541 (Fraser, 2010:33). She succeeded her father when she was only six days old (Fraser, 2010:36; Guy, 2005:30; Zweig, 2011:7) and, since James V had produced no other surviving heir, became one of the youngest rulers of Scotland.

Even though she was the new heir to the Scottish throne, she was too young to govern and was duly sent to France, where she spent the better part of twelve years of her childhood under the care of the Guise family (Fraser, 2010:63). She spent most of her time in the French court with her cousins, the children from the noblest families in Scotland, and the rest of the Guise family (Fraser, 2010:63-67). Scotland, in the meantime, was governed by four governors, the Earls of Huntly, Moray, Argyll, and Arran, and Cardinal Beaton, who was the chief ruler of this Council at that time (Fraser, 2010:39). Despite the turmoil in Scotland, Mary seemed care-free while living in France (Fraser, 2010:63). It is said that she was both remarkably beautiful (Fraser, 2010:87; Guy, 2005:55) and showed great intellectual prowess (Bowen, 2015:117; Fraser, 2010:78). Mary, a devout Catholic girl (Guy, 2005:64), quickly learned how to play the lute, sing, draw, and dance (Fraser, 2010: 78). Besides living in France and therefore expected to speak, write and understand French, she also learned Latin, Spanish, Italian, and some Greek (Fraser, 2010:78). In her later years she was also very fond of horse-riding, hunting (Fraser, 2010:114), and embroidering. It is said that – in her later years – she would be “placidly plying her needle” while sitting at her Council (Fraser, 2010:220). Mary was, of course, not merely raised in such a manner to prepare her for her inevitable return to Scotland, at which point she would officially inherit the throne, but to impress her future husband, since the matter surrounding her marriage became increasingly urgent as time progressed.

Her matrimonial prospects, although certainly political in nature, had a significant influence on Mary's status as a young Queen, since it was imperative for her, as the only surviving child of King James V, to marry someone who would be able to provide stronger – or new – political ties with Scotland. Amongst her

⁵ The facts and opinions expressed by other secondary sources generally concur with the information supplied by Fraser (2010). The description of Mary's life and times is therefore largely based on this source.

⁶ The surname Stuart can be spelt in two different ways: *Stuart* (French) or *Stewart* (Scottish).

⁷ King James V was an indirect relative of King Henry VIII, since his mother, Margaret Tudor, was Henry VIII's sister (Fraser, 2010:27 & 48).

suitors were King Henry VIII's son and heir, Edward VI, who was initially destined to wed Mary when she turned 10, and the King of France's son, Francis II (Bowen, 2015:28; Fraser, 2010:55-56); yet the political – and especially the religious – turmoil of the period rendered the wedding with Edward inadvisable (Fraser, 2010:43) and she was instead married off to Francis II. Their marriage contract was signed and the ceremony was officially held on the 24th of April 1558 (Bowen, 2015:48; Fraser, 2010:95; Guy, 2005:87). At the time of her wedding, Mary was only 15 years of age, while Francis was one year her junior (Fraser, 2010:94). However, Francis suffered from ill health and at the age of 16, approximately a month before his birthday, he succumbed to complications arising from a middle ear infection (Guy, 2005:116-117; Fraser, 2010:142-143; Weir, 2008:142). Not yet 18 years old, Mary was now a widow.

Her position had now also drastically been altered, since she was no longer the Queen of France; and, although she was still the Queen of Scotland, she could no longer depend on French aid (Fraser, 2010:143). It was during this time, after living in France for almost 13 years, that Mary finally decided to return to Scotland in the hopes of restoring order and to arrange for her next marriage (Fraser, 2010:165). Since the Franco-Scottish alliance was now hanging in the balance, and although it had not been long since the death of her first husband, Mary hastily had to make a decision concerning a new husband in order to strengthen Scotland's relationship with its allies. Amongst her new potential husbands were Don Carlos, the heir of King Philip II of Spain (Bowen, 2015:91; Guy, 2005:119), Archduke Charles of Austria, the Earl of Arran, and Robert Dudley, the 1st Earl of Leicester, whose wife had mysteriously passed away not long before (Fraser, 2010:147-150). Although Mary strongly considered strengthening the ties between Scotland and Spain through marriage to Don Carlos, she also reconsidered her position concerning her claim to the English throne. It was at this time that her attention turned to Henry Stuart, also known as Lord Darnley, who was "a young scion of both English and Scottish royal houses" (Fraser, 2010:150-155). However, it was not only his own claim to the English throne that motivated Mary to eventually choose Lord Darnley as her new husband, but also her adoration for this "tall and strapping" young man (Fraser, 2010:272-275). Despite their blood-relation, since they were first cousins (Bowen, 2015:184; Fraser, 2010:276), they nevertheless got married on the 29th of July 1565 in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood (Fraser, 2010:276-277; Guy, 2005:200). Mary's infatuation with Lord Darnley, who subsequently became known as King Henry (Fraser, 2010:276-277), quickly diminished (Fraser, 2010:286). Since Lord Darnley considered the alliance with Mary to be beneficial to his own designs on the throne, their marriage was already in trouble, shortly after their nuptials (Fraser, 2010:288, 292-293).

Mary's frustration with her new husband was exacerbated when Lord Darnley began to accuse her of having an affair with her secretary, David Riccio (Bowen, 2015:198; Fraser, 2010:293). Although such an affair was certainly improbable, Lord Darnley nonetheless decided to intervene. He arranged for Lord Ruthven and a few companions to assist him in murdering David Riccio (Fraser, 2010:293-301). After the birth of her son, James VI of Scotland and later I of England (hereafter referred to as "James VI"), Mary finally opted for a divorce on account of David Riccio's gruesome death and the threat Lord Darnley posed to both her and her son's life (Fraser, 2010:310, 322). It was during this period that the infamous plot concerning

Lord Darnley's death and the rumours of Mary's adultery with Lord Bothwell began to spread. Perhaps Lord Bothwell, who had now been in Mary's service for quite some time, was impatient for Mary's divorce to be finalised. He had been considering various plots to dispose of Lord Darnley in order to marry Mary and fulfil his ambition to become the King of Scotland (Fraser, 2010:373-375). Lord Bothwell therefore devised the infamous plan to murder Lord Darnley, while he was staying at Kirk O' Field (Fraser, 2010:349). He, along with the signatories to the Craigmillar bond, the Earls of Morton, Maitland, Argyll, Huntly and James Balfour (Fraser, 2010:330), succeeded in their plan to eliminate Lord Darnley by using gunpowder to blow up the house in which he stayed at Kirk O' Field on the morning of the 10th of February 1567 (Bowen, 2015:274-275; Fraser, 2010:349-351; Guy, 2005:271).

The rumours started to spread that Mary approved of the murder of her husband, even though she was unaware of the plot (Fraser, 2010:364-365). Since Elizabeth already felt threatened by Mary, who clearly intended to ascend the English throne, the rumours presented Elizabeth with a ruse to ensure that Mary would by no means inherit the English crown. To this end, she appointed Buchanan, with the help of the Earl of Moray, to secretly write the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* as part of a larger pamphlet that could at a later stage provide justification for a rebellion against Mary. Despite the warnings of her advisors, Mary married Lord Bothwell, who now became the Duke of Orkney (Bowen, 2015:313; Fraser, 2010:378) and Lord of Shetland (Guy, 2005:301), on the 15th of May 1567 (Fraser, 2010:379; Zweig, 2011:196). Both Catholics and Protestants alike disapproved of the marriage. In addition to public outrage, their marriage also led to the military expedition of the 26 Scottish peers, known as the Confederate Lords, who turned against Mary and Lord Bothwell (Fraser, 2010:387). Mary and Lord Bothwell confronted the lords at Carberry Hill on the 15th of June 1567 (Guy, 2005:311). There was no battle, since Mary's forces barely stood any chance (Fraser, 2010:389). Defeated, Mary was eventually taken to Edinburgh, where crowds of spectators denounced her as an adulteress and murderer (Bowen, 2015:332; Fraser, 2010:390). This was perhaps a political move to demonstrate Elizabeth's hold over Mary. She was imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle on the following night. Mary, possibly due to immense stress, miscarried twins sometime around the 24th of July 1567 (Fraser, 2010:403; Guy, 2005:330; Weir, 2004:470). Nearly a year after her imprisonment, Mary escaped from Loch Leven Castle on the 2nd of May 1568 with the aid of George Douglas, who was the brother of the castle's owner, Sir William Douglas (Fraser, 2010:394; Zweig, 2011:221). Mary was once more taken into custody at Carlisle Castle on the 18th of May 1568, after attempting to convene with Elizabeth to discuss her rebellious Scottish subjects (Fraser, 2010:459).

A few months after her imprisonment, the infamous Casket Letters, which were the supposed French letters (Bowen, 2015:260) written by Mary and addressed to Lord Bothwell, tied Mary to the murder of her former husband (Fraser, 2010:399, 481). Her name was never explicitly mentioned in any of these letters, and, having been kept out of the public eye, were initially in the Earl of Morton's possession (Fraser, 2010:399). They were only revealed to Mary's commissioners by Mary's brother, the Earl of Moray, on the 7th of December 1568 (Fraser, 2010:481). The tribunal, who oversaw Mary's case, did not find these letters convincing (Fraser, 2010:483), even though they could have potentially added weight to the accusations

against her. The letters were therefore excluded from the conference held in 1568, at which Mary could not be present. The original letters are now believed to have been forgeries, but have been lost or possibly even destroyed (Fraser, 2010:484-486), while only a few copies, some solely in translation, remain. These letters, nonetheless, had a significant impact on Mary's declining reputation; yet her plotting against the English Crown would not cease.

Mary became involved with the Ridolfi Plot, which led to the replacement of Elizabeth with Mary as Queen by means of the combined assistance of the influential English Catholics, the Duke of Alva, and the Duke of Norfolk (Fraser, 2010:520). The plot involved an Anglo-Catholic up-rising, followed by a minute invasion of Spanish troops (Fraser, 2010:520; Weir, 2004:555-556); but it was uncovered and the Duke of Norfolk was swiftly executed (Fraser, 2010:525). In 1584, Mary decided to abandon her schemes to rid herself of Elizabeth and to remain in England (Fraser, 2010:557); yet, in a final attempt to salvage her regal power, Mary planned an "association" – or joint-rule – with her son. Although James VI agreed to the association at first, he abandoned his mother and formed an alliance with Elizabeth to consolidate his plans of becoming the monarch of both Scotland and England (Fraser, 2010:557, 562). Mary, still under house arrest, having now lost the support of many of her allies as well as her only son, would still not relinquish her plots against Elizabeth. Mary was once again arrested in August 1586, after being implicated in the Babington Plot (Fraser, 2010:582, 597; Guy, 2005: 457-458; Weir, 2004:334). The plot was aimed at the outright assassination of Elizabeth, and, although this was an act of treason (Fraser, 2010:608), Elizabeth hesitated in sentencing Mary to death, fearing the potential turmoil that would ensue (Fraser, 2010:609-610). Mary was held captive at Fotheringhay Castle from September 1586, but after a few months of deliberation, Elizabeth finally signed her death warrant on the 1st of February 1587 (Fraser, 2010:604, 636; Zweig, 2011:296).

On the morning of the 8th of February 1587 (Fraser, 2010:640), Mary, the former Queen of Scotland, was dressed in a white cloth with golden embroidery with the help of two of her closest servants, Jane Kennedy (Fraser, 2010:647) and Elizabeth Curie (Zweig, 2011:309). At 8 o'clock she was blindfolded and executed in the Great Hall on a wooden stage, which was covered in black cloth (Fraser, 2010:448). In a gruesome and visceral display, the executioner missed with the first blow, striking the back of her head (Fraser, 2010:648). It was only on the second (Fraser, 2010:648) or third (Zweig, 2011:310) blow that the executioner severed her head from the rest of her body. Mary's final request to be buried in France was not only refused, but completely ignored (Fraser, 2010:654). Her embalmed body was secured in a lead coffin until her burial (Fraser, 2010:651, Guy, 2005:453; Weir, 2004:573). Her burial procession, which included a Protestant service and was held at Peterborough Cathedral in late July 1587, only occurred many months after her execution (Fraser, 2010:657).

George Buchanan

George Buchanan was a Scottish historian, scholar, humanist, and reformer (Erskine & Mason, 2012:1; Macmillan, 1906:18) born in late February 1506 near the river Blane two miles beyond the village of Killearn in Stirlingshire, Scotland (Erskine & Mason, 2012:13; Ford & Green, 2009:xvii; Macmillan, 1906:2). Although not much is known about Buchanan's parents, it is certain that his father was a Celt and Highlander, who died at a relatively young age (Macmillan, 1906:4-5). His mother, Agnes Heriot, was a Teuton and was native to East Lothian (Macmillan, 1906:2, 5). She suffered greatly after her husband's death, since she was left to take care of five sons and three daughters (Macmillan, 1906:5).

Buchanan was a native speaker of Gaelic (Erskine & Mason, 2012:1; Macmillan, 1906:4) and, although no authentic records concerning his early education remain, he is believed to have attended school at either Killearn or Dumbarton (Macmillan, 1906:6). He shared his scholarly passion with one of his brothers, Patrick Buchanan, who passed away at a young age (Macmillan, 1906:6). Buchanan's uncle, James Heriot, was determined to send the 14-year-old George to the University of Paris in order to receive a proper education (Macmillan, 1906:9). It was here that Buchanan came face-to-face with two of the greatest movements that revolutionised modern Europe: The Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation (Erskine & Mason, 2012:1-2; Macmillan, 1906:13). There he, a student of the classics, spent most of his days writing poetry and satirising the clergy (Macmillan, 1906:19-20, 22). Buchanan also had a lively interest in the theatre and even translated Euripides' *Medea* into Latin (Ford & Green, 2009:xxvi).

Buchanan had been studying in Paris for approximately two years, when his studies were suddenly terminated by the unexpected death of his uncle, who had been his only sponsor, and his own ill health (Macmillan, 1906:24). Sick and poor, he returned to Scotland. A year later in 1523 (Ford & Green, 2009:xvii), after he had recovered from his illness, he joined the French auxiliaries in an expedition against the English and even took part in the unsuccessful siege of Wark Castle (Macmillan, 1906:25, 28). Buchanan survived this military expedition, but returned to Cardross, Scotland in a very poor state of health (Macmillan, 1906:28). He spent the rest of that winter recovering and in the following year he was determined to graduate with a BA degree. He eventually entered the University of St Andrews and achieved this goal in 1525 (Macmillan, 1906:34). Following in the footsteps of his teacher, John Major, he was now destined to become a scholar. He received a bursary to study at the Scots College, University of Paris and graduated with an MA in March 1528 (Macmillan, 1906:35, 41). In approximately a year's time, he was appointed as a Regent at one of the newer Colleges at the University, known as St. Barbe (Macmillan, 1906:41). He was elected as the Procurator of the German Nation in June 1529 and was re-elected to the position four successive times. After three years as Regent at the University, he resigned and became tutor to the young Gilbert Kennedy, the 3rd Earl of Cassillis (Ford & Green, 2009:xvii; Macmillan, 1906:50-51), and returned with his charge to Scotland, perhaps in 1534 (Ford & Green, 2009:xvii).

Buchanan was a scholarly man who regularly criticised the Roman Catholic Church and its practices (Macmillan, 1906:57-58). He was known to satirically attack the Roman Catholic Church in his works. He

was later appointed by the Earl of Moray to satirise the Franciscan Order, which James absolutely despised (Macmillan, 1906:65-66). Buchanan was heavily influenced by Classical poets such as Ovid, Lucretius, and Horace (Ford & Green, 2009:xxiii-xxv). His poems, the *Palinodia* and *Franciscanus*, were specifically composed to criticise and annoy the Franciscan Order (Macmillan, 1906:66; Martyn, 1977:135). However, he underestimated their reaction to these poems. The Franciscan Order, who already disliked Buchanan, became even more enraged at his continued attacks (Macmillan, 1906:66). Buchanan eventually became embroiled in a serious dispute with the Church at a time (1539) when many reformers, suspected of Lutheranism, were arrested (Macmillan, 1906:71). Buchanan was unfortunately amongst those who were captured. He managed to cross the border and escape to England and then made his way to France (Macmillan, 1906:72).

When Buchanan reached Paris, he learned that Cardinal Beaton, his arch-enemy, had beaten him there (Macmillan, 1906:73). Fortunately the nephew of his old friend, Jacques de Gouvea, opened a great school of learning in Bordeaux (Macmillan, 1906: 74-75; Martyn, 1977:132-133). Buchanan seized the opportunity and was duly appointed at the new College de Guyenne (Erskine & Mason, 2012:2; Macmillan, 1906:75). He spent three fruitful years at the new school (Macmillan, 1906:75). He mainly spent his time teaching Latin, which was the main subject taught at the school (Macmillan, 1906:76), and also completed some of his greatest works. He eventually left France in 1545 (Ford & Green, 2009:xvii; Macmillan, 1906:92) and in 1547 he headed for Portugal, where his former employer, Andre de Gouvea, invited him to establish a new school in Coimbra (Erskine & Mason, 2012:2; Ford & Green, 2009:xvii; Macmillan, 1906:92). In 1548, a year after his arrival in Portugal, Andre died, and the Jesuits seized control of the University at which the new school had been founded (Macmillan, 1906:93; Robinson, 2008:71). Buchanan was arrested on the 10th of August 1550. He was taken to Lisbon and tried there (Ford & Green, 2009:xviii). The Jesuits charged Buchanan, amongst others, based on fabricated accusations (Macmillan, 1906:93; Robinson, 2008:71-73). Buchanan and his likeminded friends were imprisoned for a lengthy time, but he was eventually set free and requested to return to France (Macmillan, 1906:96). Despite the circumstances and the King's request for him to remain in Lisbon, Buchanan headed for England and then, in either 1552 (Ford & Green, 2009:xviii) or 1553 (Macmillan, 1906:97), he headed back to France.

Buchanan had now been abroad for many years and through the young Earl of Cassillis and James Stewart he had become involved with Mary's family. Since he was related to the Queen's second husband, Lord Darnley, he was welcomed by Mary, now 19 years old, as her new tutor when he finally returned to Scotland in 1561 (Erskine & Mason, 2012:2; Macmillan, 1906:4, 132-136). During this time he was unable to hold any permanent office, and the Queen merely contributed to Buchanan's pension (Macmillan, 1906:138). With the assistance of the Earl of Moray, he was appointed as the Principal of St. Leonard's College at the University of St. Andrews in 1566 (Ford & Green, 2009:xviii; Macmillan, 1906:166). He was also appointed as the tutor of 4 year old James VI in 1570 (Ford & Green, 2009:xviii). When Mary and Elizabeth were at loggerheads, the Earl of Moray appointed Buchanan at the request of Elizabeth to write the *De*

Maria Scotorum Regina. He also presumably assisted in the preparation of the court case against Mary that finally led to her execution.

Buchanan spent the remainder of his years completing his two major works, known as the *De Iure Regni apud Scotos* and the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. He passed away at the age of 75 in his flat in Kennedy's Close in Edinburgh on the 28th of September 1582 (Ford & Green, 2009:xviii; Macmillan, 1906:270-271, 275) and was buried the following day at Greyfriars (Macmillan, 1906:275-276). His legacy lives on through his works and his life is also commemorated by the following memorials: 1) a statue of Buchanan which stands on the west-facing side of the Scott Monument on Princes Street, Edinburgh; 2) a memorial stained glass window in the south wall of Greyfriars Kirk; 3) a bust of Buchanan, which can be found in the Hall of Heroes of the National Wallace Monument in Stirling; and 4) a monument that was erected through public subscription in Killearn, Stirlingshire.

CHAPTER 3: THE DEVELOPMENT AND FEATURES OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE FROM CLASSICAL TO EARLY MODERN TIMES, AND THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

A short history of the Latin language

The Latin language, which derives its name from its place of origin, known as Latium (Janson, 2004:7), has developed significantly over the past two millennia, from its roots as an Indo-European language (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:1), to its application as the primary language in the Roman Empire, its use as the Ecclesiastic vernacular during the Middle Ages, its modern utilisation in scientific terminology, and its revival as a language for acquisition in the 21st century (Septentrionale Americanum Latinitatis Vivae Institutum, 2020). It was first recorded in Italy after borrowing its alphabet from Etruscan, which, in turn, borrowed its alphabet from Greek (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:37, 44). One of the oldest inscriptions of Latin is known as the *Duenos* inscription, which approximately dates to the 6th century BCE (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:110). This inscription was produced in the oldest a form of Latin, known as Old Latin (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:90-91). Old Latin then developed into a standardised form of Latin, known as Roman Latin, which dates to approximately the 3rd and 2nd century BCE (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:130-131). By the 1st century BCE, however, Classical Latin had become the standardised form used across the expanding Roman Republic (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:183).

Latin's Classical period can furthermore be divided into two different ages: The Golden Age (Janson, 2004:26), in which such authors as Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) and Publius Vergilius Maro flourished (70-19 BCE), and the so called Silver Age (Aldrete, 2020), which brought to light such authors as Marcus Valerius Martialis (38/41-102/104 CE) and Gaius Cornelius Tacitus (56-120 CE). The Latin language remained relatively similar between the two ages and only started to deviate in its distinct phonological characteristic, which eventually morphed into what can only be described as quasi-Italian phones during the Medieval and Renaissance Latin period (Fowler, 1937:98-99). These characteristic changes include such phones as the plosive and velar "k" sound, which is acknowledged in the reading of the consonant "c"; while the labial consonant "v" was read as "w", such as the "w" in "work" (Fowler, 1937:99-100, 101). The Classical Latin period came to an end around the 3rd century CE and a new period of Latin, known as Late Latin, emerged (Fowler, 1937:98). This period of Latin, which was distinct from Classical Latin through its style, most notably its word-order (Clackson & Horrocks, 2007:281), was the transitional period between Classical Latin and Medieval Latin, which rose alongside Christianity in and around Europe. Medieval Latin therefore became the preferred language of the Roman Catholic Church (Fowler, 1937:98).

Significant changes in phonology, vocabulary, orthography, and printing or writing style had arisen in the transition between Classical and Medieval Latin. The quasi-Italian characteristics became more prominent

during the Medieval to the Early Modern Latin period. The velar “k” of Classical Latin had become a dental “ch”, like in the word “check”, when the consonant “c” preceded “e”, “i”, “ae”, and “eu” (Fowler, 1937:99-100). The labial “v” developed into the labiodental phone like the “v” in “woven” (Fowler, 1937:101). Other, less common instances of phonological differences do occur, but, for the sake of brevity, will not be discussed. The most prominent differences between Classical and Medieval to Early Modern Latin are however found in the vocabulary, orthography, and printing style.

The vocabulary, orthography, and printing style of Medieval and Early Modern Latin

Any language that has survived for millennia – such as Latin, for example – undergoes significant changes not only in the adoption of new words, but the meaning and spelling of existing words change. Neologisms, not found in Classical Latin, such as *papisticus*, -a, -um and *Archiepiscopus*, *Archiepiscopi*, m. have found their way into Medieval and Early Modern Latin and are commonly used in such texts as the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*.⁸ Many of these newer words relate to the religious practices and institutions of the period. In this case both *papisticus* and *Archiepiscopus* are commonly used in Catholicism. Although the adoption of new vocabulary is a prominent indication of the specific period of the Latin script, there are multiple other indications.

The Medieval Latin orthography of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* is one such indication. One of the most obvious differences between Classical Latin and Medieval Latin is the different spellings of words, especially with regards to vowels (Beeson, 1925:21). In Classical Latin, for instance, one would expect the spelling *ceterus*, -a, -um; however, in Medieval Latin, this would either be spelled as *caeterus*, -a, -um or even – as it is found in the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* – as *coeterus*, -a, -um. The use of either *ae*, *oe*, or *ē* instead of *e* has become synonymous with Medieval Latin (Beeson, 1925:21). This is however not the only case in which the vowels change, since Classical words such as *hiems*, *hiemis* f. and *lacrima*, *lacrimae* f. – as in the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* – are spelled respectively as *hyems*, *hyemis* f. (see **Figure 3.1** (Buchanan, 1571:1) for an example of this spelling) and *lacryma*, *lacrymae* f. The use of *y* instead of *i* in these cases is merely another indication of the period to which the Latin text relates (Beeson, 1925:21), which is then further supported by the shift from *ii* to *ij*.

⁸ A list of all the spelling changes that occur in the new critical Latin edition is included in the addendum.

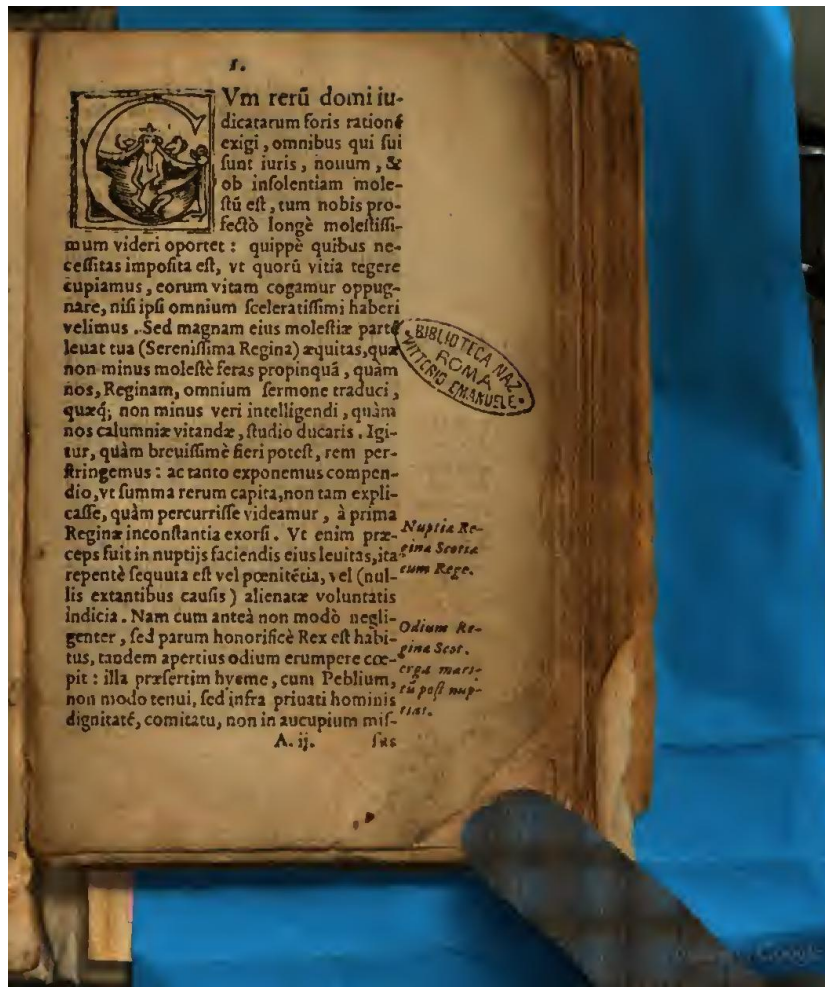


Figure 3.1

The final noteworthy aspect of Latin script during this period is the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*'s printing style. The text contains a plethora of clear indications that pertain to the period (see Figure 3.2 (Buchanan, 1571:2) for the text's printing style), e.g.: 1) the writing of *ct* in Medieval and Early Modern Latin is written as a single consonant, linking the *c* and *t* at the top of both consonants; 2) the use of the ampersand "&" instead of using either *et* or *ac*;⁹ 3) the writing of Esh "*f*" in place of an *s*; 4) the use of a macron "—" above certain letters where the following letter – usually an *m* or an *n* – is omitted (Cappelli, 1982:13-14); and 5) the use of a semi-colon ";" after *-q* or *usq* to replace the Classical *-que* or *usque* (Cappelli, 1982:21). Only the most prominent peculiarities of the text of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* have been mentioned here. Some neologisms and forms that differ from Classical synonyms will be discussed in the footnotes to the critical text.

⁹ All of the ampersands that are found in the first edition of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* have been changed to "et" in the new critical Latin edition.

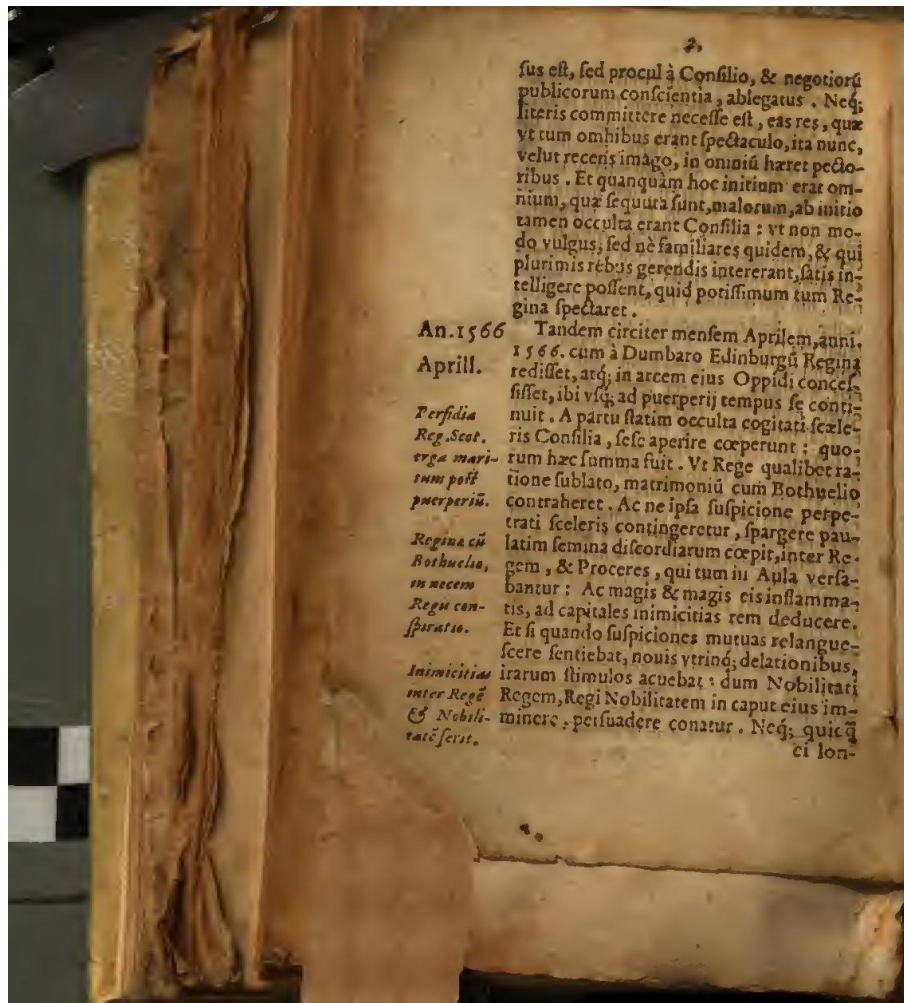


Figure 3.2

The history of the text and the circumstances surrounding its publication

It is not clear exactly when Buchanan produced this text, how long it took him to write it, nor how long the publication process lasted, the only certainty is that it must have occurred some time after 1567 and before its publication in 1571. The writing of the text, which was certainly politically motivated, was initially instigated by Queen Elizabeth of England (Staines, 2009:30-31). She wanted to justify a rebellion against Mary so that Mary would never succeed in her efforts to assume the English throne. Queen Elizabeth decreed that this propaganda fuelled text was not to be published unless she deemed it necessary. Her motive might have been to make it known that Mary was unfit for office and to propose that she was the cause of the religious turbulence in both the Catholic and Protestant sects.

The text was eventually published on the instruction of William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief advisor, perhaps without the English Queen's direct knowledge (Staines, 2009:35). She had, in actual fact, forbidden the importation and printing of any text that included slander against Mary (Staines, 2009:33). Not only did William Cecil instruct that the text be published in violation of the prohibition, but it is probable that he

had edited Buchanan's text before its final publication (Staines, 2009:36). If this is indeed true, the authenticity and originality of the text are jeopardised. In the same year that it was published, William Cecil requested Thomas Wilson to translate the text into Scottish (Staines, 2009:36). The motivation for the translation was certainly to reach a wider audience, especially in Scotland. Moreover, the Scottish parliament to which Mary returned in 1561 had drastically been influenced by the recent Scottish Reformation. The parliament now housed a plethora of Protestants, which not only caused fierce tension within the broader public, but also within the ranks of the parliament itself. Mary, who had remained a devout Catholic, set up a proclamation in the very year of her return which banned Catholic Mass and confirmed that the "Protestant faith should continue as the sole public religion" (Goodare, 2005:55) until the next parliamentary meeting. This parliamentary meeting only took place on the 26th of May 1563, two years after Mary's proclamation (Goodare, 2005:55). This provided ample time for the Protestant religion to gain a firm foothold in Scotland and for the Protestant members of parliament to solidify their demands. Mary, using the potential meeting with Elizabeth in 1562 as an excuse (Goodare, 2005:57), might have purposefully delayed the parliamentary session. In July 1562, Elizabeth drew up her forces against the French during the French civil war, causing yet another postponement. Elizabeth's reaction to the French civil war left Mary torn between the two opposing sides. On the one hand she was intent on strengthening Anglo-Scottish relations and requesting that Elizabeth consider her as her successor (Goodare, 2005:57), while on the other she attempted to maintain strong relations with France. Nevertheless, these events inevitably led to a more turbulent time in Scotland.

Although the circumstances surrounding the publication are shrouded in uncertainty, the circulation of such an incriminating text had the potential to cause further political turmoil in Scotland, England, and France. Whether this was the initial intent of either the author(s) or publisher(s) has become irrelevant. An inexorable political disaster ensued and, despite the evidence that would later exonerate her, both the English nobility and the Scottish peasantry sought not only the demise of a defamed Scottish Queen, but revenge on those who committed these – so called – injustices that were committed in her name.

Other translations

Since the subject matter of this text has been a prominent topic for debate and reference in recent years, it is remarkable that there are not many older – or more recent – translations of this text. Only a handful of translations could be found. One should of course take into consideration that the text later formed part of a larger corpus, and was no longer considered to be a "free-standing" text. The following translations might not be the full extent of those available, but were the only ones accessible at the time of writing. These translations date back from 450 to about 50 years ago, which already indicates that these translations were produced prior to the development of translation theories. Some of these translations, such as the Middle Scots translation, was produced at a time when the literacy in what is now known as the United Kingdom was considered to be of an uncertain standard (Cressy, 1977:1-2). It depended heavily on the availability

of education (Cressy, 1977:1), which was likely controlled by the church. Most of the common folk, especially in Scotland, understood and often communicated in Scottish, but would potentially have little knowledge of either Latin or French.

Buchanan's Latin text, as a whole, was translated into Middle Scots¹⁰ by Thomas Wilson in the very same year of its illegal publication in 1571; yet not only is this translation almost incomprehensible to the modern reader, but it had been politically influenced and ultimately instigated by William Cecil, the 1st Baron Burghley. This was followed a year later by a French translation, which was politically influenced by the English and attributed to the lawyer known as Camuz (Staines, 2009:75). The Middle Scots text was then translated verbatim into English¹¹ in 1689. The primary translation errors of the Middle Scots translation were transferred to the 17th century English translation. A now out-dated English translation by WA Gatherer, based on the Latin text of Thomas Ruddiman's *Georgii Buchanani Omnia Opera*, was finally produced in 1958. The title of this translation is "The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart", a title which certainly suggests bias. The translation is not rooted in any translation theory, does not provide any context to the content of the document or its author, is not furnished with any textual annotations or footnotes, and does not include the original text or any copy.

¹⁰ The title of the entire work is "Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretended mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, main-teineris of the Kingis graces actioun and authoritie" of which the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* is the first part.

¹¹ The English title is: "A detection of the actions of Mary Queen of Scots concerning the murther of her husband, and her conspiracy, adultery, and pretended marriage with the Earl Bothwell and a defence of the true Lords, maintainers of the King's Majesties action and authority"

CHAPTER 4: THE NEW CRITICAL LATIN EDITION

Introduction

The critical Latin edition, on which the modern English translation below is based, does not merely consist of a single text, but has been constructed by collating the copy-text¹² of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, which was published in 1571, with the edited version of the text found in Thomas Ruddiman's *Georgii Buchanani Opera Omnia*, published in 1725.

The following new critical Latin edition therefore consists of a transcription of the Latin text that was published in 1571 with adaptation where Ruddiman's footnotes suggest a motivated alternative reading. The footnotes indicate (1) both variant readings, using the printing dates 1571 and 1725 as reference and, (2) annotations – and analyses – relating to references to and quotations from the works of Classical authors.

Although Buchanan was known to have composed most of his works in Classical Latin (Macmillan, 1906:20), this specific text was written in Early Modern Latin, with some Medieval Latin forms interspersed. This transpires from the vocabulary, orthography, and printing style.

Prooemium¹³

Cum rerum domi iudicatarum foris rationem exigi, omnibus qui sui sunt iuris, novum, et ob insolentiam molestum est, tum nobis profecto longe molestissimum videri oportet: quippe quibus necessitas imposita est, ut quorum vitia tegere cupiamus, eorum vitam cogamur oppugnare, nisi ipsi omnium sceleratissimi haberi velimus. Sed magnam eius molestiae partem levat tua (Serenissima Regina)¹⁴ aequitas, quae non minus moleste feras propinquam, quam nos, Reginam, omnium sermone traduci, quaeque non minus veri intelligendi, quam nos calumniae vitandae, studio ducaris. Igitur, quam brevissime fieri potest, rem perstringemus: ac tanto exponemus compendio, ut summa rerum capita, non tam explicasse, quam percurrisse¹⁵ videamur, a prima Reginae inconstantia exorsi.^a Ut enim praeceps fuit in nuptiis faciendis eius levitas, ita repente secuta est vel paenitentia,¹⁶ vel (nullis extantibus causis) alienatae voluntatis indicia.^b Nam cum antea non modo negligenter, sed parum honorifice Rex est habitus, tandem apertius odium erumpere coepit: illa praesertim hieme, cum Peblum, non modo tenui, sed infra privati hominis dignitatem,

¹² One of the oldest copies of the Latin text that could be found is a first edition of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, published in 1571 and held in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale* in Rome.

¹³ The division into chapters in the 1571 and 1725 versions of the text do not correspond. The 1571 version of the text merely indicates every chapter with an indentation. The 1725 version of the text starts with chapter I and ends with chapter XX. Since the first chapter is clearly an introduction to the text and the final chapter the “Epilogus”, they are indicated as such in this critical text and the chapters in between are numbered from I to IXX

¹⁴ The Prooemium is addressed to Queen Elizabeth (Gatherer, 1958:165).

¹⁵ The verb *percurrisse* alludes to the rhetorical figure of *percursorio* and is used by Classical authors to indicate a “a hasty passing over”, e.g., Cic. Caecin. 94 *id percurram tamen brevi*.

¹⁶ *poenitentia*; 1571 and 1725. The classical form “*paenitentia*” is preferred here.

^a Nuptiae Reginae Scotiae cum Rege.

^b Odium Reginae Scot[orum] erga maritum post nuptias.

comitatu, non in aucupium missus est, sed procul a Consilio, et negotiorum publicorum conscientia, ablegatus. Neque literis committere necesse est, eas res, quae ut tum omnibus erant spectaculo, ita nunc, velut recens imago, in omnium haerent¹⁷ pectoribus. Et quanquam hoc initium erat omnium, quae secuta sunt, malorum, ab initio tamen occulta erant Consilia: ut non modo vulgus, sed ne familiares quidem, et qui plurimis rebus gerendis intererant, satis intellegere possent, quid potissimum tum Regina spectaret.

Capitulum I

Tandem circiter mensem Aprilem, anni 1566,^a cum a Dumbaro Edinburgum Regina rediisset, atque in arcem eius Oppidi concessisset, ibi usque ad puerperii tempus se continuit. A partu statim occulta cogitati sceleris¹⁸ Consilia, sese aperire coeperunt: quorum haec summa fuit. Ut Rege qualibet ratione sublato, matrimonium cum Bothuelio contraheret.^b Ac ne ipsa suspicione¹⁹ perpetrati sceleris contingeretur, spargere paulatim semina discordiarum coepit, inter Regem, et Proceres, qui tum in Aula versabantur:^c Ac magis et magis eis inflammatis, ad capitales inimicitias rem deducere. Et si quando suspiciones mutuas relanguescere sentiebat, novis utrinque delationibus, irarum stimulos acuebat: dum Nobilitati Regem, Regi Nobilitatem in caput eius imminere, persuadere conatur.^d Neque quicquam ei longius videbatur, quam ut res ad manus veniret: incerta enim utros vinci mallet, utriusque partis cladem in lucro sibi ponebat: quippe quae gradum ad id quod intenderat, ita sibi factura videretur. Denique brevi, ita omnium animos mutuis implevit suspicionibus, ut nemo tum genere paulo illustrior in Aula esset, quem non in eam necessitudinem²⁰ induxerit, ut rumores de se fictos, vel turpiter agnoscere, vel cum arguentibus armis contendere, vel domum secedere cogerebatur. Ac ut cetera,²¹ studio ad ipsum causae caput festinandi, omittam, una tamen illius temporis insignis calumnia praetereunda²² non est. Nam cum Rex aliquando ad multam noctem cum Regina collocutus fuisset, eius fere colloquii haec summa fuit: Nobilitatem prope omnem in eius exitium conspirasse, ac rationem inter se inire, qua eum tollere possent. Rege dimisso, Regina Moravium^e fratrem suum (qui Prorex²³ postea fuit) accersit: rem esse atrocem, statim eius praesentia opus esse. Ille e profundo somno excitatus, trepide (veste talari super indusium lineum iniecta) ut erat

¹⁷ *haeret*; 1571. *haerent*; 1725. Ruddiman (1725:65) suggests that this should be *haerent*. He explains: “Ita fere legendum monstrat orationis contextus non (*haeret*) quod habet prima, et, quod sciam unica huius invectivae editio.” “Therefore, the context almost indicates that this should be the reading and not (*haeret*), which is, as far as I know, the reading in solely the first edition.” Since the subject of the sentence is plural, the verb should also be plural. The 1725 reading is therefore adopted.

¹⁸ *scaeleris*; 1571. *sceleris*; 1725. Ruddiman’s (1725:65) Classical Latin spelling of the word, *sceleris*, is the preferred reading.

¹⁹ The 1571 version of the text interchangeably uses *suspit*- and *suspici*-. Ruddiman however corrected this, using *suspici*- throughout. Ruddiman’s correction is preferred.

²⁰ *Necessitudinem*; 1571. Ruddiman (1725:66) suggests *necessitate*, since it is quite often used by Sallust and Tacitus in this sense; however, other authors have very often understood the word to mean *blood relation* or *friendship*.

²¹ *coetera*; 1571 *caetera*; 1725.

²² It is acceptable for a historian to employ terms such as *omittere* and *praeterire*, since the author alone selects the topics that are dealt with. The rhetorical figure of speech employed here is known as *paralepsis*.

²³ Honorary titles are capitalised in both the 1571 and 1725 versions of the text.

seminudus ad eam advolat. Simili prope ibi oratione usa, quali ante ad Regem: quem tanto eius odio flagrare ait, ac tam aegre ferre, quod eum apud se gratiae locum obtineret, ut ipsum cum primum posset, de medio tollere decreverit.^f Ita, quod in ipsa erat, nihil omisit quo minus eos committeret, et procul dubio commisisset, nisi Deus homines innoxios e tam periculosus insidiis eximere, et sceleratam illius nequitiam detegere statuisset.

^f Lites inter comitem Moravium et Regem per Reginam excitatae.

Capitulum II

Cum hic ei conatus frustra fuisset, alia fraude hominem adolescentem, et incautum aggreditur. Eum sollicitat ut, dum uterum ferret, aliquam, e magna copia, adolescentulam deligeret, cuius interea consuetudine uteretur.^a Studium suum, et operam pollicetur, veniam facti spondet: Comitum Moravii uxorem ostendit: non quod lectissimam feminam²⁴ maxime oportunitatem flagitio putaret, sed tres inimicos²⁵ una opera volebat ulcisci: Regem, Comitem, eius uxorem: et locum divortio acquirere, ut vacuum Bothuelio thalamum relinqueret.^b Partu liberata, etsi alios omnes satis comiter accipiebat, quoties Regem, visendi causa, adesse nunciebatur, et ipsa, et comites, vultum, sermonemque ita effingebant, ut nihil magis timere viderentur, quam ne Rex non intelligeret se eis fastidio, adventum, conspectumque eius omnibus ingratis esse. Contra vero Bothuelius unus, omnia poterat: unus consiliis, unus negotiis omnibus praeerat. Adeoque Regina, sui erga illum animi propensionem ab omnibus intelligi volebat, ut si quid ab ea impetrandum foret, nemo, nisi per eum, impetraret. Adeo timebat, ne obscurus erga eum favor esset.

^a Regina lenae munus marito praestat.

^b Insidiosum Reginae consilium.

Capitulum III

Non adeo diu post partum, quodam die, summo mane, cum paucis admodum consociis, ad Portum (quem Novum vocant) descendit: omnibusque mirantibus quo properaret, naviculam ibi praeparatam conscendit. Apparaverant autem eam naviculam, Gulielmus, et Edmundus Blacateri, Leonardus Robertsonus, et Thomas Dicsonus, Bothuelii clientes, et notae rapacitatis piratae.^a Hoc igitur cum Latronum comitatu, stupentibus omnibus bonis, se mari commisit, nemine (ne ex honestioribus quidem ministris) assumpto. In Aloa vero arce, quo Navis appulit, qualiter se gesserit, malo apud se quisque cogitet, quam ex me audiat. Unum illud affirmare audeo, nullam ibi (non dico Regineae maiestatis, sed ne Matronalis quidem modestiae) in omnibus dictis et factis habitam fuisse rationem. Rex audito nec opinato Reginae discessu,

^a Guliel[mus] Blacaterus, Edmundus eius frater, Leonard Robertsonus, [et] Tho[mas] Dicsonus piratae clientes Bothuelii.

²⁴ *foeminam*; 1571 and 1725. This alternative Medieval spelling is here emended to *feminam*. *Femina* could potentially stem from the Ancient Greek *φῆναι*, which could mean, amongst other things, “to produce” or “to give birth”, which perhaps accounts for this variant spelling. The form *foemina* (instead of *femina*) is also preferred by Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) e.g. in the title of his *Declamatio de nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, which was published in 1529.

²⁵ *inimimicos*; 1571. *inimicos*; 1725.

terra, quantum potuit, eam est consecutus.²⁶ ea spe, et consilio, ut una esset, et mutua coniugalis²⁷ officiorum communicatione frueretur. Quam vero amice ab ea fuerit exceptus, et omnes qui aderant norunt, et qui de illis audierunt, meminisse possunt. Vix enim paucis horis (dum ministri, et equi, cibo et quiete reficerentur) concessis, ne quid gravius accideret, discedere est coactus.^b Illa vero, si non regia honorificentia, certe plusquam regia, aut certe parum regia licentia, aliquot ibi dies transegit. Secutae sunt venationes,²⁸ altera ad Magatam fluvium, altera ad Saltum, quem Glenartua vulgo vocant. Ibi quam se morose, quam arroganter, et fastidiose, erga Regem gesserit, quid opus est oratione? res enim in omnium oculis gesta, et memoria consignata est.

^b Reginae erga Regem insolens superbia, et fastidium.

Capitulum IV

Ubi vero Edinburgum rediit, non in suum Palatium, sed in privatam, in proximo Ioannis Balfurii, domum divertit. Illinc in alias Aedes commigravit, ubi Conventus anniversarius, quem Scaccarium vocant, tum habebatur.^a Hae enim aedes erant laxiores, et hortorum aderat amoenitas, et iuxta hortos paene solitudo. Sed erat et aliud, quod omnibus his magis invitaret. Habibat in propinquo David Camerius,^b Bothuelii cliens: cuius posticum erat hortis aedium Reginae propinquum. Per id posticum Bothuelius, quoties libitum erat, commeabat. *Cetera quis nescit?*²⁹ Nam et rem ipsam Regina, cum multis aliis, tum Proregi, et matri eius est confessa: sed culpam in Reresiam,^c profligatae pudicitiae mulierem conferebat, quae inter pellices Bothuelii fuerat, ac tum in intimis Reginae ministris erat. Ab hac (quae aetate inclinata a meretricio quaestu, ad lenonium se contulerat) Regina, ut ipsa dicebat, prodita est. Nam Bothuelius per hortum in Cubiculum Reginae introductus, eam invitam vi compressit.^d Sed quam invitam Reresia prodiderit, tempus veritatis parens ostendit. Nam post paucos dies, Regina vim vi, ut reor, ulcisci cupiens, destinat Reresiam (quae et ipsa vires hominis antea erat experta) quae eum ad se captivum adduceret.^e Regina una cum Margareta Caruodia, omnium secretorum conscia, eam e zona suspensam, per maceriem, in hortum propinquum demittunt. Sed nunquam in re militari omnia sic provideri possunt, ut non aliquid incommodi interveniat. Ecce zona repente frangitur. Reresia, mulier et aetate, et corpore gravis, cum magno strepitu cadit. Sed veterana miles, nihil tenebris, nihil altitudine maceriae, nihil inexpectato casu perterrita, ad Bothuelii cubiculum penetrat: foribus reclusis, hominem e lecto, e complexu coniugis, semisomnum, seminudum, adducit ad Reginam. Hunc rerum gestarum ordinem, non modo maxima pars eorum qui cum Regina erant, sunt fassi, sed et Georgius Daglesius, Bothuelii cubicularius, paulo ante quam poenas luit, denarravit: quae eius confessio in Actis continetur.^f

^a Reginae furtiva itinera.

^b David Camerius Bothuelii cliens.

^c Reresia meretrix, et lena.

^d Reginae cum Bothuelio adulterium.

^e Reresia meretrix Reginae libidinis ministra[ns] clam per zonam dimissa ad Bothuelium mittitur.

^f Fides historiae testimonio confirmata.

²⁶ *consequutus*; 1571. *consecutus*; 1725. Ruddiman's Classical Latin spelling is preferred.

²⁷ *coniugali*; 1571. *coniugalis*; 1725. The 1571 reading is adopted since the adjective *coniugalis* describes the noun *communicatio* and not *officium*. Ruddiman adds: "ita emendavimus, pro (*coniugali*) quod exemplari nostro est editum" ("I have corrected it in this way in stead of *coniugali*, which is the form printed in my copy.")

²⁸ *vaenationes*; 1571. *venationes*; 1725. The Classical Latin spelling which Ruddiman (1725:67) is preferred here.

²⁹ This is a quote from Ovid's *Amores* 1.5.25, "*cetera quis nescit?*". Ovid uses the phrase in a sexual context and Buchanan's quote implies that Mary and Lord Bothwell had regular intercourse.

Capitulum V

Interea Rex propemodum relegatus, iniuriis et miseriis ablegatus, Sterilini se, cum paucis ministris, continebat.^a Quid enim aliud faceret? Ut qui apud Reginam nullum gratiae locum obtineret, sed nec, unde pauculos ministros, et equos aleret, sumptus cottidianus³⁰ haberet: denique, qui iurgiis (ob levissimas nugas) ortis, et quaesitis criminandi causis, abigeretur. Animus tamen eius, in amando obstinatus, prohiberi non poterat, quo minus Edinburgum rediret, ut omni observantiae genere aditum aliquem in pristinum locum gratiae, et vitae coniugalis societatem, impetraret. Qui iterum, per summam contumeliam exclusus, iterum unde venerat revertitur, ut ibi (velut in solitudine) suas deploraret miseras. Non adeo multis, post id, diebus, cum Regina statuisset Iedburgum proficisci, ad Conventus iuridicos habendos, circiter initium Octobris, Bothuelius expeditionem in Liddiam adornat.^b Ibi cum neque pro loco quem obtinebat, neque pro familia et expectatione se gereret, a latrone moribundo vulneratus, in arcem Heremitagium, incerta etiamnum vitae spe, deferitur.^c Id ubi Borthuicum ad Reginam delatum est magnis itineribus, aspera iam tum hieme primum Melrosiam, inde Iedburgum, velut insana, pervolat. Eo etsi certi de eius vita rumores perferebantur, tamen impatiens morae animus, sibi temperare non poterat, quin et flagitiosam libidinem proderet, et alieno anni tempore, spretis viarum difficultatibus, et latronum insidiis,^d se in iter coniceret cum eo comitatu, cui nemo, paulo honestior; suam vitam aut fortunas committere auderet. Inde Iedburgum³¹ iterum reversa, summo studio et diligentia, ad Bothuelium eo transferendum, omnia confert et comparat. Eoque illuc traducto, eorum convictus et consuetudo, parum ex utriusque dignitate fuit.^e Ibi, sive ob nocturnos, diurnosque labores, ipsis parum decoros, vulgo infames, sive occulta aliqua Numinis providentia, Regina in morbum adeo saevum, et exitiabilem incidit, ut nulla prope spes de eius vita cuiquam superesset.^f

^a Rex a Regina spretus reiectus et exclusus.

^b Octob[ri mense].

^c Bothuelius a Latrone vulneratus de vita periclitatur.

^d Reginae libido morae impatiens.

^e Reginae erga Bothuelium amor et studium.

^f Reginae morbo letaliter laborat.

Capitulum VI

Id Rex ubi rescivit, maximis itineribus Iedburgum contendit, ut Reginam inviseret, languentem solaretur, et quibus posset officiis, suum animum, et studium ei gratificandi testaretur.^a Advenienti vero tantum abest, ut hospitium victusque (quod mediocribus etiam hominibus fieri solet) apparatus sit, ut ne ullum quidem amici animi indicium senserit. Illud vero barbarae inhumanitatis fuit, quod nobilibus, omnibusque qui aderant aulae ministris interdictum est, ne quis advenienti assurgeret, hospitio cederet, vel ad se, in unam saltem noctem, reciperet. Cum vero Moravii (qui postea Prorex fuit) Reginae suspecta esset humanitas, agit cum uxore eius, ut propere domum redeat, morbumque simulet, ac statim decumbat, ut saltem hoc praetextu Rex excluderetur, per occasionem adversae valetudinis. Ibi cum omnibus humanitatis officiis destitueretur,

³⁰ Cotidianus: 1571 and 1725. The standard Classical spelling is *cottidianus*. Elsewhere in this text the variant *quotidie* and *quotidianus* is used. These inconsistencies potentially stem from the fact that William Cecil had the opportunity to make changes to the text before its publication.

³¹ *Ieburgum*; 1571. *Iedbergum*; 1725.

^b Reginae plus quam Scythicae inhumanitas.

^c Foeda et aperta Reginae adulteria.

postridie in antiquam solitudinem cum summo animi maerore, revertitur.^b Interim dum Rex in illa omnium et rerum, et amicorum inopia, vix precarium invenit gurgustium,³² Bothuelius ex aedibus, ubi antea diversabatur, velut de Rege triumphans, per ora vulgi in hospitium Reginae transfertur in cenaculum inferius, sub eo in quo Regina decumbebat. Ibi cum adhuc laborarent, illa e morbo, ille ex vulnere, Regina, in summa corporis infirmitate, tamen eum cottidie invisebat. Et cum uterque paululum convaluissent, nondum satis firmis viribus, ad consuetam redierunt palaestram: idque adeo aperte, ut nihil magis timere viderentur, quam ne ignota esset sua nequitia.^c

Capitulum VII

^a Nonae Novemb[re].

^b Regina liberationem expetit a Rege.

^c Reresia Reginae nuntia iterum emittitur.

^d Novemb[ri] mense].

^e Regina sub consanguinitatis praetextu regi intendit actionem divortii.

^f Consilium de occidendo Rege agitat Regina.

Circa Nonas Novembres cum Iedburgo in vicum, nomine Calco transisset, ibi Literas a Rege accepit.^a Quas cum legisset coram Prorege, Comite Huntleio, et Secretario, vultu tristi, miserabiliter se crucians, ac si in pristinum esset recasura morbum, plane ac diserte pronunciavit, nisi aliqua ratione a Rege liberaretur, vitam sibi nullo modo fore vitalem.^b Ac si alia ratione non posset, potius quam in illis molestiis viveret, sese sibi manum illaturam. Proximis deinde diebus, dum per Merciam rediens, apud Coldingamiam commoratur, Reresia, dum per excubias transit, agnita, ac dimissa est.^c Quos autem habuerit comites, aut quo id noctis iret, Reginae non est ignotum. Inde cum circiter finem Nouembris, venisset ad Cragmillarium (ea arx ad duo passuum milia distat ab Edinburgo)^d ibi praesentibus Comitibus Moraviae (qui postea Prorex, nunc et ipse occisus est) Huntleiae, et Argatheliae, et Secretario, in superioris temporis incidit orationem: ac rationem etiam qua id fieret, ut sibi videbatur, commodissimam subiecit.^e Ut videlicet litem de divortio adversus Regem intenderet: neque dubitabat, quin id facile fieri posset: cum eo consanguinitatis essent gradu, qui iure Pontificio vetitus esset matrimonium contrahentibus: literis (quod facile erat) de medio sublatis, quibus ea lege solverentur. Hic cum quidam Scrupulum iniecisset, id si ita transigeretur, eorum filium spurium fore, quippe qui extra matrimonium natus esset, praesertim cum neuter parentum causas, quae irrita facerent matrimonia ignoraret. Id responsum, cum paulum in animo secum versasset, ac sciret verum dici, et consilium de filio tollendo aperire non auderet, propositum de divortio abiecit: nec tamen unquam ab eo die Regis perimendi consilium omisit, uti ex hiis quae sunt secuta, facile intelligi potest.^f

Capitulum VIII

Rex Sterelino ad Cragmillarium reversus, cum existimaret eam placabiliorem erga se fore, iracundia paulum spatio temporis mitigata, adeo nullum animi mutati sensit indicium, ut nihil ei in cottidianos vitae usus, nisi

³² “i.e. interpretante Festo, *genus habitationis angustum, a gurgulione* verme dictum. Dacierius tamen a *gurgite* petius deductum putat, quasi *gurgistium*. Servio *taberna obscura et latens* dictur. Cic. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.” (Ruddiman, 1725:68). Ruddiman adds the interpretations of other editors for *gurgusium*: Festus thinks it is from *gurgulio* (“a windpipe”) and therefore “a narrow dwelling like that of a worm”; and Dacierus traces it to *gorges* (“an abyss”). Ruddiman himself prefers the meaning Cicero attaches to the word in his *De Natura Deorum*, which is that of “a dark and concealed shed.”

^a Decemb[ri mense].

^b Baptismus filii e Regina nati.

^c Studium Reginae in ornando Bothuelio.

^d Regina ornamentis et suppellectile Regem spoliat.

^e Hae pustularum eruptiones facile veneni suspicionem arguunt.

Sterelini maneret, erogaretur. Quae res vehementer auxit pronam sua sponte vulgi suspicionem de cottidiana Reginae cum Bothuelio consuetudine.^a Sub initium fere Decembris, cum Legati venissent e Galia et Anglia ad Baptismum eius, qui nunc Rex est,^b celebrandum, hic ut Bothuelius inter Proceres conspicuus esset, ipsa, partim ei ad vestimenta coemenda, pecuniam erogabat, partim de Mercatoribus emebat: omnibusque conficiendis tanta diligentia praeerat, quam si, non dico uxor, sed ne ancilla quidem foret.^c Interea legitimus eius maritus, in filii Baptismo, non modo subsidio eius ad sumptus faciendos destitutus, sed in conspectum Legatorum prodire vetitus, ministri cottidiani ei detracti: Nobilitas tota sequi, observare, ac propemodum agnoscere prohibiti: Legati exteri moniti, ne cum eo colloquerentur: cum interea maiorem diei partem omnes in eadem arce diversarentur. Homo adolescens ita contemptim et inhumaniter habitus sic animum despondit, ut Sterilino relicto, Glascuam ad patrem proficisceretur, discedentem Regina solito prosequitur odio. Vasa argentea, quibus a nuptiis ad eum usque diem usus erat, aufert universa, ac Stannea supponit.^d Sed hoc ad contemptum pertinuerit. Quae secuta sunt, inhumanae feritatis, et implacabilis odii manifesta sunt argumenta. Ante quam mille passus Sterilino abesset, tam vehemens dolor simul omnes corporis partes afflixit, ut facile appareret non a vi alicuius morbi, sed ab humana fraude id profectum. Cuius fraudis indices liventes pustulae, cum Glascuam venisset, toto corpore eruperunt, tanto cum dolore, et omnium partium vexatione, ut exigua vitae spe duceret spiritum: cum interim Regina ne Medicum quidem eum adire sit passa.^e

Capitulum IX

^a Comes Bedfordiae Reg[inae] Angliae in Scotia Legatus.

^b Reginae et Bothuelii fucata consilia, et furtivi congressus.

Ceremoniis Baptismi peractis, egit cum fratre Moravio, ut quando Comitem Bedfordiae,^a Reginae Anglorum Legatum, ad fanum Andreae deducturus esset, a Bothuelio peteret ut is quoque una proficisceretur. Qui liberaliter quidem promisit: etsi et ipse, et Regina illius commenti author, nihil minus cogitaret: quod et eventus facile ostendit.^b Nam simul atque Rex Glascuam, alii fanum Andreae versus profecti sunt, ipsa cum Bothuelio suo ad Drumenum abiit, inde Tilebarnium. Quibus in domibus circiter octo dies transegerunt ita in cunctis cenaculis, et familiari accessu, ut omnes (praeter ipsos tam proiectedi pudoris) contemptus³³ et neglectae famae vilitas vehementer offenderet: cum iam ne velum quidem suae nequitiae eos obtendere viderent.

³³ Ruddiman suggests that the sentence should be understood as follows: *ut omnes (praeter ipsos) tam proiectedi pudoris contem[p]tus et n[eg]lectae f[am]ae v[il]itas v[eh]ementer o[ff]enderet.*” (Ruddiman, 1725:70). Although Ruddiman’s suggestion implies a subtle nuance in the reading of the text, the modern English translation remains faithful to the original 1751 copy of the text.

Capitulum X

Cum sub initium Ianuarii Sterilinum rediissent,^a Regina coepit causari aedes, in quibus filius educabatur, incommodas, quod in locis frigidis et humidis, puero a pituita esset periculum. Sed facile apparebit,³⁴ alio animo id fieri: cum et omnia quae causabatur vitia ab illius aedibus abessent, et in eis, quo puer ducebatur, adessent: utpote in loco humili et etiam palustri sitis.³⁵ Puer igitur vix septimum ingressus mensem, aspera hieme,³⁶ Edinburgum ducitur. Ibi, quoniam primus conatus parum successerat, et veneni vis naturali corporis firmitate, victa erat, ut aliquando pareret quod tam diu parturierat, nova de caede³⁷ Regis init consilia.^b Ipsa Glascuam proficiscitur: causa itineris praetenditur, ut Regem vivum inviseret, cuius toto mense superiore, mortem expectaverit. Quae autem vera fuerit illius profectionis causa, facile ex literis eius ad Bothuelium, quivis intellegat.³⁸ Iam segura de filio, quem in potestate habebat, tota in mariti exitium imminens, it Glascuam, comitata Hamiltoniis ac aliis paternis Regis inimicis. Bothuelius, ut convenerat, quae ad scelus perpetrandum visa sunt commoda apparat: In primis aedes neque commodas aegroto, neque Regi decoras (erant enim lacerae, ac ruinosae) ut in quibus nemo aliquot annis habitaverat:^c loco infrequenti, inter duorum Templorum ruinas, circum pauca pauperum mendicabula. Et ne ulla scaeleris patrandi commoditas abesset, posticum in muro urbis aedibus coniuncto aperitur, ut in agros etiam essent perviae. In loco eligendo, salubritatis rationem habitam videri volebat: id quoque ne finxisse videretur, ipsa biduo eo, quod caedis diem praecesserat, in cenaculo inferiore sub Regis cubiculo pernoctavit: ac velut sedulo suspiciones ab se amoliebatur, ita caedis ministerium aliis libenter delegari volebat.

^a An[ni] 1567
Ianuar[io].

^b Regina filii
vitam veneno
petit.

^c De tollende
Rege via
preastruitur a
Regina et
Bothuelio.

Capitulum XI

Triduo fere priusquam Rex interiit, Robertum fratrem suum cum eo committere tentavit: uter eorum periisset, pro lucro habitura. Pro semine discordiarum, Regina, sermonis quem Rex secum de fratre habuisset mentionem iniecit. Et cum uterque ita disserteret, ut alterum videretur arguere mendacii, tandem a verbis paene ad ferrum deventum est.^a Sed cum uterque iam manum capulo admoveret, Regina velut metuens ne fieret, quod expetebat, Moravium alterum fratrem advocat: vt illi quoque vel praesentia exitium, vel in posterum crimen strueret. Cum illac res non succederet ex sententia, aliam derivandi criminis rationem commenta est. Moravius cum abesset ab Aula libenter, cum etiam iustam absentiae excusationem haberet, quod uxor partui vicina, gravi praeterea morbo laborabat:^b Interea, cum a Duce Sabaudiae Legatus adesset, is color visus est Reginae idoneus, ut fratrem accerseret. Vera autem revocandi eius causa erat, quod in eum, et Mortonii Comitem, caedem Regis transferre volebat. Et eadem opera homines populares,

^a Atrox simultas
inter Regem et
Robertum
Reginae fratrem
per Reginam
excitata.

^b Moravius
Secessionem ab
aula facit.

³⁴ *apparebit*; 1571. *apparebat*; 1725. Ruddiman (Ruddiman, 1725:71) suggests that the verb should be in the imperfective tense and refers the reader to [Plin. Nat.] Hist. Lib. 18. [Cap.] 7. The reading, however, remains faithful to the original.

³⁵ For a similar use of the phrase, see Pliny Natural History 11.40.116.

³⁶ *hyeme*; 1571. *hieme*; 1725. The latter is the Classical spelling.

³⁷ *coede*; 1571. *caede*; 1725 Ruddiman's (1725:71) Classical Latin spelling is preferred.

³⁸ *intelligat*; 1571 and 1725. The spelling in both the 1571 and 1725 texts is Medieval (Niermeyer, 1976:587).

et tyrannidem molienti adversarios tolli volebat. Sed Moravio divina clementia, quae saepe antea plurimis inimicorum eum insidiis liberaverat, tum quoque manifeste affuit. Nam die dominico, qui nonus erat Februarii,^c cum in templum ad Concionem iret, literae ad eum afferuntur, uxorem abortum fecisse, ac in exigua spe vitae animam ducere. Hoc nuncio repentino percussus, cum a Regina Comeatum peteret, ea respondit, si res ita se habeat, supervacuum fore laborem itineris, ut qui nihil aegrotae profuturus esset. Sed cum ille vehementius urgeret, illa contra petit ab eo, ut ea tantum nocte maneret, postridie ad uxorem abiret. Sed divina (ut saepe alias) clementia, hominem innocentem et praesenti periculo subtrahit, et calumniarum in posterum semina sustulit.^d Quamquam, ne sic quidem, etsi suspicionum causae aberant, calumnia caruit. Nam Huntleius et Bothuelius, cum vere non possent, sparsis Libellis famosis, maculam foedissimi sceleris ei aspergere conati sunt: et cum caedes post mediam noctem esset perpetrata, antequam illucesceret, per idoneos homines, rumores per Angliam disseminarunt, qui caedis authores Moravium, et Mortonium perferrent.^e Sed is rumor, luce veritatis oborta, ut falsa fere solent, confestim evanuit.

^c Februar[io mense].

^d Moravius revocatus ac dei beneficio a perpetratae caedis omni liberatus suspicione.

^e Huntleius et Bothuelius caedis Regis Moravium et Mortonium falso insimulant.

Capitulum XII

Omnibus rebus ad crudele facinus apparatis, occasionibus autem derivandi criminis praecisis, veriti populares³⁹ coniurationis ne mora, aut impedimentum afferret, aut occulta consilia nudaret, properandum statuunt.^a Regina igitur postquam cenavisset, de more, ad Regis diversorium conscendit. Ibi cum nihil omittere statuisset, quod reconciliati amoris indicium fore videretur, aliquot horas cum eo transegit, vultu et sermone magis familiari, quam superioribus sex aut septem mensibus consueverat.^b Adventu Paridis,^c colloquium dirimit, ac reditum adornat. Erat autem Paris iuvenis, natione Gallus, qui in familiis Bothuelii, Setoni, ac deinde Reginae, aliquot annis vixisset. Is, cum ceterae diversorii claves penes Regis ministros essent, confictis causis, neque satis iustis, nec idoneis, claves anterioris ianuae, et posticae,⁴⁰ a Bothuelio retentas custodiebat. Huic summa erat secretorum inter Bothuelium, et Reginam fides. Eius adventus, indicium (ut convenerat) erat, omnia ad facinus apparata. Eo igitur conspecto, Regina statim assurgit, atque aliam abundi causam simulans, “Ego,” inquit, “in Sebastianum vehementer deliqui, quae in nuptiis eius hodie personata non affuerim.” Erat is Sebastianus, Avernus⁴¹ genere, homo, et ob psallendi peritiam, et Sales, Reginae admodum gratus, et eo ipso die uxorem duxerat. Rege propemodum solo in solitudine illa relicto, Regina discedit, Comitibus Argathaeliae, Huntleiae, et Casilissae eam deducentibus. Reversa in cubiculum, post mediam noctem satis longo sermone cum Bothuelio collocuta, cum vir nemo, praeter custodum corporis praefectum, adesset.^d Hoc quoque secedente, Bothuelius sine arbitris relictus, paulo post in suum cubiculum recedit: vestem, ne ab obuiis agnosceretur, commutat: penulam laxiorem, qualis

^a Bothuelius penulatus per excubias ad caedem Regis proficiscitur.

^b Regina quo modo se gerit ante necem Regis.

^c Paris, Gallus minister coniurationis et socius.

^d Nocturna colloquia Reginae cum Bothuelio ante Regis interitum.

³⁹ *popularis*; 1571. *populares*; 1725. The 1725 reading implies ‘sharing of knowledge’ (*conscii*) or “partaking” (*participes*). Ruddiman refers the reader to a similar context and meaning in Sallust (Catil. Cap. 24. Et Cap. 52.)

⁴⁰ Ruddiman (1725:25) suggests the insertion of *ianuae* to agree with *posticae*, since he cannot find *postica* used as a noun; but he doubts whether this was the proper Latin idiom, since, as far as he knows, the word *ianuam* was always used to refer to “front doors” of houses.

⁴¹ *Avernus*; 1571. *Arvernus*; 1725. Ruddiman (1725:72) suggests *Arvernus* as used by Caesar and other ancient authors although Vergil prefers *Avernus* (Verg. A. 9.118, 126, 201, and 564) to *Arvernus*.

Germanorum equitum est, superinduit, et ad destinatum scelus, per excubias, progreditur.^e Quae autem fuerit facinoris conficiendi tota ratio, ex eorum confessionibus, qui eo nomine poenas luerunt, facile intelligi potest.

Capitulum XIII

Peracto, cuius causa profectus erat, facinore, Bothuelius redit: ac tanquam omnium quae gesta erant, ignarus, it cubitum. Regina interea exitus expectatione suspensa, mirum quam (ut ipsi videbatur) venuste suas partes egit. Nam nec ad fragorem ruentium aedium, qui totam urbem concusserat, quicquam commota, nec ad vulgi, quae secuta est, trepidationem, dissonosque clamores (nihil enim opinor ei novum acciderat) donec Bothuelius iterum e lecto, trepidum se simulans, assurgit, et ad eam una cum Comitibus Argathaeliae, Huntleiae, et Atholiae, item cum uxoribus Comitum Atholiae, et Marriae, et Secretario, adierunt. Ibi dum prodigiosum facinus narratur, dum pro se quisque factum miratur, Regis diversorium ab imis usque fundamentis in aera sublatum, Regem ipsum mortuum.^a In illo maximo stupore et trepidatione omnium ordinum, animus ille heroicus Reginae adeo non in humiles lamentationes, et indecoras regio nomini, sanguini, ordini, lacrimas se proiecit, ut priorum temporum omnem constantiae fidem, vel aequarit, vel superarit. Illud quoque ab eadem animi magnitudine profectum, quod maiorem eorum, qui aderant, partem exploratum rei gestae ordinem mittit, stationes militum sequi iubet. Ipsa deinde se ad quietem componit, vultu adeo tranquillo, atque animo imperturbato, ut ad meridiem usque diei insequentis, placide conquieverit.^b Sed ne omnis humanitatis expers in mariti morte videretur, paulatim⁴² tandem clauditur, luctus brevi finiendus indicitur. Vulgus, incertum lugeat an rideat, in diversas cogitationes distrahitur: cum iuxta periculosum esset, simulationem aulicam vel agnoscendo, palam contemnere, vel male simulando, videri agnoscere. Cum alius aliorum sermo, pro cuiusque captu, et ingenio, esset: de quaestione interim decernenda nulla fit mentio. Tandem, postridie, paulo post meridiem, cum et pudor, et timor eos cogeret, princeps author facinoris Bothuelius, cum aliquot consciis, conveniunt ad Comitem Argathaeliae, quod is rerum capitalium perpetuus quaestor esset. Primum, tanquam omnium quae gesta erant ignari, rem novam, antea inauditam, incredibilem mirantur. Deinde quaestioni paulum vacare incipiunt:^c pauperculus aliquot e vicina mulierculas convocat. Quae incertae utrum expediret magis, loqui, an tacere, etsi sermonem temperarent, tamen cum plus effutivissent, quam expectabant iudices, tanquam temere locutae dimittuntur. Earum enim testimonia, etsi quosdam urebant, facile erat contemnere. Accersuntur domestici Regis, quos ea calamitas non absumpserat: negant claves in sua potestate fuisse. Quis igitur eas habebat? Aiebant Reginam. Differtur quaestio in speciem, re vera supprimitur: ne si longius progredierentur, aulae secreta in vulgus prodirent.

^a Cubiculum Regis pulvere sulphureo a fundamentis concussum.

^b Regina quo animo quo vultu et gestu mortem mariti accepit.

^c De morte Regis vix ulla quaestio aut persuestigatio decernitur.

⁴² *paulatim*; 1571 *paullatim*; 1725. Rudiman (1725:73) argues for *paullatim* since the meaning is not certain and he does not have access to Buchanan's first edition in which the word was perhaps *Palatium* (one of the seven hills of Rome on which many famous Romans had their houses). He blames the scribes for the corruption of the word. The Lewis and Short Latin Dictionary indicates both spellings (Lewis & Short, 1891:1317). The reading remains faithful to the 1571 text.

Capitulum XIV

^a Iudicium simulatis edictis fucatum.

^b Libellis et picturis sceleris autores notati.

^c Vulgi rumores contra Reginam, et Bothuelium passim dissipati.

^d Suum edictum contra picturas, et Bothuelii calumniatores.

Ne tamen res neglecta videretur, proponitur Edictum, praemia decernuntur indicibus.^{43a} Sed quis auderet Reginam, aut (quod paene periculosius erat) Bothuelium arguere tam nefandi facinoris? praesertim cum ipse idem auctor, iudex, quaesitor poenae exactor esset futurus. Hic tamen metus, qui singulorum ora comprimebat, universos continere non poterat. Nam et libellis propositis, et picturis, et nocturnis per tenebras clamoribus effectum est, ut facinoris auctores facile intelligerent arcana sua illa in vulgus prodiisse.^b Et cum nemo dubitaret qui scelus designassent, qui operas contulissent, quanto magis ipsi sua nomina suppressere conabantur, tanto magis vulgi dolor inhibitus erumpebat. Haec etsi se contemnere simulabant, tamen interdum eos adeo ad vivum rumores stimulabant, ut suum dolorem dissimulare nequirent.^c Itaque antiquata de morte Regis quaestione, subit altera, multo acrior, adversus libellorum auctores, et Bothuelii (ut ipsi dicebant) calumniatores.^d Quae adeo⁴⁴ severe exercebatur,⁴⁵ ut neque pecuniae, nec hominum, nec equorum labori parceretur. Pictores omnes convocantur: qui scripturam facerent ad unum accersuntur, uti de picturis et libellis propositis,⁴⁶ iudicarent.⁴⁷ Ac nisi pictor quidam se eum esse, de cuius opere contenderetur, professus fuisset ultro, alter innocens, levi suspitione attactus, poenas daturus erat. Additur quaestioni conveniens Edictum, quo, non proponere modo, sed propositum ab alio legisse, capitale erat. Sed nec isti, qui capitalis poenae comminatione sermones vulgi compescere studebant, saevissima Regis morte satiati, odium erga mortuum remittebant. Bona defuncti, arma, equos, vestes, reliquamque suppellectilem⁴⁸ Regina, aut eius interfectoribus, aut paternis inimicis (non secus ac si in fiscum relata fuissent) divisit: paternosque eius subditos, velut praediae accessionem, paene ad extremam redegit inopiam.

⁴³ *iudicibus*; 1571 *indicibus*; 1725. Ruddiman (1725:74) prefers *indicibus* in stead of *iudicibus*. He states: “Male libro nostro *iudicibus* scribitur. Vide [Plin. Nat.] Hist. Lib. 18. Cap. 20.” Ruddiman’s reading is therefore preferred.

⁴⁴ *aedeo*; 1571 *adeo*; 1725. Ruddiman’s Classical Latin spelling is preferred.

⁴⁵ *exercebantur*; 1571. *exercebatur*; 1725. Since *quae* refers back to *quaestione*, which is singular, the verb (*exercebatur*) should also be singular in number. Ruddiman (1725:74) refers the reader to Pliny [Plin. Nat.] Hist. Lib. 18. Cap. 21.

⁴⁶ Ruddiman (1725:74) here refers to the Classical authors, Cicero, Seneca, and Ulpian, who mention such published papers or proclamations that were set up in the forum or other public places, but he thinks that in this case the translator mistakenly understood that *libelli* referred to such pamphlets in stead of printed books.

⁴⁷ *iudicarent*; 1571 *indicarent*; 1725. With reference to Pliny’s Natural History, [Plin. Nat.] Hist. Lib. 18. Cap. 21, Ruddiman (1725:74) argues for *indicarent* (“reveal; give evidence against”) in stead of *iudicarent* (“judge”), which is the reading of the first edition and is preferred here.

⁴⁸ *suppellectilem*; 1571. *supellectilem*; 1725. Since *suppellectilem* seems to be a misspelling, Ruddiman’s correction is adopted.

Capitulum XV

Illud vero crudelitatis novum, et inauditum fuit exemplum, quod velut animum supplicio, ita oculos spectaculo trucidati corporis, pascere voluit.^a Spectavit enim, non modo secura, sed etiam avide, corpus omnium huius aetatis pulcherrimum. Deinde repente, sine ullo funeris honore, nocte per Baiulos, vili feretro, prope Davidem Rizium sepeliendum curavit.^b Haec cum omnibus nota essent, et minas poenarum populi indignatio, dolendi libertas metum vicisset, paulatim domi vultum fingere, et simulatione luctus, populi offensi animum placare conatur. Nam cum in more esset, a priscis usque temporibus, ut Reginae post maritorum obitum, quadraginta dies non modo coetu⁴⁹ hominum, sed lucis etiam abstinerent aspectu, simulatum quidem luctum est aggressa:^c sed animi superante laetitia, foribus quidem clausis, fenestras aperit: et abiecta lugubri veste, intra quartum diem solem, caelumque aspicere sustinuit. Illud incommode prorsus evenit, quod cum Henricus Kilgreus, ab Anglorum Regina ad eam consolandam (ut mos est) venisset, tota simulationis scaena ab homine peregrino detecta est. Nam cum, Reginae iussu, in Palatium venisset, quanquam homo diu in aulis principum versatus, ac minime praeceps nihil properanter ageret: tamen adeo inopportune, theatro non dum ornato, intervenit, ut fenestras apertas, lumina vix dum accensa, ceterum histrionicum apparatus disiectum deprehenderit.⁵⁰ E quadraginta vero diebus, qui legitimi sunt luctui, duodecim aegre, ac non plene transactis, cum nec simulatio procederet, et affectus veros tam cito prodere puderet, tandem, confirmato animo, contemptis huiusmodi nugis, ad se redit, ac veros mores profitetur. Ad Setonum cum paucis, nec iis adeo maestis comitibus, advolat. Ibi Bothuelius, quanquam summa, qua tum erat in Aula gratia, et maiorum nobilitas, et honores postulare viderentur, ut splendidissime, secundum Reginam, acciperetur, tamen proximum Culinae cubiculum ei datur:^d neque tamen omnino incommodum ad luctus minuendos: erat enim Reginae cubiculo subiectum, et si quid repentini doloris accidisset, scalae erant angustae quidem illae, sed quae aditum tamen Bothuelio ad eam consolandam praeberent.

Capitulum XVI

Interea rumore in Galliam perlato, Crocus (qui saepe antea in Scotia Legationibus erat perfunctus) intervenit, quanquam omnino incommode. Eius suasu, ex illo, etiam in Gallia infami latibulo, Edinburgum reditur. Sed apud Setonium⁵¹ tot commoditates habebat, ut vel cum famae dispendio, eo redeundum esset: ibi consilia, magnis Regni de rebus, aguntur. Omnis autem consultationis illud caput erat, ut Bothuelius coedis reus ageretur, ac per coactos ad id iudices, purgaretur. Leviores iudicum gratia et pollicitationibus: graviores, quos ad speciem addi oportebat, metu ad eum absolvendum posse adduci. Nam praeter Libellos

⁴⁹ *caetu*; 1571. *coetu*; 1725.

⁵⁰ *apprehenderit*; 1571. *deprehenderit*; 1725. Ruddiman (1725:75) has no doubt that the reading *deprehenderit* should be opted for.

⁵¹ *Setonium*; 1571. *Setonium*; 1725. Ruddiman (1725:75) refers to Plin. Nat. Hist. Book 18, Chapter 20 where the context is similar yet the words (*apud*) and (*vel*) are omitted. Ruddiman's argument is convincing, and his reading is adopted.

^a Comes
Leninae Regis
pater
Bothuelium
Regis caedis
reum peragit.

^b April[is
mense].

^c Iudicium de
caede nullo
ordine, nulla
servata iuris
forma
tumultuaria
festinatione
contra
Bothuelium
instituitur.

passim sparsos, et Regis pater, Leninae Comes, eum palam coedis authorem deferebat.^a Sed instabat ordinum conventus ad 13. Aprilis: ante quem diem iudicium peragi volebant. Ea festinatio in causa fuit, ut nihil iure, nihil ordine, nihil more maiorum, in eo iudicio fieret. Accusatores de more citari debebant, proximi, uxor, pater, filius:^b ut vel ipsi adessent, vel procuratores mitterent: legitimi erant quadraginta dies: pater adesse ante 13. diem iussus, idque sine amicorum advocacy, cum sua tantum familia, quae, in summa eius inopia, ad paucissimos erat redacta: Cum interea Bothuelius cum magnis agminibus tota urbe volitaret. Et quia neminem, tam certo periculo proposito, putabat accusationi subscripturum (tanta erat apud eum negligentia, tantus legum, et iudiciorum contemptus) ut constitueretur iudicium de caede, quae nono die facta diceretur, cum decimo Februarii Rex fuisset interemptus.^c In iudicium lectione, et reiectione, eadem fuit severitas: a Sicariis ipsis iudices lecti, cum nemo esset, qui reiiceret.^d

^d In iudiciis
constituendis
nullus
habitus
delectus, nec
permissa
reiectio.

Capitulum XVII

^a Comes
Cassilissae.

^b Protestatio
contra
iudicium.

^c Protestatio
iudicium.

^d Bothelius in
iudicio
absolvitur, ubi
nemo accusare
audet.

^e Bothelius in
causae
defensionem ad
monomachiam
provocat.

Comes Cassilissae,^a cum mulctam, de more,olvere mallet, quam iudex legi, neque Reginae roganti, minantique, et annulum, ad fidem faciendam et precum et minarum mittenti, pareret; metu tandem relegationis, et poenae coactus, de sententia discessit. Sedent iudices non lecti ad decernendum, sed selecti ad absolvendum: agitur causa sine adversario: iudicium capitis, in quo nemo accusat, nisi a reo suppositus: ut non in foro causam, sed in Theatro fabulam agi putares. In tanta rerum securitate (videte quaeso quantum valeat in utramque partem conscientiae testimonium) prodiit derepente, ex inopinato, Iuvenis e familia Comitum Leninae, apud quem officii ratio vicit metum periculi. Is protestatur eum consessum iudicium non esse: quippe in quo nihil iure, nihil ordine ageretur.^b Ad hanc vocem tantus metus est iniectus iudicibus, uti omnes uno ore protestarentur,^c ne sibi aliquando fraudi esset, quod reum absolverent, cuius nemo esset accusator: Item quod caedis eum absolvissent, quae facta diceretur nono Februarii, cum Rex decimo die esset occisus.^d Hoc est illud nobile iudicium, quo Bothelius, non crimine liberatus, sed velut atramento Sutorio lotus, nuptias Reginae honestius ambire volebat: turpior maritus futurus, quam antea fuerat maechus. Ad cumulum huius absolutionis, propositus est libellus in celeberrimo fori loco, Bothuelium, etsi legitimo iudicio a caede, cuius falso arguebatur, legitime purgatus esset, tamen, quo sua innocentia omnibus foret manifestior, ferro decernere paratum, si quis integra fama, et honesto loco natus, eum Regiae caedis insimularet. Nec defuit qui postridie, per libellum publice propositum, acciperet conditionem, modo locus certamini decerneretur, in quo sine metu nomen auderet profiteri.^e

Capitulum XVIII

^a Parlamentum
in Scotia
celebratum.

In hoc motu animorum, conventus ordinum habetur.^a Ibi, cum per octo fere dies de tollendo iudicio, quo pater Huntleii maiestatis erat damnatus, ac filio restituendo in bona et honores paternos, actum esset:

nonnulla item blandimenta plaebi concessa: ac in primis⁵² Ecclesiae, ut leges aliquot papisticae tyrannidis, de poenis eorum qui contra decreta Romanae sedis mutire auderent, tollerentur. Haec etsi in vulgus grata erant, unum tamen supererat, quod non minus Reginam angeret, quam populum offenderet: consuetudo videlicet illa cum Bothuelio, nec tam palam, quam Regina cupiebat, nec tam occulta, ut populum falleret: praesertim omnium oculis in eos coniectis. Nam cum Bothuelius uxorem haberet, et divortium expectare longum esset, et interea Regina nec palam habere, nec clam potiri, nec omnino eo carere posset, velamentum si non honestum, saltem aliquod quaeritur.^b Et cum nihil aliud succurreret, inprimis lepidum commentum visum est, ut Bothuelius Reginam per vim raperet, et ita eius pudori consuleret. Igitur paucis post diebus, dum Sterilino redit Regina, a Bothuelio capta Dumbarum ducitur. Volens ne, an invita, ex literis ad eum ex itinere scriptis, facile quivis intelliget. Sed, ut, ut, res erat, uti raptus iniuria nuptiis honestis aboleretur, Bothuelii uxor cogitur in duplici foro de divortio litem intendere.^c

^b Regina post Regis obitum, nuptias ambit cum Bothuelio, vivente adhuc Bothuelii uxore.

^c Regina callidissimo commento divortium serit inter Bothuelium eiusque coniugem.

Capitulum XIX

Apud iudices autoritate Regia delegatos ad ius dicendum in hoc genere causarum, accusat uxor maritum de adulterio, quae una iusta apud eos erat divortii causa.^a Apud iudices papisticos ordinum quidem decreto vetitos, tamen ab Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae ad hanc causam cognoscendam datos, accusatur, quod ante matrimonium, cum propinqua uxoris, stupri consuetudinem habuisset:^b caelato interim pontificis Romani diplomate, quo venia eius culpa facta erat. Nulla divortio, nec in testibus, nec in iudicibus, mora. Intra enim decimum diem, lis suscepta, incepta, contestata, disceptata, diiudicata est, apud utrosque iudices. Relata ad Dumbarum divortii sententia, Bothuelius omnes amicos et clientes undique convocat, ut Reginam, quae captiva videri volebat, Edinburgum reducerent. Hi⁵³ cum armati plaerique convenissent, in itinere dum Reginam reducant, metus multorum animos perculit, ne aliquando accusari possent quod Reginam captivam tenerent. Ut cetera desint, hoc unum satis argumenti esse, quod armati circa eam, in rebus ac temporibus alioqui pacatis, essent. Hoc scrupulo iniecto, abiiciunt omnes in medio itinere lanceas: et pacatiore, saltem in speciem⁵⁴ comitatu, eam in Arcem Edinburgensem ducunt. Quae et ipsa in Bothuelii potestate erat. Ibi cum Bothuelio commorata, dum Bannae quas vocant denuntiarentur, tum demum ex arce in oppidum descendit, et ad consilium publicum iudicum accessit: pronunciant se liberam, ac sui iuris. Ac ita demum innuptas illas nuptias⁵⁵ intra diem octavum confecit (omnibus bonis eas adeo execrantibus, aut certe abominantibus) ut Crocus Regis Francorum Legatus, homo Reginae studiosissimus, et Gutianae etiam factionis, et in propinquo habitans, licet multum rogatus, non existimaret e sua dignitate ad cenam adesse.^c

^a Regina per vim sese rapi patitur a Bothuelio.

^b Bothuelii uxor propter raptum Reginae cogitur litem divortii contra maritum persequi.

^c Bothuelius ex turpi macho, turpior maritus, turpissimus vero homicida, nuptias cum Regina conficit.

⁵² *inprimis*; 1571. *in primis*; 1571.

⁵³ *Hii*; 1571. *Hi*; 1725.

⁵⁴ *in specie*; 1571. *in speciem*; 1725. The latter is the common Latin idiom. Ruddiman (1725:77) refers to Pliny [Plin. Nat.] Hist. Lib. 18. Cap. 29.

⁵⁵ “Cic. de Orat. Lib. 3. Cap. 58. e vetere quodam poeta.” (Ruddiman, 1725:77). Cicero describes how people, who are at leisure, occupy themselves.

^d Maii [mense]. Haec ad 15. Maii.^d An. 1567.⁵⁶ acta sunt. Decimo quinto vero proximi Iunii,^{5758e} Bothuelio, vel conscientia ^f Bothelius
^e Iunii [mesne]. sceleris perterritito, vel ab Regina ablegato, ipsa⁵⁹ ad Proceres, qui parricidam publicum ad supplicium
deposcebant venit.^f tanquam
publicus
parricida ad
supplicium a
proceribus
deposcitur.

Epilogus

Quae ab eo die gesta sunt, non admodum ad praesentem causam pertinent. Et quanquam longior fortasse, vestra opinione, mea fuit oratio, tamen facile sentio, dum exitum aliquem narrationis quaero, multa me praeteriisse, plurima festinandi studio leviter percurrisse, nihil fere pro sceleris atrocitate explicasse.

⁵⁶ This date is written in modern format.

⁵⁷ This date is again according to the modern calendar.

⁵⁸ In this chapter, Buchanan uses the genitive case of the names of the months, i.e. *Maii* and *Iunii*. This is quite peculiar, since this is the only instance in the entire text where the genitive is used as a proper noun instead of an adjective that modifies either a numeral or the word *mensis*.

⁵⁹ *ipse*; 1571. *ipsa*; 1725. Ruddiman (1725:78) prefers *ipsa* here, since the reference is to the matter, i.e. *res*, which is feminine and refers to [Plin. Nat.] Hist. Lib. 18. Cap. 49.

CHAPTER 5: A MODERN ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH EXPLANATORY AND CONTEXTUAL ANNOTATIONS

Introduction

The general objective of this study is to produce a critical Latin edition of Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, but more importantly to make the contents of the text accessible to the non-specialist reader by ultimately producing an intersemiotic, literary, and communicative modern English translation with the addition of explanatory and contextual annotations. The translation theory employed during this translation process, is an amalgamation of the most suitable aspects of modern theories to render a fluid translation of a text from its source language to a target language. The first step in the production of such a modern English translation is to produce a literal translation of the source text before applying the relevant translation theories.

Literal translation, commonly known as a “word-for-word” or “sentence-for-sentence” translation, is a heavily criticized translation theory, which is mainly utilized in the translation of closely related languages (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995:34) and in the study of foreign languages (due to its similarity to grammatical translation). This method has been criticised as early as the last century BCE, when Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE) warned translators against becoming “interpreters” in their translation process (Munday, 2016:31). These “interpreters” of ancient Rome were of a low social status due to the lack of an education. This led to inelegant or “word-for-word” translations into Latin (Munday, 2016:31). Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-27 BCE) similarly warned translators not to translate “word-for-word”, but that they should rather translate “sense-for-sense” (Hor. A. P. 131-135). Literal translation, despite overwhelming criticisms, possible incomprehensible target language renderings and utilization in foreign languages, still had other uses. A literal or “word-for-word” translation could assist a translator in keeping track of the source-language's direct wordplay and structure. The literal translation of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* is therefore solely employed in the translation process and is not represented in the final product.

Roman Jakobson (1896-1982), the forerunner of the equivalence theory, proposed three main translation categories. These categories are: (1) intralingual, (2) interlingual and (3) intersemiotic. Intralingual is defined as “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language” (Jakobson, 2012:127). This could merely refer to the practice of “rewording” or “summarising” within a source language. Interlingual is then defined as “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language” (Jakobson, 2012:127). This method of translation is also known as “translation proper” or “direct translation”. Intersemiotic is defined as “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of non-verbal sign systems” (Jakobson, 2012:127). This refers to the cognitive aspects of a text. It is an attempt at making that, which the author originally proposed, available to the reader in a different language.

Two examples from the translated text should suffice to illustrate the application of the intersemiotic translation theory in the translation of the Latin text. *Reresia, mulier et aetate, et corpore gravis* (capitulum IV) is translated in the Middle Scots translation as “Dame Rereſe, a woman very heauy baith by vnweldy age & massy substance” (Wilson, 1571) and as “Dame Reres, a woman of ample weight in both years and body” (Gatherer, 1958:168) in Gatherer’s English translation. Evidently, these translations are direct translations of the Latin text, since both *aetate* and *corpore* are *ablativi causales* that follow the adjective *gravis*, and can therefore be classified as interlingual. However, these translations fail to convey the intention of the text, especially since this, along with the entire sentence that follows, could be interpreted as a scene from a comedic play. An ideal, modern English translation would therefore be “Reres, an old and stout woman”, since a new character is introduced on the stage. This English translation, as found in chapter 6, is in its brevity a more accurate translation in the context of a play, and therefore provides an intersemiotic translation.⁶⁰

Another example is the translation of *Sed magnam eius molestiae partem levat tua (Serenissima Regina)*⁶¹ *aequitas, quae non minus moleste feras propinquam, quam nos, Reginam, omnium sermone traduci* (Prooemium). The Middle Scots translation reads: “But a great part of this gréeſ, is releued by your equitie (most excellent Quene) quha take it no lesse displeasantly to ſée your kinswoman, than we to ſée our Quene thus in ſpeche of all men to be diſhonorably reported” (Wilson, 1571), while Gatherer (1958:165) translates “But much of this annoyance is alleviated by your kindness, most excellent Queen, for you are no less grieved than we to see your relative, and our Queen, so dishonourably spoken of by all men.” At the expense of conveying the intention of the text, while also disregarding the text’s type and genre, both Wilson and Gatherer produced a direct translation of this phrase, i.e. interlingual. Both translators have also included the reading of *nostram* in *quam nos, Reginam*, due to the fact that the Prooemium is addressed to Queen Elizabeth (Gatherer, 1958:165). An intersemiotic translation would, on the other hand, propose the following: “But, oh most excellent Queen, your impartiality greatly relieves our discomfort, since you find it no less unpleasant than us that a kinswoman, also a Queen, be ridiculed by all.” The phrase *omnium sermone traduci* is translated directly in both the Middle Scots and Gatherer’s English translation as: “thus in speche of all men to be dishonorably reported” (Wilson, 1571) and “so dishonourably spoken of by all men” (Gatherer, 1958:165). A more natural English rendering of the phrase, which portrays the derogatory tone of the author when Mary is mentioned, would be “be ridiculed by all”. The translation of this phrase should preferably not be translated in its constituent parts, but as a whole to provide a more fluent and natural flow, while still retaining the formal aspect required when addressing a queen. Such a translation

⁶⁰ Similar indications of theatrical contexts occur in capitulum XV, where the adjective *histrionicum* denotes “of an actor” (Niermeyer, 1976:489) and the noun *theatro* in both capitulum XV and XVII is a direct reference to the theatre.

⁶¹ Both translators opted for “most excellent Queen”, since the superlative adjective *serenissima* is in fact not related to actual serenity. This is instead a formal way of addressing a duke, prince, or, in this case, a queen. It is therefore an indication of rank and not a frame of mind.

should therefore permit the leniency regarding the Latin construction, since *omnium*, a subjective genitive, can more naturally be replaced by the passive voice, followed by an ablative of agent.

It was Katharina Reiss, who, around the 1970's, introduced the text-type and genre theory to the process of translation. She categorized these text-types into three main categories: (1) informative, (2) expressive, and (3) operative. "Informative" refers to the "plain communication of facts" (Reiss, 1989:108-109); "expressive" refers to the creative types (like poetry and graphic novels); and "operative" refers to that which encourages behavioural responses (such as advertisements or electoral speeches). The genres, or literary-types, are the sub-categories of each of the text-types, but also hybrids that are not confined to a single text-type, such as lectures and biographies. Categorising the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* is a complicated task. However, taking these previously mentioned categories into consideration, even though the text deceptively presents itself as an informative text, the translation that follows reflects the possibility that the text was originally published as an operative text with strong hints of the expressive text-type (Dubois-Nayt, 2013).

The translation that takes both text-type and genre relationships into consideration, is also known as literary translation. Literary translation focuses on the relationship between the type and the genre of the source- and target-text. This simply means that a source-text dialogue, for example, should be translated into a target-text dialogue (Munday, 2016:118). The problem with this translation theory is that this is not always practicable, since not all text-types and -genres correspond throughout all cultures. Many translation scholars have mentioned that certain aspects of a translation will always be lost when the source-text's genre is merely copied over to the target-text (University of Cambridge Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages and Linguistics, 2020). The translation of the Latin idiom into its literary equivalent in the target-language provides a good example. This exercise, which might sound simple at first, could quickly become a daunting task, since loss, of either style, structure, or meaning should be avoided, yet these factors were taken into account where feasible, for example the translation of *sed velut atramento Sutorio lotus* (capitulum XVII) as "but as if it were glossed over with shoe-blackening".

Although it would be difficult to prove the text's operative intention beyond all doubt, since the only evidence is found in secondary sources, there is no doubt that the text is expressive in nature. Such verbal signs as *histrionicum* and *theatro* clearly indicate the expressive text-type, which includes both dramatic and comedic elements. The dramatic tone of the text is expressed in the translation of excerpts such as: *aspera iam tum hieme primum Melrosiam, inde Iedburgum, velut insana, pervolat* (capitulum V) "she flew, now at the time of icy winter, like a mad woman first to Melrose, then to Jedburgh", and *Illud vero barbarae inhumanitatis fuit, quod nobilibus, omnibusque qui aderant aulae ministris interdictum est, ne quis advenienti assurgeret, hospitio cederet, vel ad se, in unam saltem noctem, reciperet* (capitulum VI) "This was truly a sign of savage inhumanity that the nobles and all the officers of the court, who were present, were forbidden to rise as he approached, to grant lodging, or to receive the King at their homes even for one night". The first example clearly contains dramatic elements, while the second extract appeals to the reader's emotions, revealing the influence of rhetoric (*pathos*).

It is consequently imperative that the rhetorical figures of speech be taken into consideration when translating a text of this kind. Buchanan, who had been a Latin teacher prior to the formation of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, most likely studied and taught the works of Cicero. It would therefore be natural for Buchanan to incorporate similar rhetorical figures of speech into his own work. In fact, Buchanan employs both *ethos* and *pathos* (*quae non minus moleste feras propinquam, quam nos, Reginam, omnium sermone traduci*), *paralepsis* (*Igitur, quam breuissime breuissime fieri potest, rem perstringemus: ac tanto exponemus compendio, ut summa rerum capita, non tam explicasse, quam percurrisse videamur*), and *hyperbole* (*non modo tenui, sed infra privati hominis dignitatem, comitatu*) in the preface of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*. Rhetorical devices are evident throughout the text: In capitulum I he employs both metaphor (*ad capitales inimicitias rem deducere* and *quam ut res ad manus veniret*) and parenthesis (*qui Prorex postea fuit* and *veste talari super indusium lineum iniecta*); a rhetorical question is found in capitulum IV (*Cetera quis nescit*) and interjection and hyperbole are also employed here (*Ecce zona repente frangitur. Reresia, mulier et aetate, et corpore gravis, cum magno strepitu cadit. Sed veterana miles, nihil tenebris, nihil altitudine maceriae, nihil inexpectato casu perterrita, ad Bothuelii cubiculum penetrat: foribus reclusis, hominem e lecto, e complexu coniugis, semisomnum, seminudum, adducit ad Reginam*); as if to reiterate the statement he made in the preface, *paralepsis* occurs again in the epilogue (*Et quanquam longior fortasse, vestra opinione, mea fuit oratio, tamen facile sentio, dum exitum aliquem narrationis quaero, multa me praeteriisse, plurima festinandi studio leviter percurrisse, nihil fere pro sceleris atrocitate explicasse*). The translation attempts to reflect the intersemiotic sense of these and other rhetorical devices employed in the text the text.

The aim of communicative translation, originally developed by Peter Newmark (1916-2011), is to imitate the source text's offer of information in the target-language's offer of information. The communicative translation theory's strength is that it emphasises the attempt to achieve the same function the source-text's offer of information provides, which is to communicate with the reader. It furthermore demands that the translation be equivalent to the syntactical, semantic, and pragmatic fields of the source-text (Reiss & Vermeer, 2014:125). In response, Newmark declared that a literal translation is the best method of semantic communication and that it is the only valid method of general translation (Newmark, 1981: 39). Newmark's faith in literal translation has not been taken into account in the process of this translation, since a literal translation, as is evident from Wilson and Gatherer's translations, would ultimately render an English text which does not communicate with the modern (informed) reader.

The polysystems theory, based on Russian and Czech literary systems, was created and developed by Itamar Even-Zohar around the 1970's. Even-Zohar borrowed his theoretical ideas from the Russian Formalists of the 1920's and the Czech Structuralists of the 1940's (Munday, 2016:170) and rooted his main idea in the formalist notion that literary works were not studied in isolation, but that they were rather studied as part of a literary system (Munday, 2016:173). These literary systems involve multiple aspects of literature, such as: cultural background, grammar, genre, skopos, etc. Even-Zohar's polysystems theory proposed to incorporate all of these theories in a hierarchical order during the translation process (Munday, 2016:171).

These systems are not placed in fixed positions and are able to change their positions according to their relative importance in the translation process (Munday, 2016:171).

Even-Zohar, contrary to other translation scholars, insisted that translated texts also be included in the translation process. He claimed that “any model of a literary system should include translated literature, for translation was often the conduit through which innovation and change can be initiated” (Bassnett, 2007:16). He therefore proposed three different occasions where translated literature could occupy the primary position. The first is “when a young literature is being established” (Munday, 2016:172); the second is “when a literature is ‘peripheral’ or ‘weak’” (Munday, 2016:172); and the third, and final, occasion is “when there is a critical turning point in the literary history at which established models are no longer considered sufficient, or when there is a vacuum in the literature of the country” (Munday, 2016:172). The most adequate position, according to Even-Zohar, that the translated literature could assume is the secondary (Munday:172-173).

Most of the few existing translations certainly had a political objective. Although quite literal, the Middle Scots translation of this text, for instance, is a forced portrayal of Mary as a fickle ruler, an adulterer, and a murderer; while she is presented as a martyr in the French translation (Staines, 2009:75-76) (which has not been taken into consideration in this modern English translation). It is therefore evident that these previous translators incorporated their own biases and intentions into the translation that they produced. This is further emphasised by the fact that, in a time period where the production and publication of literary works were less common, these works were funded by the wealthy and powerful, who likewise had their own biases and intentions. It is therefore essential that this new modern English translation should be free of any dominant translation biases. It is ultimately still up to the reader to interpret this set of characters, which were intentionally introduced in a specific order. There is, however, an important condition for the literary translation of a text. The text does not exist only in and through itself. The reader’s prior knowledge of the historical and political context and the literary conventions of the time will determine the competency of his/her translation (Claassen, 1990:65).

Therefore, to attain the aim of an intersemiotic, literary, and communicative modern English translation, the following methodological steps were followed in the preparation of the translation: 1) reading the older existing translations while comparing them to the critical Latin edition, 2) producing a literal English translation of the critical Latin edition, which was solely used as a reference and will therefore not be included in this work, while also taking the older translations into consideration in accordance with Evan Zohar’s Polysystems theory, and, most importantly, 3) producing a final, well-structured modern English translation by an informed reader, which correlates with the intention of the text.

Preface

It is both unusual and, due to its novelty, annoying to all, who are not subject to foreign jurisdiction, that foreigners want to know about judicial matters here at home. It should indeed seem especially annoying to us, since we, burdened with such an obligation, are compelled to criticise the lives of those, whose sins we want to conceal, unless we, ourselves, are willing to be considered the most wicked of all. But, oh most excellent Queen, your impartiality greatly relieves our discomfort, since you who find it no less unpleasant than us that a kinswoman, also a Queen, be ridiculed by all; you, who are led by an eagerness to understand the truth just as we are keen to avoid slander. We shall, therefore, summarise the matter in the shortest possible manner, and, beginning with the first sign of fickleness that the Queen displayed,^a treat it with such brevity, that we would rather seem to have rushed over the main points of the matter, than to have explained everything in detail. For, just as she got married with headlong rashness, so too did either regret, or the signs of affection for another man, quickly ensue (without any apparent cause).^b For, whereas the King was previously regarded not only with indifference, but also with hardly any respect, her hatred was finally starting to become quite visible; especially during that winter, when he was sent off to Peebles,⁶² with an escort, which was not only small, but also below the dignity of even a private citizen and not so that he could hunt birds, but to remove him from the Council and from any knowledge of public affairs. And it is unnecessary to put those matters into writing. These events were then like a spectacle for all, and are therefore now fixed, like a recent image, in everyone's mind. And even though this was the beginning of all the evils that followed, nevertheless, the plans were secret from the beginning, so that not only the common folk, but not even the familiar acquaintances and those, who played a part in most of the things that were on the agenda, were able to quite grasp what the Queen truly intended at that time.

^a The Queen of Scots' marriage to the King.

^b The Queen of Scots' hatred towards her husband after their marriage.

⁶² Peebles is a historic royal borough that lies on the west of Selkirkshire (Rutherford & Rutherford, 1866:363) and on the north side of the river Tweed (Rutherford & Rutherford, 1866:461) in Peeblesshire, Scotland. It gained notoriety due to the royal castle that attracted Scottish kings to the nearby hunting-grounds of Ettrick Forest (Weir, 2004:105, 110).

Chapter 1

^a In the month of April of the year 1566.

^b The Queen of Scots' faithlessness towards her husband after the birth of their son.

At long last, around April 1566,^a when the Queen had returned from Dunbar⁶³ to Edinburgh,⁶⁴ and had retired to the castle, she stayed there until the time of her delivery. After she had given birth to her son,⁶⁵ the secret deliberation of the intended crime immediately started to become clear. The main focus of the plan was to remove the King⁶⁶ by some or other scheme and to marry Lord Bothwell.^{67b} But, to avoid

⁶³ Dunbar is a royal borough in south-eastern Scotland and is well known for the castle that once stood within its borders. The castle, known as Dunbar Castle, of which Lord Bothwell was the royal lieutenant (Furgol, 1987:226), was “one of the best examples of artillery fortification in Scotland.” (Furgol, 1987:220). The castle was built c. 856 as a powerful stronghold against the English invaders and was destroyed, because of the political history concerning Mary in 1568 (Undiscovered Scotland, 2020).

⁶⁴ Edinburgh is currently the capital city of Scotland and is located in south-eastern Scotland. It has been used as a military stronghold and has also become the centre of intellectual activity (Turnbull, Ehrlich, *et al*, 2019). Its citizens have been known to react passionately with regards to royal or religious matters, e.g. in 1561 John Knox, a Scottish Reformed minister and theologian, easily encouraged a mob “to break into the private chapel in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, where Mary, Queen of Scots,” was attending a Catholic mass (Turnbull, Ehrlich, *et al*, 2019). Edinburgh is furthermore best known for its volcanic crag, known as Castle Rock, upon which Edinburgh Castle still stands (Turnbull, Ehrlich, *et al*, 2019). The castle, in which Mary gave birth to her son, was originally built c. 600 as a fort by a Celtic tribe, known as the *Votadini* (Lewis, 2017). It was developed into a medieval castle during the reign of Malcolm III Canmore in the 11th century (Lewis, 2017).

⁶⁵ Mary gave birth to a healthy male heir, James VI of Scotland and later I of England (Lothian, 1861:22), on Wednesday the 19th of June 1566 between ten and eleven in the morning (Fraser, 2010:317). He was born in the Royal Palace near Edinburgh Castle, the construction of which was initiated by James IV in 1511 (Lewis, 2017). James VI most likely saw little of his parents during his infancy and childhood due to both his father's death when he was nearly 8 months old and his mother's constant travelling. He was, for the most part of his infancy, placed under the care of the Earl of Mar (Lothian, 1861:23) and his wet-nurse, Lady Reres (Fraser, 2010:317). In 1582 James VI, now an adolescent, was once, during what can only be considered an act of revolution, kidnapped by the Ruthven family, who had been influenced by the then Duke of Lennox (Fraser, 2010:558). A year later, James VI “eluded his captors” and quickly regained his regal powers (Fraser, 2010:558). Eventually, at the age of c. 23, he married Princess Anne of Denmark in 1589 (Fraser, 2010:660). After his many accomplishments, he succeeded Queen Elizabeth of England in the spring of 1603, at long last unifying Scotland and England (Fraser, 2010:662).

⁶⁶ The King (*Rex*), to whom the Latin text refers, is Henry Stewart, also known as Lord Darnley. Lord Darnley was born on the 7th of December in 1545 in Temple Newsom, Yorkshire, England (Weir, 2004:71). He was the son of Matthew Stewart, the 4th Earl of Lennox (Weir, 2004:12, 22), and Margaret Douglas, who was the granddaughter of Henry VII (Weir, 2004:12, 23). Although they were cousins, Lord Darnley became the second husband of Mary in 1565. They were the parents of the future King James VI. Their marriage quickly became unhappy after James VI's birth; and, although she initially adored him, Mary never humoured Lord Darnley's regal aspirations (Fraser, 2010:317). In order to make it impossible for him to become king, she lowered his status and regal rights (Fraser, 2010:323). Lord Darnley then grew to despise Mary and once accused her of unfaithfulness (Fraser, 2010:323). He therefore, despite the advice of Du Croc, abandoned Mary and retreated abroad (Fraser, 2010:329). He eventually ended up back in Stirling to attend his son's Christening, but never left the castle to attend the ceremony that was held at the chapel (Fraser, 2010:332). Lord Darnley, feeling unappreciated in Stirling, left for Glasgow near the end of December of that year, where he stayed in his father's homes (Fraser, 2010:332-333). Lord Darnley finally met his fate at Kirk o' Field, Edinburgh in February 1567, after the house in which he was staying was blown to pieces through the strategic placement of gunpowder apparently by Lord Bothwell and his co-conspirators (Fraser, 2010:330, 348-358).

⁶⁷ The Latin text refers to James Hepburn, the 4th Earl of Bothwell, as *Bothuelius*. Both this English translation and the annotations refer to him as “Lord Bothwell”. It is unclear when and where Lord Bothwell was born, but it is surmised that he was born around 1535 (Weir, 2004:11, 30). He was the son of Patrick Hepburn, who was the 3rd Earl of Bothwell, and he succeeded to his father's title in 1556 (Weir, 2004:30). In 1561 he became a member of Mary's Privy Council, but fell into disfavour with the Earl of Arran, who accused him of plotting against the Scottish Queen (Weir, 2004:53, 56). He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle a year later (Guy, 2005:208), but escaped and headed first to England and then to France. Lord Bothwell eventually headed back to Scotland in 1565 to provide aid against the Earl of Moray's rebellion, in protest against Mary's marriage to Lord Darnley (Weir, 2004:88). He had finally won such favour with the Scottish Queen that he intended to betroth her in order to become the effective ruler of Scotland, even though he himself was still wed (Fraser,

^c The Queen's conspiracy with Lord Bothwell concerning the King's murder.

^d She plants hostilities amongst the King and the Nobles.

^e The Earl of Moray, the Queen's brother and Scotland's Viceroy.

^f The quarrels between the Earl of Moray and the King roused by the Queen.

becoming a suspect of the perpetrated crime herself, she began to gradually sow the seeds of discord amongst the King and the lords who were then present at the court,^c while still encouraging them more and more to bring the matter to a drawing of swords. If at any moment she noticed that their mutual suspicions were lessening, she would incite their reasons for anger with new accusations on both sides; all the while trying to persuade both the nobility and the King that the one party was plotting the other's destruction.^d And she was impatient for the matter to be resolved through combat; for she was unsure which one of the two she preferred to be conquered. In fact, she regarded the misfortune of both parties as being favourable to her, for it seemed to her that, in this way, she was about to take one step closer to her goal. Shortly thereafter, she filled everyone's minds with so much mutual suspicion, that there was no-one of any standing at that time in court, whom she had not brought to the point that he was forced, to either acknowledge, to his shame, the contrived rumours about himself, or to take up arms against the accusers, or even to retire to his home. But, although I shall omit the rest in my desire to hasten to the main focus of the topic, there is this one single, remarkable injustice of that time that should not be overlooked. For, when, at some point, the King had conversed with the Queen late into the evening, this was more or less the gist of that conversation: that nearly all of the lords had conspired to bring him to a fall, and that they were devising a method amongst themselves to get rid of him. After the King had departed, the Queen sent for her brother, the Earl of Moray^{68e} (who later became the viceroy), with the message that the matter was serious, and that his presence was immediately required. He, awakened from a deep sleep (having cast a night-gown over his linen-under-garments), half-dressed, just as he was, hastened to her in great fear. She used almost the same words, as that which she previously used with the King: she said that the King burned with such hatred for him, and that he was so disturbed by the fact that he stood so high in her grace, that he was determined to murder him as soon as he could.^f Therefore, as much as it was in her power, she overlooked nothing by which she could force them further into conflict, and she would, without a doubt,

2010:367-368, 372-375). The plan was ultimately for Mary to divorce Lord Darnley and then marry Lord Bothwell (Fraser, 2010:336), but Lord Bothwell had little patience and wanted to hurry matters along. He, along with his co-conspirators, Maitland, Morton, James Balfour, and a few others, had already been plotting Lord Darnley's murder for quite some time (Fraser, 2010:330, 339, 412). The text informs us that Lord Bothwell leaves his abode at around midnight on the 9th of February 1567. He does not return until the early morning hours of the 10th of February, having made sure that the fuse for an explosion was lit, thereby murdering Lord Darnley. Buchanan informs us, that the circumstances surrounding these events are most likely fabrications (Fraser, 2010:355-357). Lord Bothwell nevertheless hastily married Mary on the 15th of May 1567, and then suddenly abandoned her during the Carberry Hill stand-off, which occurred on the 15th of June of the very same year (Fraser, 2010:379, 387-390). Lord Bothwell was eventually imprisoned in Denmark and, having been incarcerated for approximately 11 years and having never seen Mary again, fell into a state of madness before he eventually passed away in April 1578 (Fraser, 2010:547).

⁶⁸ The Earl of Moray, known as James Stewart and also referred to in the text as Mary's brother, was actually one of her half-brothers and was born of the relationship between King James V and Margaret Erskine (Fraser, 2010:157). He inherited the Stewart, or *Stuart*, name, but, since he was born as a bastard child, would not be able to inherit the throne. He was secretly granted the earldom of Moray in January 1562 (Fraser, 2010:237); and, although he did not possess the charm of his father, he was highly successful in his deliberations with the English, who considered him a new, upright, and serious-minded example of Scottish nobility (Fraser, 2010:158). He later supported the Scottish Reformation and became a devout Protestant, which did not bode well for Mary, who was a staunch Catholic. He was so displeased with Mary's marriage to Lord Darnley that he embarked upon what was known as the unsuccessful Chaseabout Raid (Fraser, 2010:282).

have succeeded, had God not decided to save the innocent men from such dangerous plots, and to expose her evil ways.

Chapter 2

When her attempt was in vain, she approached the young heedless man (i.e. the King) with a different form of deceit. She encouraged him to pick out any young woman from the many that were available, and in the meantime have intercourse with her while she herself was pregnant.^a She promised him her support and cooperation, and she assured him that the deed would be pardoned. She pointed him in the direction of the Earl⁶⁹ of Moray's wife:⁷⁰ not that she thought that this most noble lady was the most suitable one for such a shameful act, but she wanted revenge against her three enemies, namely the King, the Earl, and his wife, through a single deed; and she wished to obtain a cause for a divorce from the King, in order to leave a marriage-bed for Lord Bothwell.^b After giving birth, although she received all the other guests courteously enough. However, as often as it was announced that the King was there to see her, the facial expressions and conversation of the Queen and her company made it quite evident that they seemed to fear nothing more than that the King would fail to understand that he disgusted them, and that both his coming there and his presence was unpleasant to everyone. On the contrary, in reality, Lord Bothwell alone had power over everything: he alone was in charge of her plans and affairs. And to such an extent did the Queen therefore want the inclination of her heart as far as he was concerned to be understood by all, that, if she had to grant something, nobody would obtain anything, unless it went through him. He thus feared that the shady favouritism would count against him.

^a The Queen provides her husband with the service of a procuress'.

^b The Queen's deceitful plan.

Chapter 3

Thus, not long after giving birth, on a certain day, very early in the morning, accompanied by a few who were still in the know, she went down to the harbour (which is now called Newhaven);⁷¹ and there, while everyone was wondering where she was going in such a hurry, she boarded a small ship that had been prepared for her. Moreover, William and Edmund Blackadder, Leonard Robertson, and Thomas Dickson,

⁶⁹ The word *comes*, commonly understood in Classical Latin as "companion", in Medieval Latin refers to an "Earl" (Niermeyer, 1976:206).

⁷⁰ The Earl of Moray married Agnes Keith in the early months of 1562, who then became the Countess of Moray (Fraser, 2010:229).

⁷¹ Newhaven, a fishing village that lies directly north of Edinburgh (Cupples, 1888:10), which later became conjoined to Leith is situated about 3km north of Princes Street (Grant, 1887:295). It was here that Mary followed the terrible example of her mother, the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, when she publicly contended against John Knox (Cupples, 1888:15). It was also here that Mary, after the birth of her son, boarded an unknown type of ship, probably a fishing boat, bound on her naval journey from Abbeyburnmouth to Workington, in order to venture to Alloa Tower (Furgol, 1987:220).

^a William Blacaterus, his brother Edmund, Leonard Robertson, and Thomas Dickson, Lord Bothwell's pirating vassals.

^b The Queen's unusual haughtiness and aversion to the King.

the vassals⁷² of Lord Bothwell and notoriously greedy pirates had provided that small ship.^a Thus, with this company of thieves, while all good men were astounded, she took to the sea, without anyone accompanying her (not even any of her more trustworthy servants). How she indeed behaved herself in Alloa Tower,⁷³ where the ship docked, I would rather everyone imagine for themselves than hear it from me. I dare, however, to affirm this one fact: that not in any of her words or deeds did she show any regard (and I do not mean regard for queenly majesty, but not even for matronly modesty). When the King had heard about the Queen's alleged departure, he followed her by land as fast as he could; with the hope and intent that they would be together again, and enjoy the mutual marital fellowship of duties. How truly friendly he was received by her, everyone, who was present, knew; and those, who heard about these things, are also able to remember. For, after a few hours had scarcely passed (while his servants and horses were fed and rested), he was urged to depart, lest something more serious happened.^b She indeed spent several days there, if not in royal magnificence, then certainly in more than merely royal debauchery, or indeed in less than royal licentiousness. She went hunting once at the Megget Rivulet,⁷⁴ and another time at Salt Lake, which is commonly called Glenartney.⁷⁵ What need is there to relate how spiteful, and how arrogantly and loathsomely, she behaved herself there towards the King? For it played off in front of everyone, and was imprinted into memory.

Chapter 4

When she indeed returned to Edinburgh, she did not turn off to her imperial residence, but to a private house, next door to John Balfour.⁷⁶ From there she transferred to another house, where the annual court,

⁷² The word *cliens*, which generally means “dependant” in Classical Latin, is here translated as “vassal” (Niermeyer, 1976:191).

⁷³ Alloa Tower, considered to be a minuscule castle, was most likely built before 1315 and is found in Clackmannanshire in central Scotland (Lothian, 1861:21). The castle, along with the town itself, is said to have been governed by the family of Lord Erskine from 1365 onward (Lothian, 1861:21). After the birth of her son, Mary sailed via the river Forth from Newhaven to Alloa Tower. Although she was attended by several of her nobles, especially by the Earl of Mar, the King travelled by land (Lothian, 1861:22). He finally arrived at Alloa Tower, but stayed there for merely a few hours (Fraser, 2010:321). The Queen eventually departed from Alloa Tower and headed to Stirling on the 22nd of September 1566 and placed her son in the Earl of Mar's care (Lothian, 1861:23).

⁷⁴ Megget Rivulet was a small stream that led through Peeblesshire into St. Mary's Loch (Wilson, 1882:324). There used to be two royal hunting lodges in its vicinity along with the remnants of Henderland Castle (Wilson, 1882:324).

⁷⁵ The once royal deer-forest of Glenartney, which is situated near Drummond Castle in Perthshire (Neptune, 1833:294), was a well known hunting ground from before the reign of Mary up until c. 19th century (A Quartogenarian, 1833:263). Sir Walter Scott has memorialised this former royal forest in *The Lady of the Lake* (A Quartogenarian, 1833:294):

*“The stag at eve had drunk his fill,
Where danced the moon on Monan's rill,
And deep his midnight lair had made
In lone Glenartney's hazel shade”* (Scott, 1810:5).

⁷⁶ Sir James Balfour, also known as Master James of Pittendreich, a descendant of Balfour of Mountquhanie (Knox, 1997:68), is believed to have been one of the noble members, along with the Earls of Maintland, Bothwell, Argyll, and Huntly, who signed the Craigmillar bond to get rid of the Lord Darnley (Fraser, 2010:330). James Balfour most likely, due to his proper legal training, played a significant part in drawing up the bond (Fraser,

^a The Queen's secret journeys.

^b David Chambers, a vassal of Lord Bothwell.

^c Reres, a prostitute and seductress.

^d The Queen's adultery with Lord Bothwell.

^e The prostitute, Reres, the Queen's sex executive, is sent to Lord Bothwell, having been stealthily lowered by a girdle.

which they call the Exchequer,⁷⁷ was then held.^a For that house was more spacious, and the gardens were delightful, and there was an almost secluded place next to the gardens. But there was something else that might have allured her more than all of these things. David Chambers,^b Lord Bothwell's vassal, whose back-door was adjacent to the gardens of the Queen's residence, lived in close proximity. Lord Bothwell went through that back-door as often as he pleased; *and who does not know the rest?*⁷⁸ For the Queen then confessed that very matter to both the viceroy and his mother together with many others; but she laid the blame upon Reres,^{79c} a promiscuous woman, who had been amongst Lord Bothwell's mistresses, and who was then part of the Queen's inner circle of maid-servants. The Queen was, as she said herself, betrayed by this woman (who, due to her faltering age, had retired from profitable whoring, and devoted herself to pimping). For Lord Bothwell, having been led through the garden into the Queen's bedroom, raped the Queen.^{80d} Yet, just how much Reres betrayed the Queen against her will, time, the mother of truth, revealed. For the Queen, as I imagine, after a few days, wanting to take revenge on force with force, chose Reres (who also personally had to do with the man's strength previously) to bring Lord Bothwell as a captive to her.^e The Queen, along with one Margaret Carwood,⁸¹ who knew all her secrets, lowered Reres, suspended from a harness, over the garden wall into the garden next door. But nothing can ever be planned with such military precision that nothing unforeseen would happen. Behold, the girdle suddenly breaks. Reres, an old and stout woman, falls with a loud noise. But she, an old soldier, not frightened by the darkness, nor by the height of the wall, nor by the unexpected fall, storms towards Lord Bothwell's room. She swung the door open and brought the man, plucked from his bed, and from his wife's⁸² arms, half asleep, and half naked, to the Queen. Not only did most of the people, who were with the Queen, confirm this sequence of events,

2010:330). He later became a close associate of Lord Bothwell, and became heavily involved with the specific details regarding the King's murder, since his brother, Robert Balfour (Fraser, 2010:342), probably owned both the house wherein the King lodged at the time of his death and the house next door (Fraser, 2010:353). Lord Bothwell took such interest in James Balfour that he granted him governorship over Edinburgh Castle c. 1565 (Fraser, 2010:367). He eventually abandoned Lord Bothwell before the month of June 1567 and sought higher power through the noble lords of that period (Fraser, 2010:353). This caused the noble lords to attempt to remove all trace of criminality from his reputation (Fraser, 2010:353).

⁷⁷ The Court of the Exchequer got its name from the chequered tablecloth within (The National Archives website, n.d.).

⁷⁸ Ovid's *Amores* 1.5.25.

⁷⁹ Lady Reres, more commonly known as Margaret Beaton, was Prince James's wet-nurse (Fraser, 2010:317). The text suggests that she was a mistress of Lord Bothwell and an important partisan in Mary's malicious acts; yet, due to the text's political slant, this information can not be interpreted as fact.

⁸⁰ It is peculiar that Buchanan states that *Bothuelius...eam invitam vi compressit*, since it becomes clear in the following chapters that their adultery was consensual.

⁸¹ Margaret Carwood, as Fraser (2010:317) states, was Mary's "favourite bed-chamber woman" and came into the Queen's service in 1564. Mary held her in such high regard that, although probably still in shock after her illness and the recent death of her husband, she even paid for Margaret's wedding-dress (Fraser, 2010:363).

⁸² Lady Jean Gordon, the countess of Bothwell, married Lord Bothwell on the 24th of February 1566 (Fraser, 2010: 183, 296). She was the sister of George Gordon, who was the 5th Earl of Huntly (Fraser, 2010:184). It is believed that Lord Bothwell was initially uncertain of his marriage to Jean Gordon, due to his severe religious attitudes and the Catholic prescripts (Fraser, 2010:312). They were barely married for a few months when she fell severely ill. However Lord Bothwell was far too occupied with his ambitions to become the ruler of Scotland to truly care for her health (Fraser, 2010:367). It is said that Lady Jean Gordon divorced Lord Bothwell soon after his abduction of Mary, although their divorce was never fully finalised (Fraser, 2010:497).

^f Trust in what took place is confirmed by the evidence.

but George Dalglish,⁸³ Lord Bothwell's chamber-servant, also recounted it a short while before he paid the ultimate penalty. This confession of his remains on record.^{84f}

Chapter 5

^a The King, scorned, rejected, and excluded by the Queen.

The King, meanwhile, rejected, as it were, banished through injustice and misfortune, kept to himself at Stirling⁸⁵ with a few servants.^a For what else could he do as one, who occupied no position of grace with the Queen, but also did not have the usual allowance to sustain his very few servants and horses; and, since quarrels arose (caused by the slightest trifles) and reasons for an accusation were sought out, he was finally chased away. Yet his heart, determined to love her, could not be dissuaded from returning to Edinburgh, so that, by every kind of obedient observance, he could obtain some access to his former position of favour and the union of marital life. Shut out once again by the worst kind of insult, he again returned from where he had come, to lament his sorrows there (as if in the desert). Within a few days, not long after that, when the Queen had decided to depart for Jedburgh around the beginning of October,⁸⁶ to attend the judicial meetings to be held there, Lord Bothwell prepared for his journey to Liddesdale.^{87b} Since there he behaved neither according to his rank, nor according to his family's reputation and expectation, he was wounded by a dying thief, and carried into Hermitage Castle,⁸⁸ while it was still not certain whether he would survive.^c

^b In the month of October.

^c Lord Bothwell's life was in danger after he had been wounded by a thief.

⁸³ George Dalglish, Lord Bothwell's tailor, was listed as one of the henchmen who assisted "in carrying out the practical details of the plot" (Fraser, 2010:351) regarding the King's murder. The capture of George Dalglish allegedly led to the first indication of the eight letters and sonnets that were supposedly written by Mary and addressed to Lord Bothwell, which are more commonly known as the Casket Letters (Fraser, 2010:398).

⁸⁴ It seems peculiar that Buchanan would state that this evidence has been recorded, yet he does not mention any recorded evidence for the other episodes.

⁸⁵ Stirling is a royal borough in south-central Scotland and lies to the south near the tip of the river Forth. Although Stirling was previously (c. 1130) considered to be a royal borough, it was ultimately Alexander II of Scotland who placed Stirling back on the map (c. 1226) and declared Stirling Castle a royal residence (Stair-kerr, 1913:184, 193). It was here, in December 1566, at the royal nursery of Stirling Castle, where the new-born James VI was baptised (Furgol, 1987:223). For the most part, James VI remained in Stirling, under the care of the Earl of Mar, and was only visited once by his mother in April 1567 before she was "kidnapped" by Lord Bothwell and his men (Furgol, 1987:226).

⁸⁶ Jedburgh, which previously had been called *Jedworth*, as its name is derived from the words *ged*, which refers to "withes" or "twigs", and *worth*, which refers to a "court" or "lawn" (Gordon, 1870:2), is a well known county-town in Roxburghshire (known today as the Scottish Border council area) (Rutherford & Rutherford 1866:245). "The Circuit Court of Justiciary for the south-east of Scotland" was held here twice a year (Rutherford & Rutherford 1866:245). It was also the epicentre of border warfare during the English invasion of Scotland c. 1297. It is here, where the English soldiers are said to have burned the town on at least six occasions, apart from frequently occupying Jedburgh Castle (Gordon, 1870:2). Jedburgh Castle, which "was situated on a hill at the head of the town", and was frequented by the Scottish kings, was unfortunately demolished c. 1490 (Gordon, 1870:5). Mary often visited Jedburgh, but, since Jedburgh Castle had already been demolished before her reign, she resided in an ancient, well-preserved house (Gordon, 1870:6). From here the Queen supposedly first visited Lord Bothwell in 1566. She travelled on horseback along the most treacherous paths to Lord Bothwell, who was then residing at Hermitage Castle, Liddesdale (Gordon, 1870:6).

⁸⁷ Liddesdale, a valley in the far south of Scotland, near the English border, is known for crossing two historic counties: upper Liddesdale lies within Roxburghshire (the Scottish Border council area), while lower Liddesdale lies within Dumfriesshire (known today as the Dumfries and Galloway council area).

⁸⁸ Hermitage Castle, which was considered to be the most important fortification in Liddesdale, especially during the English invasion of Scotland, was constructed around the mid 13th century (Historic Environment Scotland, n.d.). Although there were multiple quarrels concerning the governance of Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle, the

When this news reached the Queen at Borthwick⁸⁹ over great distances, she flew, now at the time of icy winter, like a mad woman first to Melrose,⁹⁰ then to Jedburgh. Although positive rumours concerning Lord Bothwell's welfare, were arriving there, her heart, impatient of delay, could not restrain itself from displaying disgraceful lust; and, at an inconvenient time of the year, ignoring the difficulties of the roads and the danger of being waylaid by robbers,^d she set out on a journey, with an escort of such kind that no one who was even the least bit more honourable would dare entrust his life or fortunes to. After she had returned again from there to Jedburgh, she gathered and prepared everything with the utmost care and diligence to transfer Lord Bothwell there. After Lord Bothwell had been brought there, their intimacy and lovemaking was far below the dignity of either of them.^e There, whether it was due to their nightly or daily exertions, shameful to themselves, and notorious amongst the general public, or by some secret providence of God, the Queen became so dangerously and deadly ill that no one had any hope for her survival.^{91f}

^d The Queen's desire, impatient of delay.

^e The Queen's love and desire for Lord Bothwell.

^f The Queen, because of her illness, struggles for her life.

Chapter 6

When the King became aware of this (the Queen's serious illness), he journeyed to Jedburgh in great haste, to see and comfort the weary Queen and to prove his intent and eagerness to please her by whatever services he could.^a He was indeed so far away that, as he progressed, he was not even provided with lodging and provisions (not even the kind that is usually provided for the middle class⁹²), and that he did not perceive any indication of a kind heart. Such, indeed, was the barbarous inhumanity that the nobles and all the officers of the court, who were present, were forbidden to rise as he approached, to grant⁹³ lodging, or to receive the King at their homes even for one night. Since the Queen was suspicious of the kindness even of the Earl of Moray (who later became the viceroy), she plotted with his wife so that she should hurry back

^a This was a mere indication of the King's faithfulness and commitment to his love for the Queen.

governance eventually fell upon the Hepburn family, to which James Hepburn, the 4th Earl of Bothwell, belonged (Oram, 2012:10-11).

⁸⁹ Borthwick is a small village that lies within the Midlothian region, just south-east of Edinburgh (Wilson, 1882:53). Its most noteworthy feature is the castle that stands directly adjacent to it (Wilson, 1882:53). The castle, known as Borthwick Castle, used to be, as Halsey Borthwick (1936:25) states, "the home of the Lords of Borthwick for two hundred years." It was Dominus (Lord) Wilhemus Borthwyk who, after he had been liberated from his captivity as a hostage for the ransom of King James I of Scotland, bought a piece of land from his neighbour, William Hay, in 1430 and received permission to construct Borthwick Castle on his newly purchased land (Borthwick, 1936:8-9). It was also at this very castle that both Mary and Lord Bothwell stayed for four days during the turmoil that followed after their marriage (Wilson, 1882:53).

⁹⁰ Melrose is a small borough that lies within the Scottish Borders council area. It lies about 53km south-east of Edinburgh and is situated near the bank of the River Tweed. It was well known for the abbey that was built a little higher up the river in 1136, which was subject to continued attack and repair until it was eventually reduced to ruins by the English in 1545 (Historic Environment Scotland, n.d.).

⁹¹ Even though her concern for Lord Bothwell might have influenced her, it is believed that the fatigue and anxiety that the Queen experienced during her travels on those perilous roads caused her to fall ill. She was struck by a lingering fever that lasted a month and resulted in her resting in a darkened room in the ancient Jedburgh house. This was the very house which she frequented during her visits to Jedburgh (Gordon, 1870:6).

⁹² The word *mediocris* is an adjective and could be used as a substantive in its plural form (i.e. *mediocres*). In Medieval Latin it refers to "people of slight means" or "non-noble freemen"; i.e. the "middle class" (Niermeyer, 1976:667).

⁹³ The word *cedere* means "to grant" in Medieval Latin (Niermeyer, 1976:162). This translation is a better fit in the context than the Classical meaning of "to yield to".

^b The Queen's inhumanity was greater than that of a Scythian.

^c The Queen's shameful and public adultery.

home, pretend to have fallen ill, and immediately go and lie down, with the result that, because of this ruse, in any event, the King would be shut out due to the possibility of falling ill. Then, since he was being deprived of all services of kindness, the King returned the next day, with a very sad heart, to his former solitude.^b In the meantime, while the King lacked both all amenities and friends, and could hardly even beg a hut's lodging for the night, Lord Bothwell was being transferred from the house, where he had stayed before, to the Queen's lodging, in clear sight of the people as if in triumph over the King. He was brought to a chamber lower down, under the one in which the Queen lay. There, while they were still suffering, she because of her illness, and Lord Bothwell because of his wound, the Queen, in that very weak state of her body, still visited Lord Bothwell daily. And when they had both recovered a little, but had not yet fully regained their strength, they returned to their usual "exercise": this they did so openly that they seemed to fear nothing more than that their vileness should not be known.^c

Chapter 7

^a The fifth of November.

^b The Queen wishes to be free from the King.

^c Reres, the Queen's messenger, is sent out again.

Around the fifth of November,^a when she had travelled from Jedburgh⁹⁴ to a town called Kelso,⁹⁵ she received a letter from the King there. When she had read it in the presence of the viceroy, the Earl of Huntly,⁹⁶ and the secretary, and while she looked mournful, and was piteously torturing herself, as if she was about to relapse again into her former illness, she clearly and distinctly proclaimed that, unless she could be freed from the King in compliance with the law, she would, by no means, have a life worth living.^b And supposing that she could not attain that lawfully,⁹⁷ then, rather than live in such difficult circumstances, she would do away with herself by her own hand. Then, within a few days, while returning through the Marches,⁹⁸ she stayed near Coldingham,⁹⁹ while Lady Reres, as she passed by the guards, was recognised

⁹⁴ The house on Queen Street, which Mary inhabited in 1566, when she was detained by her illness, can still be visited today. It is currently known as "Mary Queen of Scots' visitors centre" (Mary Queen of Scots' visitor centre, Jedburgh – Exhibitions, 2020).

⁹⁵ Kelso, also known as Calco, is a town situated on the river Tweed in the Scottish Border council area (Wilson, 1882:251). The town was burnt down at least three times during the English invasion. It was also nearly completely destroyed in 1686 due to an accidental fire (Sinclair, 1794:584). Its governance was granted to Sir Robert Ker of Cessford by the grace of James VI in 1605 after the forfeiture by a certain Edward, who was the Earl of Bothwell and the Admiral of Scotland at that time (Sinclair, 1794:585).

⁹⁶ George Gordon, the 5th Earl of Huntly, was the son of a father by the same name, who preceded his son as the 4th Earl of Huntly (Fraser, 2010:234). Although he was a devout Catholic noble, he was never truly in Mary's favour, due to his father's actions (Fraser, 2010:157, 235). He, amongst others such as the Earl of Argyll, was one of Mary's chief nobles (Fraser, 2010:350). George was listed as one of the conspirators that signed the Craigmillar bond concerning the murder of Lord Darnley (Fraser, 2010:330).

⁹⁷ The word *ratio*, commonly understood in Classical Latin as "reason" or "means", refers to a "compliance with the law" or "legal cause" in Medieval Latin (Niermeyer, 1976:882).

⁹⁸ The Marches, which were fortified frontiers across the borders of Scotland and England, were only truly introduced via the treaty that was made between Henry III and Alexander III in 1249 (Reid, 1917:479); although it is possible that the first Marches have been in existence since as early as the 11th century (Pease, 1912:9-10). Its wardenship was only determined when the Scottish war began in 1296 (Reid, 1917:481). The Marches were eventually abandoned when Scotland and England became unified under the reign of James VI.

⁹⁹ Coldingham is a village and parish that lies on the coast of Berwickshire (Wilson, 1882:94), in south-eastern Scotland. It is considered to be one of the largest parishes in Berwickshire, together with Lauder (Thomson, 1908:20).

^d In the month of November.

^e The Queen, under the pretext of consanguinity with the King, aims for a divorce.

^f The Queen plans to kill the King.

and let go.^c But the Queen knew with whom she was associating herself, and where she was heading at that time of night. Then, when she had gone to Craigmillar^{100d} around the end of November (the castle about two miles from Edinburgh), in the company of the Earl of Moray (who later became the regent, but has since been killed),¹⁰¹ the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Argyll,¹⁰² and the secretary, she started up a conversation that she had had with them before; and she even hinted at what seemed to her the most suitable argument by which to accomplish this; namely to start with divorce proceedings against the King.^e Since they were so closely related by blood, that, by papal law, they had been barred from getting married, she never had any doubt that a divorce could quite easily come about, once the royal charter, which exempted them from that law, had been revoked (which was quite easy). Someone raised the objection that, if it came about in this way, their son would then be a bastard, since he had obviously been born outside of wedlock, especially since neither of the parents was ignorant of the causes, which made the marriage void. When she had thought for a little while about that response to her plans, she realised that it was true, and since she did not dare to disclose her intent to dispose of her son, she abandoned the idea of a divorce; yet, since that day, she never gave up her plan to annihilate the King, and this is quite clear from that which followed.^f

Chapter 8

When the King had returned to Craigmillar from Stirling and thought that she would be kinder towards him, now that her anger had somewhat abated with the passing of time, so far from there being any indication of a change of heart, he could not even beg for his daily sustenance, unless he remained at Stirling. This situation strongly fuelled the crowd's suspicion, of its own accord already inclined that way, of the Queen's daily improper association with Lord Bothwell. Around the beginning of December,^a when the ambassadors had come from France and England to celebrate the christening^b of him who is now the King, she herself laid out some money to buy Lord Bothwell clothes and also bought some from the merchants to ensure that he would stand out amongst the noble men. With such diligence, did she preside over the preparations that she seemed to be, I will not say his wife, but in fact his slave!^c Her legitimate husband, in the meantime, was not only deprived of support for his necessary expenses during his son's christening, but was also forbidden to appear before the ambassadors, and his ordinary servants were

^a In the month of December.

^b The baptism of the Queen's son.

^c The Queen's eagerness in fitting out Lord Bothwell.

¹⁰⁰ Craigmillar (date of origin unknown), which became the centre for the malicious plots against Lord Darnley (Fraser, 2010:330), lies about 5km south-east of Edinburgh's city centre, and is known for the now ruined castle, known as Craigmillar Castle (Wilson, 1882:105). The castle was the residence of James V while he was still in his infancy, and later became Mary's preferred retreat (Wilson, 1882:105). Mary's final visit to Craigmillar Castle took place in the autumn of 1566, when she travelled, most likely due to her weakened state after her illness, from Jedburgh "via the Tweed valley and east coast" (Furgol, 1987:225).

¹⁰¹ The Earl of Moray was assassinated by David Hamilton (Bowen, 2015:408) while he was passing through Linlithgow in January 1570 (Guy, 2005:456).

¹⁰² Archibald Campbell was the 5th Earl of Argyll. He was married to Mary's half-sister, Jean Stewart (Fraser, 2010:157). Archibald was known as one of the leading Protestant lords in Scotland, and was certainly not to be trusted. Instead of assisting his Protestant comrades, he leapt at the opportunity to despoil the Earl of Lennox and Atholl during the Chaseabout Raid (Fraser, 2010:173, 282). He was also listed as one of the conspirators that signed the Craigmillar bond (Fraser, 2010:330).

removed. The entire nobility was prohibited to follow, observe, and almost to show that they recognise him. The foreign ambassadors were warned not to talk to him although, in the meantime, for the most part of the day, they were all living in the same castle. The young man, treated so scornfully and inhumanely, became so despondent that, after leaving Stirling, he left to go to his father in Glasgow,¹⁰³ and the Queen tormented him with her usual hatred as she left. She took all his silverware, which he had used from his marriage till that very day, and replaced it with pewter.^d However, that would be typical of her contempt. What followed were the clear indications of inhumane savageness and unappeasable hatred. Before he was a mile from Stirling, he simultaneously experienced such a terrible pain in all parts of his body that it became quite apparent that it originated not from the effect of any illness, but from the treachery of a human being. As indications of that deceit, bluish blisters broke out all over his body after he had come to Glasgow.¹⁰⁴ This was accompanied by such suffering and pain in all parts of his body that he clung to life with very little hope of survival. In the meantime, the Queen would not even allow any doctor to come near him.^{105e}

^d The Queen strips the King of his ornaments and furniture.

^e Without difficulty they denounce the eruptions of blisters and the suspicion of poison.

Chapter 9

After the ceremony, the Queen conspired with her brother, the Earl of Moray, to ensure that, when he took the Earl of Bedford,^{106a} the English Queen's¹⁰⁷ ambassador, to the St. Andrews Cathedral,¹⁰⁸ he would invite

¹⁰³ Glasgow, considered to be the largest city in Scotland, and situated in the west-central region of Scotland, spanning across the banks of the river Clyde, lies c. 32km from the Atlantic mouth of the river. Its name potentially derives from the Gaelic *Glaschu*, which means “Green Glen” or “Green Hollow”, and is believed to have been the site of a once fortified prehistoric village (BBC, n.d.). Glasgow only received its royal borough status in 1450, after having been the archiepiscopal seat (Wilson, 1882:198). The Queen personally fetched Lord Darnley from Glasgow in 1567 and brought him to Edinburgh, where his potential plots against her were thwarted (Furgol, 1987:226).

¹⁰⁴ There were multiple rumours concerning Lord Darnley's sudden illness. It is suggested in this chapter that he was possibly poisoned, yet most historians agree that he was in fact suffering from smallpox (Fraser, 2010:335). There was also a rumour that Lord Darnley suffered from syphilis; yet this was also later thought to be a rumour, since it was clear that Lord Bothwell had crossed out the words *petite vérole* (which refer to smallpox) and replaced them with *roniole* (which refers to syphilis) in the narrative, known as *Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel* (“The affairs concerning the tale of [Lord] Bothwell”), that was written by Lord Bothwell himself about his doings while he was imprisoned in Denmark (Fraser, 2010:335). It only became clear that Lord Darnley was indeed suffering from syphilis when “Sir Daniel Wilson, at the request of Dr Karl Person,” analysed Lord Darnley's skull, which is now stored at the Royal College of Surgeons, London (Fraser, 2010:335; Weir, 2004:225).

¹⁰⁵ The Queen was delayed in visiting her husband. She did, however, send her own doctor to Glasgow to take care of him (Fraser, 2010:335). She also ordered the royal linen to be snipped and patterned for the King's nightshirt (Fraser, 2010:335).

¹⁰⁶ Francis Russell was the 2nd Earl of Bedford and, as indicated in the text, was Queen Elizabeth's ambassador.

¹⁰⁷ The English Queen mentioned in the text refers to Queen Elizabeth I, who was the cousin of Mary via Henry VII's lineage (Guy, 2005:19). Elizabeth and Mary had constant quarrels concerning the heir of the English throne, since Mary also had a right to ascend the throne (Fraser, 2010:28); yet Elizabeth, since Mary plotted to overthrow her, ensured that Mary would certainly never ascend the English throne (Fraser, 2010:608).

¹⁰⁸ St. Andrews used to be the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland. Its religious traditions began as early as the 6th century due to the formation of St. Kenneth's ecclesiastical community (Scottish-places.info, 2020). Many churches were dedicated to St. Andrews, who was considered to be the patron saint of the Picts (Scottish-places.info, 2020). They were believed to be an ancient group of people from the northern regions of Scotland (Mark, 2014). The St. Andrews Cathedral, however, was only founded c. 1160 and completed in 1318 (Wilson, 1882:12). The length of the cathedral, built in the customary cruciform, was c. 113m from its eastern to western

Lord Bothwell to also depart with them. He gladly agreed, although both he himself and the Queen, who thought out the plan, expected nothing less, as the outcome also clearly proved. For, as soon as the King left for Glasgow, and the others made their way to St. Andrews,¹⁰⁹ the Queen herself, along with her Bothwell, went to Drymen,¹¹⁰ and from there to Tullibardine.^{111b} They spent about eight days in those houses, in all the nooks, and in intimate contact, with the result that their contempt and disregard for their reputation, which they did not trouble themselves about, greatly offended everyone (except for themselves, who had discarded all shame); since they saw that they made no attempt to conceal their wickedness.

^b The Queen and Lord Bothwell's disguised plans, and their secret meeting.

Chapter 10

When they had returned to Stirling at around the beginning of January,^a the Queen began to use the excuse that the house in which her son was being raised was unsuitable, because, according to her, there was the danger of the boy catching a cold in the chilly and humid location. But it will easily become evident that this was done with something else in mind, since all the defects, which the Queen was concerned about, did not exist in that house. However, these defects were indeed present in the house, to which the boy was actually being taken, as it was situated in a low lying and marshy area. The boy, scarcely seven months old, was therefore brought back to Edinburgh in perilous winter time.^b There, since the first attempt was a failure, and the potency of the poison was overpowered by the natural strength of his body, the Queen devised new plans concerning the King's murder, so that she would eventually be able to accomplish what she had planned for so long. She herself departed to Glasgow. She pretended that the reason for her journey was to see the King while he was still alive, the very King whose death she had expected for the whole of the previous month. Anyone could however easily gather the true reason for her journey from her letter to Lord Bothwell. No longer worried about her son, whom she had under her control, she now went to Glasgow, accompanied by the Hamiltons¹¹² and other natural enemies of the King, completely bent on

^a In January of the year 1567

^b The Queen attempts to poison her son.

walls, while its breadth from the northern to southern walls was c. 55m (Wilson, 1882:12). The cathedral was eventually destroyed c. 1560 (Wilson, 1882:12) and one can therefore assume that the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Bothwell merely visited or passed by the ruins of the Cathedral.

¹⁰⁹ St. Andrews is a city and parish on the east coast of Fife, located about 20km south-east of Dundee and more or less 72km north-north-east of Edinburgh (Wilson, 1882:12). It gained its status as a royal borough around the time at which the construction of the St. Andrews Cathedral had begun (Archives Hub, n.d.). It was Mary's regular destination for vacation and hunting trips, during which she would often stay at Falkland Palace (Furgol, 1987:226-227). She also owned a townhouse in St. Andrews, which has been preserved (Furgol, 1987:222).

¹¹⁰ Drymen, a village and parish in west Stirlingshire (Wilson, 1882:135), was first mentioned in a charter that Alwin I, Earl of Lennox, composed c. 12th century, which granted certain lands to the Abbey of Paisley (Smith, 1896:73). The parish was initially a free rectory, but was eventually robbed of its revenues (Smith, 1896:73). The revenues, and therefore the rectory, were saved by an underpaid vicar (Smith, 1896:73). Drymen later became known for the multitude of churches that stood within its borders (Smith, 1896:74).

¹¹¹ Tullibardine is situated c. 4km north-west of Crieff Junction, Perthshire (Wilson, 1882:451). Along with many other areas, it was frequented by royals for hunting purposes. The Tullibardine Castle once stood within this area. The castle, which unfortunately has been completely destroyed, used to be the seat of the ancestors of the Earl of Atholl (Wilson, 1882:451).

¹¹² The Hamiltons were closely related to the Stuart family. Arran Hamilton could potentially have been the next heir to the Scottish throne, yet the second divorce of his grandfather, James Hamilton, the 1st Earl of Hamilton,

murdering her husband. Lord Bothwell, as he had agreed, made what seemed the most suitable preparations for committing the crime: first of all a house that is neither suitable for a sick person, nor fitting for a King (for it was broken down and ruinous), since nobody had lived there for several years, as it is situated in a place rarely visited, between the ruins of two churches, in the vicinity of a few alms-houses for beggars.^c And, so that no measure convenient to the execution of the crime would be lacking, the back-door within the city wall, which was connected to the house, was left open, so that there were also escapeways into the fields. Lord Bothwell wanted it to seem as if the considerations of health had been taken into account in the selection of this place. The Queen herself also stayed in the basement below the King's bedroom for those two days before the day of the King's murder, so that it would not seem to have been done as a pretence; and just as she carefully distanced herself from suspicion, so too was she quite willing to delegate the execution of the murder to others.

^c The method to do away with the King is contrived by the Queen and Lord Bothwell.

Chapter 11

Approximately three days before the King's death, she attempted to bring about discord between the King and her brother, Robert.¹¹³ She reasoned that, whichever one of them died, it would still be beneficial to her. As a seed for discord, the Queen mentioned the conversation, which the King had had with her concerning her brother. And when the two of them argued along such lines that they seemed to accuse each other of lying, it ultimately almost developed from words to steel.^a But while they were now both reaching for their swords, the Queen, as if fearing that that would happen, which she in reality desperately wanted, summoned her other brother, the Earl of Moray, so that she could either have him killed on the spot or accuse him of the crime after the fact. When this did not work out the way that she wanted, she devised another plan to shift the blame. When the Earl of Moray did not attend court of his own free will, and indeed had a valid excuse for his absence, since his wife, close to giving birth, was moreover suffering from a serious illness,^b and since, in the meantime, an envoy from the Duke of Savoy¹¹⁴ was there, it seemed to the Queen to be fitting circumstances to summon her brother. Yet the actual reason why she summoned him was because she wanted to put off the King's murder onto him and the Earl of Morton,¹¹⁵ and at the same time she wanted to get rid of these popular men, who were opposed to her and her efforts to establish tyranny. But divine grace, which had often saved the Earl of Moray from his enemies' multiple plots, once

^a The savage hostility between the King and Robert, the Queen's brother, was encouraged by the Queen.

^b The Earl of Moray withdraws from the court.

caused uncertainty with regards to Arran's succession (Fraser, 2010:39). They retained their position as potential heirs to the throne for nearly a hundred years (Fraser, 2010:40).

¹¹³ Robert Stuart, the 1st Earl of Orkney, was Mary's other half-brother (Weir, 2004:69).

¹¹⁴ The word *dux*, commonly understood in Classical Latin as "leader", in Medieval Latin and in the context of this text refers to a "Duke" (Niermeyer, 1976:363). The Duke of Savoy, known as Emanuele Filiberto, was born c. 1525 and was granted the governing power as regent of the Netherlands and commander of its forces before he turned 28 (Kamen, 1997:67). Emanuele later married the daughter of the King of France (Kamen, 1997:74), who was then King Henry II, the father of Francis I.

¹¹⁵ James Douglas, the 4th Earl of Morton, was one of Scotland's regents (Fraser, 2010:186). He was a grave and stern man and a Protestant noble (Fraser, 2010:186, 292). He was listed as one of David Riccio's assassins and was also listed as one of the conspirators that signed the Craigmillar bond (Fraser, 2010:329-330).

^c In the month of February.

^d The Earl of Moray was recalled and, by the grace of God, absolved of the suspicion of the murder that had been committed.

^e The Earl of Huntly and Lord Bothwell falsely accuse the Earl of Moray and the Earl of Moreton of the King's murder.

again came to his rescue. For on the Sunday, which fell on the 9th of February,^c when he went into the church for the gathering, a letter was brought to him, which stated that his wife had had a miscarriage and that there was little hope that she would survive. When he, shocked by this unexpected news, begged the Queen to allow him to leave, she responded that, if this was the case, the journey's effort would ultimately be futile, for he could not be of any use to her while she was sick. But, when he urged her more earnestly, she in turn beseeched him to remain there only for the night, and go to his wife the next day. But divine grace (as often at other times) both saved the innocent man from the current peril, and removed the possibilities of future false accusations.^d Although there were no reasons for suspicion, he was still clearly not free from a false accusation. For the Earl of Huntly and Lord Bothwell, when they could not do so with just cause, spread the most slanderous pamphlets, and attempted to associate him with the most repulsive crime; and, although the murder was committed after midnight, they spread rumours through England, before daybreak, through the use of capable men, which named the Earl of Moray and the Earl of Moreton as the instigators of the murder.^e But once the light of truth had risen up, as almost always happens in the case of lies, that rumour immediately disappeared.

Chapter 12

^a The whole tragedy and the conspiracy concerning the King's death and murder are exposed.

^b How the Queen behaves prior to the King's death.

^c Paris, the French accomplice and ally to the conspiracy.

When everything had been prepared for the cruel deed, but the opportunities to avoid an accusation were lost, the accomplices to the conspiracy decide to speed things up, fearing that some delay or obstacle might come up, or expose the secret plans.^a The Queen, therefore, after she had had her dinner, went up to the King's lodging as was her custom. There, since she had decided to do everything that would seem to indicate restored love, she spent several hours with him, with a much friendlier face and conversation than had been the case during the six or seven months before.^b With the arrival of Paris,^{116c} she cut the conversation short and prepared to leave. Paris, a Frenchman by birth, was still a young man, who, for several years, had lived

¹¹⁶ Paris had been Lord Bothwell's servant prior to his service to the Queen, having withstood years of abuse by Lord Bothwell, even to the extent where he had regularly been kicked in the stomach (Fraser, 2010:348-349). He was intentionally and strategically placed in the Queen's service in order to report back to Lord Bothwell concerning her doings and to commit questionable acts by request of Lord Bothwell (Fraser, 2010:348-349) as was clearly indicated by his testimony. It is, however, important to note that his testimony is considered to be very suspect, since this information had been "wrung from him by torture" (Fraser, 2010:348-349). Paris stated that he was attending to the Queen when, on either the 5th or 6th of February 1567, Lord Bothwell, in a very ill state, entered the Queen's room, which was situated directly below that of the King (Fraser, 2010:348-349). He told Paris that he desperately had to relieve himself, since he was suffering from dysentery. Paris, realising the urgency, therefore directed him to a semi-secluded corner. It was from this very corner that Lord Bothwell, while he was relieving himself, informed Paris of his intention to kill the King. He went as far as to disclose the names of his accomplices, i.e. The Earls of "Maitland, Argyll, Huntly, Morton, Ruthven and, Lindsay" (Fraser, 2010:348-349). When Paris inquired about the Earl of Moray, Lord Bothwell informed him that the Earl of Moray was on neutral grounds concerning the whole matter and that, for their plan to succeed he required the Queen's keys in order to enter the lodging on the day of the intended crime. Paris, initially hesitant and certainly unwilling, cooperated, obtained the keys without the Queen's knowledge, and handed them over to Lord Bothwell at Holyrood on the 8th of February 1567 (Fraser, 2010:348-349).

in the households of Lord Bothwell, Seton¹¹⁷ and then the Queen. Although the other keys of the lodging were in the possession of the King's servants, Paris, after he had concocted reasons that were neither quite reasonable nor fitting, kept the keys to the front door and the back door, which he entrusted to Lord Bothwell for safekeeping. He (Paris) had enjoyed great trust as far as the secrets between Lord Bothwell and the Queen were concerned. His arrival was an indication (as had been arranged), that everything was prepared for the wicked deed. The Queen immediately got up as he appeared, and made up another reason for her departure: "I", she said, "have really offended Sebastian,¹¹⁸ because I did not attend his masquerade wedding today." This man, Sebastian, who was born in Auvergne¹¹⁹ and was held in high esteem by the Queen, both for his skill in singing psalms¹²⁰ and his wit, actually did get married on that very same day. While the King was left almost alone in that solitary place, the Queen departed accompanied by the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Cassilis.¹²¹ After midnight, when she had returned to her room, she had a long enough conversation with Lord Bothwell after midnight, while no one, other than her body guard, was present.^d When the guard also departed, Lord Bothwell was left there, without any witnesses present, and shortly thereafter went back to his own bedroom. He changed his clothes, so that he would not be recognised by those who met him. He threw over a loose mantle, such as the German cavalry wore, and went out past the guards to the place of the intended crime.^e What the whole plan of action for the execution of the crime was can easily be gathered from the confessions of those who paid the penalty for it.

^d The Queen's conversations during the night with Lord Bothwell prior to the King's undoing.

^e Lord Bothwell, wearing a cloak, sets out past the guards to murder the King.

Chapter 13

After the deed, for the purpose of which he had set out, had been done, Lord Bothwell returned and went to lie down, as if he was ignorant of everything that had been going on. It is remarkable how charmingly the Queen played her part in the meantime, (at least so it seemed to her) as she anxiously awaited the outcome. For she was not at all perturbed by either the noise of the collapsing house, which had shaken the entire city, or the alarm of the people which ensued, and the confused shouts (for I believe that this was no surprise to her), until Lord Bothwell arose from his bed once more, pretending to be alarmed, and came to

¹¹⁷ George Seton, the 5th Lord of Seton, was not only a Privy Councillor, but also the Master of Mary's Household (Weir, 2004:14). He was present at Mary's marriage to Francis II and always provided Mary with a safe-haven, even after the murder of David Riccio and her second husband (Bowen, 2015:284).

¹¹⁸ Sebastian Danelourt, who was born in France and was married to a Scotswoman (who left Scotland for France because of her religious convictions), was said to have been both an active member in the Earl of Moray's rebellion, the Chaseabout Raid, and a witness at the court in Rome c. 1576, where the matter concerning Lord Bothwell and Mary's divorce was discussed in front of a French judge ordinary (Fraser, 2010:283, 546).

¹¹⁹ Auvergne is a central historical region in France and used to be France's main administrative region. Its name is most likely derived from the *Arverni* confederation, which served under the famous Vercingetorix, the greatest Gallic opponent to Julius Caesar (Drinkwater, 2020).

¹²⁰ The word *psallere*, meaning "to sing" or "to play a tune" in Classical Latin, meant "to sing psalms/hymns" in Medieval times (Niermeyer, 1976:869).

¹²¹ Gilbert Kennedy, 4th Earl of Cassilis, also written as *Cassillis*, was one of Mary's chief and trusted nobles (Fraser, 2010:350, 480). He, along with eight bishops, eight other earls – amongst whom were the Earls of Morton, Argyll, and Huntly – and seven barons, signed the manifesto that would eventually lead to Lord Bothwell's marriage to the widowed Mary and to Lord Bothwell's increase in power (Fraser, 2010:370).

her with the Earls of Argyll, of Huntly and of Atholl,¹²² along with the wives of the Earls of Atholl and Moray and the secretary. There, while this prodigious event was being related and each, on his own behalf, marvelled at what happened, namely that the King's lodging,¹²³ from the ground, from its very foundation, was blown into the air, and that the King himself was dead.^a In that great stupor and alarm of every kind of person, that heroic heart of the Queen was so far from yielding to base lamentations and tears, unbecoming to her royal name, blood, and rank, that she either equalled or surpassed everything believed about the steadfastness of former times. The fact that she sent most of those, who were present, to investigate the sequence of events and in addition commanded the soldiers on watch to follow, also originated from the same greatness of courage. Then she herself took a nap, with such a tranquil expression and untroubled spirit, that she rested peacefully until noon of the following day.^b However, so that she would not seem lacking in all humanity at her husband's death, she gradually shut herself off, and a period of mourning, which was to be suspended shortly, was proclaimed. The general public, uncertain whether she was lamenting or laughing, were drawn to different opinions: since it was equally dangerous, whether one seemed to openly despise the royal façade by acknowledging it, or whether one seemed to acknowledge it by one's poor attempt at pretence. While there were different discussions by different people about taking anyone into custody and the nature of the charge, there was, in the meantime, no mention made about the inquiry that had to be conducted. At last, the next day, a little after midday, since they were compelled by both shame and fear, Lord Bothwell, the principal executioner of the deed, convened with several accomplices at the home of the Earl of Argyll, for he was, by inheritance, the legislator dealing with capital crimes. Firstly, as if ignorant of everything that had occurred, they marvelled at the unusual, previously unheard of, and unbelievable occurrence. They eventually began to spend a little time on the inquiry.^c They therefore summoned a few poor women from nearby. These women were uncertain whether it would be better to speak or remain silent. Although they were very careful about what they said, once they had chattered more openly than the judges expected, they were dismissed for having spoken rashly. For, although their testimony angered some people, it was easily disregarded. The King's servants, those who were not eliminated by the disaster, were summoned, yet they denied that the keys had been in their possession. They were asked, "Who had them then?" They replied that it was the Queen. The inquiry was suspended for the sake of appearance, but in reality, to prevent the court's secrets from becoming known to everyone, were they to proceed any further.

^a The King's bedroom is violently shaken from its foundations with gunpowder.

^b The state of mind, facial expression and gesture, with which the Queen heard of her husband's death.

^c Hardly any inquiry or investigation concerning the King's death was being decided on.

¹²² John Stewart, the 4th Earl of Atholl, was a Catholic Scottish noble and one of Mary's most trusted council members (Weir, 2004:13). He was in full support of Mary until her second husband, Lord Darnley, had been murdered. It was at this time that he joined the Protestant lords of whom none were in favour of her regency (Weir, 2004:53). He later joined the Earl of Argyll in governing Scotland during the reign of King James VI (Weir, 2004:564). He unfortunately passed away in April 1579; when, during a banquet that celebrated their reconciliation, he suddenly fell ill and passed away within less than a week. His sudden frailty and death might most likely have been caused by poison (Bowen, 2015:495, 505, Weir, 2004:564).

¹²³ The original site of the "Toun's College" (later the University of Edinburgh), which lies near Greyfriars, was granted a royal charter in 1582. It was at the Kirk o'Field, where Henry Stuart (i.e. Lord Darnley) second husband of Mary, was assassinated on the 10th of February 1567 (Turnbull, Ehrlich, *et al*, 2019).

Chapter 14

Yet, so that it would not look as if the case was disregarded, a proclamation was declared; and it was decided that informers would receive rewards.^a But who would dare accuse the Queen or (which was almost more dangerous) Lord Bothwell of such a heinous crime, especially since he himself would simultaneously be the doer, the judge, the inquirer, and the enforcer of the punishment. Yet this fear, which shut each individual's mouth, was not able to keep everyone quiet. For through published pamphlets, and pictures, and by cries in the night through the darkness, the perpetrators of the crime came to understand quite clearly that their secrets had become manifest amongst the public.^b And, since nobody had any doubt about who had planned the crime, or who had performed the deed, the more they attempted to conceal their names, all the more did the public's subdued grief burst forth. Even though the people pretended that they regarded these things as unimportant, yet every now and then the rumours struck such a deep chord that they were unable to hide their grief.^c And so, when the inquiry concerning the King's death had become old news,¹²⁴ another more earnest inquiry followed against the authors of the pamphlets and against Lord Bothwell's calumniators (as they¹²⁵ called them).^d This inquiry was carried out with such ardour that neither money, nor the labour of men or horses was spared. All the painters were called together and also those who were producing documents were assembled to pass judgement on the pictures and published pamphlets. But, unless any painter voluntarily professed that he was the one whose works were in question, another innocent painter, tinged with the slight suspicion, would be punished. A proclamation was added in combination with the inquisition which determined that it was a capital offence, not only to publish something, but merely to have read that which had been published by someone else. But these people, who tried through the threat of capital punishment to confine the talk of the general populace, were not content with the King's most savage murder, and did not curb their hatred of him now that he was dead. The Queen divided the deceased's goods, his arms, horses, clothes, and his remaining furniture, either amongst his assassins or the enemies of his father (as if they had just been transferred to her treasury); and she almost reduced his father's tenants to extreme poverty, as if this was an addition to the spoils.

^a The judgement, camouflaged by false proclamations.

^b The authors of the crime are hinted at through pamphlets and pictures.

^c Rumours of the people concerning the Queen and Lord Bothwell were spread all over.

^d Her proclamation against the pictures and Lord Bothwell's calumniators.

Chapter 15

^a An example of the Queen's ill-boding cruelty towards her husband.

The fact that she wanted to feed her soul with the King's¹²⁶ punishment and wanted to feast her eyes on the sight of his slaughtered body was truly a strange and unheard of example of cruelty.^a For she did not merely look peacefully but also eagerly at the most beautiful cadaver of all men of that age. She then suddenly urged that he be buried, without any honour of a funeral, near David Riccio¹²⁷ at night by coffin bearers

¹²⁴ The word *antiquare* means "to make something 'look old'" in Renaissance Latin (Hoven, *et al*, 2006:35).

¹²⁵ i.e. Lord Bothwell and his associates.

¹²⁶ The Latin text does not mention the King directly, yet it is implied within the context.

¹²⁷ David Riccio, or *Davide Rizzio*, was the well known Italian secretary to Mary (Bowen, 2015:172; Weir, 2004:66). He was born in Turin, Piedmont, Italy around 1533 and travelled to Scotland as the Duke of Savoy's ambassador in 1561 (Weir, 2004:66). After parting ways with the Duke of Savoy, he became Mary's personal musician; after

^b The King is buried at night without the honour of a funeral near David Riccio.

^c The Queen's pretence at mourning.

^d The Queen stopped mourning long before the time, and got back again with Lord Bothwell.

upon a cheap bier.^b When everyone came to know these things, and the populace's indignation had become stronger than the threats of punishment, and their freedom to grieve had conquered their fear, the Queen attempted to gradually alter her appearance at home and to appease the hearts of the vexed populace by pretending to be in mourning. For, since it was the custom from ancient times for queens to abstain not only from the company of men for forty days, but also from looking at direct light after the death of their husbands, the Queen certainly made an attempt at disguised mourning;^c yet, while the joy of her heart got the upper hand, she opened the windows, since the doors were shut; she dared to behold the sun and the sky, having cast away her mourning veil within only four days. Something very inconvenient occurred and caused this entire fraudulent scene to be exposed by a foreigner when Henry Killigrew¹²⁸ had come from the Queen of England to comfort Mary (as was the custom). For when, by the Queen's command, he had come to the palace and, although this man had been familiar with the courts of kings for quite some time, and was not at all presumptuous, and did not act over hastily, he nevertheless arrived at such an inopportune time that, since the stage had not yet been set, he found that the windows were open, the candles barely even lit, and the rest of the theatrical equipment in disarray. Scarcely twelve of the original forty days, which were prescribed by custom for the period of mourning, had fully passed by, and while the pretence was not showing in public and she was still feeling ashamed to reveal her true affections so soon, she ultimately, with renewed courage, disregarded trivial things of this nature, returned to her former self, and showed her true colours. She then hurried to Seton's house with a few companions, leaving those who were still very sad behind. There, even though Lord Bothwell enjoyed the highest favour in the court, and the nobility of his ancestors, and his honours seemed to demand that he should be most honourably received second only to the Queen,^d he was nonetheless given a room near the kitchen. This place was however not entirely unfit to lessen their grief: for Lord Bothwell's room was directly below the Queen's bedroom; and, if she had experienced any kind of unexpected sorrow, there were these stairs, indeed quite narrow, but which nonetheless offered access for Lord Bothwell so that he could comfort her.¹²⁹

which he took up office as her French secretary (Fraser, 2010:276, 284). Suspicion quickly fell on him after her marriage to Lord Darnley. Lord Darnley accused David of having an affair with Mary (Fraser, 2010:293) and furthermore came to believe that David was the cause of Mary's pregnancy (Bowen, 2015:228; Zweig, 2011:124, 129). Lord Darnley therefore arranged for an "intervention" with David, who was now with Mary at Holyrood, on the 9th of March 1566 (Fraser, 2010:299). Lord Darnley was therefore accompanied by Lord Ruthven, who, although ill at the time, clearly wore armour underneath his gown (Fraser, 2010:300). Lord Ruthven politely addressed the Queen and begged her to dismiss David. Mary, suspicious of the matter, denied David's leave and angrily faced Lord Darnley. Lord Ruthven then seized the opportunity to threaten David's life, but the Queen's guards quickly intervened. Lord Ruthven, in the custody of the Queen's guards, then gave the signal for his companions to storm in and seize David. Amongst these men were Andrew Ker and George Douglas (Fraser, 2010:301). David, who had desperately attempted to cling to the Queen's skirts, was eventually dragged out of the room and, with his remaining breath, screaming and hoping for the Queen to save his life, met an incredibly grim fate when he succumbed to over fifty dagger-wounds (Fraser, 2010:301).

¹²⁸ Henry Killigrew, who was the English ambassador and Elizabeth's envoy, not only visited Mary on the 8th of March 1567 to console her after the death of her husband, but was also present five days after the birth of James VI (Fraser, 2010:317, 367).

¹²⁹ There are multiple innuendos (e.g. *coetu hominum* "from the company of men" and *ad eam consolandam* "to comfort her") in this chapter, more so than in other chapters. Buchanan is using these innuendos to blemish Mary's reputation even more.

Chapter 16

Meanwhile, as the rumour spread all the way to France, Monsieur du Croc¹³⁰ (who previously held frequent ambassadorial offices in Scotland) entered the scene, although at a very inopportune time. The Queen, by his advice, returned to Edinburgh from that hiding place, which was infamous even in France. But she enjoyed such benefits at Seton Castle¹³¹ that, even at the cost of her good name, she had to return to this place. Meetings about the important affairs of the kingdom were held there. The central point of the whole discussion was however that Lord Bothwell be charged as the person responsible for the murder, and be acquitted by the judges who were assembled for this purpose. It was concluded that the more fickle judges could by grace and promises be persuaded to absolve him, while the graver of the judges, who had to be added for the sake of appearance, could be brought around by fear. For, besides the pamphlets that were spread around, the King's father, the Earl of Lennox,¹³² also openly accused him of being the one who committed the murder.^a Yet the parliamentary assembly was scheduled for the 13th of April, and they wanted the judgement to be passed before that day.^b That hurriedness, however, was the reason why nothing in the legal proceedings happened according to law, order, or in the manner of our forefathers. The accusers should have been duly summoned, and also the closest relatives, i.e. the wife, the father, and the son either to be present themselves or send their representatives. Forty days were legally permitted for this. The father was ordered to present himself within 13 days; and, what is more, without his council of friends, with only his household, which, because of his great poverty, had been reduced to a very few; while Lord Bothwell, in the meantime, roamed around the entire city with great bands of men. And, because he believed that nobody would support the indictment, since threats of such certain danger had been made (such was the degree of his carelessness and contempt for laws and legal procedures) that the legal action was drawn up for a murder, which was claimed to have been committed on the 9th of February, when the King had actually

^a The Earl of Lennox, the King's father, continues the prosecution of Lord Bothwell for the King's murder.

^b In the month of April.

¹³⁰ Monsieur du Croc, who was, as the text indicates, the French ambassador, played an important role in the Queen's affairs; for instance, on the 30th of September 1566, he, along with the Council, oversaw the matter of dispute between the Queen and Lord Darnley (Fraser, 2010:323). It was clear, even at this time, that he never approved of the Queen's husbands (Fraser, 2010:328, 380-381). The dispute concerned Lord Darnley's regal powers that were diminished by the Queen. This then led Lord Darnley, who had felt insulted, to request departure from Scotland (Fraser, 2010:323). Monsieur du Croc declared that it would be considered an offence to the Queen's honour if he departed from Scotland (Fraser, 2010:323). This however did not prevent Lord Darnley from leaving Scotland; and he did so without even kissing his wife goodbye while vowing, as he left, "that she would not see him again" anytime soon (Fraser, 2010:323). Monsieur du Croc, along with the Council, therefore advised the Queen "to continue on her present course of wise and virtuous behaviour" (Fraser, 2010:323). He also assisted the Queen in the preparations for her new born son's Christening (Fraser, 2010:324), and was instructed by the French King not to interact with Lord Darnley during that time (Fraser, 2010:332-333).

¹³¹ Seton Castle in East Lothian, Scotland, was a favourite retreat for Mary. It belonged to Lord Seton by the 1500's (Savills, n.d.).

¹³² Lord Darnley's father, Matthew Stuart, the 4th Earl of Lennox (Fraser, 2010:267), who married Lord Darnley's mother, the English Lady Margaret Douglas, in June 1544 was completely in favour of betrothing his son to Mary, since he was embroiled in a rivalry with the Arran family, who were intent on inheriting the Scottish throne (Fraser, 2010:39, 45, 48). He did however, only agree to this marriage on the condition that his son, once he had subjugated Scotland, grant him Scottish governorship (Fraser, 2010:48).

^c The judgement concerning the murder is pronounced against Lord Bothwell without any order, with no regard for the law, with the appearance of turmoil, and with impromptu haste.

^a The Earl of Cassilis.

^b The protest against the judgement.

^c The judges' protest.

^d Lord Bothwell is acquitted in the judgement when nobody dares to accuse him.

^e Lord Bothwell, in defence of his cause, announces a duel.

been killed on the 10th.^c There was the same severity in choosing and rejecting the judges: for the judges were chosen by the murderers themselves, since there was nobody who could oppose their decision.^d

^d In the selection of the judges, good character was not taken into consideration, and rejection was not permitted.

Chapter 17

When the Earl of Cassilis^a preferred to pay the penalty, as the custom is, rather than be a judge in this legal matter, and therefore did not obey the Queen who was requesting, threatening, and even sending him her ring as solemn guarantee of both her earnest request and her threats, he finally abandoned his decision, compelled by the fear of both exile and punishment. The judges, not having been selected to make a decisive judgement, but chosen to absolve Lord Bothwell, took their seats. The case was conducted without an opponent. This happened to be a judgement for capital punishment, in which nobody accused Lord Bothwell, unless that person had been corrupted by the accused, so that you would not think that a case was being conducted in a court, but that it was a fictitious story being performed in a play. Amidst such a sense of security about the circumstances (please be a witness to how strong the testimony of a conscience is on both sides), a young man, from the family of the Earl of Lenox, in whom the motivation of duty was stronger than the fear of danger, suddenly came forth quite unexpectedly. He protested that that assembly of judges was not lawful, because nothing was being conducted lawfully or orderly there.^b After he had said this, such fear overcame the judges that everyone protested in unison,^c demanding that they not seem fraudulent, because they dismissed the accused, whom nobody accused, and furthermore absolved him of the murder, which was said to have been committed on the 9th of February, while the King was actually killed on the 10th day.^d This was that famous judgement, by the authority of which Lord Bothwell, although not truly freed from blame, but as if it were glossed over with shoe-blackening, desired to court the Queen more honourably, and became a more despicable husband rather than the adulterer which he had previously been. On top of this acquittal, a pamphlet was displayed in the most renowned area of the court, even though Lord Bothwell had by a just trial been lawfully acquitted of the murder, a murder of which Lord Bothwell was falsely accused; yet, in order to prove his innocence more clearly to everyone, he was prepared to resolve this matter by combat if someone of good reputation and born of a noble family were to charge him with the King's murder. And there was someone who, on the following day, through a publicly placed pamphlet, accepted this condition, provided a place for the duel was determined, where he could dare to disclose his identity without fear.^e

Chapter 18

^a Parliament is solemnly convened in Scotland.

In this emotional turmoil, a parliamentary assembly was held.^a There, when, in the course of almost eight days, there was a discussion about the reversal of the judgement, according to which the father of the Earl of Huntly was convicted of treason, and also about restoring the son to the property of his father and to the

status inherited from his father, many inducements were offered to the common folk, and especially to the church, to the effect that several laws of the papal tyranny, concerning the punishment of those who dared to mutter against the decrees of the Holy See¹³³ of Rome, should be abolished. Although these things were acceptable to the public, one matter still remained, which was of such kind as to annoy the Queen no less than it displeased the public: namely that familiarity that she had with Lord Bothwell, which was neither as public as the Queen wanted, nor so secretive that it eluded the public, especially since everyone's eyes were directed at them. For, since Lord Bothwell had a wife, and to wait for the divorce was going to take a long time, and since the Queen could neither publicly have him, nor privately gain control over him, nor be entirely freed of him, some kind of concealment, although not honourable, was at the very least required.^b Furthermore, since nothing else came to mind, the following invention seemed especially pleasing – that Lord Bothwell forcibly kidnap the Queen and in this way take her modesty into consideration. And so, after a few days, while the Queen was returning from Stirling, she was kidnapped by Lord Bothwell and taken to Dunbar.¹³⁴ Whether she was willing or unwilling, anyone could easily deduce from the letter she wrote to him on her journey.¹³⁵ Yet, whatever the situation was, in order to get rid of the crime of a kidnapping by means of a lawful marriage, the wife of Lord Bothwell was forced to sue for a divorce in two courts.^c

^b After the King's death, the Queen wants to marry Lord Bothwell, while Lord Bothwell's wife is still alive.

^c The Queen, through the most cunning fabrication, sows the seeds for a divorce of Lord Bothwell and his wife.

Chapter 19

Before the judges, who were selected by the authority of the Queen to have jurisdiction in these kinds of cases, Lord Bothwell's wife accused her husband of adultery, which was, before the judges, a just cause for divorce.^a Before the papal judges, who were clearly forbidden by the rule of their religious orders,¹³⁶ yet permitted by the Archbishop of Saint Andrews¹³⁷ to hear this case, Lord Bothwell was accused of having a sexual relationship, prior to their marriage, with his wife's close relative.^b In the meantime, they did not mention the Roman pope's Bull, by which pardon was given for that offence. There was no delaying their divorce, neither concerning witnesses, nor judges. For within ten days, the case was undertaken, it began,

^a The Queen allows herself to be taken by Lord Bothwell by force.

^b Lord Bothwell's wife is compelled, due the Queen's capture, to seek a lawsuit of divorce against her husband.

¹³³ The word *sedes*, especially in this context with *Romana* (in text: *Romanae*), refers to the "Holy See" in Renaissance Latin (Hoven et al, 2006:499).

¹³⁴ Mary was kidnapped at a place known as The Briggs, which was situated directly south of Cramond (Furgol, 1987:226), and was then brought to Dunbar Castle. There is a possibility that they later ventured from Dunbar Castle, past Hailes Castle, to Edinburgh (Furgol, 1987:226).

¹³⁵ This could be a reference to one of the Casket Letters. Buchanan was assigned to gather the casket letters and present them with an introduction (the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*) to the court (Steines, 2009:29, 31).

¹³⁶ Perhaps, as happened in the case of Henry VIII, there was an attempt to bypass papal judgement, with the archbishop of St Andrews authorizing the papal judges to make their own decision.

¹³⁷ John Hamilton, who was the Archbishop of Saint Andrews during this period and was once merely reinstated for the purpose of the Queen's divorce from Lord Darnley, was not only the overseer of that divorce, but also the one to nullify their marriage (Fraser, 2010:335). He was furthermore, after he had been fully restored to his position as Archbishop, the overseer of the divorce between Lady Jean Gordon and Lord Bothwell (Fraser, 2010:377). The Archbishop, on the grounds of both Lord Bothwell's adultery with Bessie Crawford and their degree of consanguinity, annulled their marriage on the 7th of May 1567 (Fraser, 2010:377). The biggest issue, however, especially for Lord Bothwell's future endeavours, was that, although they were married under Catholic prescripts, all matrimonial cases were now strictly governed by the Protestant commissary court (Fraser, 2010:377).

witnesses were called, it was debated and adjudicated before both groups of judges. When the finding had been conveyed to Dunbar, Lord Bothwell assembled all of his friends and clients from all over to escort the Queen, who wanted to seem like a captive, back to Edinburgh. When they, mostly armed, had come together, and while they were leading the Queen back on her journey, their hearts were overcome by the fear of potentially being accused, at some point, of holding the Queen captive. They knew that, although the rest of the evidence was lacking, this one thing was satisfactory proof: namely that armed men were around her, while circumstances and times were otherwise peaceful. When this scruple had been brought into the equation, everyone threw their lances away in the middle of their journey; and, as a more peaceful escort, at least in appearance, they led her back into Edinburgh Castle. The castle was likewise under the authority of Lord Bothwell. The Queen remained there with Lord Bothwell, while the marriage banns, which they called for, were officially announced. She then eventually went down from the castle into the town, and approached the public judicial council: they declared that she was free and also had legal capacity. And so, within eight days, she contracted that marriage¹³⁸ which was no marriage, while all good folk detested this marriage, or at least certainly abhorred it to such an extent that even du Croc, the ambassador of the king of France, a man most devoted to the Queen, and also belonging to the House of Guise,¹³⁹ and who lived in close proximity, although invited very often, did not consider it in accordance with his dignity to be present at the feast.^c All of this happened about the 15th of May 1567.^d Indeed, on the 15th of the following June,^e when Lord Bothwell had either been frightened by his joint knowledge of the crime or had been banished by the Queen, the matter presented itself to the Lords,¹⁴⁰ who were demanding that the murderer present himself for punishment.^f

^c Lord Bothwell, developing from a disgraceful intriguer to a more disgraceful husband, and truly the most disgraceful murderer, marries the Queen.

^d In the month of May.

^e In the month of June.

^f Lord Bothwell, as a public assassin of the head of state, is called by the leading men to punishment.

Epilogue

Whatever happened since that day does not truly relate to the present topic. And, although my speech might have been longer than you expected, I am nevertheless aware that, in my desire to get to the end, I have omitted many things, and that I have superficially skimmed over most things in my eagerness to hurry the story along, and that I have certainly not gone into the detail that is appropriate for the atrocity of the crime.

¹³⁸ Mary, following her marriage to Lord Bothwell, now needed to gather support amongst the Lothian nobles, since hardly anybody seemed to favour their marriage (Wilson, 1882:53). She therefore ventured to the east of Edinburgh, but the entire operation ended in disaster, when Borthwick Castle was sieged and she was the second one to be captured by the Confederate Lords at Carberry Hill (Furgol, 1987:226).

¹³⁹ The House of Guise was a noble French and Catholic family (Bowen, 2015:25; Guy, 2005:27), of which Mary became part since she arrived in France as a young girl (Fraser, 2010:63). She later became more involved with the family when she married the then King of France, Francis II (Fraser, 2010:95).

¹⁴⁰ The word *procer*, which is mostly used in its plural form (*procere*) and commonly means “chiefs” or “princes” in Classical Latin, refers to the “great men of the realm” or “great men of the king’s court”; i.e. the “Lords” in Medieval Latin (Niermeyer, 1976:854).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In Buchanan's text, Mary is portrayed as a devout Catholic and Scottish Queen, who became overwhelmed by circumstances during the later part of her life. Although her childhood seemed quite ordinary for a royal Scotswoman (Bowen, 2015:117; Fraser, 2010:63, 78, 87, 114; Guy, 2005:55, 64), despite the fact that she was living in France for the greater part of her youth, Mary's later years, as is evident from chapter 2 and 3, were wrought by the religious, political and social circumstances of the period. The Protestant revolution, which was heavily supported not only by one of her half-brothers, James Stewart, but also by other Scottish council members, such as the Earl of Argyll, and other supporting figures, such as John Knox and later George Buchanan, who had not only been Mary's Latin tutor, but a distant relative of her second husband, Lord Darnley, had a significant impact on Mary's difficulty in governance, as it is indicated in chapter 2. The fact that Mary's French alliance had come to an end after the death of her first husband and that the murder of her second husband had such a substantial impact on the support of her subjects and of her English cousin, Elizabeth, caused Mary great distress. Although it is clear that Buchanan, who had already been politically – and personally – influenced prior to composing the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, solely attributes her downfall to her own wickedness and lustfulness, the circumstances surrounding the events certainly led to many of Mary's rash decisions and to her ultimate defeat.

Buchanan, who was most likely influenced by Classical authors, skilfully employed rhetoric in his portrayal of Mary and other role-players in his composition of *De Maria Scotorum Regina*. His use of *ethos* and *pathos* was aimed at persuading the reader to accept his point of view; he uses *paralepsis* deliberately to emphasise the fact that he is merely summarising the events, and he therefore forces the reader to pay close attention to what he deems most important; his use of hyperbole keeps the reader entertained; his use of the metaphors in the text emphasise and illustrate certain events; parenthesis presents the reader with additional information; and the satirical rhetorical questions involve the reader in the events. These rhetorical figures of speech did pose some difficulty when translating, since the original rhetorical figure of speech might – to an extent – be lost in the translation from the source-language to the target-language. Nonetheless, these obstacles were overcome due to the application of an intersemiotic translation.

The history surrounding the text complicates the authenticity of what has been written. There can be no doubt that the original author of the text was Buchanan; but, since the text fell into the hands of William Cecil after it had been presented to Elizabeth, it is by all means possible that the text had been altered before its official publication in 1571. We might of course never truly know to what extent the text had been altered; yet, in its present form, it provides an excellent example of a contemporary 16th century text written in Early Modern Latin, filled with slander, rhetoric, and drama.

The illegitimate publication of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* by the instruction of William Cecil impacted negatively on Mary's popularity with not only her own subjects, but even those in England and abroad. It has been argued that, if it were not for the publication of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, in which the

Queen is clearly portrayed as a villainous protagonist in a dramatic play, Mary would not have suffered such great defamation (Bowen, 2015:437; Zweig, 2011:260). This of course would be merely speculative, since the uncovering of Mary's multiple plots and the exposure and disappearance of the original Casket Letters (Weir, 2004:257), although they never directly implicated Mary, gave ample reason to suspect and accuse Mary of heinous acts. One could also argue that, since she surrounded herself with a council that was made up of both spectra of the most prominent religious convictions of this period in Europe (Weir, 2004:11-14) and since she was seemingly unaware of her council's schemes, she was merely attempting to please the masses and survive these circumstances as best she could. Mary's reputation will nonetheless be subject to dispute, since few authentic documents concerning the events referred to in this thesis survived; and those that did, like any text from the 16th century, have been edited, copied, snipped, burned, and renewed by people of vastly different paradigms (Lange & Kelley, 1971:257-258, 261, 264-265), with the result that historians, translators, and the like are left with a distorted picture of factual historic events.

An intersemiotic, literary, and communicative modern English translation of a new critical Latin edition of the *De Maria Scotorum Regina* has been produced. The translation theories that were applied in the translation process were suitable for the translation of this a text. It will always prove impossible to reflect the author's real or true intention. One can merely attempt to convey that which the text volunteers, into modern English. The production of the text involved multiple attempts, corrections, discussions, and disagreements. Both Wilson's translation, which presented a direct translation into Middle Scots, and Gatherer's direct English translation, were solely based on Ruddiman's version of the text. These translations were analysed and compared during the production of the modern English translation. The literal translation was perhaps redundant since it was merely used as a reference. It did, however, provide both an understanding of the intricacies of Early Modern Latin and a first survey of the content and context.

In conclusion, the task of translating Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum Regina* ultimately proved to be slightly more difficult than initially perceived. Some of the existing translations, such as the Middle Scots and French translations, already present a negative, politically slanted depiction of Mary. Furthermore, the translation of the text posed several hurdles, which included the abandoning of all previous biases and the incorporation of not only one translation theory, but an amalgamation of numerous modern translation theories. This amalgamation of modern translation theories has, to my knowledge, never been incorporated into the translation process of any similar text. Nevertheless, the translation, backed by the translation theories and annotations, has presented the desired result. I would like to think that this new modern English translation will provide a modern 21st century audience – especially researchers of the Early Modern period and non-specialist readers who are interested in Early Modern Scottish and English history– with easy access to this important document, which dates to the era of the Reformation in Britain. The addition of explanatory and contextual annotations, which have not been included in any previous translation, will help the non-specialist reader to understand the context in which the text took shape. Translators and those who specialise in translation theory will have an interest in the theoretical framework in which the translation is

grounded. The addition of an easily legible Latin text, based on a first edition Latin text and the edited Latin text of Thomas Ruddiman, will most definitely expand the corpus of Early modern Latin texts available.

ADDENDUM

Presented here is a list of the typical Medieval and Early Modern spelling of words found in the copy-text with the equivalent classical Latin form as they are presented in the critical Latin edition.

Prooemium:

sequuta – secuta

hyeme – hieme

Capitulum I:

scaeleris – sceleris

coetera – cetera

colloquutus – collocutus

Capitulum II:

vaeniam – veniam

foeminam – feminam

inimimicos – inimicos

Capitulum III:

consequutus – consecutus

coniugali – coniugalium

vaenationes – venationes

Capitulum IV:

pene – paene

coetera – cetera

Capitulum V:

quotidianos – cottidianus

hyeme – hieme

Ieburgum – Iedburgum

Bothuellius – Bothuelius

Bothuellium – Bothuellium

Capitulum VI:

moerore – maerore

Capitulum VII:

sequuta – secuta

Capitulum VIII:

conficiundis – conficiendis

Capitulum IX:

coenaculis – cenaculis

Capitulum X:

hyeme – hieme

coede – caede

caenaculo – cenaculo

Capitulum XI:

quum – cum

pene – paene

coedes – caedes

Capitulum XII:

exponitur – exponuntur

Capitulum XIII:

lachrymas – lacrimas

loquutae – locutae

Capitulum XIV:

pene – paene

author – auctor

authores – auctores

suppellectilem – supellectilem

Capitulum XV:

caetu – coetu

coelumque – caelumque

Capitulum XVIII:

inprimis – in primis

Capitulum XIX:

Hii – Hi

denunciarentur – denuntiarentur

coenam – cenam

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