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James VI and I,  
Literature and Scotland  
Tides of Change, 1567-1625

EDITED BY

David J. Parkinson



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Plate 1: James Melville, *A Morning Vision*, pp. 136-137; British Library (shelfmark C.37.e.14), © The British Library Board. All Rights Reserved, 01/06/2011.

Plate 2: Unknown artist, *John Donne* (oil on panel, circa 1595); National Portrait Gallery 6790, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

## List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DOST	<i>Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</i>
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
STS	Scottish Text Society

## Note on Orthography, Terms, Dates and Currency

In the transcription of Scots texts, the distribution of *w*, *v* and *u* is maintained. The yogh (*ȝ*) is extended to the typographic *z*, where that character represents values equivalent to those represented in English by the consonantal *y*. The thorn (*þ*) appears in place of the *y* where that letter provides the equivalent to the English *th*. Abbreviated forms (*grād* for *grand*; *wt* for *with*) are silently expanded. Punctuation is lightly adapted to reflect modern practice. Names are spelled in accordance with ODNB. The words *presbyterian* and *episcopalian* are used in lower case to refer to factions in the Reformed Church and not to established denominations. Dates are provided according to modern practice, with the new year commencing on January the first. In 1603, the pound Scots was valued equal to the English shilling; the Scots *merk* is two-thirds of a pound Scots.

# COTERIES, COMMENDATORY VERSE AND JACOBAN POETICS

## WILLIAM FOWLER'S *TRIVMPHS OF PETRARKE* AND ITS CASTALIAN CIRCLES

Theo van Heijnsbergen

### *Preliminaries*

William Fowler's *Trivmpts of the Most Famous Poet Mr. Frances Petrarke*, an adaptation in Scots of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, is known to us from a sole copy, Edinburgh University Library, MS De.1.10 (technically, De.1.10/1-3), which, dated 12 December 1587, was presented to Jean Fleming, Lady Thirlestane. It is not a frequently studied text. Its neglect is not solely due to the quality of either the source text or Fowler's adaptation. In modern retrospect, in contrast to late medieval and earlier sixteenth-century judgement, Petrarch's *Canzoniere* rather than his *Trionfi* has long been considered the Italian poet's vernacular masterpiece.

Fowler's engagement with Petrarch's vernacular writing is quite profound, even if this is perhaps not always immediately visible.<sup>1</sup> His *Tarantula of Love*, which has most recently been dated 'between 1583/4 (...) and, at the very latest, 1587', presents a northern response to Petrarch's complex fusion of earthly and divine love.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, just as Petrarch's *Trionfi* was the Italian poet's own response to the way in which he himself had presented that theme in the *Canzoniere*, Fowler's *Trivmpts* not only provides a gloss on that response but continues to articulate particularly Scottish 'moral sentences' in an ongoing act of transcreation.<sup>3</sup> As distinct from translation, 'transcreation' refers to the

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<sup>1</sup> Scott, *Les sonnets élizabéthains*, pp. 327-329; Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. III, pp. cxx-cxxv; Jack, 'William Fowler and Italian Literature'; Jack, *Italian Influence*, pp. 76-83, 114-115, 119, 167; Jack, 'Petrarch in English', pp. 804-809, 811; Jack, 'Petrarch and the Scottish Renaissance Sonnet', pp. 264-66; Dunningan, *Eros and Poetry*, pp. 149-63, particularly p. 151; Verweij, 'Manuscripts of William Fowler', pp. 9-12, 20; Petrina, 'Translation and Ideology', pp. 235-237, Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*, pp. 94, 96-98.

<sup>2</sup> Verweij, 'Manuscripts of William Fowler', p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p.16; Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura*. Fowler's text fits into a French tradition of the reception of the *Trionfi*, one in which the latter was read not as the culmination of the Laura lyrics in

aesthetic re-interpretation of the original work suited to the readers/audience of the target language in the particular time and space. This re-interpretation is done with a certain social purpose and is performed with suitable interpolations, explanations, expansions, summarising and aesthetic innovations in style and techniques.<sup>4</sup>

Such transcreation allows contemporary Scottish authors to comply with James VI's command to rise above the potential limitations of translation, as the latter limits the true poet's 'ingyne' by forcing the translator's imagination to be restrained by the source text.<sup>5</sup> Instead, transcreation represents an act of literary creativity, of genuine re-interpretation, which is closer to medieval and Renaissance textual practice generally as well as to the demands made on the reader in the Older Scots tradition, i.e. of seeing reading as a learning tool towards moral acuity. The fact that such a reader-focused poetics has recently been shown to be central to James's *Essayes of a Prentise* in general, and to the *Revlis and Cautelis* within that, suggests that we should approach Fowler's *Trivmphs* as such a more creative form of translation.<sup>6</sup>

This approach also neutralises critiques that view the relation between Fowler's text and Petrarch's original as somewhat one-sided. Even the STS edition of Fowler's works in its commentary frequently seeks to instance only what Petrarch did, and what Fowler did not, accomplish, rather than what the latter did achieve by adding to, or otherwise changing, his source text.<sup>7</sup> Rather than developing its own argument in this area, the present paper endorses the concluding statements in Sarah Dunnigan's important study of Fowler:

Fowler [does not] endow love with Petrarch's theological and spiritual transcendence. (...) Yet Fowler's work should not be termed simply 'anti-Petrarchist' since his is not a categorical rejection of Petrarchan philosophy but rather a 'transfiguration' of its secular and sacral contrasts. (...) [E]ach new translation, commentary or Petrarchist sequence invents an ideologically different Petrarch, a new paradigm of the *Rime*

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the *Canzoniere* but primarily as an extension of Petrarch's *De Remediis utriusque fortunae*: Axton, 'Lord Morley's *Tryumphes*', pp. 171, 179, 180, 190.

<sup>4</sup> Gopinathan, 'Translation, Transcreation and Culture', p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> James, *Essayes of a Prentise*, sig. M2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> McClune, 'Poetry of John Stewart', notably pp. 135-159; Sargent, 'Scottish Literary Renaissance'.

<sup>7</sup> This vein of criticism follows the trend of Kastner's edition of William Drummond, Fowler's nephew, which was effectively challenged by Weiss, 'Theme and Structure of Drummond', esp. pp. 459 and 461; and by Morgan, 'How Good a Poet'.

or *Trionfi* in a Protestant tradition that ultimately rejects apotheosis of the female in favour of emphasising ‘the lover’s penitent abjection before God’.<sup>8</sup>

In order to embed that response to Petrarch in a socio-cultural context, it may be opportune to remind ourselves of Fowler’s life and career. Having studied in Paris, Fowler (1560-1612) subsequently became an informer for the English by infiltrating the household of Michel de Castelnau, the French ambassador in London, in 1582-1583. Returning to Edinburgh, from 1584 onwards he successfully used his capacities as a man of letters to become one of those enjoying literary and professional patronage from James VI. In 1593 he became secretary to Queen Anne, a post he held until his death. Literary scholars have perhaps not sufficiently implemented in critical analyses what we know of Fowler’s above-mentioned other walks of life, such as his theological-polemical writing; his activities as an intelligencer in the early 1580s and the networks that these will have positioned him in; and his court-related non-literary activities, such as his role in staging the festivities celebrating the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594. Criticism is slowly beginning to apply such knowledge in analyses of Fowler’s more purely literary dimensions. From this, he increasingly emerges not so much as a sonneteering courtier but more as a professional man of letters, a professional writer, perhaps even a burgher humanist.<sup>9</sup>

The sections below will try and combine the three aspects above – the nature of Fowler’s response to Petrarch, the kind of writer Fowler was, and the various networks he moved in – to suggest that Fowler’s *Trivmphs* can be seen as marking, if not constituting in itself, a decisive moment in the evolution of a Scottish Jacobean poetics. In order to make its case, the present analysis focuses on the actual manuscript in which Fowler’s *Trivmphs* appears, particularly on its paratextual elements.

### *Manuscript Coteries*

Crucially, EUL, MS De.1.10 was a presentation manuscript.<sup>10</sup> As a result, it contains valuable information regarding the contexts and readership that it

<sup>8</sup> Dunnigan *Eros and Poetry*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>9</sup> Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*, Chapter 3.

<sup>10</sup> Two fragments of Fowler’s *Trivmphs* survive among the Hawthornden papers (NLS, Hawthornden MS 2063, fols. 39<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>v</sup>; Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, pp. 25, 27, 36n). One of these contains the opening thirty-two lines in the so-called ‘common meter’, alternating between iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter. The other is in fourteeners, the format used in EUL, MS De.1.10. The former breaks up the fourteener’s less attractive layout and re-



was meant to address. The dedication of the manuscript gives us three potential readers: it is dedicated to Jean Fleming, Lady Thirlestane, while it shrewdly also addresses her husband, John Maitland of Thirlestane, and King James himself.<sup>11</sup> John Maitland had recently become the most powerful man in Scotland, second only to the king in terms of executive power as both Secretary and Chancellor. His family was of prominent stock, though officially still operating at the level of lairds rather than aristocrats. His father, Sir Richard Maitland, was a prominent legal man, a civil servant to three successive Stewart monarchs, and also a prolific vernacular poet. Sir Richard's three sons – William, Secretary to Mary queen of Scots; John himself; and Thomas – had also written verse, Latin as well as Scots. The family is typical of the rise of those lairds who straddled the divide between the urban elite and landholders away from towns, having a foot in both camps and vying with the aristocracy for power and political, if not social, status.

John Maitland was one of such men of lairdly stock who, particularly through his marriage, participated in networks of aristocracy and those interacting with the royal household. His wife, Jean Fleming, was of a prominent family with a tradition of loyalty to the royal family. Her father was James, fourth Lord Fleming, while her mother Barbara Hamilton was the sister of Lord John Hamilton, the effective heir apparent to the throne who had been tutored whilst in Paris by the brother of George Buchanan, Patrick. Jean Fleming's aunt, Mary Fleming, had been one of the famous Four Maries, Mary queen of Scots' closest attendants since childhood. Moreover, Mary Fleming, whose mother was an illegitimate daughter of James IV, had married William Maitland of Lethington, John's elder brother. All this instances a tight network of family loyalties that had stood the test of turbulent times and through which the Maitland family had become interwoven with both aristocracy and the royal family.<sup>12</sup>

Dedicating the *Trionfhs* to Jean Fleming made good political sense, allowing Fowler to shoe-horn Jean's husband as well as the king into his dedication. Moreover, Fowler may have deliberately foregrounded a female dedicatee in order to make very direct links between that dedicatee and

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minds us of its potential rhythmic energy and variation of Fowler's verse. That EUL, MS De.1.10 is a presentation manuscript seeking acceptance and authority may have made Fowler decide to select not a more light-weight appearance but one that in post-medieval analysis is often considered to be unduly monotonous. In other words, in visual terms, too, Fowler is conscious of his version of Petrarch's *Trionfi* as a text in its own right.

<sup>11</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, pp. 15-17.

<sup>12</sup> Adams, 'Fleming, Jean'; Marshall, 'Queen's Maries' (on Mary Fleming); Loughlin, 'Maitland, William'; and Lee, Jr, 'Hamilton, John'.

Laura, Petrarch's female icon central to both *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*. In 1587, in the absence of a female royal consort, Jean Fleming was a most suitable choice, not just as the Chancellor's wife but also because, as one contemporary English observer noted, she was 'a wise woman and half chancellor when he is at home'.<sup>13</sup> Using a female dedicatee blurs the boundaries, and shortens the distance, between Petrarch's text and Scottish contemporary reference, shifting the context of the issues discussed in the source text to contemporary Scotland. In this respect, it is important to note that James VI's own sonnet opening the sequence of dedicatory poems suggests that he endorses the literary as well as cultural-political directions of this text, as well as the choice of dedicatee. Jean Fleming thus literally incarnates an important aspect of the 'transcreative' progress of the text, referencing the role of woman – i.e. earthly love – as a catalyst to grace but also, more urgently, substantiating local socio-political hierarchies.

The 'Argument' (derived from an Italian edition of the *Trionfi*) with which Fowler introduces his *Trivmphs* furthers an understanding of the link between *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* by foregrounding the fact that the structure of the *Trionfi* mirrors that of the *Canzoniere*, as the first three Triumphs (of Love, Chastety, Death) 'ar in this lyf', up to and including 'when our saule is in departing from our bodye', while the last three cover the period 'after [the 'saule'] is frie of the same'.<sup>14</sup> Fowler's 'Argument' thus subtly guides the reader towards responding to the relationship between the *Trionfi* and the *Canzoniere*.

This paratextual information presupposes a considerable level of interpretative resourcefulness in Fowler and in his audience. Of the seven dedicatory lyrics, three explicitly make the connection between Jean Fleming and Laura, as Fowler himself does, too. Moreover, three of these dedicatory sonnets refer to the *Trionfi*'s re-visiting the *Canzoniere*. This is an important indication of Fowler's as well as his target audience's understanding of the 'Petrarchan project', and of their metafictional awareness more generally.

Fowler will have been aware of the Maitland family's literary exploits, including that of Sir Richard's daughters – for Mary and Helen Maitland seem to have played a role in compiling the Maitland Folio and Maitland

<sup>13</sup> Adams, 'Fleming, Jean'. According to MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 225, item 1360, Fowler also wrote a manuscript of 'Verses, dedicated to the Ladie Thirlstane'. This is a ghost: the source for MacDonald's statement is *Auctarium bibliothecae Edinburgenae* (1627). On p. 14, under 'William Fowler', it has a two-line entry: 'The Triumphes of Petrarch done into English / verses, dedicated to the Ladie Thirlstane. M.S.'. MacDonald has read each line as a separate entry (items 1360 and 1384 in his book) but clearly both refer to EUL, MS De.1.10.

<sup>14</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, pp. 22-23.

Quarto manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> The former collection was assembled over a longer period of time (*circa* 1570-1586); the latter is dated 1586 and may have been compiled specifically to mark the death of Sir Richard Maitland that year. As well as commemorative (both the Folio and the Quarto end with ‘epitaphe’ poems on Sir Richard), these are manuscripts that signal the cultural and socio-political aspirations of the Maitland family in an era in which family history, also as a literary genre, had become an important conduit for profiling oneself and one’s social networks as well as political aspirations; Sir Richard Maitland himself wrote two.<sup>16</sup> Such literary activities represent the Maitland circle as one of the most prominent literary environments in Scotland in the later sixteenth century, particularly if we look for a court-focused circle of ‘literati’ based outside the court itself. The Maitland practice of writing as well as anthologising literary texts in this structured manner may be part of forging their own family history, or even myth.

In some ways, manuscript evidence suggests that, in literary terms, this Maitland coterie *is* the court, as it provides the context in which literary aspiration articulates most visibly with political ambition in an environment that could be labelled as ‘of the court’. The manuscript of Fowler’s *Trivmphs* confirms this in several ways. For example, its dedicatory poems do not constitute a somehow random collection of well-wishing commonplaces. Rather, each one contributes towards the definition of Fowler’s position in the aspirational networks that lie behind it, as well as explicitly addressing a key feature of Fowler’s act of cultural appropriation in transcreating Petrarch, as intimated above. Thus, the first of the dedicatory sonnets, by King James himself, authorizes the *Trivmphs* by its sheer political presence but also imposes the king’s perspective on what poetry is: poems are ‘works dewyne’ written by poets in their ‘learned dayes’ and read by ‘worthy Scollaris’.<sup>17</sup> The next sonnet, by ‘E.D.’, lists leading international poets and is careful to name those that James had himself engaged with in his *Essayes of a Prentise*, notably Du Bartas and Lucan. There is overlap here with the anonymous poem in the Maitland Quarto that praises Lethington, home of the Maitlands. Where ‘E.D.’ writes how

The Latins dois of Virgill vant* at will,	[*vaunt
And Sulmo thinks her Ouid dois adorne	
The Spanzoll* laughs (sae Lucan) all to scorne, <sup>18</sup>	[*Spaniard

<sup>15</sup> Craigie, ed., *Maitland Folio*, vol. II, p. 5; Craigie, ed., *Maitland Quarto*, pp. v-vi.

<sup>16</sup> On this contemporary emphasis on family history in Scotland, see, e.g., Reid, ed., *David Hume of Godscroft’s History*, vol. I, pp. x-xiv.

<sup>17</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 19, ll. 3-5.

the description of Lethington opens with:

Virgil his village Mantua  
 did prayse aboue the rest  
 And lucane thocht that corduba  
 Amang all wes the best  
 (...)  
 & ould to that samyn end  
 did sulmon magnifie.<sup>19</sup>

This clearly indicates a shared register of literary reference, suggesting a genuine ‘coterie’ closeness between the people involved – one, moreover, that gravitates towards celebrating the Maitlands’ ancestral home. This is confirmed by the heading of that first sonnet by ‘E.D.’, which deliberately represents Fowler in a close personal relationship to the interpretive community that his *Trivmphys* is aimed at: ‘E.D. in praise of Mr. Wm. Foular her friend’.

The second sonnet by ‘E.D.’ is written ‘in commendatioun of the authour and of his choise’, and continues to educate the reader regarding Laura’s nature in Petrarch as quintessentially ‘vertewis’ [virtuous] (l. 10) before anchoring that quality within the Maitland network by explicitly making ‘Ladye Ieane’ the embodiment of such virtuousness. Fowler, by dint of his translation enabling such ethical transfer, becomes the provider of virtue, and thus also part of the discourses of values and power that negotiated the nature of virtù in contemporary Scotland. This sonnet thus foregrounds the way in which Fowler confers fame and eternal ‘name’ on Lady Jean Fleming, but some of that fame is thus also reflected upon those establishing such a discourse, i.e. upon the manuscript’s readers as well as the author.

The subsequent ‘Sonnet in Mr. Wm. Foular’s commendatioun’ is by ‘Ro[bert]. Hudsoun’, a well known presence in literary exchanges at James’s court. It expands upon the preceding sonnet, particularly in its concluding couplet in which it reiterates how conferring fame upon Jean Fleming bequeaths the same, by association, on Fowler. This intertextual discussion regarding Petrarch and fame is continued in the next sonnet by ‘M. R. Cokburne’, written ‘in commendatioun of the Translatour and the Ladye to whome thir Triumphs are derved’. Its opening phrase immediately posits a cultural preference for the moral dimensions of Petrarch’s quest for what ‘Laura’ represents by labelling the Italian poet ‘pithye Petrarch’. This em-

<sup>19</sup> Craigie, ed., *Maitland Quarto*, p. 216, ll. 1-4, 7-8.

phasis is further advanced in the subsequent lines by merging the ‘vertewis rair’(l. 11) of Petrarch, Jean Fleming and Fowler himself (ll. 13-14) in an upward movement that blends the image of Petrarch and ‘his Dames ascending in the air’ with a Christian heavenward gaze, making a potentially pagan series of ‘triumphs’ acceptable to the Christian reader.<sup>20</sup>

This ascent clears the way for the next dedicatory sonnet, by ‘Th[omas]. Hudsoun’, entitled ‘Ane Summarie and a Sonett vpon the Triumphs and the Translatour’. It helpfully summarises the respective triumphs and concludes that Fowler has bestowed upon himself the highest ‘triumph’, that of ‘Eternitie’. Finally, a hexastich by ‘A. Coluille’ reiterates the place of Fowler in the literary tradition as well as in his text’s interpretive community. The syntactical ambiguity of its last three words once again neatly morphs Petrarch’s Laura into Jean Fleming: in ‘So Fouler aeternised hes his name / With noble Petrarch and his Laura’s fame’, ‘his name’ could refer to Petrarch as well as to Fowler, i.e. ‘his Laura’ can refer at once to the original ‘Laura’ as well as to Jean Fleming.<sup>21</sup>

These sonnets thus constitute a carefully contrived sequence of commendatory verses which purposefully evolves, respectively, the quality of Fowler’s text as ‘divine poetry’; its emphasis on poetry as ethical, Christian discourse; the European dimension of Fowler’s text and thus of its Scottish audience; and Fowler’s position within that audience. This makes these dedicatory poems more than the sum of their parts, a ‘sum’, moreover, which has the monarch himself as one of its constituent components.

Such coterie coherence is also established at a formal level: all six dedicatory sonnets have James’s preferred rhyme scheme *ababbcbccdcdee*, and are indeed – as James advised and in line with the moralising emphasis of the *Triumphs* themselves – used for ‘compendious praying of any bukes or the authouris thairof’ rather than for amatory subjects.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the Propertius motto on the contents page of the *Triumphs* – *Ingenio stat sine morte decus* [the honours of genius are eternal] – foregrounds a concept central to poetry in this royally subscribed tradition: ‘ingyne’, i.e. ingenuity, intellectual genius.<sup>23</sup> The paratexts in the manuscript thus do all they can to present Fowler’s act of transcreation as part of the royal literary project. The dedicatory sonnets, in tandem with Fowler’s translation, promulgate a Jacobean poetics, contributing towards the creation of a literary canon for national use as well as foregrounding a particular poetics, one that sees poetry

<sup>20</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>22</sup> James, *Essayes of a Prentise* sigs. K3<sup>v</sup>-K4<sup>r</sup>, M4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 14; James, *Essayes of a Prentise*, *passim*.

as a way of writing towards the divine by ‘learned’ ‘Scollaris’ rather than seeking to manifest the divine in an author’s aesthetic achievement or a protagonist’s amatory fulfilment. The dedicatory sonnets are clearly ‘on message’ with regard to these sovereign preferences as well as aware of the issues that Petrarch had raised.

However, the writers of these sonnets are not ‘scholars’ in the technical sense of the word – i.e. academics or professionally active humanists. It is therefore worth reviewing who these ‘dedicatees’ are. Westcott’s identification of ‘A. Coluille’ as Alexander Colville (also known as Alexander Colville of Blair) is perhaps a little hasty; his father, also Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross, did not die until 1597, so he too could have penned a sonnet in 1587.<sup>24</sup> No more likely candidate than these two men has been brought forward. It is important for the present purpose of identifying conjunctions of coterie, family, and literary circulation in contemporary Scotland to note that they were the brother-in-law and father-in-law respectively of Elizabeth Melville, also known as Lady Culross. She was the author of *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603), the first substantial piece of literature in Scots known to have been written by a woman, which, moreover, became a seventeenth-century bestseller. Literature circulates in families here, too: her father, Sir James Melville of Halhill, is famous for his memoirs of court life, while her son Samuel earned a reputation for himself as author of *The Scots Hudibras, or, The Whig's Supplication* (1681).<sup>25</sup> Finally, Alexander Colville of Blair was the nephew of John Colville (1542-1605), who, like Fowler, was a very active intelligencer, regularly providing Elizabeth with information about Scottish affairs. John Colville, also like Fowler, engaged in polemical publications, had close connections to the earl of Bothwell, and wrote a text in defence of Bothwell (now lost) entitled *De causa Comitiss Bothwellii* – and, according to his own list of ‘my works’, Fowler wrote a text (also now lost) entitled ‘defensio of bothwell in nature of fables’.<sup>26</sup> These Melvilles and Colvilles are important components in the networks that

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<sup>24</sup> Westcott, *New Poems by James*, p. 88; Laing, ed., *Original Letters of John Colville*, pp. xi-xii; Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. II, p. 549; Sizer, ‘Colville, Alexander’.

<sup>25</sup> Steuart, ed., *Memoirs of Sir James Melville*; Laing, ed., *Original letters of John Colville*, pp. xi-xii; Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. II, p. 549; Dunnigan, ‘Melville, Elizabeth’.

<sup>26</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. II, p. 3; Macpherson, ‘Colville, John’. It is perhaps not strange that texts in defence of Bothwell have disappeared. Bothwell conceivably represented the aristocratic claim to royal attention, where Maitland represented its civic rival, in the sense that the Maitlands obtained their court offices primarily through service rather than through birth: Lee, Jr, ‘Maitland, John’.

straddled Protestant politics and poetics, and are in more ways than one a good fit as an ‘interpretive community’ for Fowler’s work.

The Hudson brothers were two court musicians of English origin, who had been in Scotland since at least 1566. Thomas Hudson even became a kind of ‘model’ Scots-Jacobean poet: when James VI suggested in a dinner conversation that Scotland needed translations of Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, the leading Protestant vernacular poet in France, Thomas Hudson obliged. He published his *Iudith* in 1584, the very year in which James VI published his *Essayes of a Prentise*, to which Thomas and Robert Hudson also contributed commendatory sonnets – as did William Fowler and Alexander Montgomerie. The music of Thomas Hudson’s sonnet affixed to James’s *Essayes* survives, albeit in an incomplete state, in the so-called David Melvill Bassus Part-Book (1604; BL, Add. MS 36484), which provides an intriguing confirmation of the literary links between the court and the families discussed above.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas Hudson went on to become Master of the Chapel Royal in 1586. His brother James was a musician as well, but also became yet another trafficker between Scotland and England – but this time in an official capacity, as envoy to the king. Another brother, William, became James’s dancing master. Robert Hudson, meanwhile, is also known to us through poems addressed to him by Alexander Montgomerie and through another fragment of a poem ‘To Robart Hudsoun’, found among Fowler’s papers, as well as being mentioned in verses from the king.<sup>28</sup> Finally, at the end of both the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts Thomas and Robert Hudson provided ‘epitaphes’ for Sir Richard Maitland. These court musicians thus provide an important link between the Maitland family circle and James’s court. The absence of Alexander Montgomerie from the list of dedicatory verses affixed to Fowler’s *Trivmphs* need not indicate that Montgomerie was at that time *persona non grata*: he was abroad at this time, and restricted in his movements.<sup>29</sup>

Another dedicatory sonnet to Fowler’s *Trivmphs* is by ‘M. R. Cokburne’, the ‘M’ representing ‘Master’, similar to the authorship designations of Master William Fowler as ‘M.W.F.’ in James’s *Essayes of a Prentise*, for

<sup>27</sup> Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 73.

<sup>28</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. III, p. cli. On exchanges of verse between King James, Robert Hudson, Alexander Montgomerie and others, see Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, particularly Chapter 4; van Heijnsbergen, ‘Introduction’; and Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, especially chapters 3 and 6. For details of the Hudsons and their various activities, see Shire *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 71-75, 95-99; Craigie, ed., *Thomas Hudson’s Historie*, pp. 139-151, provides biographical details of Thomas Hudson.

<sup>29</sup> Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, pp. 139-140.

example. Westcott identified him as Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington – who indeed had a Masters degree – son of John Cockburn of Clerkington and Helen Maitland, John Maitland’s sister. It is thought the latter was at one stage in possession of the Maitland Folio, as an inscription in that manuscript reads ‘this buke pertenis to helyne m.’ Richard Cockburn of Clerkington in 1591 succeeded John Maitland as Secretary to the King, and the Maitland and Cockburn families shared many familial and professional links at the highest level.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, both share connections to other literary coteries in a wider Cockburn network from which emanated a not inconsiderable degree of literary patronage and activity. Thus, this same Richard, son of Helen Maitland, married Barbara, daughter of Lord Henry Sinclair, a family renowned for its book- and manuscript-buying activities in contemporary Scotland.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the Cockburns of Clerkington were closely related to the nearby Cockburns of Ormiston. The latter were the centre of ‘a group of East Lothian families, united through marriage and through religion’, who compiled and circulated NAS, MS RH 13/35, a manuscript copied between 1582 and 1586 that, even in its present fragmented state, suggests that it once contained an impressive range of vernacular Scottish literary writing.<sup>32</sup>

These Cockburns had close links to Edinburgh printers – particularly printers of Protestant texts – and to Edinburgh literary circles.<sup>33</sup> Such connections may have helped the Cockburns of Skirling, another branch of the same Cockburn family tree – that of the Cockburns of Cockburn and Langton – to publish literary texts of a religious nature: the ‘James Cockburne’ who in 1605 published two lengthy religious poems (*Gabriel's Salvation to Marie* and *Jvdas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie*) was most likely the staunch Marian, James Cockburn, brother of Sir William Cockburn of Skirling. Both prints are dedicated to ‘Ieane Hammiltone, Ladie Skirling’, who was Sir William’s wife (sig. A2<sup>r</sup> in both, and again sig. A2<sup>v</sup> in *Gabriel's Salvation*).<sup>34</sup> This James Cockburn’s sister, Margaret, in 1614 married Thomas Bannatyne, minister of North Berwick. The latter’s father, Mr Thomas Bannatyne of Newtyle (1540-1591), was the brother of George Bannatyne, the

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<sup>30</sup> Westcott, *New Poems by James*, p. 88; Craigie, ed., *Maitland Folio*, vol. II, p. 5; Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, pp. 280-281; Cockburn, *Records of the Cockburn Family*, p. 167.

<sup>31</sup> Lawlor, ‘Notes on the Library’; Cherry, ‘Library of Henry Sinclair’.

<sup>32</sup> Mapstone, ‘*Thrie Prestis of Peblis*’, pp. 124-125, 136; Cockburn, *Records of the Cockburn Family*, p. 167.

<sup>33</sup> van Heijnsbergen, ‘Studies in the Contextualisation’, pp. 210-211.

<sup>34</sup> Mapstone, ‘*Thrie Prestis of Peblis*’, pp. 135-136; Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, p. 241.



compiler of the Bannatyne Manuscript, whose stepmother was also a Cockburn.<sup>35</sup>

The role of women as dedicatees of literary texts – as in the case of Fowler’s *Trivmphs* – and as conduits for family connections by means of which literature circulated are thus clearly in evidence in these Cockburn circles. The same applies to the Maitlands from Jean Fleming’s position as dedicatee of Fowler’s *Trivmphs* to the role of Mary and Helen Maitland as cultural intermediaries. The latter’s mother-in-law should be mentioned in this respect: Elizabeth Danielstoun, Lady Clerkington, was a book-owner (her book of hours survives) whose family had very close familial connections with the Bannatyne, within whose ‘extended family’ the Bannatyne Manuscript circulated.<sup>36</sup>

There are other connections between these landed families and the urban Bannatyne Manuscript. James Maitland, son and heir of the deceased William Maitland of Lethington, the Queen’s Secretary, was contracted to marry a daughter of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoll, whose family occupy a position of great prominence in the Bannatyne circle. Thus, John Bellenden was easily the best-known poet after David Lyndsay in the reign of James V; his verse features prominently in the Bannatyne Manuscript.<sup>37</sup>

The Cockburns of Choicelea, a younger branch of the same Cockburn of Cockburn and Langton tree, produced a prominent religious author, too. Patrick Cockburn (died 1568), younger son of Christopher Cockburn of Choicelea, was rector of Pitcox, near Dunbar, and later first Protestant minister of Haddington. He became professor of Oriental languages at the Sorbonne and wrote a number of prominent theological texts.<sup>38</sup> More immediately relevant for the present topic is a later Christopher Cockburn of Choicelea, for this *servitour* of John Maitland seems to have commissioned the so-called Reidpeth Manuscript (now Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.5.10), a manuscript from *circa* 1623 in which were copied upwards of eighty-five texts from the Maitland Folio.<sup>39</sup> This evidence of his involvement, importantly, indicates the central role of the Maitlands and Cockburns

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<sup>35</sup> Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. III, 300; Cockburn, *Records of the Cockburn Family*, genealogical chart between pp. 136 and 137.

<sup>36</sup> Bawcutt “My bricht buke”, p. 24; on the personal names inscribed in the Bannatyne Manuscript, see van Heijnsbergen, ‘Studies in the Contextualisation’, pp. 241-245.

<sup>37</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, pp. 281-282. On the Bellendens, see van Heijnsbergen ‘The Interaction between Literature and History’, especially pp. 191-198.

<sup>38</sup> Esposito, ‘Cockburn, Patrick’; Mapstone, ‘*Thrie Prestis of Peblis*’, p. 136.

<sup>39</sup> Martin and McClune, ‘The Maitland Folio and Quarto Manuscripts’, p. 238; MacDonald, ‘Sir Richard Maitland and William Dunbar’, p. 136. Craigie, ed., *Maitland Folio*, vol. II, pp. 7-10; Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, pp. 303-304.

in manuscript circulation in Jacobean Scotland. Moreover, Choicelea's mother was another Sinclair, of Roslin.<sup>40</sup> The Sinclairs, Maitlands, Cockburns of Ormiston and of Clerkington are cheek by jowl: thus, after Helen Maitland died, her husband, John Cockburn of Clerkington, married Sybil, daughter of John Cockburn of Ormiston, who had previously been married to William Sinclair of Hirdmanstoun, 'one of those who signed the secret bond leading to the Raid of Ruthven, the ultra-Protestant coup in 1582-83 in which James VI himself was effectively held hostage'.<sup>41</sup> Christopher Cockburn of Choicelea's wife, meanwhile, was a daughter of his neighbour, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. The latter was the author of *The Promine*, printed *cum priuilegio regali* in 1580, which celebrated James's first formal procession from the safety of Stirling Castle into the public arena in 1579; it seems Polwarth was shortly thereafter successfully ousted as the king's favourite poet by Alexander Montgomerie. Polwarth's wife was Julian Ker, whose arch wit can still be savoured in her letters, while his brother was the poet Alexander Hume, whose friendship with Elizabeth Melville, author of *Ane Godlie Dreame*, is well known.<sup>42</sup>

There is a second possible candidate for 'M.R. Cokburne' as the author of the dedicatory sonnet to Fowler's *Trivmphs*, namely Mr Robert Cockburn of Buttirdene, Richard Cockburn's brother and Helen Maitland's son. He was a prominent Edinburgh lawyer as well as a trusted friend of Thomas Hudson: on 22 May 1595 he writes to 'Good Mr Hudson' that the king is very pleased with something that Hudson has said, and that Hudson 'will receive the fruit [which] can be expected to arise thereof'.<sup>43</sup> Rather than deciding which of these two is 'M.R. Cokburne', it is more important to conclude that Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington and his brother, Mr Robert Cockburn, are the most likely candidates, since both are clearly part of tightly interwoven family networks that are articulated through an interest in matters literary, often writing to, rather than from, the royal centre – a

<sup>40</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, p. 293.

<sup>41</sup> Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. VII, p. 583; note that the *Peerage*, *House of Cockburn*, and *Records of the Cockburn Family* do not agree on which John Cockburn of Ormiston is Sibyl's father, allowing for the possibility that she was the sister-in-law of 'E.D.' (for whom see below).

<sup>42</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, p. 303. *The Promine* is included in Lawson, ed., *Poems of Alexander Hume*, pp. 204-210; p. 184 documents Hume's close connection to Elizabeth Melville, and prints her *Godlie Dreame*. On Ker: van Heijnsbergen, 'Studies in the Contextualisation', pp. 76 and 95n. For the flyting of Polwarth with Montgomerie, see Parkinson, *Alexander Montgomerie. Poems*, vol. I, pp. 139-175.

<sup>43</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, p. 278.

cultural and political pattern that James sought to harness through at times almost familial patronage.

This brings us finally to the two sonnets by 'E.D.', which seem to refer – as discussed above – to a female author.<sup>44</sup> She has been identified as Elizabeth Douglas, based on the fact that Fowler himself addressed verses to two ladies of that name. One of these was the wife of the earl of Errol, a Catholic with connections, moreover, to the earl of Bothwell, Fowler's usual patron. Errol continued to trouble James, and his wife is therefore perhaps less likely to appear as author of two dedicatory sonnets to the *Trivmphs*, a manuscript clearly making overtures to Bothwell's arch enemy, John Maitland. An arguably more likely identification of 'E.D.' presents itself within the evidence contained in the manuscript of the *Trivmphs* itself. After Fowler's death the latter was passed on to William Drummond of Hawthornden, Scotland's foremost seventeenth-century poet. Drummond was Fowler's nephew and may thus have had access to information that prompted him – unless Fowler had already done this himself – to bind the *Trivmphs* together with three printed broadsides. The latter mark deaths, and one of them commemorates Elizabeth Douglas, 'spouse to M Samvell Cobvvrne Laird of *Temple-Hall*'. The others mourn Robert Bowes, Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland and brother-in-law of John Knox, and John Seton of Barnes, a relative of Maitland and member of the royal household; his brother was the later Chancellor, Alexander Seton, whose literary interests are well known.<sup>45</sup>

Mr Samuel Cockburn of Temple Hall was the brother of John Cockburn of Ormiston. The latter became Lord Justice Clerk in 1591 at the death of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoll, whose own family, as mentioned above, functioned as something akin to cultural and socio-political patrons of the Bannatyne family. Temple Hall was a property adjoining to Ormiston, so Elizabeth Douglas, wife of Samuel Cockburn, laird of Temple Hall, is likely to have had many opportunities to participate in literary exchanges within Cockburn circles such as those discussed above. Thus, her mother-in-law, Alison Sandilands, was a book and manuscript owner with good links to Protestant Edinburgh printers; she was a personal friend of John Knox and it was from her Ormiston house in 1545 that George Wishart walked towards martyrdom. Furthermore, Mr Samuel Cockburn of Temple Hall is frequently engaged in the same diplomatic business as William Fowler and is named in 1586 in English state papers, together with

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<sup>44</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, pp. 6-9; Lee, Jr, *John Maitland*, p. 153.

Fowler, as one of those attending on the earl of Bothwell.<sup>46</sup> His wife, Elizabeth Douglas, was the daughter of William Douglas of Whittinghame, another lairdly residence between Dunbar and Haddington. This is important because William Douglas of Whittinghame had in May 1555 married Elizabeth Maitland, daughter of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.<sup>47</sup> In other words, Elizabeth Douglas, the wife of Samuel Cockburn of Temple Hall, and whose funereal sonnet is attached to Fowler's *Trivmphs*, is a granddaughter of the poet Sir Richard Maitland. This makes her a most likely candidate to be the 'E.D.' whose sonnets preface Fowler's *Trivmphs*, and further instances the importance of coterie and family networks that embed this manuscript.<sup>48</sup>

Moreover, her husband's elder brother, Alexander, was a most promising and well-travelled student of languages and letters, tutored by John Knox; he died young, and a memorial brass survives in Ormiston chapel, commemorating his virtues and his potential for learning.<sup>49</sup> Her husband's sister, Sybilla, has already been mentioned as second wife to Helen Maitland's husband, John Cockburn of Clerkington, while another sister, Barbara, had a daughter, Marie, who married Mr Robert Cockburn of Buttirdene, the above-mentioned brother of Richard Cockburn and son of Helen Maitland, both likely authors of the sonnet by 'M.R. Cockburne'.<sup>50</sup> All this indicates that the extended family provided not only the audience for Scottish literary culture but also the stimuli to produce such writing itself. While James VI's dedicatory sonnet to Fowler's *Trivmphs* is important for signalling royal endorsement of this Maitland family forum for literature, literary impulses are by no means only radiating from the court outward. This should encourage scholarship to continue to rethink the concept of 'Jacobean court culture'. James may have been the intended audience of many circles of literary activity, but he participated in them not as an aloof patron but as a family member who also wrote himself.

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<sup>46</sup> Cockburn, *Records of the Cockburn Family*, pp. 120-121. *CSP* 6, p. 440; *CSP* 8, pp. 452-453. On Sandilands, see van Heijnsbergen, 'Studies in the Contextualisation', pp. 210-211.

<sup>47</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, pp. 137-138; Cockburn, *Records of the Cockburn Family*, p. 120; Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. V, p. 298; IX, p. 124.

<sup>48</sup> The testament of Elizabeth Douglas, wife of Samuel Cockburn of Temple Hall, is dated 19 March 1594, although not registered until 25 February 1601: NAS, MS CC8/8/35/316. This helps date Fowler's funereal sonnet to her, and this 'March 1594' date indeed matches that of the typographically very similar broadsheet commemorating John Seton of Barnes, who died in May 1594.

<sup>49</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, pp. 136-137; Cockburn, *Records of the Cockburn Family*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>50</sup> Cockburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, pp. 139, 279.

The phrase ‘her friend’, as used in the heading of the first sonnet of ‘E.D.’, has particular relevance in this context. Another early female poet, Mary Beaton, uses a striking variation thereof in a sonnet she addresses to Fowler:

If high desyre the preass to win that crowne  
that wearing tyme shall never wast awaye,  
(frend fouler) Lay thy songis of Love adowne  
wheron thy Lute to Liberall was to playe. (ll. 1-4)<sup>51</sup>

These lines reveal a noteworthy acquaintance with Fowler’s unprinted work. The remainder of the poem explicitly refers to Fowler’s ambition to translate Petrarch’s *Trionfi*, and the topic, style and rhyme scheme of Beaton’s sonnet as a whole make it entirely similar to the dedicatory poems in EUL, MS De.1.10. Tellingly, Beaton here refers to Petrarch not by name but as ‘the learned Thuskan’; the use of such indirect naming through descriptive epithets characterises the distinctive intimacy that membership of an interpretive community entails. While Beaton’s sonnet does not prove that she was the source of Fowler’s desire to tackle the *Trionfi*, all these details do instance a coterie-type shared familiarity with texts, authors, and the performance of reading and writing. In this, it is important to note that Mary Beaton’s aunt, Elizabeth Beaton of Creich, was not only the former mistress of James V but also the mother of John Stewart of Baldynneis, whose ‘abregement’ of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* was in 1587 dedicated to James VI.<sup>52</sup> Such apparent closeness of this scribal community – if perhaps virtual rather than physical – is confirmed by the moralising nature of Baldynneis’s ‘abregement’, its effect not unlike that of Fowler’s *Trivmphs*.<sup>53</sup>

Another detail regarding Mary Beaton indicates that Petrarch’s *Trionfi* – and, thus, by association, any translation thereof – was celebrated in these circles primarily for its ethical appeal, particularly by women in elite society. When Mary queen of Scots wrote her will in 1566, she gifted her Greek and Latin books to the University of St Andrews but the others to Mary Beaton; among these was *The Morall Triumphis of Petrarke in Italiane*. It was clearly a text that had a particular pedigree in Scotland – Thomas Ran-

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<sup>51</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 393. The identification of ‘M.L.B.’ as ‘Mary Beaton Lady Boyne’ is conjectural, based on the fact that Fowler dedicated his ‘lamentatioun of the desolat olympia furth of the tent cantt of Ariosto. To the right honourable Ladye Marye Betoun Ladye Boine’ (Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. I, p. 310) but is widely accepted by scholars.

<sup>52</sup> Lynch, ‘Introduction’, in: Lynch, ed., *Mary Stewart*, pp. 15, 27n.

<sup>53</sup> McClune, ‘Poetry of John Stewart’, pp. 63-123.

dolph, the English ambassador, noted how various parts of the *Trionfi* were recited in a masque at the Scottish court in 1564 – something also characteristic of Scottish responses to the *Canzoniere*.<sup>54</sup> It provides further testimony to the importance of the ‘familiar’ in establishing what is, in contemporary Scotland at least, ‘court’ literature.

It is not impossible that ‘her freind’ in the heading to the first sonnet by ‘E.D.’ refers to whoever wrote that heading, and that ‘her’ thus does not define ‘E.D.’ but the scribe – perhaps a Maitland daughter. This possibility may give scope to Alessandra Petrina’s suggestion that ‘E.D.’ refers to Edward Dymoke, whose Latin verses in praise and friendship to Fowler tantalisingly follow immediately upon the same sonnet by ‘E.D.’ in the Hawthornden Manuscripts (the latter here occurring with the same heading as in EUL, MS De.1.10, albeit with differences in spelling).<sup>55</sup> Dymoke later indeed became a good friend of Fowler; he presented the latter with the so-called Drummond Manuscript of Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella* when they met in Padua in the early 1590s.<sup>56</sup> Dymoke’s poem to Fowler appears in a section of the Hawthornden manuscripts that is crowded with texts that bespeak yet another concentric circle of literary and familiar connections, but these can not be pursued here.

William Douglas of Whittinghame was of a particular religio-political persuasion. In 1560 he signed the ‘last band at Leith’, pledging to implement the Reformation in Scotland.<sup>57</sup> Later he was cited as one of those implicated in the killing of David Riccio, the secretary of Mary queen of Scots, and the plot to murder Darnley, Mary’s husband, was reportedly discussed at length in Whittinghame castle shortly thereafter. In 1582, he was cited as one of the Ruthven Raiders. Such political manoeuvring again runs in families. Whittinghame’s brother, Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow, was a man notoriously prone to accommodating his conscience; involved in the murder of Riccio, he was also the man who famously lost his slippers in the process of blowing up Darnley.<sup>58</sup> Thomas Hudson asked him, in a letter dispatched from Holyroodhouse on 1 May 1587, to send a copy of Peter Martyr Vermigli’s *Common Places* to Scotland ‘because it is

<sup>54</sup> Durkan, ‘Library of Mary, Queen of Scots’, p. 73; Verweij, ‘Manuscripts of William Fowler’, pp. 11-12; Robertson, ed., *Inventaires de la Royne d’escosse*, p. lxxxiii; Jack, ‘William Fowler and Italian Literature’, pp. 482-483; Jack, ‘Petrarch in English’, pp. 806, 809, 811.

<sup>55</sup> Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*, pp. 107-108; NLS, MS Hawthornden 2065, fol. 4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 356-361, 376-377, 408-409.

<sup>57</sup> Laing, ed., *Works of John Knox*, vol. II, p. 63.

<sup>58</sup> Maxwell, *History of the House of Douglas*, vol. I, p. 289.

not here to be had'.<sup>59</sup> These details provide significant information regarding the politico-religious interests of those contributing dedicatory sonnets to Fowler's *Trivmphs*. Fowler himself used this Protestant Italian theologian's work in an anti-Catholic pamphlet printed in Edinburgh in 1581, on the subject of transubstantiation. This is also the period in which Fowler befriended Archibald Douglas (the stepfather of Fowler's usual patron, the earl of Bothwell) when both were Walsingham's spies in the French ambassador's household in London.<sup>60</sup>

An emphasis on bibliographical studies and manuscript context thus moves critical analysis further away from traditional views of 'court literature' as texts operating in a hermetically closed, exclusively aristocratic environment, while it also continues to modify the – partly related – view of contemporary poetry circulating at the Scottish court as perpetrated by a self-defined 'Castalian Band' of poets. Manuscript evidence reveals the Scottish court to be a culturally much more porous entity, which argues against any such selective concept, and that we think instead in terms of concentric circles of interests: while there may not have been a 'Band' of poets, there certainly were circles in which literary exchanges or writing games took place.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to the above evidence regarding the manuscript of Fowler's *Trivmphs* itself, the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts confirm such cultural interaction between the court and lairdly rather than exclusively aristocratic circles. Both strikingly end with a series of 'epitaph' poems and other kinds of commendatory or commemorative verse that, like the poems affixed to EUL, MS De.1.10, blur the boundaries between the Maitland circle, its cultural-literary dimensions, and the court of James VI. The last six poems in the Quarto juxtapose a poem in praise of John Maitland with five elegies and 'epitaphes' on Sir Richard Maitland, including one each by Robert and Thomas Hudson.<sup>62</sup> The latter two poems also conclude the Maitland Folio, following an advice poem to King James VI by Sir Richard Maitland himself, and a poem in which the latter poignantly asks

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<sup>59</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 3, p. 252.

<sup>60</sup> Meikle, Craigie and Purves, eds., *Works of William Fowler*, vol. II, p. 62; Macpherson, 'Douglas, Archibald'.

<sup>61</sup> Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, most forcefully posited the notion of a 'Castalian Band' of Scottish court poets; Bawcutt, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', most powerfully argued against it. On porous Scottish court culture, see van Heijnsbergen, 'Introduction', especially pp. x, xii, xv-xvi.

<sup>62</sup> Craigie, ed., *Maitland Quarto*, pp. 263-281.

his own 'hart' to 'ces (...) and trubbil me no moir' but instead look forward to 'eternall Ioy' with God in heaven.<sup>63</sup>

Edinburgh University Library, MS De.1.10 and the Maitland manuscripts present not dissimilar pieces of literary-historical evidence, all instancing the strong bonds between crown and family. This enriches our understanding of each of them individually as well as collectively, and, most notably, of what motivated not only their production but particularly also their anticipated uses in terms of crown-subject relations.

A final coda may reinforce the pattern suggested in such relations in the paragraphs above. Two stray sonnets in one of the Hawthornden Manuscripts seem originally to have belonged to the sequence of sonnets at the end of the Maitland Quarto.<sup>64</sup> I hope to discuss them more fully in a future publication. Here, it is important to note that they are placed in the Hawthornden manuscript in a section with many poems by, or connected to, Fowler; that they appear just after the sequence of 'E.D.' sonnets, Edward Dymoke's verses to Fowler, and the sonnet by 'M[ary] B[eaton]' dedicated to 'her frend' Fowler; and that the second sonnet is by one 'A. Cokburn'. Such details provide more evidence about Fowler's links to the Maitlands in general and to the paratexts of the *Trivmphs* in particular. Finally, of interest in the discussion regarding the concept of a 'Castalian Band' of poets, in Cokburn's sonnet the muses address the king with the words 'O parnass ioy O honour of our band', which initially seems to confirm the notion of a 'band of poets' until one realises that the word 'band' – indeed, as Bawcutt argues in her article on 'the Castalian Myth' – refers to the Muses. In such fragmented evidence, a scribal community, its composition and its poetics, as well as wider patterns of cultural change, are becoming ever more visible and more coherent in their diversity.

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<sup>63</sup> Craigie, ed., *Maitland Folio*, vol. I, pp. 441-444, ll. 1, 119.

<sup>64</sup> NLS, MS Hawthornden 2065, fols 8<sup>r</sup> and 9<sup>r</sup>; Craigie, *Maitland Quarto*, pp. 271-277.