



University
of Glasgow

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study,
without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first
obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any
format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author,
title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

Studies in the Contextualisation of Mid-Sixteenth-Century Scottish Verse

Theo van Heijnsbergen

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Scottish Literature

School of English and Scottish Language and Literature

Faculty of Arts

University of Glasgow

March 2010

ProQuest Number: 10753938

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10753938

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Voor Marie-Louise en Laura

De volgende is voor jou, kleine man

Abstract

Studying Scottish culture generally poses agreeable challenges. For the student of Scottish Renaissance literature, a case in kind is ‘the liminal position of Scotland’s “early modern moment”, overshadowed by the centralized and long-established canonization of the English Elizabethan Renaissance’.¹ However, such a challenge can be turned into an opportunity to emerge from under that shadow: ‘precisely because in small, minority, emergent cultures ... identity can never be taken as given, these are privileged sites for the study of ... the formation of identity’ and for the unsettling of dominant orthodoxies.²

Following that cue, the present thesis analyses the formation of Scottish cultural identity and interrogates ‘dominant orthodoxies’ of cultural-historical inquiry, both English and Scottish, in the area of mid-sixteenth-century Scottish literature, in particular in that most defining of contemporary genres, the short lyric. It will do so not by looking at the texts themselves (other than incidentally or indirectly), or through one or more particular literary-theoretical approaches, but rather by applying a more traditional model of cultural historiography in areas where the history of ideas and book history overlap, and in a manner that accommodates Quentin Skinner’s advice that ‘we should study not the meaning of the words, but their use’.³ The thesis does so by mapping the most likely audience (or: ‘users’) of the most important Scottish literary manuscript of the period in hand, the Bannatyne MS (compiled 1565-1568), complementing that by subsequently contextualising the life events of its most prominent lyricist alive at the time, Alexander Scott. The inclusion of biographical detail in both these components is not part of a psycho-analytical or Romantic ‘life into text’ model but rather tries to piece together what kind of sensibilities or (inter)national cultural influences Scott’s connections suggest, and what the identity and cultural profile of his audience(s) may tell us of the poetics he was writing within or towards.

The value of this approach lies in its aggregative synthesis, distinguishing literary and cultural-historical patterns in otherwise isolated studies of instances of literature, patterns that in their turn should inform future criticism of individual texts. The end result is a narrated database that is more than the sum of its parts, a matrix of cultural-historical reference that should function as a tool for future scholarship, including more exclusively

textual studies of contemporary literature.

To provide this matrix, the thesis in Chapter 1 sets out the nature of the problem, and the research question to be answered. In Chapter 2, a prosopographical study of the apparent mid-sixteenth-century network of readers of the Bannatyne MS will bring into focus cultural intermediaries (individuals, families, and printers, as well as institutions such as the Chapel Royal, church and court) that triggered, channeled, ‘consumed’ or otherwise engaged with cultural expression in contemporary lowland Scotland. This chapter will assess the ways in which literary writing, in manuscript and print, circulated amongst these specific cultural agents, as well as the role that the latter played in shaping what was thought to be ‘literary’. Such historicised contextualisation of the texts involved, of their circulation, their contemporary juxtaposition with other texts, and their readership, should actively inform our analysis of individual texts. Moreover, that such cultural prosopography is based on the most likely audience of a manuscript miscellany is particularly relevant for the study of the contemporary Scottish lyric, since the latter is preserved to an overwhelming degree in such manuscript miscellanies, as distinct from one-author manuscripts or prints.

Chapter 3 uses this enhanced awareness of the world of letters in contemporary Scotland and, in particular, Edinburgh, to inform an approach of its major lyricist that studies not *what* he writes, but – by analysing his life events and career as well as how these correlate to his most likely readership as outlined in Chapter 2 – *why* and *how* he writes, and how he, arguably, expected his work to be read. The two components of the body of the thesis (Chapters 2 and 3) are thus complementary and, in many ways, mutually reinforcing. Though they are essentially descriptive surveys, both chapters, particularly through their integrative, complementary presentation, therefore have analytical value. Moreover, the new biographical details presented in this section should replace, and expose as critically unhelpful, previously dominant binary models of inquiry that informed earlier analyses and biographical representations of Scott and his work (such as Catholic *v.* Protestant, court *v.* burgh, amatory *v.* satirical). The latter have adversely affected nuanced critical analysis of his texts and of the nature of contemporary writing and authorship more generally.

When studying this transitional phase of late medieval and humanist or early

Renaissance poetics, prosopography and individual biography are therefore most effectively used in combination rather than contradiction. Turning their apparent opposition into mutually reinforcing cultural ‘truths’ thus opens up views of contemporary Scottish literature as a significantly more vibrant and culturally self-sufficient entity than had hitherto been evidenced along more traditional lines of inquiry that pursued ‘great authors’, ‘grand narratives’ or Romantic notions of ‘originality’. It is in contribution towards such a revision of contemporary cultural history that the present thesis offers **Studies in the Contextualisation of Mid-Sixteenth-Century Scottish Verse**.

Notes to ‘Abstract’

¹ Dunnigan (2003), accessed 2/12/2005.

² Whyte 1995: xvi.

³ Skinner 1969: 37.

Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	v
Conventions, abbreviations, and short titles	vi
Note on dates	vii
Author's Declaration	viii
 Chapter 1: Introduction	
1.1 Research contexts and questions	1
1.2 Methodology and structure of the thesis	6
 Chapter 2: The Bannatyne Manuscript in its Cultural-Prosopographical Context	
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 The Bannatyne MS and the 'memoriall buik'	14
2.3 The Bannatyne family	18
2.4 The Edinburgh printers	20
2.5 The Bellenden family	25
2.6 The Maitland family	37
2.7 From the mid-1540s to the mid-1560s	39
2.8 Landed gentry	50
2.9 Commonweal concerns and pragmatic measures	54
2.10 Civic religion	63
2.11 Pragmatic faith	67
2.12 Later generations	74
2.13 The poets, and their protagonists	79
2.14 Towards Chapter 3	85
 Chapter 3: Alexander Scott: A Cultural Biography	
3.1 Introduction	97
3.2 First encounters: the 1530s	99
3.3 Advancement at court: the 1540s	106
3.4 In the queen's absence: the 1550s	117
3.5 Towards reformation	150
3.6 Parallel lines and divided loyalties: 1560-1567	167
3.7 Going underground: 1567-1579	176
3.8 The final years: the 1580s and beyond	207
3.9 Coda: other Alexander Scotts	245
3.10. Towards a conclusion	260
 Chapter 4: Conclusion	288
 Appendix: List of names in George Bannatyne's 'memoriall buik' (MB)	297
 Bibliography	302

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the tremendous support and knowledge of Prof. Alasdair A. MacDonald at the University of Groningen, whose patience for this ugly duckling to hatch went well beyond what the Grimm brothers ever expected of Mother Duck. In similar, complementary fashion, this thesis would not have matured into being without the alertness, insight, and back-up of Prof. Jeremy J. Smith at the University of Glasgow, acting as mid-wife in the final year of delivery of this thesis. I was most fortunate to have these two scholars as bookends of the project, and I hope my own supervision of graduates one day will live up to theirs, in spirit as well as content.

My other supervisors were at home. I can only hope to be able to repay part of the debt that I owe Marie-Louise and Laura for having shouldered the burden of writing a PhD on top of a lecturer's workload. Though you did get your own back from time to time, as with the unique copy of the final version of Chapter 2: 'Daddy, there was lots of letters on your screen from when you were typing and then I pressed this button to tidy them up and then I did and I cleaned them ... so, Daddy, where are they now, are they dead?'

In addition, as the endnotes to individual chapters indicate, a host of people have supplied me through the years with valuable information on isolated points. Mr John Ballantyne, Prof. Priscilla Bawcutt, Mr Ian Cunningham, Dr John Durkan, Dr Julian Goodare, Prof. Michael Lynch, Dr Alan R. MacDonald, Prof. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Dr Sally Mapstone, Dr Jamie Reid-Baxter, Mrs Joyce Sanderson, Dr Sebastiaan Verweij, and Dr Elspeth Yeo are specifically mentioned in the endnotes, and should be mentioned here again for special thanks. A particular 'thank you' is in order here to Dr Eila Williamson, who went well beyond the call of duty to help me piece together the final 'missing link' in Alexander Scott's biographical details.

I would also like to thank the University of Glasgow for two sabbatical terms over the years and for staff in the Scottish Literature department at Glasgow for supporting the completion of the project in the most collegiate fashion. Thanks are also due to the University of Groningen and my colleagues there, for guiding me in taking my first steps as a fledgling lecturer and junior researcher. I am likewise grateful to the 'Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek', which financed several parts of my initial research into the matter in hand during my Groningen years.

An earlier version of parts of Chapter 2 appeared as 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in *The Renaissance in Scotland*, eds. A.A. MacDonald *et al.* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 183-225. I am grateful to Brill Publishers for allowing me to use this material in the present thesis.

'aferit of the licht'

Once upon a time, my elder brother was in our kitchen looking for a marble he had lost in a dark corridor elsewhere in the house. When asked why he wasn't looking for his lost treasure in that corridor, he simply replied: 'Why, mummy, there's much more light in the kitchen'. Perhaps my academic career started on hearing this anecdotal insight into the nature of research, illumination, and the temptation of easy options, the slae rather than the cherrie. The present thesis goes into dark corridors, to switch on a few lights.

Conventions, abbreviations, and short titles

Volume numbers of multi-volume titles are in capital roman numerals; volume numbers of periodicals are in arabic numerals. Small roman page numbers are preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.' wherever the omission of the latter may lead to ambiguity. RSS and RMS references are to entry numbers rather than page numbers, unless otherwise indicated.

ch. = chapter
ed. = editor
edn = edition
eds = editors
fol. = folio
fols = folios
n.d. = no date of publication
n.p. = no place of publication
vol. = volume
vols = volumes

<i>ADCP</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554: Selections from Acta Dominorum Concilii</i> , ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932)
<i>APS</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland 1124-1707</i> , 12 vols, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75)
<i>AUR</i>	<i>Aberdeen University Review</i>
Bann. MS	The Bannatyne Manuscript (NLS, Adv. MS 1.1.6)
Bann. MS	<i>The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568 by George Bannatyne</i> , 4 vols, ed. W. Tod Ritchie (1928-34) (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Text Society)
Bann. MS (fac.)	<i>The Bannatyne Manuscript. National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS.1.1.6</i> (facsimile), eds William A. Ringler and Denton Fox (London: Scolar Press, 1980)
CSD	<i>Concise Scots Dictionary</i> , ed. Mairi Robinson (Aberdeen, 2005)
CSP Foreign Eliz.	<i>Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth</i> , eds J. Stevenson <i>et al.</i> (1863-1950)
CSP Scot.	<i>Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603</i> , 13 vols, eds J. Bain <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh, 1898-1969)
CSP Spanish	<i>Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs, vol. IV: Elizabeth, 1587-1603</i> , ed. Martin A.S. Hume (1899)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , eds L. Stephen and S. Lee (London, 1885-1900)
DOST	<i>A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</i> , eds William A. Craigie <i>et al.</i> (London, Chicago, and Aberdeen, 1931-2002)
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
EETS	Early English Text Society

ER	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , eds J. Stuart <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh, 1878-1908)
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
IR	<i>Innes Review</i>
MB	'Memoriall Buik' of George Bannatyne, in <i>Bann. MS</i> , I, pp. cxlii-clxiii
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edition, eds J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner (Oxford, 1989)
<i>Oxford DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , eds H.C.G. Matthews and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004)
<i>Peerage</i>	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , 9 vols, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-14)
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
Reg. Supp.	Register of Supplications, Vatican ('petitions for all kinds of ecclesiastical graces')
Reg. Lat.	Lateran Registers, Vatican ('copies of letters sent out by the Vatican datary')
RMS	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds J.M. Thomson <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
ROSC	<i>Review of Scottish Culture</i>
RPC	<i>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , 14 vols, eds J.H. Burton <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh, 1877-98)
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
RSS	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , 8 vols, eds M. Livingstone <i>et al.</i> (Edinburgh, 1908-...)
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
SHS	Scottish History Society
SLJ	<i>Scottish Literary Journal</i>
SND	<i>The Scottish National Dictionary</i> , eds William Grant and David D. Murison (1931-76)
SRS	Scottish Record Society
SSL	<i>Studies in Scottish Literature</i>
SSR	<i>Scottish Studies Review</i>
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> , 2nd edition, eds W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson (London, 1976-91)
STS	Scottish Text Society
TA	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , 11 vols, eds T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877-1916)

Note on dates

Dates have been modernised, except in quotations from original documents.

[Thesis Access Declaration]

Studies in the Contextualisation of Mid-Sixteenth-Century Scottish Verse

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research contexts and questions

From a cultural-historical point of view, studies of transitional eras potentially have great critical value because they expose patterns rather than situations. Their inevitable encounter with contradictions, flux and *aporiai* leads to an immediate confrontation with the complexity of cultural processes, disallowing any retreat into hermetically sealed-off areas of imagined stability. It is therefore in such pivotal transitional periods that one is most likely to catch residual, dominant or emergent cultural paradigms in the process of defining or revealing themselves.

One expects, therefore, much literary-critical energy to have been directed towards the analysis of cultural developments in the era in which, as established periodisation would have it, 'medieval' sensibilities were finally overcome or absorbed by 'Renaissance' ones. However, literary-critical investigations into Scottish writing of this period (i.e. the mid-sixteenth century, roughly equivalent to the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1567) that seek to articulate with the history of ideas and with cultural-historical scholarship on a wider scale have been few and far between, especially because the paradigms involved (Scottish, English, and European literary as well as critical traditions; medieval and modern; Renaissance and Reformation; Catholic and Protestant; Lutheran and Calvinist; court and non-court; narrative and lyrical; drab and golden lyric; sacred and secular discourse; pre- and post-Union critical reception) can only be meaningfully analysed if one

is willing to address them all, preferably simultaneously.¹ Instead, often only isolated and therefore epistemologically less fragmented areas of research have been addressed, particularly those which involve only mono-disciplinary research or which can be draped around simplified representations of historical developments, such as the Punch-and-Judy representations of Knox *versus* Mary, or Catholics *versus* Protestants.² This has led to a ‘yawningly wide ... gulf between literary and historical studies’ of this period, since ‘very few’ of the former ‘pay more than lip service to the integrative approach to historical and literary studies’. Consequently, studies of authors and texts are limited to ‘simpl[e] essays in literary criticism’, reaching conclusions that ‘are meaningless in terms of the development of Scottish culture’ in a wider perspective and ‘inhibit extended discussion of the ideas and beliefs – the value systems – which defined the cultural horizons of medieval and Renaissance Scots’.³ In addition, Scottish historians have themselves acknowledged that ‘the gap between medievalists and early modernists amongst Scottish historians is particularly noticeable’, producing its own brand of *mythistoire*, of creating a usable past in which contingent historical moments such as ‘the Reformation’ or ‘the Renaissance’ are represented as ‘inevitable and pre-ordained’.⁴

Such historical falsification has been complemented by not dissimilar problems in the area of more purely literary inquiry. Literary critics have traditionally found it difficult to evaluate Scottish literary achievement other than in such ‘simpl[e] essays in literary criticism’ and away from binary or otherwise simplified representations of Scottish history, mainly because there were no shared metacritical reference points (particularly, ones that had been developed after, or in tandem with, a deliberate questioning of the assumptions lying behind their selection)⁵ from the vantage point of which sixteenth-century Scottish

cultural figures, events and texts could be assessed in a manner that actively integrated this period's literary dynamics into its own cultural practice. Instead, literary analyses of this material – be these, for example, Romantic, Freudian, or New Critical – have for a long time tried to impose closure on the writing of this period from their own cultural or ideological vantage points. However, trying to erase indeterminacy in the primary material according to any subsequent set of values runs counter to the poetics of the literary tradition in which contemporary Scottish writers composed at least some of their verse, one which seems to be characterised rather by a rhetorical poetics or at least by deferral of any such totalising interpretation. Recent literary-critical and theoretical currents of thought (see below) have argued the inefficacy of such monolithic critical models more generally, and have emphasised how, instead, accepting or even foregrounding, rather than trying to erase, the indeterminacy and contingency of much contemporary primary material is more likely to lead to a better understanding of early-modern texts, of the stimuli which lie behind them, and of the conditions in which these texts operated – and thus of their meaning – because all these were themselves also largely indeterminate and contingent.

Scottish literature of the mid-sixteenth century, however, has for a long time been relatively defenceless against critical narratives that make the Elizabethan Renaissance the norm for the whole of British sixteenth-century cultural experience. This critical construct aligned contemporary Scottish literature to Anglo-centred cultural narratives and their attendant emphases and periodisations, treating it as a 'Prenaissance' of modern (English) cultural expression rather than as an evolution of medieval into 'Renaissance' with a dynamics of its own, in spite of the fact that the Scottish material demonstrably absorbed very different cultural and socio-political processes. For example – generalising for the

sake of overall clarity – the Elizabethan literature that has traditionally received most critical attention was more top-down, court-inspired and Italianate in origin, where Scottish contemporary writing, comparatively speaking, is crucially different in its emphases. It reflects more popular and religious influences, and, in terms of foreign influence, imitates French rather than Italian models (or, to nuance this observation, when it does imitate Italian models, it often does so through French intermediaries). This brings very different moral and aesthetic preferences into play. But instead of being studied from within their own (i.e. endogenous) context – that of a post-medieval culture with structural humanist influences, operating within a cultural continuum of courtly, urban, popular, clerical and lairdly discourses – Scottish texts and authors of the period have often, more by default than deliberation, been made to fall in line with exo-normative cultural narratives that more readily correspond to modern sensibilities of poetry, largely derived from an Anglo-centred critical tradition.⁶

This has meant that the framework of reference for the study of contemporary Scottish poetry was for a long time made up of the rather static polarities of sophisticated medieval otherness on the one hand and an intuited ‘Renaissance’ modernity on the other. While these may indeed reflect relevant, if virtual, abstractions, they are still frequently used as if they are absolute, mutually exclusive, self-evident, and without competition. This will remain the case until more scholarly effort is coordinated, across various disciplines and obstructive periodisations, with a view to articulating the era’s own transitional poetics, investigating its formative ideas and normative values in order to re-create a historicised framework of cultural reference. The current thesis is an attempt to contribute towards such interdisciplinary synthesis. Unless and until such cultural-historical reference points are

negotiated at a synthetic level, Scottish writing of this period will continue to exist in a potentially isolated and exposed position, as if it had established no contemporary identity or audience of its own, and as if its individual authors, if they did not fall in with a foreign cultural tradition, wrote in a literary as well as cultural vacuum. At the same time, while trying to return these texts to their original, Scottish contexts, this thesis also tries to steer clear of (selecting evidence with a view to) superimposing ideas of a mythical 'Scottishness' or indeed any other critical myths on the material.

The problem of having to overcome the ideologies of past canon-formation and their attendant periodisations is not unique to Scottish texts, of course. The 'Editorial' in the Winter 2001 newsletter of the English Subject Centre, the key British government-funded resource for the study of English in higher education, records how 'periodisation in literary history has kept a tenacious hold on English Studies, affecting academic appointments, the curriculum and the student experience'. The article on which this statement is based notes how, even at the time of writing, 'the text is presumed to operate according to the (unspoken) rules of period contexts, rather than being allowed to establish its own contexts'.⁷ In all these different areas of cultural and literary analysis, sixteenth-century Scottish poems, too, still have to overcome their own past reception, not only in 'disciplinary' and 'periodisation' matters but also in terms of rival national cultural critiques, before they can speak to twenty-first century readers in what is likely to approximate their original voice most closely. As long as it is not able to do so on its own terms, Scottish writing of this period will continue to be predominantly interpreted according to whatever version of literary criticism is in vogue at any particular time.

The research question of the present study, therefore, is to explore in what ways we

can re-connect these poems to the stimuli that gave rise to them in order to get a clearer view of the cultural landscape in which contemporary authors moved and of how this may have influenced their actual writing. In other words, the evidence presented below should affect the parameters for the literary interpretation of contemporary writing, for example by connecting post-Reformation writing more firmly and meaningfully with *pre*-Reformation Scotland again, or by identifying contemporary cultural intermediaries and social networks that have been relatively neglected in previous literary scholarship in this field.

The above summary of the nature of the problem has thus helped to formulate the research question. This in turn informs the methodology and the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Methodology and structure of the thesis

Setting out to study mid-sixteenth-century Scottish lyric, it gradually became clear that the existing critical templates for the analysis of this body of texts were unsatisfactory, or at best imperfect. As suggested above, the predominant modes of analysis up to the 1980s, with their essentialist and 'New Critical' emphases in tandem with Anglo-centred cultural reference points, and the concomitant readings of the texts involved, on the whole had yielded interpretations of contemporary Scottish texts that did not seem to articulate a literary practice that connected the material with its own origins and poetics.⁸

The cultural emphases within contemporary Scottish literary practice differ, not irreconcilably but meaningfully, from those implied by the kinds of modern critical readings usually offered of this material, the latter often based on fundamentally (post-

)Renaissance as well as exonormative ideas on what literature – and particularly the lyric – is and on how historical data should function within such analyses. The latter readings have their place within literary scholarship but have in the past monopolised such scholarship to an unhelpful and indeed distorting extent. Their separation of the words on the page from the cultural-historical contexts in which they were uttered, in combination with a Romantic rather than humanist-Renaissance view of what an author is, often sustained a critical ‘myth-understanding’ of early modern writing, the literary equivalent of the above-mentioned *mythistoire*.

If we try to remedy this by relying solely on readings of the literary texts themselves, we might remain locked into the self-same literary-critical prejudices that have caused sixteenth-century Scottish lyric to be considered an outdated cultural anomaly, such as readings that interpret contemporary lyric as exclusively court-focused and with any introspective features as self-evidently triggered by self-referential impulse. Instead, the present thesis therefore seeks to return this body of writing to its cultural-historical context. It allows us to observe how mid-sixteenth-century Scottish lyric, compared to its English equivalent, circulated in a significantly more porous court culture, retaining a late-medieval emphasis on, and engagement with, cultural intermediaries such as the church, universities, the ‘middling classes’ and lairds rather than, in a more exclusive sense, the aristocracy. In this cultural context, what is likely to have informed lyrical verse is a continued focus on the rhetorical construction of putative selves rather than the development of idiosyncratic autocitation, i.e. the use of a self-referential lyrical persona. In other words, what the contextualization of mid-sixteenth-century Scottish lyrics in the thesis hopes to show is that the intellectual quality of the

most likely readership of these lyrics, i.e. of the context in which they circulated, was such that readers would have been able to interpret the lyrical 'I' as not primarily a self-expressive voice but (also, or even: rather) a rhetorical, playful one. That is to say, these readers would have been interested in *how* that lyrical voice had come into being (i.e. in its art and its cultural politics, in how it had been constructed) rather than, primarily, in *what* it said. Taking this into account should radically alter the nature of our analysis of contemporary Scottish lyric, away from more exclusively essentialist, (post-)Romantic or psychological readings.⁹

What the present thesis attempts, in other words, is a nuanced historicisation of the contexts of sixteenth-century Scottish lyric that explores what this body of verse was trying to achieve in its own contemporary setting rather than what it might mean to modern readers in *their* cultural context. The need for such contextualisation of literature within interdependent British cultural perspectives has recently been noted by John Kerrigan:

It may be that the historicizing tendency in literary scholarship has started to become restrictive, but it has opened up issues that cannot be probed in other ways and equipped us more fully to make judgements about the value of texts ... The aim is to add to our understanding of [texts] by recovering the circumstances of their composition and reception.¹⁰

At the same time, while using ideas originating in the 'New Historicist' reaction against both essentialist and 'New Critical' readings, the present thesis does modify those aspects

of 'New Historicism' that rely rather heavily on the practice of extrapolating larger cultural-historical analyses from 'single-event' data or that ban the literary text to the margins of literary-historical inquiry. Instead, it accumulates rather than isolates individual historical details in an attempt to piece together wider cultural histories, more in the manner of traditional historiography.

This projected historicisation involves two complementary components, both aimed at providing a cultural-historical context for literary texts that is based on a critical assessment of contemporary data rather than on a back-projection of subsequent critical narratives. The first component maps the circulation and reception of literary texts in mid-sixteenth-century Scotland, their most likely contemporary readership, and the manner in which such reception and readership might best be explained in ways prompted by these texts' own cultural practice and material presence.¹¹ It does so through a study of the most demonstrable audience for the texts compiled in the Bannatyne Manuscript (1565-1568), by far the most significant textual witness of literary – and in particular lyrical – writing of the period in Scotland.

The second component is a cultural biography of one poet, Alexander Scott (c.1520?-1582/3), that intends to analyse this poet's interaction with the wider cultural contexts that his life events suggest. Scott is, by critical consensus, the foremost Scottish lyricist of the mid-sixteenth century, dominating – particularly in terms of poets still living – the section of 'ballatis of lufe' in the Bannatyne MS. All his extant work is compiled in the Bannatyne MS, with other textual witnesses merely yielding variations on, or, at best, minor additions to, their Bannatyne MS versions. Therefore, in the case of Scott's lyrics one of the ways in which we can indeed 're-connect these poems to the stimuli that gave

rise to them' is to link his work to the cultural role played by the Bannatyne MS.¹² The present thesis therefore seeks to suggest new, alternative or complementary ways of reading the work of this era's major poet by bringing together an investigation of the cultural role and most likely readership of the manuscript in which all his work appears (Chapter 2) with an analysis of the interface – if any – between the poet's life events and his cultural contexts (Chapter 3). This is done not in order to let that cultural-historical and biographical knowledge articulate the meaning of his poems, i.e. *what* he wrote, but to let these events and this readership suggest *why* and *how* he wrote, and how he expected his work to be read. The two components of the body of the thesis (Chapters 2 and 3) are thus complementary and, in many ways, mutually reinforcing.

A considerable number of individual details mentioned in the thesis were already known, but seeing them here placed in potentially revealing juxtapositions and threaded into interconnected causal relationships reveals patterns where before there were isolated facts. Through this synthesising prism we have a better view of details as well as of wholes, and thus of a coherent and dynamic, evolving culture, uncovering an interconnectedness that otherwise might remain invisible except in disciplinary specialists' heads or, in impressionistic ways, in their footnotes. The templates that may arise from this exercise should indeed enable a more 'integrative approach to historical and literary studies' as well as facilitating more comprehensively historicised studies of single texts and authors.

The thesis does not pretend to represent a cultural study of the (background to the) whole of mid-sixteenth-century Scottish literature, but provides a study of one particular aspect of it, contextualising the Bannatyne MS and its major contemporary lyricist. This

means it prepares for, but does not perform, a closer literary analysis of that one poet in particular. It of necessity limits itself to the above-mentioned two components of historicisation because they, not having been attempted in such a historicising manner before, require careful scrutiny of detailed documentary evidence – a limitation that implicitly acknowledges the scale of the challenge ahead, as discussed above.¹³ Although the thesis will also incidentally reference examples of how its historicisation impacts upon the actual close reading of mid-sixteenth-century Scottish writing, and refers to scholarship that has done so elsewhere, it will not critique that body of verse itself in any comprehensive manner. That will have to be postponed until a future programme of research, which should include my own edition of the poems of Alexander Scott (forthcoming). Such future research will involve the development of interpretations of the relevant texts within, and based upon, the historicised understanding of the cultural context provided, it is hoped, at least in part by the present thesis.

Notes to 'Introduction'

1. Many recent edited collections, chapters in books and articles have of course begun to make inroads into this area of neglect, as the endnotes and bibliography of the present thesis make clear. In terms of literary-critical monographs, only Shire (1969) and Dunnigan (2002) could be listed here, even though they, too, gravitate towards the later, so-called 'Castalian' period, i.e. the court of the adult James VI. What is still looked for is a full-scale study of the mid-sixteenth century that has the literary-textual detail as well as the cultural-historical width of a book such as Lyall (2005).
2. Daiches (1956: 137-8) calls this a 'two-term dialectic', a tendency in Scottish as well as English literary historiographers to 'slip into a simple-minded teleological kind of interpretation'. It produces inflexible patterns of interpretation that blind rather than illuminate.
3. Mason 1990: 101. A recent juxtaposition of both research methods is provided by two essays in a collection of papers on *Literature and the Scottish Reformation* (Gribben and Mullan [2009]). The essay by Deirdre Serjeantson historicises its subject matter, leading to a nuanced and detailed argument, but the chapter on Montgomery's anti-Calvinism by Mark Sweetnam makes its case by largely *ignoring* the available contextualisation, particularly Lyall (2005), the one key monograph on Montgomery. Whilst pertinent, it is thus in danger of indeed becoming 'simply ... literary criticism'.
4. Lynch 1994: 48; Mason 1998b: 166, 181.
5. On the slow development of Scottish metacritical discourse and its application, see Craig (2007a).
6. 'exonormative': determined by parameters derived from another culture. For a brief discussion of the importance for Scottish cultural criticism to move from an exonormative to an endonormative critical discourse, see van Heijnsbergen and Royan (2002b), notably p. xxv.
7. Ringrose (2001); Matthews 2001: 9.
8. 'poetics': the interdependent creative principles that determine the cultural practice of an individual poet or of an entire interpretive community; the distinctive features of a body of poetry or literature at a given time, its forms, genres and modes of composition; the aesthetic sensibilities that both shape and are shaped by these features and principles.
9. Initial steps towards such a re-orientation of our reading practices of mid-sixteenth-century Scottish writing in particular are taken, for example, in Lyall (1995) and, in parts, van Heijnsbergen (2005b).
10. Kerrigan 2008: p. viii.
11. It should be noted that the thesis predominantly looks at literature and culture in Edinburgh, but on many occasions does branch out geographically into other parts of Scotland; its conclusions are thus not limited to the capital.
12. In all this, it should of course be remembered that textual witnesses that have not survived might have led to different conclusions, and that Scott's textual corpus is in itself already a selection made by contemporary readers; we have no 'Complete Works' of any poets from this period (on the role of the Bannatyne MS in the creation of a cultural repertory, and on how important manuscript miscellanies are in defining – inevitably in partly retrospective ways – a Scottish literary canon, see in particular Bawcutt (2005), MacDonald (2003) and MacDonald 2005b: 246-8). This state of affairs, however regrettable, should not stop the development of informed cultural hypothesis or critical argument.
13. The present thesis will therefore not be able to avoid what Kerrigan (2008: p. viii) calls the historian's 'deep litter' approach of amassing footnotes.

Chapter 2: The Bannatyne Manuscript in its Cultural-Prosopographical

Context

2.1 Introduction

The significance of prosopography or ‘collective biography’ – a collection of data concerning a set of people who are grouped together on account of some common denominator – lies particularly in its collective element. It reveals patterns which would be lost in more traditional forms of biography that focus on one historical figure, and yields a dynamic model with a wider and more organic range. In Scottish history, the need has recently been voiced for many studies of this kind – network histories, histories of families, minor clergy and lesser gentry as well as urban histories – while stating that further publication of more conventional biographies of Mary Queen of Scots or Robert Burns as well as narratives of the ‘45 ‘ought to be banned by statute under heavy penalties’.¹

Moreover, it might be claimed that such prosopographical research potentially neutralises fossilised methodological errors. For example, the *outcome* of the historical phenomenon of the Reformation has been frequently used as a *starting-point* in critical narratives that attempt to come to grips with the events of the Reformation. A fragmented historical process such as the Reformation can thus be streamlined as a coherent series of stages within an apparently inevitable cultural evolution. However, what such studies take as starting-points in the discussion of cultural history – in this example, a more-or-less shared, coherent ideology of Protestant Reform – cannot be used unproblematically in explaining the historical process or the motivations of the protagonists within that process. Replacing historical

contingency by a critical teleology constitutes a reversal of historical cause and effect, one that leads to circular argumentations and self-fulfilling prophecies and prevents us from confronting the discontinuities – effectively, contemporary reality – of history. In what follows below, the analysis of the readership and cultural context of the Bannatyne MS and of the life of Alexander Scott is deliberately document- and fact-based in order to avoid such imposition of a critical teleology – in this case, that of essentially nineteenth-century ideas about (Elizabethan) court-culture and an Italian-style notion of the Renaissance based on the writings of Jacob Burckhardt, in particular his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860) – by uncovering patterns in cultural history before, rather than after, abstract cultural-historical concepts are retrospectively applied to the individual facts.²

2.2 The Bannatyne MS and the ‘memoriall buik’

The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568) is without question the most important literary document of early Scottish literature. Its copyist, George Bannatyne (1545-1607), has for centuries been hailed as the saviour of Scottish medieval literature; in the words of Sir Walter Scott, ‘George Bannatyne had the courageous energy to form and execute the plan of saving the literature of a whole nation’.³ This judgement, however, needs to be modified or at least qualified, even if only because it might suggest that it was the isolated effort of one individual genius that was responsible for the collection. If Bannatyne personally selected and ordered the poems in his manuscript, this in itself indeed shows that he was at least in some way interested in ‘creative writing’; moreover, he copied into the manuscript a handful of poems of his own making. There is nothing in George Bannatyne’s life after 1568, however, that even remotely suggests a sustained interest in literature: he became a businessman and does not seem to have spent

any more time or money on literary affairs. Even so, it is fortunate for Scottish literature and history that he was the son of a well-to-do burgher of Edinburgh and thus had the leisure and the means to copy over 750 pages of vernacular poetry into what is now known as the Bannatyne Manuscript.⁴

George's mother, Katherine Telfer, also gave birth to twenty-two other children, and the Bannatyne family consequently required a substantial number of godparents. George Bannatyne drew up a list of these godparents in a 'memoriall buik' (henceforth MB), together with the names of the spouses of his brothers and sisters and what seem to have been family patrons.⁵ The Appendix (see below, following the 'Conclusion') offers a checklist of names taken from that document; in the following discussion, this list and the names it contains are referred to simply as 'the MB', while an asterisk is added to a personal name to indicate – whenever appropriate or desirable – that the person in question occurs on this list.

The Bannatyne MS has come down to us through the descendants of the compiler, several generations of merchants and civil servants within a small cluster of family relations initially preserving the manuscript in their private possession for more than two centuries. It is a 'family manuscript' in many other respects: some half-dozen poems in it were composed by the scribe himself, but two poems that have the name 'Bannatyne' attached to them are distinctly more competent than the others and might perhaps be attributed to a relative.⁶ Moreover, a James Bannatyne and a Patrick Bannatyne actually feature in Sempill's 'The defence of crissell sandelandis', one of a number of poems with explicit contemporary references in the Bannatyne MS; considering the description of James Bannatyne in this particular poem ('ffor men of law I wat nocht quhome to luke / auld James Bannatyne wes anis a man of skill'), this is almost certainly a reference to James Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's father, who was indeed a prominent man of law.⁷ Furthermore, the MB features the coat of arms of the Bannatynes of Corehouse on its front page – the younger branch of the

Bannatynes of Kames to which George Bannatyne's family belonged – while the only illustration in the Bannatyne MS is a coat of arms of the Bannatynes of Kames. Both documents thus underline George Bannatyne's keen awareness of the fact that his own family was part of a larger structure of family relations. Crucially, the presence of the coat of arms in the Bannatyne MS suggests that, in contemporary Edinburgh, an investment in literature and an emphasis on family status were mutually reinforcing phenomena. In the Bannatyne network of family relations, literary expression thus seems to have played a prominent part in providing a family (network) with distinct cultural, and therefore social and political, identities. Concurrently, the inclusion in the MB of another family coat of arms suggests that the people named therein were part of such networks and therefore likely to make a conscious investment in cultural expression. Studying their cultural interests is therefore likely to teach us much about the contemporary uses of literature.

It seems, although precise details are missing, that the Bellendens were also descended from the Bannatynes of Corehouse, which helps to explain the prominent position of the Bellendens in both Bannatyne MS and MB. The Bannatynes of Corehouse, although not very active politically in sixteenth-century Edinburgh, had connections on a national scale. Thus, John Bannatyne of Corehouse himself in 1529 married Isabella Hamilton, a daughter of James Hamilton, the first Earl of Arran. The latter was the son of Princess Mary, sister to James III, and had been made joint regent of Scotland in 1517. His son became Governor of Scotland during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots, and was as such the centre of a not unimportant, if small-scale and intermittent, centre for cultural activity during Mary's absence, as instanced by events such as the staging of a masque or farce in February 1549 by William Lauder in celebration of the wedding of Lady Barbara Hamilton, the Governor's daughter. The Governor's father was the model for Alcabrun in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. That poem celebrates the famous house of Este, so it is perhaps not surprising that

Governor Arran spent a fortune on embellishing his estate at Kinneil with painted ceilings and extensive gardens, creating his own 'Villa d'Este' just outside Edinburgh.⁸ The Bellendens take pride of place in the MB, while throughout the Bannatyne MS we find strategically placed poems of John Bellenden (c.1490-c.1548), the brother of Mr Thomas Bellenden* and uncle of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull*. John Bellenden, described by David Lindsay as the most promising vernacular poet of the 1530s, was also that most fundamental of literary humanists, a translator of classical texts (Livy's 'History of Rome') as well as of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* for James V, over which Boece himself 'cast a friendly eye'.⁹ Such texts and channels of transmission suggest a continuity of thought within an intellectual setting that was urban as well as courtly, with Renaissance as well as medieval features. Bellenden's greatest predecessor as translator was Gavin Douglas, whose 'Prollog of the tent buik of Virgill' immediately follows two poems by Bellenden at the opening of the Bannatyne MS, and whose 'Prollog of the fourt buik of Virgell' at one stage of copying concluded the Bannatyne MS (fols 291r-294v) before one final section of poems was added. The prominent placing of these humanist poets in the manuscript, at both beginning and end, shows that George Bannatyne was aware of where the avant-garde of a vernacular Renaissance was to be found. At the same time, other sections of the manuscript, such as the cluster of poems of advice to princes at the end of book two (fols 87v-96v) or the fables in book five, have a more traditionally medieval flavour.

In conjunction with the Bannatyne MS, the list of names in the MB reflects the interactions of a mid-sixteenth-century family of merchants and legal clerics with other townspeople: local administrators who became national figures, merchant lairds, professional legal men, royal servants and secular clergy. The list also shows the fluctuations of Catholic and Protestant sympathies within this group of people. Considered collectively, these names provide a cross-section of the kind of public figures on whom the Stewart monarchs had

come to depend for the increasingly complex administration of the country. Many of them were university-trained men with roots in the educated circles at previous courts, and had been the recipients as well as promoters of the twin concerns of Scottish humanism, education and legal reform. By contrast, the aristocracy, frequently tied up with dynastic interests furth of Edinburgh, formed a separate power in many respects, and were not likely to act as civil servants, merchants, middle-ranking clerics or legal professionals, the kind of people listed in the MB. To all intents and purposes, and regardless of whether we view the Bannatyne MS as a collection prepared for the press or merely for circulation in manuscript among a select group of friends or relatives, the list of names in the MB provides the most detailed checklist available as to who might have constituted the audience for such a manuscript. Moreover, the poems in the manuscript mirror to a remarkable extent the contrasting yet not mutually exclusive cultural, political and religious identities of the various names in the MB. In addition to the presence of family coats of arms in both documents, as discussed above, this further strengthens the assumption that underlies the present chapter, namely that of the reciprocal relationship between the historical data on the one hand (the names from the MB) and the literary manuscript on the other.

2.3 The Bannatyne family

George Bannatyne's grandfather was John Bannatyne, the king's 'lovit daily servitour' and chief Writer to the Signet *c.* 1540. The Signet was the private seal of Scottish monarchs, and Writers to the Signet were servants to the royal secretary, who had custody over the Signet seal. The royal secretary was effectively 'the king's right hand at the pen, the issuer of the royal manuscript authority' for both private and political purposes. John Bannatyne's position thus suggests that

the Stewart king placed considerable trust in him. In the Bannatyne network, the number of Writers to the Signet is striking, and indicates something of the loyalties and *Sitz im Leben* that characterise the people with whom the Bannatynes would have most frequently interacted, professionally and arguably also socially. John Bannatyne also acted as notary public throughout the reign of James V, occasionally together with his son James, George Bannatyne's father; in the same period he also received regular payments for his labours as a writer in the offices of the Exchequer and the Treasurer. In 1538, John and his son James were appointed 'tabularis of all summondis to be persewit befor the lordis of counsale and sessioun' for life; this was confirmed in 1543.¹⁰

George's father, James Bannatyne of Formanthills and the Kirkton of Newtyle (1512-84), was admitted as burghess of Edinburgh in 1538. Apart from being a Writer to the Signet and tabular or Keeper of the Rolls, he was also Deputy Justice Clerk under Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul* and a member of the town council. In addition to his duties as a servant of the crown, he was also a well-to-do merchant, and his son George was in due time himself admitted to the Edinburgh merchant guild.¹¹ Many members of the family followed a legal career in administrative bodies such as the Chancery and the Signet: at least two of George's brothers, Patrick and Robert, became Writers to the Signet, while another brother, William, acted as a notary public alongside his father.¹² Another position that ran in the Bannatyne family was that of searcher of customable skins. On 16 February 1543 this post was granted to John Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's uncle, and his son William; after the latter's death at the battle of Pinkie (1547), the vacancy was filled by James Bannatyne, elder (George's father) and his son James. Later in life, George Bannatyne himself occupied this post as well. Furthermore, Laurence, George's eldest brother, received the gift of tabulary in 1554 together with his father; the same happened to Thomas, another brother, in 1557 and again in 1583.¹³ Thomas was eventually appointed one of the Lords of the College of Justice as Lord Newtyle, and his son James was

again a Writer to the Signet and appointed Deputy Justice Clerk in 1595.¹⁴ To this pattern of mercantile and legal affairs, George Bannatyne's voluminous manuscript adds the dimension of letters, in which his father's and grandfather's links to the world of books played an important role.

2.4 The Edinburgh printers

Recent studies of the Bannatyne MS suggest that the manuscript was originally meant to be printed; the names in the MB provide reasons to consider this a plausible contention.¹⁵ To start with, they show that the Bannatynes were in close touch with printers in Edinburgh. In the early years of the sixteenth century, the first printers in Scotland, Chepman and Myllar, included a substantial amount of literature in their output. Although Myllar, the actual professional printer, is a shadowy figure, we know more about his partner, who provided the money. Walter Chepman of Ewerland was a merchant, an entrepreneur involved in all sorts of trades, with making money a main priority. Selling books was not his only or even main occupation, and it was not one of his financially most successful enterprises. He may have had some interest in literature and printing for its own sake, but he seems to have lost that interest in the troubled days after Flodden.¹⁶ Apart from his occupations as a man of business, Chepman acted occasionally as notary and was a clerk in the office of the king's secretary; he is one of the earliest recorded Writers to the Signet ('before 1494'; in fact, he was the first formally so styled), and as such was a colleague of 'gud gentill Stobo', the poet whose death is deplored by Dunbar in his 'Lament of the Makaris'.¹⁷

Connections with the legal profession ran within the Chepman family in a context and pattern similar to that of the Bannatynes, and so it is not surprising to find John Bannatyne and

Walter Chepman appearing together as public notaries as well as acting jointly as witnesses to legal transactions. In 1527 they are paid for dictating and writing the rolls in the Exchequer's office, a task in which Dean James Kincragy* was also frequently involved. John Bannatyne, his son James, and the printer's grandson or nephew, Mr John Chepman, together with another Walter Chepman, were the main writers in the Signet office during the greater part of James V's reign. Moreover, John Bannatyne appears as a witness in instruments of sasine to Walter Chepman.¹⁸ It would appear that the Bannatyne household was in a good position to be acquainted with the world of printers, prints and (therefore also) manuscripts already well before George Bannatyne was born.

George Bannatyne's father, James Bannatyne, shared Walter Chepman's combination of legal training, landed possessions and a mercantile way of life as well as an interest in 'affairs of letters', and he was regularly in touch with other Edinburgh figures who were connected to printing and books. As initial evidence of a familial literary interest one might point to the Latin and vernacular verses copied into a manuscript copy of the 'Regiam Maiestatem' owned by John Bannatyne in 1520 and by his son James, George's father, in 1561.¹⁹ The latter was in 1541 appointed searcher of foreign ships, in order to stop heretical writings from being smuggled into Scotland. This appointment is likely to have stimulated his (and his family's) interest in books and manuscripts; moreover, the appointment as searcher was a joint one, together with Thomas Davidson, an Edinburgh printer who in the same year was appointed by Mr James Foulis of Colinton to print the acts of three parliaments.

This James Foulis, whose son and heir, Henry Foulis of Colinton*, features in the MB, was secretary to the King (1529) and Clerk Register (1532-1549) but also a neo-Latin poet whose patron and 'magna ... arbore' was James Henderson of Fordell, father of George*. His *Calamitose Pestis Elegia Deploratio* (Paris, c.1511), a work he wrote to 'entice students at home to take up the study of polite letters', includes a short epigram in honour of James Henderson

and was dedicated to Alexander Stewart, the illegitimate son of James IV and pupil of Erasmus. The *Deploratio* recalls the plague that ravaged Edinburgh in the 1490s, while Foulis's *Strena* (published anonymously in Edinburgh, c.1528) has been described as a city poet's view of the relations between town and court. Both works, therefore, forge strong links between the international world of letters and that of Edinburgh. In confirmation thereof, Foulis was appointed together with Mr Adam Otterburn and the renowned vernacular poet David Lindsay to prepare the welcome speech 'with the words in Fransche' to Mary of Guise on her arrival in Edinburgh in 1538. Among the twelve persons who were to represent the city at this occasion, 'accowterit and arrangit in gownis of veluott with thair pertinentis', we find a series of persons mentioned in the MB, such as John Carkettill*, Mr Thomas Marjoribankis*, Simon Preston* and George Henderson*, while among those who were ordered to 'awaitt vpoun the grathing of thair rowmes in skaffetting personages and ordour' appears 'James Bassenden*', for the Netherbow'. In combination with the MB, this list demonstrates clearly that the Bannatyne family was in close touch with, and presumably part of, the upper layer of Edinburgh society.²⁰

James Foulis and Thomas Davidson were no strangers to each other, for only a few years earlier Davidson had printed some of Foulis's Latin poems. In 1542 Thomas Davidson, the printer, was granted the premises above the Nether Bow of the deceased John Cockburn, previously granted to Walter Chepman and his wife. Chepman was no longer alive at this date but his wife is of interest to us: her name was Agnes Cockburn*, a name that appears as a Bannatyne godmother in 1540. Agnes Cockburn* enjoyed special tax privileges owing to her husband's work, and is regularly styled 'our lovit oratrice and wedo' in the royal accounts.²¹ Considering the professional connections between Bannatyne and Chepman and the links of the Bannatynes to various royal servants as outlined above and below, this Bannatyne godmother is most likely to have been the printer's wife. This makes it even more significant that one of the sons of Walter Chepman and Agnes Cockburn, David, a bookbinder who bound the mass book

of Mary of Guise in 1537, married one Agnes Simpson, the later wife of Robert Norvell. The latter was a poet, one of whose poems has been preserved in the Bannatyne MS ('O most heich and eternall king', included in both Bannatyne's Draft and Main Manuscripts), the only text known by him except for his *The Meroure of an Christiane* (Edinburgh, 1561), composed during his captivity in the Bastille in the 1550s.²² In other words, women, manuscripts and printers and their affiliated professions here form an important conduit for the preservation of literary texts, a phenomenon we will witness repeatedly in the pages below.

Further connections between the MB and the printing establishment of sixteenth-century Edinburgh can be discovered. The coat of arms of Walter Chepman's first wife, Marion Carkettill, firmly links her with another prominent figure in the MB, John Carkettill of Finglen*.²³ Likewise, James Bassintyne* is the name of the father of the printer Thomas Bassenden, the name Bassintyne being a frequent corruption of the name Bassenden or Bassindene. This printer, suspected of Marian sympathies, was indeed the son of one James Bassenden, while his mother was Alison Tod, another surname that appears in the MB. The identification of this Bannatyne godfather as the printer's father becomes even more likely if we consider the document in which James Bassenden, burgess of Edinburgh, 'sett to Andro, Erle of Rothes, ane ludgeing in Shortis Close beside the Nether Bow in Edinburgh', James Bannatyne functioning as cautioner for payment of the rent. The Nether Bow and the Cowgate were the areas in which the premises of Edinburgh printers were usually located, and Thomas Bassenden was no exception: his house was on the south side of the High Street by the Nether Bow, 'nearly opposite John Knox's house'.²⁴ James Bannatyne himself lived two doors to the west of Walter Chepman's tenement on the south side of the High Street of the Cowgait near Mary's Well.²⁵

The records of property exchanges surviving in the volumes of the Calendar of Charters in the NLS and the Register of Deeds in the NAS between those connected to the Bannatyne circles are numerous, and confirm the close-knit and contractually anchored socio-economic

basis to these networks of printers, merchants and legal professionals. Moreover, these legal and professional ties sometimes blended into relationships that operated on a more personal level. Thus, James Millar*, a Writer to the Signet and connected by marriage to the Bannatynes (his affianced spouse was Margaret Telfer, daughter of the late George Telfer*, burgess of Edinburgh), was not only godfather to one of George Bannatyne's own siblings in 1562 but also George Bannatyne's own 'educator', in an extension of such legal and god-kinship relations in a manner deeply rooted in earlier social relationships between, and within, families.²⁶ The Bannatyne family is thus best seen as a 'family household', a term foregrounded in the increasingly voluminous scholarship on the subject. A family household has a married couple at its core, but with servants (including, for example, non-resident tutors and others not affiliated by blood or marriage but by contract) also part of it. Importantly, it is in such family households that oral and literate culture easily overlapped and interacted, as well as court and street music or native airs, and lower and higher class culture more generally.²⁷ Hollander notes that 'the cultural significance of godparents lay in their status as signifiers of social networks, kin ties and patronage', and that godparenthood often entailed parental duties, with godparents often functioning in formal or informal educational capacities in this extended 'family household', of godparents.²⁸ In line with the growing recognition of godparents as important cultural intermediaries in early modern Europe generally, these findings reinforce the appropriateness of linking Bannatyne's list of godparents with the cultural function and contents of the Bannatyne MS. But this is a phenomenon hitherto not sufficiently acknowledged, with cultural-historical inquiry having instead been unduly dominated by the Reformers' emphasis on the core family (Knox found godparents 'superfluous' and 'offensive') and a pre-occupation, arguably derived from an Anglo-centric tradition of Renaissance scholarship, with the court and aristocratic families as cultural agents rather than in the extended household further down the social scale.²⁹

2.5 The Bellenden family

As indicated above, an important connection between the Bannatynes and literature ran through the Bellenden family. Concentric circles of relationships and loyalties rather than personal convictions account for many of the events and alignments in Scotland in this period, and to the Bannatynes, or at least to George Bannatyne, the Bellenden connection was of the greatest importance.³⁰ Not only does the name 'Bellenden' appear in the MB among the godparents, but three distinguished representatives of the Bellenden family head the MB in a class of their own (see Appendix), in a striking parallel to the above-mentioned prominent position of the poems by John Bellenden in the Bannatyne MS.

This lay-out of the MB suggests that the Bellendens were looked upon, or even acted, as a kind of patron family to the Bannatynes. The position of George's father as Deputy Justice Clerk meant that he worked directly under the Justice Clerk, Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull*, and the 1570s and 1580s saw an increase in the interactions between the Bannatynes and the Bellendens. The two families had a shared interest in various tracts of land in and near Leith and Holyrood; many charters relating to such lands as granted to various sons of James Bannatyne by Sir Lewis Bellenden*, who succeeded his father as Justice Clerk in 1576, illustrate such interests. Moreover, after James Bannatyne's death in 1584, Sir Lewis Bellenden appointed James's son, Mr James Bannatyne, as Deputy Justice Clerk.³¹

The first references to the Bellenden family in Edinburgh date from the 1460s, when the grandfather of Thomas Bellenden* acquired land in the adjacent burgh of the Canongate. In the sixteenth century, the Bellenden family combined service to the crown with legal careers; their connections to the court were numerous and their offspring distinguished. From c.1484 to 1500, Robert Bellenden was abbot of Holyrood, where we also find Adam Bellenden as prior and Walter Bellenden as one of the canons. The latter's nephew, the poet John Bellenden, was clerk

of expenses in the king's household until he was cast from royal service 'be thame that had the court in gouerning / as bird but plumes heryit of hir nest'; later he became, *inter alia*, archdeacon of Moray (1533-38), precentor of Glasgow (1537-47) and rector of Glasgow University (1542-44). The latter appointment may have been linked to his literary merits (two decades before, John Mair had held the same post).³² He was the son of Patrick Bellenden, parish clerk of the Canongate and steward to Queen Margaret Tudor from 1509 until his death in 1514, and Marion Douglas, nurse or 'kepar' of the infant James V and as such a colleague of the poet David Lindsay, who was at that time 'maister uscher' to the young king. Apart from the name of the mother, there are several indications that the Bellendens were in touch with the Douglasses, which must have added to their literary baggage. Patrick Bellenden and Marion Douglas in 1493 received a grant of land in Berwickshire from Archibald Douglas, fifth Earl of Angus, the famous 'Bell the Cat', and it is not surprising to find the poet John Bellenden connected to Gavin Douglas, son of the fifth Earl and another renowned makar: on 5 November 1520 John Bellenden witnessed a contract between Gavin Douglas (as bishop of Dunkeld) and Elizabeth Auchinleck, Gavin's sister-in-law, on the latter's entry to the convent of Sciennes. Bellenden remained a Douglas supporter all his life, and his sister Katherine succeeded David Lindsay's wife, Janet Douglas, as royal seamstress.³³

The poet's older brother, Mr Thomas Bellenden*, appears as a Bannatyne godfather in 1540. In 1510 he was studying logic in Paris under Robert Galbraith, professor of law and later Senator of the College of Justice in Edinburgh. His fellow students there were James Foulis, the above-mentioned neo-Latin poet, and the latter's brother-in-law, George Henderson of Fordell*. While in Paris, James Foulis dedicated verses to George Henderson of Fordell* and to Thomas Bellenden*, printed in Robert Galbraith's *Quadrupertitum*, a book which in itself was dedicated to the father of George Henderson, James Henderson of Fordell, Gentleman of the king's Household and Justice Clerk.³⁴ This Robert Galbraith, lawyer, has been identified as the

'Galbreith', named in the list of poets presented by David Lindsay in his *Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo*. A Lord of Session, he was also advocate to Margaret Tudor in 1528, rector of Spott (a Chapel Royal prebend) and treasurer of the Chapel Royal from 1528 to 1532 and as such a successor of the renowned historian John Mair and Andrew Durie. The latter, student of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Paris and Montpellier and a close associate and kinsman of Cardinal Beaton, was also, reputedly, a minor poet. John Rolland, notary and author of *The Court of Venus* and *The Seuin Seages*, linked Durie to David Lindsay, Mr John Bellenden, and Mr William Stewart, all names prominent in the Bannatyne Manuscript. The outlines emerge of a coterie of poets in the 1540s that itself looked back to a similar group of poets gathering at James V's court at the start of the latter's personal reign, as outlined in David Lindsay's own 'Prologue' to *The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo*.³⁵

To this circle of learned men we should also add Mr Thomas Marjoribankis*, procurator of the Scottish nation at the University of Orléans in 1517, a position also held in 1512 by James Foulis. David (later Cardinal) Beaton arrived in Orléans in 1519, and it was probably there that the 'continuing friendship' between Marjoribankis and Beaton began; in later years Marjoribankis regularly took care of the Cardinal's business. One of the first advocates of the Court of Session in 1532, Marjoribankis was Provost of Edinburgh in 1541 and was appointed Clerk Register in 1549 as successor to the deceased James Foulis. He was deprived of that office in 1554 on the charge of having falsified a warrant.³⁶

Mr Thomas Bellenden* was appointed director of Chancery in 1523. At this early stage in his career he was already described as 'a young man of distinguished talent and open character'. He was made an ordinary Lord of Session in 1535 together with Mr Arthur Boece, brother of Hector Boece, the author of *Scotorum Historiae*. Arthur Boece was a seasoned traveller, bringing back architectural insights from his stay in Italy. Mr Thomas Bellenden* was

appointed director of Chancery and Keeper of the Quarter Seal for life on 10 September 1538; his appointment as Justice Clerk followed in December 1539. He was also entrusted with important diplomatic missions: in early 1540 he was commissioned, together with Henry Balnaves*, to negotiate with the English on Border affairs. In a report on this to Thomas Cromwell, the dedicated Protestant secretary to Henry VIII, the English commissioners describe Bellenden as gentle and sage, and 'inclined to the English point of view on religious matters'; they also reported that according to Bellenden the Scottish king

was gretely geven to the reformation of the mysdemeanours of Busshops,
religious personnes and preistes ... so muche that by the Kinges pleasure ... they
have hade ane enterluyde played in the Feaste of the Epiphane ... before the King
and Quene at Lighqwoe, and the hoole Counsaile spirituall and temperall. The
hoole matier wherof concluded upon the declaration of the noughtines in
religion.

James is then reported to have told the bishops to reform their lives, or else he would ship the proudest of them to England. Bellenden asked the English commissioner 'to send him, by secret means, an abstract of all acts, constitutions and proclamations which had been passed in England concerning the suppression of religion, etc., with the intention that James would study these'.³⁷

In this period, a group of men in favour of a limited programme of religious reform, centred around key figures such as Thomas Bellenden*, Henry Balnaves* and Robert Galbraith, seems to have enjoyed royal protection. A brief outline of the career of Thomas Bellenden's colleague as commissioner, Henry Balnaves of Halhill*, provides additional insight into the connections that the Bannatynes had within these circles from the reign of James V into the early years of the reign of James VI.³⁸

Although born of poor parents in the burgh of Kirkcaldy, Mr Henry Balnaves* studied in St Andrews and in Cologne, and later acted as procurator, in the 1530s occasionally working for Cardinal Beaton, the central figure in the Catholic movement who was to become the target of biting satire in Lindsay's *The Tragedie of the Cardinall*. In 1538 James V made Balnaves a Lord of Session, and in 1539, the same year in which he became godparent to James Bannatyne's first-born child, he had already aroused the jealousy of the clergy (on account of his career and the royal preferments bestowed on him) as well as their suspicion (on account of his private, Lutheran views). Balnaves was one of the leading figures in the Regent Arran's government, and together with Bellenden he was a prominent supporter of Arran's short-lived 'godly fit' in 1543, together with David Lindsay, the poet and Lyon King of Arms, and the laird of Grange. As secretary of state, Balnaves was responsible that year for passing the Act of Parliament that permitted the reading of the Bible in the vernacular; this was overturned within a few months, after the Catholic hierarchy had flexed its muscle. Consequently, the man at the top of that Catholic hierarchy, Cardinal Beaton, had come to love this early Protestant 'worst of all', and after Arran's 'reconciliation' with Beaton, Balnaves was arrested.³⁹ Following his release, Balnaves acted as an English agent, and received an English pension. After the assassination of Cardinal Beaton in 1546, Balnaves joined the rebels in St Andrews Castle, and was eventually declared a traitor and forfeited. When the rebels at St Andrews finally surrendered in July 1547, Balnaves was sent in a galley to France, together with John Knox. By 1555, however, after receiving a pardon from the regent, Mary of Guise, he had returned to Scotland to offer her his legal services. Balnaves was a steadfast but moderate Protestant, who eventually became one of the principal reformers. Knox calls him a very learned and pious man, and Sadler was similarly positive about him. Knox also speaks favourably of Thomas Bellenden*, calling him a man of good counsel, judgement and godliness.⁴⁰

Balnaves and Bellenden were also men of letters in their own right. Together with,

among others, George Buchanan, Mr James McGill*, Clerk Register, John Bellenden*, and the Queen's Secretary, Maitland of Lethington, Balnaves was in 1563 appointed to revise the *First Book of Discipline* of 1560. In that same year, Balnaves's colleagues on that committee had also been on a committee which had been authorised by parliament to undertake an academic visitation, after a petition had been presented to parliament regarding the bad state of letters and learning in the country, particularly the 'tounge and humanitie' at St Andrews.⁴¹ Balnaves wrote a treatise on the crucial issue of justification by faith alone, *The Confession of Faith, Conteyning how the Troubled Man should Seeke Refuge at his God*. This was written in prison in Rouen in 1548, but not published until 1584 (Balnaves died in 1570). The manuscript had been edited and preserved by his fellow traveller on the galleys to France, John Knox. After Knox's death it eventually came into the hands of printers in Edinburgh via Alison Sandelandis, one of Knox's closest female associates and herself part of a family – the Cockburns of Ormiston – in which literary manuscripts circulated with some frequency.⁴²

In the same milieu we must place Alexander Clerk, the brother-in-law of Balnaves's wife. A well-to-do Edinburgh merchant, he, too, had been deported to France after the surrender of St Andrews Castle, being released in the company of John Knox in 1549. Clerk remained on close terms with Balnaves throughout the 1560s and 1570s, managing Balnaves's accounts after the latter's death. For the present purpose, it is important to note that Clerk had registered a contract in Edinburgh on 10 April 1564 with the Protestant printer Robert Lekpreuik, to the effect that Clerk was to share with Lekpreuik 'the profits of printing the Psalms of David and the common prayers, with other material thought good by the kirk. Clerk had also to share in the profits of all book sprinted subsequently'.⁴³ Moreover, the name of 'Balnaves' has been appended to a poem in the Bannatyne MS. In the Maitland Folio manuscript, this same poem is attributed to 'Johnne balnaves', and although this may rule out the Bannatyne godfather himself as the author (if 'Johnne' is not simply a mistake), the appearance of this unusual surname in the

Bannatyne MS (which names only a handful contemporary Scottish poets) in conjunction with Henry Balnaves's prominent position in the MB is unlikely to be coincidental. It suggests that, as in the case of Balnaves's *Confession of Faith*, personal links were the channel of transmission of this text, and we may hazard a guess as to what that channel was: the Maitland family had very close ties with their East Lothian neighbours, the Cockburns of Ormiston. The last recorded activity of Thomas Bellenden, meanwhile, is his work in 1546 as copyist of Gavin Douglas's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* into the Lambeth MS.⁴⁴

Balnaves settled his estate on James Melville, his 'sone adoptive', whose later memoirs as Sir James Melville of Halhill – another manuscript that lay untouched for the best part of a century before being printed – show the latter to have been a cultured and conciliatory presence at both the English and Scottish court. His response to Queen Elizabeth's inquiries into Mary Queen of Scots's beauty and other accomplishments is famous for its mix of personal tact and political archness. His daughter, Elizabeth Melville, also known as Lady Culross, was the author of *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603), the first substantial piece of literature in Scots known to have been written by a woman; it became a seventeenth-century bestseller. Literature runs in families here, too: her son Samuel earned a reputation for himself as author of *The Scots Hudibras, or, The Whig's Supplication* (1681).⁴⁵

A not dissimilar figure is Sir Peter Young of Seaton, a Bannatyne family friend and a co-tutor with George Buchanan of James VI, with Young, it seems, taking the lead in the actual teaching. Of Young, a contemporary wrote: 'Mester Peter Yong was gentiller [than George Buchanan and Lady Mar, the other caretakers of the young James VI], and was laith till offend the Kyng at any tym, and used him self wairly, *as a man that had mynd of his awen weill*, be keping of his Majesteis favour'. Peter Young is further dealt with in Chapter 3, but it is worth noting here that his mother was the sister of Henry Scrimgeour, the famous book collector and professor of civil law in Geneva. Scrimgeour took care of Peter Young like a second father

when the latter came to Geneva (1562-68), where he studied under Beza. Peter Young was clearly a trusted royal servant; thus, he was one of the main diplomats responsible for brokering the marriage between James VI and Anne of Denmark.⁴⁶

There are other public figures of a slightly later date who come out of these particular Edinburgh-based family circles and have the same cultural-political profile. Mr Thomas Craig of Riccartoun, a prominent lawyer at the end of the sixteenth century, was the son of Robert Craig and Katherine Bellenden, and thus the grandson of Thomas Bellenden*. He married Helen, daughter of Helen Swinton* and her first husband, Robert Heriot of Lumphoy. Craig in many respects is yet another typical example of someone with whom the Bannatynes mingled: of well-to-do mercantile stock, he moved among, but never became part of, the aristocracy. His main achievement was to apply humanist scholarship to Scots feudal law in order to turn it into a much more ordered system, represented in Latin prose of what specialists consider Ciceronian clarity. At the same time, he also engaged in literary production, in a characteristic contemporary blurring of the dividing lines between politics, literature, and social occasion: among a number of Latin poems, he wrote a Latin *Epithalamium* in celebration of the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Darnley, printed in Edinburgh in 1565. Both his literary and legal writing have a clearly royalist focus and are acclaimed for their humanist quality.⁴⁷

That literature, law and family are important mutually reinforcing features of contemporary culture is shown by Craig's closeness to Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, successor to Robert Reid. He was the son of Francis Bothwell, who died in 1535, and his second wife Katherine Bellenden, daughter of Thomas Bellenden*, both families that had held the highest offices in the royal chancery. Although initially lauded as a most competent administrator within the fledgling Reformed kirk, Adam Bothwell's increasing involvement with affairs at court – he married Mary Queen of Scots to the infamous Earl of Bothwell, and

anointed James VI in July 1567 – estranged him from that institution later in life. Like Robert Reid before him, Adam Bothwell's interest in the world of letters and government made him acquire a library that was both large and wide-ranging. As the *Oxford DNB* entry on him says, it was probably his closeness to the court in both person and spirit that is responsible for his ownership of books such as Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*.⁴⁸

This brief study (to be continued below, in the section 'Later generations') of slightly later figures who descended from men and women central to the Bannatyne circle reveals a pattern that confirms the sensibilities of that circle. Thus, these later figures include many instinctively conservative literate individuals who are relatively moderate yet politically shrewd Protestants whose main concern lay in continuing the structures of a godly, monarch-centred commonweal based on a sound legal foundation. In this respect, it is important to note that Balnaves and Bellenden appear as godparents to James Bannatyne's two eldest sons as early as 1539 and 1540. University graduates and reform-minded jurists, anxious to reform society without irrevocably breaking the values which underpinned it, they suggest the social and political sympathies of the Bannatynes, which were clearly with progressive but non-radical men of the middle and included Catholics of moderate nature as well as Protestants. The public figures in the MB were picked from the ranks of those who were trying to preserve the intellectual inheritance of the nation, which included that of the Church. Thus, unlike Knox, Balnaves, an early, prominent Lutheran, did not reject the doctrine of Christian obedience to a sovereign and he was keen to cooperate with Mary of Guise when the opportunity arose. He was also the only one of the Scots lords who resisted handing in the accusation of the Queen at the York trial of Mary Queen of Scots.⁴⁹

Apart from men like Balnaves*, Thomas Bellenden*, and Marjoribankis*, these circles included the poet and playwright David Lindsay; the neo-Latin poet Adam Otterburn; Robert Galbraith; Robert Richardson, the Augustinian reformer and pupil of John Mair in Paris, where

he was also a fellow student of Loyola at St Victor's; the historian Hector Boece, whose *Scotorum Historiae* was translated by John Bellenden; Edward Henryson and Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney (on whom see below); Giovanni Ferrerio, the Piedmontese humanist who was brought to Scotland by Reid and who lived in Scotland from 1528 to 1537 and again from 1540 to 1545, lecturing to the monks of Kinloss on, amongst others, Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Rudolph Agricola, and donating printed books purchased on the Continent; William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen; and Laurence Telfer*, treasurer of Dunkeld, who appears together with Henry Balnaves* as godparent to James Bannatyne's eldest son.⁵⁰ Laurence Telfer, befriended by Ferrerio, was brother-in-law to the better-known Andrew Halyburton, conservator of the Scottish staple in the Low Countries, who has left us his 'Ledger' covering business transactions from 1492 to 1503. Laurence Telfer's own account has also been preserved, which shows that he was a merchant as well as a clergyman. He was the successor of Patrick Panter as secretary to the King in the early 1520s, and in 1533 James V tried in vain to secure a chaplaincy for him. Clearly in royal favour, he is styled an experienced and erudite man, a faithful servant of both James IV and V.⁵¹

The above survey shows that, during James V's reign, the Bannatynes were clearly in touch with the intelligentsia as well as with men of affairs, often public figures who were increasingly in charge of the machinery of government in a period in which the influence of the aristocracy had gradually come to be challenged. The Bannatyne MS stands as a kind of index to the cultural activities of these individuals, much of its contents belonging to a more aristocratically and clerically dominated medieval heritage but preserved by a new, socially dominant cultural elite that was largely made up of members from a secularised urban oligarchy. These men and women, as well as the Bannatyne MS itself, were thus true cultural intermediaries. It should also be noted that in this milieu, cemented by family connections, manuscripts were of considerable importance, something that should be borne in mind when

considering whether the Bannatyne MS was meant to be printed or not; it would seem, on the evidence above, that circulating manuscripts could indeed function as rivals of, or alternatives to, print, making the use of the term 'manuscript publication' a not implausible one to consider with regards to the Bannatyne MS.

During Mary's reign, the Bannatynes continued to affirm their familial alliance with the Bellendens, and thus, with courtly circles and the world of letters. Thomas Bellenden's son and heir, Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull*, was appointed director of Chancery on 17 January 1543, and in 1547 succeeded his father as Justice Clerk. He amassed a great deal of property, and became a central political figure: he was appointed one of the Lords of Session in November 1554 and a Privy Councillor on 6 September 1561, both these dates, significantly, falling in periods just after the royal family had taken over personal control of the kingdom. This suggests that Sir John was on good terms with the royal family. Although he eventually joined the reformers, he was never a committed Protestant, but always remained first and foremost a crown servant. He was employed by Mary of Guise as mediator between her and the Lords of the Congregation, and after 1560 he occasionally negotiated with the Kirk on behalf of the crown. Knox claims that Bellenden had once been 'not the least ... amongis the flatteraris of the court'. That did not stop Darnley from threatening Sir John with a dagger when the latter 'brought him word that the creation of his being Duke was deferred for a time', an incident that in itself indicates the nature and prominence of Bellenden's position. Nevertheless, he has also been referred to as a traitor to the Marian cause, one of the 'creatures of Murray'.⁵²

John Bellenden of Auchnoull* fled from Edinburgh after the Riccio murder, but on 18 May 1566, barely two months later, he was 'permittit to purge himself of the slauchter of umquhile seinyeour David ... and was fund clene'. John Bellenden's court connections were impressive. His first wife was Margaret Scott, the daughter of the first marriage of Marion Scott*. The latter was one of the ladies-in-waiting to Mary Queen of Scots and a very active and

independent business-woman in her own right, trading internationally through her factor in Dieppe; one of her rental books survives, as does her book of hours. She was also one of the five Edinburgh women who subscribed to the 'faithful brethren' initiative in 1562 to build a new poor hospital in the burgh. In 1555 Bellenden married, secondly, the daughter of Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains, Barbara, a favourite of Mary of Guise, who was a consenting party to this marriage. Mary Queen of Scots was a party to his third marriage contract in 1565 to Janet Seton, promising him 1000 merks of tocher; the Queen and her four Maries also attended his daughter's wedding.⁵³ This royal interest, in addition to Bellenden's political career in its own right, shows that he was a prominent member of the court who took care to marry into the royal household and into families with a tradition of loyalty and service to the crown. As we shall see in Chapter 3, these are precisely the families that frame the life events of Alexander Scott, the musician-poet, which suggests it is in these same families that Scott's literature may have found its readership.

John's eldest son, Lewis Bellenden*, succeeded his father as Justice Clerk. In March 1576 he donated five French books to the library of James VI, a library run by the above-mentioned Sir Peter Young of Seaton. Lewis Bellenden was a Lord of Session, Keeper of Linlithgow Palace, and in 1589, having been an ambassador to negotiate the royal marriage, he accompanied James VI to Denmark for the wedding. Finally, the other Thomas Bellenden* in the MB, identified as 'tutor of Kilconquhar', was a son of the third marriage of John Bellenden of Auchnoll*. He married Marion Gilbert*, the widow of Thomas Bannatyne, Lord Newtyle (George Bannatyne's older brother), and also succeeded the latter as Lord of Session in 1591, which once more confirms the close links between the Bellenden and Bannatyne families outlined above.⁵⁴

2.6 The Maitland family

This short survey of the Bellenden family establishes the latter's characteristic combination of prominent careers in crown service together with a highly-developed interest in literature and learning. The same pattern and ambitions, though on a more humble level, can be traced in the history of the Bannatyne family. The history of these two families shows that literary interests, just like politics, trades and particular crafts, ran in families.

The Maitlands were another family of relatively modest background that nevertheless produced prominent legal men and statesmen who were also poets. At their head stood William Maitland, a great favourite of James IV, who died with his king at Flodden. His son, Sir Richard Maitland (1496-1586), was a student of law in France and of literature and philosophy at St Andrews. A royal servant under James V, the Governor Arran, Mary of Guise, Mary Queen of Scots and James VI, his offices included Lord of Session and Keeper of the Privy Seal during the Guise regency as well as under Mary Queen of Scots, and Keeper of the Great Seal under James VI. Maitland was also a substantial vernacular poet, much of whose vernacular poetry was collected and preserved in a manuscript now known as the Maitland Folio, second in importance only to the Bannatyne MS; he also wrote a history of the house of Seton (his father married a daughter of George Lord Seton). Documents of Sir Richard Maitland's time as well as his own poems reveal a wise, humanitarian character respected by all sides – *pace* one allegation by Knox, who claims that Maitland, in the 1540s, was bribed into letting Cardinal Beaton escape. His special status is marked by the fact that he was the first to be allowed to nominate his successor on the bench when old age finally overtook him in 1584: he chose Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull*, which again indicates the interaction of these literate families. As both Sir Richard's mother and Sir John Bellenden's* wife prove, the Seton family played an important role in these cultured circles, too.⁵⁵

Sir Richard Maitland's children displayed both the political as well as the literary interests of their father. His eldest son William was the well-known 'Secretary Lethington', nicknamed 'Mitchell Wylie' (after Machiavelli), who in 1567 married Mary Fleming, one of the four Maries, an illegitimate daughter of James V and a lifelong favourite of the Queen. William became one of the principal supporters of Mary during the civil war. The second son, John, was Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1567 until forfeited in 1571, and was in Edinburgh Castle along with his elder brother when it fell. Another son, Thomas, in addition to texts that will be mentioned below, wrote Latin poetry, including an encomium on Alexander Arbuthnot, printed in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*. Finally, the Maitland Quarto, another important manuscript anthology of Middle Scots poetry, was copied by Sir Richard's daughter, Mary. The Maitlands were thus firmly connected to other families that were generally characterised by their loyalty to the crown such as the Setons, Flemings, and Bellendens, and it is in these court-related circles that Middle Scots literature as we have it was preserved as well as produced and enjoyed.

The Bannatyne MS stands at the intersection of these families and wider national concerns; while attempting to do away with moral and social wrongs of pre-Reformation society, men like Thomas Bellenden* were equally concerned with preserving from that same period those political and social structures that they considered valuable. The poems in which Richard Maitland laments the new abuses of the post-Reformation period clearly echo the balanced criticism of both Protestant and Catholic abuses as voiced in 1562 by Alexander Scott in his 'New Year Gift' poem to the Queen, the central contemporary political statement in the Bannatyne MS. The overriding concern of these poets was the national 'common weill', a social and civic rather than political or religious priority, which makes them the true successors of David Lindsay, and it is significant that the one poem in the Bannatyne MS that is attributed to Richard Maitland is a reworking of part of Lindsay's *Monarchie*.⁵⁶ However, that such cultural preservation was readily misconstrued, as further elaborated below, may be made apparent here

from one piece of manuscript evidence that links the Setons and Bellendens in the starkest of manners to courtly pastime: the Protestant Archibald Douglas in 1567 noted that Mary, 'rather than keeping appropriate mourning for her dead husband', Darnley, was 'sporting at Seton', where

sondry light ladys and women resorted vnto her and among other pastimes, they danded stark naked, and in the end with sisers fell on clipping the heares [hairs] of their privities: which they mingled in puddings, therof Sir John Ballendene called Justice Clerk did among others eate: and toke the same to be cause of his bane or infection.⁵⁷

The coarse nature of this graphic image, anticipating the kind of accusations later aimed at suspected witches and written at the very time that the Bannatyne MS was being compiled, in moral terms conceivably indicts Douglas rather than the court. More urgently, though, it is a clear indication of the kind of suspicion that courtly culture (with John Bellenden, it would seem, in a particularly central role) was increasingly subjected to in Reformation Scotland.

2.7 From the mid-1540s to the mid-1560s

The names entered in the MB for the years 1542 to 1548 reflect the realities of a socially and politically unsettled country, beset by English invasion, political factionalism and the beginnings of serious religious divisions. Exact identification of these names is difficult since they are neither distinctive as names in themselves nor do they seem to be related to figures that have left a mark on contemporary history as individuals.

However, collectively they do tell a story: they show how the Bannatynes in this period

moved predominantly in merchant circles, and were in touch with families like the Telfers, Patersons, Fishers, Irelands and Rynds. The Telfers (James Bannatyne's in-laws) and Fishers were prominent merchant families in the first half of the sixteenth century. John Fisher*, a prominent cloth merchant, supplied the court with wine and Doornik table-cloth. John Fisher* and George Telfer* had a vessel taken by the Spaniards in the early 1520s. More pertinent to the present topic, William Fisher*, James Bannatyne's 'eme' and the son of John Fisher* and Isobel Windeyettis*, has been identified as the William Fisher who copied out the so-called Dunkeld partbooks or Dunkeld Antiphonary at some time between 1542 and 1545. Musical historians claim that its imitative Renaissance polyphony with Continental influences and echoes of especially French composers leads to a 'fascinating mixture of styles', which may be seen as an interesting glimpse of the cultural interests and tastes of the Bannatyne circles more generally, and arguably also shining a light on the nature of contemporary writing.⁵⁸

William Fisher* also acted as a money-lender in Edinburgh in this period; together with Nichol Cairncross, the second husband of Marion Scott*, he lent money to Cardinal Beaton as well as to the government. A Thomas Paterson* and a Robert Paterson* (George Bannatyne's brother-in-law) were also merchants, while the Rynds were a prosperous family of metalworkers and goldsmiths: Thomas Rynd* was deacon of the goldsmiths for two years and in 1526 went to Flanders to purchase an image of the Lady of Loretto for the goldsmiths' altar in St Giles'. The Irelands on the MB list, possibly related to Mr David Ireland, advocate, are more difficult to pin down, but they clearly intermarried within the circle of Bannatyne connections: Christian Ireland* married Thomas Rynd*, while Marion Ireland* married Mr John Abercrombie*. The name of Tod is again that of a merchant family, and David Tod* can be found engaged in both national and international trade, importing costly artefacts from the Continent.⁵⁹

There is little evidence of committed Protestantism in the names of the Bannatyne godparents in the later 1540s or indeed into the early 1550s, with its unsettled economical and

political climate. The latter is perhaps best illustrated by the disillusion voiced by Adam Otterburn – himself a neo-Latin poet – with regard to political relations between England and Scotland; the opportunity for a new alliance, as promised in the two Treaties of Greenwich of 1543, had temporarily vanished amidst the rigours of the ‘rough wooing’ of Henry VIII and invading English armies. The MB, however, shows signs of renewed vigour from 1548 onwards. The names become less anonymous and include adherents of both the old and the new faith, although, read chronologically, we see a gradual increase in the number of names in the MB that are linked to the Protestant establishment of Edinburgh, the Bannatyne connections gaining in godly repute as time passed.

Alexander Guthrie* is the first name we meet on the list (he was a Bannatyne godparent in 1556) with a solidly Protestant record. He was already a leading figure of the Protestant element in Edinburgh in the 1540s, and his wife, Janet Henryson, was one of Knox’s ‘dear sisters’. Guthrie was on the Edinburgh town council almost continuously from 1557 to 1580 and came to be known to his enemies as ‘King Guthrie’. As common clerk of the burgh, he was ordered into ward by the 1559 loyalist council under the Catholic Lord Seton, and in 1560 he acted as informant of Randolph, the English ambassador. He was summoned to appear in court for joining Moray’s rebellion in 1565, and was banished in March 1566 in connection with the murder of Riccio, but he was granted a remission later that year. It is on the flyleaf of what seems to have been his manuscript copy of a key Scottish legal text, the ‘Regiam Maiestatem’, that a poem by Dunbar – on pages now missing – was entered.⁶⁰

Moreover, one of Guthrie’s clerical staff, the Dundee notary Robert Wedderburn (born 1546), wrote a great many classical quotations and scraps of vernacular verse – some of which his own – in his protocol books. Wedderburn came from a literary family milieu: the Wedderburn brothers who are often held to have been responsible for collecting the *Gude and Godlie Ballattis* were his kinsmen, and his nephew was David Wedderburn, whose ‘Compt

buik' records a large number of books in his possession which were frequently lent to friends. Some of these books had belonged to Robert Wedderburn himself, such as a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 'in Laten with the pictouris bund in ane swynis skyn of verry braw [beautiful] binding'.⁶¹

This Robert Wedderburn was an exact contemporary of George Bannatyne; he moved in circles that overlapped significantly with those of George Bannatyne's family, of men and women who combined an interest in literary texts with clerical careers. Wedderburn's own writing – e.g. in verses accompanying a gift of his heart as a ring to his 'maistres' – distinctly echoes some of the more 'late-medieval' moral-amatory lyrics in the Bannatyne MS, a manuscript that actually includes poems attributed to a 'Wedderburn' as well as poems collected in the *Gude and Godlie Ballattis*. It is worth considering how these details may shine a light on how Bannatyne obtained some of the source texts for his manuscript anthology. Manuscripts (particularly legal ones), family, and professional connections in clerkly circles seem to be recurrent and probably mutually reinforcing factors in this.

A Protestant figure similar to Guthrie was Mr James McGill of Rankeillor Nether*. Eldest son of Sir James McGill, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, he was appointed Clerk Register by Mary of Guise on 25 June 1554 (succeeding Mr Thomas Marjoribankis*), and appointed ordinary Lord of Session on 20 August of the same year. Late in 1559 he joined the reformers, but was nevertheless included in Mary's privy council when she returned from France in 1561. It was in the house of McGill* that laymen and ministers met to decide on how to react to Mary's Catholic mass-services. Like John Bellenden of Auchnoull*, Alexander Guthrie* and John Knox, McGill* fled the capital when Mary returned to Edinburgh after the 1565 crisis.⁶² He was later 'delatit' for the slaughter of Riccio and lost the post of Clerk Register, but was soon pardoned and returned to the Queen's administration in 1567, through the intercession of Moray, with whom he had been engaged on several embassies to England. It was in this period that the

bishop of Mondovi, complaining that both McGill* and John Bellenden of Auchnoull* remained in the royal household, labelled him 'plebeo, inventore d'ogni male' ('a man of no family and contriver of all evil'). McGill*, an esteemed friend of Knox, married Janet Adamson, who, like Janet Henryson, Guthrie's wife, was a personal ally of Knox who remained a radical Protestant after her husband's death in 1579; she was the sister of William Adamson, younger, a prominent Protestant of the 1540s who had married Agnes Bellenden, the younger sister of John Bellenden of Auchnoull*. ⁶³ There seem to be very direct connections between these circles and Alexander Scott's verse: on why 'William Adamson' is mocked in Scott's poem, 'The Justing and Debait up at the Drum', see Chapter 3 below.

There are also a few 'minor' Protestants in the MB, notably James Millar*, Thomas Thomson of Duddingstoun*, and Robert Henderson*. James Millar*, whom we have met above already as a close friend of the Bannatynes, was a Writer to the Signet and Deputy Justice Clerk. He was suspected of being involved in the assassination of Riccio and was listed among the Edinburgh burgesses to whom remission was granted for the murder. In 1571, during the civil war, he was denounced as a rebel by the Queen's lords. ⁶⁴ Thomas Thomson of Duddingstoun* was appointed royal apothecary for life under the Governor Arran in 1545, and he also served as such during the regency of Mary of Guise. Himself a town councillor (1558-1559 and 1560-1561), he was a source of problems to Seton's council in 1559, and Randolph complained in November 1561 that he was 'much cumbered' by this 'mischievous man ... a playne anabaptiste'. Later he was 'a prominent and active Protestant figure in the burgh until his death in 1572', yet his son Patrick, also an apothecary, was a Queen's man, holding out in Edinburgh Castle with Kirkcaldy of Grange to the very end. ⁶⁵ Robert Henderson* was a barber-surgeon (not to be confused with Robert Henryson, master flesher to the king, who was active from the 1530s until c.1559) serving on the town council in 1557-58, 1573-75 and 1583-84. Apparently he was 'the best that could be got in Edinburgh at the time. His powers of healing, if we are to

believe the Town Council Register, were little short of miraculous'. His most remarkable feat was practised upon 'ane deid woman rasit furth of the graif efter scho had lvin tua dayis in the samy in, allegit to have been wyrrit.' Henderson was an active Protestant, and his is the last name in the list of those who on 24 December 1566 were granted a remission for the murder of Riccio. He is a witness to a contract drawn up on behalf of George Bannatyne's father in 1577, which makes the following reference to this barber-surgeon even more important: in 1579, Robert Henderson, surgeon, is asked 'to speik to the Frenchemen, using William Stewart for his opinion in devyse of the triumphe aganis the kingis heir cuming', i.e. James VI's entry into Edinburgh.⁶⁶

Thus, Alexander Guthrie*, Thomas Thomson*, James McGill*, Robert Henderson* and James Millar* were all involved with the Protestant cause in Edinburgh in the 1550s and 1560s, while figures like John Bellenden of Auchnoul* and Simon Preston*, though on good terms with the royal establishment, were at least nominal Protestants. Even more revealing is a comparison between the names in the MB and those on the list, drawn up in 1562, of 160 'faithful brethren' who were donors to a new poor hospital in the burgh: the large section of 29 lawyers and professional men on that list especially catches the eye, yielding seven names from the MB (Robert Scott, Neill Laing, James Bannatyne, Alexander Guthrie, John Young – another Writer to the Signet – James Millar, and James McGill); from the ranks of the merchants we may add Thomas Henderson, William Paterson and Thomas Thomson, while Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, John Carkettill, Marion Scott and Robert Henderson, barber, also appear.⁶⁷

In marked contrast to Protestants like Guthrie or McGill are the names of men in the MB who had become entrenched in the system of royal patronage and church prebends. As royal favourites, they were either connected to the royal household or held church livings which were in the patronage of the crown. What accentuates the Bannatyne connections even more is that so many of the latter group of secular churchmen can be connected to an explicitly cultural context:

they were prebendaries of institutions like Trinity College, the rich collegiate church just outside Edinburgh which received much attention from successive Stewart monarchs, and the Chapel Royal at Stirling, a main centre for both devotional and profane literature. James Kincragy*, dean of Aberdeen, already mentioned in connection to his work in the office of the Exchequer, is a prime example of such a combination of an ecclesiastic and a civil servant. He fulfilled many public and semi-religious functions and must have been a close colleague of John Bannatyne, for he is frequently engaged in writing and dictating the rolls in the 1520s and 1530s. He was also conservator for the College of Justice and provost of the collegiate church of St Mary on the Rock in St Andrews from 1496 until his death in 1539, a coveted post with much landed property involved. In the fifteenth century, St Mary on the Rock had been designated as Chapel Royal, but in the re-foundation of the Chapel Royal by James V in 1501, preference was given to Stirling. In this new design, St Mary's was originally connected to the deanery of the Chapel Royal, but in 1504 the deanery was transferred to the bishop of Galloway. Kincragy was also prebendary of Spott from 1499 to 1507, another Chapel Royal prebend at this re-foundation, later held by Robert Galbraith. Kincragy's legitimated son, Mr Thomas, acted as Cardinal Beaton's procurator in Edinburgh and became a distinguished lawyer in his own right. In November 1544 he was created Queen's advocate in the absence of Mr Henry Lauder, a post held until earlier that year by Mr Robert Galbraith.⁶⁸

A similar figure was Robert Danielston*, brother germane of Mr John Danielston, a favourite of James V. As 'familiar servitor to the king', this John Danielston was in 1530 presented with the prebend of Balmaclellan in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, the same benefice that was presented to the musician Alexander Scott in 1539. His demission of this benefice on 18 March 1531 should be read in conjunction with a letter by James V (28 March 1531) asking the Pope to nominate 'the King's well-beloved clerk John Denneston' to the rectory of Dysart, a benefice annexed to the collegiate church of St Mary on the Rock. A few years later we see

James trying to help John Danielston, now of the bed-chamber, in retaining three incompatible benefices. James also proposed to appoint Danielston as the new archdeacon of Dunblane in November 1542, but James's death in December at least temporarily prevented this appointment. He continued to be a trusted servant of the Stewarts: in 1546 he was Keeper of the Signet, the seal that was under the monarch's direct supervision. He is also said to have had good links to the Erskine family: when George Buchanan was, famously, accused by Margaret Erskine, Lady Lochleven, of having eaten lamb during Lent, John Danielston was one of his three judges; these were thought to be all three closely linked to Margaret Erskine, so Buchanan fled the country.⁶⁹ John Danielston, deceased, was succeeded as rector of Dysart in 1547 by his brother, Robert Danielston*. This man, later privy councillor, was the son of James Danielston, provost of Linlithgow, and Margaret Bellenden, the daughter of Mr Thomas Bellenden*. On 23 June 1535 Robert Danielston* had been presented with the prebend of Ayr *tertio* (Dalmellington) in the Chapel Royal, vacated by George Clapperton*. A few months later he resigned the prebend of Ayr *quarto*, another Chapel Royal prebend. On the basis of the books they owned, John and Robert Danielston, rectors of Dysart, together with – among others – James Foulis, the neo-Latin poet, can be ranked among the intellectual society of higher clergy and academics. Apart from *The New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament* and St Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*, Robert also possessed copies of Seneca's *Opera* and of Ptolemy's *Geographicae*; the latter had in 1548 been in the possession of John Steinston, protonotary and precentor of Glasgow (and as such a colleague of several Bellendens, including the poet John Bellenden), and was later owned by Steinston's friend Edward Henryson, the lawyer and Greek and Latin scholar, about whom more later.⁷⁰

There are further names in the MB that can be connected to the Chapel Royal and other prebendaries in royal patronage. The father-in-law of James Bannatyne, Mr Laurence Telfer*, treasurer of Dunkeld and canon of Aberdeen, in 1538 resigned the rectory of Creichtmont, a

prebend of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, in royal patronage, to his relative, Mr Arthur Telfer*. The latter also held the chaplaincy of the royal chapel of the Blessed Mary of Rattray from 18 February 1543 until 31 October 1545, when he resigned it to John Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's uncle. The latter was a monk at Newbattle but also prebendary of Gyleston in Trinity College (as was Arthur Telfer*) and of St Triduana and Bute *tertio* in the Collegiate church of Restalrig. It is important to register that, as with Kincragy and Galbraith above, these are all benefices of royal foundations that, moreover, together 'constituted the Chapel Royal organisation' (St Mary of the Rock, St Andrews; Chapel Royal, Stirling; the collegiate church of Restalrig; Trinity College, Edinburgh).⁷¹ Since Arthur Telfer was vicar of Aboyne as well as titular vicar of Inchtute we are clearly dealing with a career pluralist as well. He was also a 'concupinarius', who had at least four bastard sons, legitimated on 20 June 1550, yet he signed the 'counsel' of the cathedral chapter of Aberdeen which requested its bishop 'to show good and edificative example, in special in removing and discharging himself of the company of the gentlewoman by whom he is greatly slanderit'.⁷²

This document of counsel was drawn up at the provincial council in 1549, at which another Bannatyne godparent of a similar type was also present, namely George Clapperton*. In 1535 Clapperton had been presented to the subdeanery of the Chapel Royal, a position he held until 1574, and in 1540 he was also appointed provost of Trinity College. This post had become vacant after the decease of James Kincragy*, and had originally been granted to Robert Erskine, brother to the King's secretary, Mr Thomas Erskine, who was, like Clapperton, connected to both Trinity College and the Chapel Royal. Clapperton was clearly a pluralist enjoying royal favour: apart from his Chapel Royal and Trinity College livings, he was also titular vicar of Wemyss and parson of Kirkinner. From 1538 until the death of James V in 1542 he was also 'maister elemosinar' or almoner to the King (an office which also sometimes carried the duties of librarian), in which capacity a livery was made for him in 1541. Most interesting in the

present context is the fact that he can be identified as a vernacular poet: the Maitland Folio includes his 'Wa worth mariage'.⁷³

A similar figure to Arthur Telfer*, Robert Danielston* and George Clapperton* was Sir William Makdowell*, who combined service in the royal household with various church benefices. On 1 January 1560 Makdowell was presented to the vicarage of Leswalt, and from 1561 to 1572 we find him as vicar of Inch, Leswalt, Holyrood and Dalmeny, as well as chaplain of St Nicholas in St Giles'; this is clearly the profile of a pluralist who was not likely to serve in person in any remote parish. In addition, however, his involvement in cultural events throws an interesting light on the Bannatyne circle. He was Master of Works to the Queen, and was appointed chaplain of the palace of Holyrood in November 1554. This suggests that he was in the favour of Mary of Guise, who immediately set about restoring Holyrood as a royal palace when she became regent on 12 April 1554. That Makdowell was indeed central to Mary of Guise's plans is confirmed by other events that same year. As Master of Works, Makdowell was paid in his capacity as 'makar of the playing-place' for a play staged at the Tron on 10 June 1554. Only a few months later, Makdowell was building the stage and the 'Quenis grace hous on the playfeild ... and the playars hous, the jebbettis and skaffauld about the samyn' for the famous performance of David Lindsay's 'Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis', performed on 12 August 1554 'besyde Edinburgh, in presence of the Quene Regent and ane greit part of the Nobilitie'. Makdowell was clearly involved in this brief but marked and seemingly orchestrated 'court & culture' revival under Mary of Guise in the years 1554 and 1555, which also included the staging of plays and a farce by William Lauder as part of Yule festivities in December 1554. At this time Mary of Guise also ordered the transfer of relics from Stirling to Holyrood.⁷⁴ This was a cultural revival in which the town of Edinburgh and the royal court mutually complemented one another, cultural preferences blending in with a concerted attempt to reach a political compromise that would neutralise the religious differences which were threatening the existing

social and political order; thus, Lindsay's play clearly intended to encourage reform within rather than outwith existing social structures, including church and court. The fact that there is 'no record of a play at Edinburgh' after 6 January 1556 until the celebrations of Mary's wedding in May 1558 indicates how crucial royal initiative or occasion is for such cultural activities. And royal favourites played an important role in preserving such cultural impetus in difficult times. Makdowell's role in this was multi-faceted: in February 1562 he is thanked for recovering a pair of organs bought in February 1558 for the chapel of Holyrood, obviously hidden in anticipation of a Reformist backlash against organs in 1559-60. Masters of Work thus had surprisingly diverse roles as cultural intermediaries, quite beyond their purely architectural remit. They were important disseminators of royal propaganda as well as providers of the necessary know-how to provide satellite houses outside the capital for lairdly and upwardly mobile families such as those that people the Bannatyne networks. The sheer multitude of these satellite houses impressed foreign visitors such as Fynes Morrison at the end of the century. True to such a milieu, and again evidence of the role therein of literature: MakDowell's successor was Robert Drummond of Carnock, the grandfather of the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden; Alexander Montgomery wrote an epitaph on him.⁷⁵

The complex pattern of church appointments and patronage outlined above reveals further circles with which the Bannatyne family had connections. Apart from the Chapel Royal and Trinity College, various names on the MB can also be connected indirectly to Holyrood Abbey. In addition to the Bellenden connections to Holyrood (see above), this would include the second husband of Marion Scott*, Nicoll Cairncross, the Edinburgh merchant seen earlier, whose relative Robert Cairncross was commendator of Holyrood and a 'noted royal adviser', while Nicol Ramsay* was brother germane to sir John Ramsay, canon of Holyrood.⁷⁶

2.8 Landed gentry

The above survey shows that the Protestant flavour of the list of names in the MB was balanced by firm links with elements of the old establishment such as the royal household and the Catholic Church. The representatives of the landed gentry in the MB complete this picture, especially through their long-standing allegiance to the royal cause. Knox listed the Scotts of Balwearie among the few Fife families that collaborated with the French, 'ennemyes to God and traytouris to thair countrey', and William Scott of Balwearie* is indeed recorded as a pro-French laird in the 1540s, and again in 1560. He was the subject of royal gratitude in 1540 for having remained 'continewly in our service with our derrest fallow the quene in Sanctandrois'. He heard mass in December 1560 and fought on Mary's side at the battle of Langside in 1568, on account of which he was charged to appear before the privy council. His father, of the same name, had acquired a large estate; he had been 'familiar servitour' and 'consilliaris' to the king, and at the institution of the College of Justice in May 1532 he was nominated the first senator on the temporal side. Like so many of his equals, he also cultivated a more cultured side to his public personality, in actions that raised both his godly and secular status. Thus, in March 1527 he founded 'ane college' in the kirk of Strathmiglo, in order to fund three 'young childer singeris in the said college' to sing divine service. The Bannatyne godfather's half-brother, Thomas Scott of Pitgorno, 'gentleman of the king's hous', was another great favourite of James V, and replaced his father as Justice Clerk in 1535. He was in touch with public figures such as James Foulis and Robert Galbraith.⁷⁷

The third husband of Marion Scott*, the 'trusty cousin' of William Scott of Balwearie*, was George Henderson of Fordell*, mentioned above as fellow student of Mr Thomas Bellenden* in Paris. He was Provost of Edinburgh and regularly passed to Flanders and France with merchandise; he died at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. His successor, his grandson James,

was a great favourite of James VI, and the family was rewarded for faithful service to him and previous Stewart monarchs. An instance of such service would be the protection provided by the laird of Fordell and Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull* in 1566 to sir John Scott, the schoolmaster and notary who had been protected from the Protestants by the Queen herself in 1564.⁷⁸

Loyalty to the crown was likewise a feature of the son of the poet James Foulis, Henry Foulis of Colinton*, and of the family of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton*. The latter, married firstly to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, and, secondly, Margaret Lundy*, was descended from Sir Adam Hepburn of Craigs, master of the king's stable under James IV and owner of vast estates, and the Hepburns became 'a family of consequence' in the East Lothians, often ruthlessly ambitious in their pursuit of power and wealth. The Bannatyne godfather was among the lairds in the 'party of revolution' in 1559 and attended the Reformation Parliament on 1 August 1560. Nevertheless, together with some other Hepburns, he held Dunbar Castle for his kinsman, the fourth Earl of Bothwell, third husband of Queen Mary, after the latter's defeat at Carberry in 1567. As a consequence of this, Hepburn of Waughton had to surrender his house and was ordered to appear before the regent and council. Shortly after this he was exiled, and in 1572 he was still 'under sentence of forfeiture' for his allegiance to Mary. In 1580, Waughton was on the assize deciding the regent Morton's fate, a jury clearly loyal to the Stewarts and anti-Morton in sentiment; Morton protested especially against the inclusion of Waughton, who had served with Grange in France.⁷⁹

The Bannatyne family had long-standing connections with these Hepburns of Waughton, possibly going back to the late fifteenth century, when a Patrick Hepburn was Writer to the Signet. Moreover, Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray and kinsman of Waughton, was appointed Keeper of the Signet in 1524. That the Bannatynes knew this bishop appears from a document recording the sale in 1559 by Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray, of the lands of Little Balquhomerie and Formonthills to George Bannatyne's parents; Patrick Hepburn of Waughton*

was a witness to the contract. Finally, from his testament, it appears that the Bannatyne godfather's father used James Bannatyne as his legal representative.⁸⁰

John Carkettill of Finglen*, who has already crossed our path as a relative of Walter Chepman's first wife, was a close ally of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton*. They occur regularly in the records together, most notably in the years 1567-68, when Carkettill* can be found on the side of the Queen's men together with these Hepburns. But his name is in another way tied up with an important figure mentioned above: John Carkettill of Finglen* was charged with the murder of Robert Galbraith, the above-mentioned lawyer and poet, who was killed on 27 January 1544 'vpon ane festivall day in time of divine service ... in the kirkyard of the gray friars within the burgh of Edinburgh'; Carkettill* was eventually ordered to pay a sum of 2000 merks in compensation. In 1548 he had to underly the law for stealing a gold chain and silver girdle from an Edinburgh widow's house.⁸¹

What characterises the 'landed' Bannatyne connections as well as the Bannatyne MS as an enterprise is especially a concern for continuity, both in social, cultural and intellectual terms: as with the urban figures mentioned earlier, on the level of landed gentry, too, men such as Balwearie*, Waughton* and Fordell* indicate that loyalty and service to the monarch were characteristic features of those whose names can be found in the MB. Allegiance to the crown was frequently based on family traditions or on vested interests rather than on political opinion, and various forms of moderation, not infrequently guided by opportunist compromise, ran in such families, especially in the more prominent ones. The leading merchants, together with the lawyers, were 'the pillars of the new kirk' in the 1560s, but at the same time their loyalties clearly lay with the crown as an institution (rather than with any individual sovereign).⁸²

An important change overtook these middling ranks of Scottish society in the period between the 1540s and the 1560s. In the 1540s, the landed gentry and the merchant establishment largely still moved in, and reflected, traditional, semi-feudal patterns of loyalty or

a civic concern with social order. Increasingly, however, the ever-growing circle of legal professionals in Edinburgh, represented in the MB in great number by writers, advocates and other clerks, looked upon the sovereign as the juridical, political and cultural centre of the realm rather than as a charismatic personality topping the feudal order. Several generations of legal training lay behind the emergence of this new, centralist dimension which was added to the old, habitual loyalties to the crown, and these men often developed into statesmen and courtiers of one kind or another rather than 'just' lawyers. Originating in the reign of James IV with its successful educational and administrative reform in conjunction with the advent of printing, this development had by the time of the reign of James VI led to 'a *noblesse de robe*, made up of men drawn from the lairds, the cadet branches of noble houses, and the Edinburgh legal fraternity, through which he governed'.⁸³

The MB shows how the Bannatyne family had links with all extremes of the political as well as religious spectra. Thus, the merchants whose names appear in the MB from the 1540s, like the lairds, yield a surprisingly large number of connections in the later period with the Queen's party. Although much more information needs to be unearthed, this applies especially to the Fishers and the Patersons. For their part, David Tod* and his wife, Elizabeth Young*, have both been identified as Catholics, the latter being present at the baptism of the child of John Charteris, younger, at Holyrood in December 1561 (her husband had died by then). This provides another reminder of the close links between merchants and printers, since this John Charteris was the brother of the merchant and bookseller Henry Charteris, who financed the printing by John Scot of *The warkis of David Lindsay* in 1568, an edition that presents Lindsay as a most Protestant writer.⁸⁴ At the same time, the Bannatynes also picked up new discourses of power and culture, and forged links with the new, Protestant establishment. As an educated young man of a family that had connections in these ways with 'new' men as well as 'old', Catholics and Protestants, printers, poets, merchants, 'politicians' and lairds, George Bannatyne

was eminently suitable to capture the transmission as well as the transformation of the products of a disappearing cultural élite as it gradually gave way to a new one. The above survey shows that the Bannatynes were closely in touch with those figures who guarded the national cultural heritage, and, following naturally from these connections and concerns, the Bannatyne MS reflects such a cultural process in great detail.

2.9 Commonweal concerns and pragmatic measures

The social stability maintained in most of the years from 1550 to 1565 not only yielded an almost bloodless Reformation but also created the opportunity for progress. It has been argued that in these years ‘a healthy civic Catholicism’ developed into ‘a civic Protestantism’, implying that the Protestantism of the 1560s, like the Catholicism of the 1550s, was motivated to a considerable extent by national or local priorities rather than any specific religious creed. Minding ‘their particular’, ‘the religion of Edinburgh’ proved more important than any religious dogma, and the merchant-dominated ‘faithful brethren’ of 1562 subscribed first and foremost, if not exclusively, to a local, communal concern.⁸⁵ Attempting to remedy pre-Reformation shortcomings while at the same time boosting the position of Edinburgh as the largest centre for overseas trade and administrative capital of the realm, these same people contributed towards the establishment of educational and legal institutions. A new vogue for civic improvement underpinned the growth of the professions.

Thus, the books of Clement Little, an advocate who became a moderate Protestant ‘through Erasmian humanism and reformist Catholicism’, formed the nucleus of the library of Edinburgh’s ‘tounis college’ founded in 1582. This same institution now benefited from the earlier attempts by Robert Reid and Mary of Guise to introduce ‘higher education’ to Edinburgh.

Robert Reid, abbot of Kinloss, bishop of Orkney and Lord President of the Court of Session, was a pivotal force in the circles that included Kincragy*, Galbraith, Laurence Telfer*, Ferrerio, Foulis and Marjoribankis*. Reid drew up a new constitution for Orkney Cathedral in 1545 which included provisions for teaching and for a song school, and he left a considerable sum of money in his will towards the promotion of learning in Edinburgh, appointing James McGill* as one of three men to counsel the executors of his educational plans.⁸⁶ Reid's name is also connected with another initiative that may be considered a sign of civic health combined with cultural and intellectual progress on the eve of the Reformation: the royal lectureships. Mary of Guise, who deplored the 'laik of cunning men' in her realm, created these lectureships in 1556 after French example to the 'untellabill proffet of our leigis', an initiative that eventually helped to found the 'tounis college' three decades later. She appointed Alexander Sym and Edward Henryson as the royal lecturers, and as part of their duty they gave public lectures on Greek and law in the Magdalen Chapel in Edinburgh's Cowgate, clearly an example of the state and secular initiative taking over from the church as provider of education. The Cowgate, where many clerics had their town house, was a very respectable quarter in the early to mid-sixteenth century and only just round the corner of the Bannatyne residence by the Nether Bow. As Alexander Alesius, the later Protestant refugee, said, it was the area 'ubi nihil est humile aut rusticum, sed omnia magnifica', i.e. 'where nothing is humble or homely, but everything magnificent'. Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld and translator of the *Aeneid*, lived there.⁸⁷

The appointment of these lecturers may have been a royal initiative, but it is important to note the complementary role of civic enterprise in this, one that is directly related to the Bannatyne circle. Magdalen Chapel was founded by Michael Makquhen or MacQueen (who died c.1537, some four years before building of the actual chapel began) and his wife, Janet or Jonet Rynd. After MacQueen's death his (apparently childless) widow's civic and religious ties to the community were mainly channeled through the powerful guild of the Hammermen, which

functioned almost as an alternative kingroup. It is in this environment that she expressed her combined godly and commonweal interests: fearing that her husband's initial £500 investment to set up and maintain the Chapel and its attached Hospital for the poor would not have sufficient long-term momentum, she added £2000 to that sum. In addition, she caused a charter of confirmation to be drawn up in 1547 in which she placed the Chapel under the patronage of the Hammermen in case of her death, whom failing it would fall to the Rynd family itself, whom failing to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh. Piety, civic organisation, family and burgh all come together in such arrangements, and the Hammermen seem to have responded to royal initiative *c.*1556 by hosting these royal lectures.⁸⁸

It is difficult to say whether the 'Jonet Rynd*' who appears as a Bannatyne godparent on 2 February 1554 is the same person as Michael MacQueen's widow (who died in 1553/4), but there are several Rynds on the list of Bannatyne godparents, most notably Thomas Rynd* (which is thought to be the name of the nephew of Jonet Rynd, the business-woman). Moreover, that these are indeed the same people within the same family networks held together by a shared spirit of civic community combined with old-church expressions of piety and 'familiality' is strongly suggested by the fact that, when the Bannatynes needed to find godparents in 1547, they picked Christian Ireland*, wife of the deceased Thomas Rynd*, together with John Young of Harperdean*, whose spouse in 1554 is none other than Jonet Rynd*. Furthermore, two years after Jonet Rynd's death, the Chapel received an unusually large endowment of £1000 from Isobel Mauchan, spouse of Gilbert Lauder – which is the name of George Bannatyne's own wife. Though this benefactress is a generation or two older than George Bannatyne's wife (who was born *c.*1546), the coincidence of names is worth noting, as is the fact that George Bannatyne himself was in 1600 appointed Master of Trinity Hospital, where a small body of poor folk were also looked after in the same way as at the Magdalene Hospital. Moreover, his own daughter Jonet left a legacy to Trinity Hospital.⁸⁹ Fifty years on from Jonet Rynd's initiative, Trinity

Hospital is thus another example of a pre-Reformation Roman Catholic institution turned towards the good of the post-reformation burgh community through municipal charity. Such laicisation of charity is complementary to another, if at least potentially more self-serving, re-use of pre-Reformation socio-cultural energy, practised with even more zeal by the Bannatynes and like-minded families, namely the re-shaping of such prebends into bursaries for education, as mentioned below, at note 118 – though, to be fair, they also donated money to such municipal initiatives: James Bannatyne, George's brother, left a bequest to the new 'tounis college'.⁹⁰

In any of these cases, the confluence of names again confirms the connections between the Bannatynes and circles of urban, cultural, and religious patronage in Edinburgh in this period, as well as the importance of blending kin and blood ties to participation in such civic expressions of religious piety. It is a good example of how civic interest in religious patronage evolved into educational advances through crown patronage. The latter is instanced in the above-mentioned charter of confirmation drawn up on behalf of Jonet Rynd by the stipulation that prayers for the soul of Mary of Guise had to be said. It can even more clearly be seen in the four stained-glass roundels in the Magdalene chapel. These are the sole remaining pre-Reformation examples of stained glass in Scotland, and, tellingly, combine the Scottish royal arms with those not only of Mary of Guise but also of Michael MacQueen and of Janet Rynd herself. All signal the coming together of family connections and conservative interests that cut across confessional divides. And again, the Bannatynes and their connections are intimately involved with such networks of civic patronage and culture. Among the relatively few witnesses to the 1547 confirmation charter we find sir William Ballentyne as well as 'Andrea Blakstok'. The latter is a rare surname, yet in the MB we find one Agnes Blakstok*.⁹¹

It is characteristic of the practical partnership struck in the mid-1550s between the crown and the legal establishment that these lectureships were a royal initiative executed by lawyers; this pragmatic focus on learning must have appealed to all involved. In addition, through such

practical concerns, men like Henryson, Marjoribankis, Foulis, Otterburn, Galbraith and the Bellendens formed a new Edinburgh-centred network in which learning was cultivated, and through them families like the Bannatynes had access to continental learning and culture. A sample piece of evidence for the cultural process involved is a 1564 letter from Mr George Bellenden, the illegitimate son of Mr Thomas Bellenden*, to 'his verie good lord and broder my Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland' (i.e. John Bellenden of Auchnoull*).⁹² This letter shows the desire for learning and continental scholarship among the people connected to the Bannatynes as well as the channels through which such contacts were established: Mr George is studying Aristotle under Petrus Ramus in Paris and living in a 'pensioun' in the rue St Jacques; he has come to Paris with some Scottish merchants, through whom he has sent reports back home; he has obtained cheap accommodation through the services of these and other 'factours' as well as through James Nisbet, servant to the Treasurer; finally, he hopes to be able to make the planned contact with John Lesley, bishop of Ross and prominent apologist for Mary after her deposition, who was in France at this time. Through such channels of communication, Mary's subjects continued to develop the intellectual and cultural inheritance of earlier periods.

One of the royal lecturers, Edward Henryson, is of special interest in that he was the second husband of Helen Swinton*. He had studied at Bourges, seen then as 'the centre of *humanisme juridique*'. Archbishop Hamilton had already tried to lure him to St Andrews University in 1553. He had been recommended as a Greek scholar to Reid by Ferrerio in 1555, and had been employed in the household of Henry Sinclair, dean of Glasgow, president of the College of Justice and later bishop of Ross. Most importantly for the present purpose, Henryson was also one of Scotland's most avid book collectors and was acquainted with Henry Scrimgeour and Ulrich Fugger, the famous collector of classical manuscripts, to whom he taught Greek and dedicated one of his works. Henryson's intellectual interests are characteristic of those of contemporary Scotland: beside copies of Alciato and of Ptolemy's *Geographicae*, he

owned books by, and commentaries on, Epictetus. Moreover, he had translated Plutarch into Latin and French, and had worked on a translation of Epictetus into Latin as well: Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, allowed Henryson 'the freedom of his fine library in his Glasgow home while he was working on a Latin translation of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus which, however, never found a publisher'. This patronage of Henryson in the 1550s is another example of the royal interest in literature as learning and how it expressed such an interest by relying on those who combined church offices with legal positions, and book-buying.⁹³

Finally, the importance of women in these circles as channels of literary production and preservation can be observed in Henryson's connections. Henryson married Helen Swinton*, whose first husband, Mr Robert Heriot*, advocate, owned two books that were later in the possession of Henry Sinclair, Henryson's employer; Helen is arguably the most likely conduit for such a change of ownership.⁹⁴ But even more tellingly, and as further discussed in Chapter 3, John Swinton, either Helen Swinton's father or brother of that name, is the most likely owner of a manuscript of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* that preserves a scrap of a text by Alexander Scott – a rare occasion in itself – namely the first line of Scott's 'How suld my febill body fure'. Judging from manuscript evidence, this was one of Scott's most popular songs, and this opening line may thus have found its way into this manuscript via oral rather than scripted transfer.

Moreover, this copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* also contains an eight-line stanza from John Bellenden's 'The Ballat apone the Translatione', one of his poems attached to his translation in the early 1530s of Boece's *Scotorum historia* (1527).⁹⁵ This same 'Ballat' also found its way into the Bannatyne MS itself (though the last six lines of the actual stanza were copied onto a page of the Bannatyne MS that is now missing), as did another of the texts in this Lydgate manuscript. This means that three out of the four items to be found on the first two folios of this manuscript can also be found in the Bannatyne MS. This Lydgate manuscript and its excerpts of verse will be discussed further in Chapter 3 in the context of Scott's work, but one

issue must be foregrounded here as pertinent to *this* chapter: the fact that these Bannatyne MS verses also occur in a manuscript owned by the Swinton family who had close connections with the Bannatynes may provide insights into what kind of literary material was circulating, and particularly also what were the channels of such circulation. In that context, it should be noted that Edward Henryson in the 1560s became a colleague of James Bannatyne, George's father, as one of the officers of the commissary court in Edinburgh. This was the post-reformation institution which sought to replace the consistorial courts, where previously bishops had exercised their civil jurisdiction regarding marriage, divorce, legitimacy and the confirmation of testaments especially of persons dying outside Scotland. The image of Edward Henryson as a 'moderate Catholic' who was easily reformed fits many of the Bannatyne acquaintances. It is therefore perhaps also not surprising to find that the husband of his daughter, Sir Thomas Craig of Riccartoun, became godfather to George Bannatyne's own daughter, Janet, in whose family the Bannatyne MS was preserved for prosperity.⁹⁶

Once again (god)family connections, literature and professional networks appear as the most likely conduits for textual transfer. Further proof of such interconnectedness, or at least of the professional networks underlying the circulation of texts, is the fact that the same excerpt from Bellenden also appears in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, which was once owned by Gavin Leslie, prebendary of Kingussie from c.1526 to 1539 and official and commissary of Moray from c.1530 until 1545. This period overlaps with John Bellenden's tenure as Archdeacon of Moray (1533-38), and the two men must have crossed each other's path during that period.⁹⁷ It is worthy of note that the Bannatyne MS adds this particular detail about Bellenden's position in the church hierarchy in its attribution of authorship of this poem, identifying its author as 'maister Iohine bellenden Archedene of murray'. The Bannatyne MS adds the same identifying clause to Bellenden's 'benner of peetie', the text that effectively opens both Draft and Main manuscript of the Bannatyne MS, and which is in the Main MS, moreover,

followed by another Bellenden poem, the so-called 'Proheme of the Cosmographie'.

Even more indicative of the contemporary importance attached to Bellenden's work is the fact that the Bannatyne MS *ends* with the above-quoted 'The Ballat apone the Translatione', the first line of which is 'Thow marciall buke pas to the nobill prince'. It is an inquiry into 'nobilnes', 'chevalry' and 'honour', continuing Gavin Douglas's search for a 'knightlyke style' that celebrates vernacular literature as a morally regenerative as well as nationalistic tool in often mutually reinforcing ways, as in *The Complaynt of Scotland* (c.1549). Bellenden's verse has an armipotent, nationalist quality, calling on Scots' national pride to make its country a better and morally as well as culturally more exemplary place. Bannatyne's copy-text for Bellenden's paratextual verse was Thomas Davidson's print of c.1541, which coincided with his printing of Gavin Douglas's *Palis of Honoure* (c.1540) shortly after the *Trompet of Honour* (c.1537) seems to have roused Scottish national pride in ways that riled the English sufficiently to seek an explanation of the contexts of the latter print's publication.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the stanza of 'The Ballat apone the Translatione' that follows immediately upon the one quoted in the Porphyry and Lydgate MSS is one which was crucially altered by Davidson when he printed it in 1540, turning the emphasis on honour and the ethical dimensions of 'nobilnes' that persist in the manuscript versions of the poem:

Thairfore he is maist nobill, man thow say,
That is of nobillis cumin doune mayst clere,
Syne fra his eldaris castis nocht decay,
Bot dois in nobill dedis persevere,

into lines that prioritise the civic and nationalist uses of 'manly forss':

Thairfore he is maist nobyll, man thou say,
Of all estatys, vnder reuerence,
That vailyeantly doith close the latter day,
Of natyue cuntre deand in defence.⁹⁹

The interest in the topic of chivalry and honour also echoes the topic of the passing of the values of ‘Vavane the vecht / Arthovr Scharlis and Allexander’ (Gawain, Arthur, Charlemagne and Alexander the Great); the latter is the subject of the first Scots poem entered into the *Siege of Thebes* MS mentioned above. These shared features of manuscript content suggest that there was in these circles in which Bellenden’s poetry circulated an interest in the values of the past and their moral and civic value to the present. They effectively answer A.S.G. Edwards’ observation that ‘For a poet who produced only four fairly short poems John Bellenden’s popularity and reputation among his contemporaries was surprising’.¹⁰⁰ Looked at from within its own culture and its own manuscript and print tradition, and affiliating his self-penned verse with his prose translations and their obvious cultural importance, Bellenden’s contemporary reputation makes perfect sense: he (and, arguably, the Bannatyne MS) captured, for his generation, a national cultural and moral spirit that was strong enough to overcome confessional divisions and link the past to the present.

Edwards’ comment in the above paragraph echoes Sheppard’s evaluation of Bellenden’s reputation in his own lifetime. The latter phenomenon has called forth ‘the bewilderment of many literary historians’, who feel it shows how ‘the contemporary taste for moral discourse triumphed over the natural preference for good poetry’.¹⁰¹ From an early twenty-first century literary-critical perspective, it is Sheppard’s comments that provoke critical scrutiny, rather than its subject. While it would be too much to claim that Bellenden’s verse represents exceptional ethical vision, he does rise above the moralising platitudes of many of his contemporary poets –

including quite a few in the Bannatyne MS itself. The very pages that begin with the stanzas of Bellenden's which were, respectively, copied into the Lydgate and Porphyry manuscripts and changed when printed, as detailed above, have been torn out of the Bannatyne MS. It is arguably too fragile a suggestion to consider this as evidence of (contemporary?) interest in this particular passage and its emphasis on the way in which texts – in this instance, rather brutally – circulated; however, a better one has yet to be offered.¹⁰²

The way in which Bellenden's verse bookends the Bannatyne MS, in addition to the explicit family connections between the Bellendens and Bannatynes that the Bannatyne MS and MB signal so clearly, suggests strongly that George Bannatyne and the readership that the Bannatyne MS was aimed at shared John Bellenden's cultural and social priorities. In this, it should not be forgotten that Bellenden himself had very strong connections to the Douglasses.¹⁰³ In confirmation of these connections, Douglas's verse, too, comes into the Bannatyne MS at strategic moments. Particularly noteworthy is the placing of Douglas's fourth prologue to his translation of the *Aeneid*. As noted above, it follows what seems to have been the *original* ending of the Bannatyne MS, before the latter was then expanded to make Douglas's fourth prologue the final entry in the section of poems dealing with sexual love; in this position, it concludes that section with a clear emphasis on 'leful lufe'. This overlap of texts, manuscripts and personal affiliations shines a revealing light on the sensibilities of the 'textual community' that is under investigation here.

2.10 Civic religion

Further light may be shed on those sensibilities by a consideration of Bellenden's 'The Benner of Peetie' ('Peetie' in the sense of 'pity', as l. 31 suggests, rather than 'piety'), the one poem of

his that is not connected to his prose translations. It is placed prominently at the beginning of both the Draft and Main Bannatyne MS, which suggests that it represented a crucial feature of the public as well as private identity of the manuscript's compiler as well as its readers, on a personal as well as collective level (Bellenden's poem is generally thought to have been printed, and its widespread circulation is further attested by the complete version of the text being written onto the fly-leaf of the Marchmont MS of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*).¹⁰⁴

The aureate opening of 'The Benner of Peetie' blends classical imagery, as developed in late-medieval writing such as that of William Dunbar and, in particular, Gavin Douglas, with that of the Christian tradition. The crown of thorns is particularly referenced, in the deliberate juxtaposition of 'goldin phebus' and the image of a roman emperor 'with diademe as roy cesariane' (ll. 1, 11) with that of 'he [who] the croun of hie triumphe had worne' (l. 14), a representation of Christ in notably heroic, chivalric terms. After an allegorised appeal to God by Mercy, Verity, Peace and Justice to have pity ('pietie', l. 31) on mankind, God sends Gabriel to Mary. This Annunciation motif is subsequently blended with praise of the Trinity and a focus on Christ's sacrifice.

To remind us most forcefully of that sacrifice and of God's pity, the poem ends by a return to the well-known imagery of the cult of the wounds of Christ, whose 'blude and watter birst fra euerye vane' (l. 171). This final image makes clear the emphasis on contemplative piety that characterises the deeply held religious convictions of many Protestants as well as Catholics. More directly relevant here is the fact that it is also reminiscent of the one surviving pre-Reformation ecclesiastical banner in Scotland, the so-called Fetternear banner, which portrays the Image of Pity, represented by a full-length figure of Christ in a loin-cloth, wearing the crown of thorns and covered with wounds from which blood flows in considerable quantity.¹⁰⁵

The latter is of course an image commonplace in contemporary devotional culture, and the connection between Bellenden's poem and the Fetternear iconography may well be generic

rather than particular, but there are several features that demand our attention in the present context. Woven into the top part of the Fetternear banner, under a bishop's mitre, are the arms of the poet Gavin Douglas. This feature indicates that the banner was made when Douglas was bishop of Dunkeld from 1515 until his death in 1522, or at least until his departure to England in 1521. Douglas was also Provost of St Giles' in Edinburgh from 1503 until c.1521. The devotion to the Holy Blood, as part of the Cult of the Passion, was particularly developed among confraternities of merchants, who were among those most exposed to the quite magnificent ceremonies and pageantry associated with the worship of the relic of the Holy Blood on the Continent, particularly in Bruges, a town with many Scottish connections. Many Holy Blood altars were being founded in the east of Scotland in the early sixteenth century, and, 'where evidence has been preserved, we can see that these are connected with the local merchants' guild'. Cowan notes that these confraternities of the Holy Blood were the only religious confraternities in Scotland, so they will have been important foci for the civic expression by the merchant guild of cultural and religious sentiment as a cohesive force in public life, not dissimilar to the case of Jonet Rynd's relationship through Magdalen Chapel with the Hammermen. Edinburgh is a leading example of this: its Holy Blood confraternity included members of the court, including King James IV himself, who 'made a point of assisting at the Holy Blood Mass'. Away from Edinburgh, in the circles of lairds and families connected to the Bannatyne circle, we can see the same phenomenon. Thus, there is a Holy Blood altar at Haddington parish church from at least 1520 onwards; in 1536 it was in the patronage of Mr Henry Sinclair, son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslyn, before it passed via other Sinclairs and the family of Lauder of the Bass to Mr William Maitland and his wife, Mary Fleming; the Hepburns of Waughton were also part of this patronage system, it would appear. McRoberts concludes that 'the evidence ... is sufficient to prove that the Fetternear Banner was intended for the use of some confraternity of the Holy Blood' and that Gavin Douglas, as provost of St Giles', was

undoubtedly involved with this fraternity; all prebendaries of St Giles', including the provost, were bound to assist at the weekly Holy Blood Mass. Literature and civic pride, poets and merchants, come together here, too: the poet John Fethy, colleague of Alexander Scott in both the Chapel Royal and the choir of St Giles', was prebendary of the Holy Blood in St Giles' from 1550 to 1552; from the documents involved, it becomes clear that this was a municipal appointment, 'in the hands of the community of Edinburgh'. Moreover, in the above-mentioned Edinburgh print of Bellenden's translation of Boece (c.1540), Davidson uses a woodcut of the rosary as a form of prayer that contains the central theme in a way that, as McRoberts argues, mirrors the manner in which the rosary frames the central image of the suffering Christ on the Fetternear banner. Finally, the Fetternear banner, like the 'Benner of Peetie', adds early Renaissance elements to its medieval substance in its framing artwork, not unlike the way in which Bellenden's poem uses aureate diction to set off its central theme, as discussed above, in a mixture of the old and the new.¹⁰⁶

It is also worth noting that the Holy Blood cult identifies one of the ways in which urban culture spread to regional centres such as the Lothians, suggesting one channel along which – for example – the Bannatyne and Maitland circles may have interacted. The latter provides a plausible explanation as to why the one Scottish contemporary manuscript witness of any poem by Alexander Scott *outside* the Bannatyne MS is the Maitland Folio MS.¹⁰⁷

While no direct connection can be established between Bellenden's 'Benner of Peetie' and the Fetternear banner, the parallels in both substance, form and context of these two manifestations of cultural expression as outlined above are sufficiently particular to suggest that both can be associated with the powerful combination of civic pride – through its religious iconography – and urban piety in a pre-Reformation context. The fact that Bellenden's poem takes pride of place in the Bannatyne MS can therefore be used as further evidence that the Bannatyne MS indeed represents (pre-)Reformation convergences of literature, religion and

civic as well as family pride, and that in the mid-1560s George Bannatyne – and, arguably, his intended audience – was not yet willing to let go of such cultural emphases. Finding such a conservative impetus to lie behind the manuscript as a whole should inform our reading of the poems within it. It establishes a historicised context for these poems that suggests the way they functioned in contemporary culture and enables us to develop better-informed readings of their content. In this way we come much closer to studying not just the content of these poems but also their uses, and, thus, to establishing a critical practice that can more purposefully establish the intentions of both the original ‘makars’ as well as their audience.

2.11 Pragmatic faith

With the same eye for practical compromise as that which went into educational progress, as discussed above, the Protestant élite of the 1560s was generally alive to the notion that compromise with Mary or with Catholics was more beneficial to the well-being of Edinburgh (and thus to themselves) than taking a hard line. The social milieu that had fostered the Bannatyne MS in the 1560s had little to gain from an outright conflict, and therefore practised moderation in both political and religious matters, concentrating primarily on issues such as trade, legal reform, and education, preferably in co-operation with the crown.

This pragmatic middle course, however, was not appreciated by more outspoken Protestants such as Knox. Consequently, men of the middle – such as Mr Simon Preston of Craigmillar* – present characteristically ambiguous profiles. Although he was a respectable member of the Protestant establishment at the time of his appointment as Provost of Edinburgh in 1565, there are nevertheless several indications that Preston maintained connections with the old establishment. He enjoyed Mary of Guise’s favour and lent her money, and he was the

second husband of Janet Beaton, Cardinal Beaton's relative, who was on good terms with the Queen. Preston acted on several occasions as Mary's trustworthy agent, and, on the outbreak of Moray's rebellion in August 1565, Mary replaced the Protestant Lord Provost of Edinburgh with Preston, and, against the town council's wishes, insisted on his re-nomination in 1566; moreover, she included him in her privy council. Randolph called Preston a 'rank papist', while Knox labelled him 'a right epicureane' for adhering to the Queen after the Riccio murder, but admitted that after the Darnley marriage Preston 'shewed himself most willing to set forward Religion, to punish vice, and to maintain the Commonwealth'. In the same vein, James Melville classified 'legal politicians' such as David McGill, brother of James McGill*, as clever but disdainful of the ministry and 'without all sense of God'. Even Alexander Guthrie, firmly on the Protestant side, was suspected of Marian sympathies, and he had to defend himself against repeated accusations that he secretly favoured the Queen.¹⁰⁸

The Protestantism of these public figures frequently represented a social or political choice rather than a religious conviction, which seems to have been a secondary consideration. To view the collocation of traditional Queen's men and Protestants in the MB as a break in Bannatyne family logic or an instance of calculated opportunism on their behalf would be to read history backwards from (frequently partisan) perspectives fuelled by later developments. The people named in the MB by and large belong together because they occupied the middle ground between polarised opinions – a position reflected by many of the poems that found their way into the Bannatyne MS and by the internal structure of this manuscript – and clearly paid consistent attention to legal reform and to a continuity of administration. Nor was Mary hostile to 'a Protestantism characterised by civic responsibility and social conservatism'; her own dealings with Rome during her personal reign illustrated that her position as monarch was more immediately dear to her than her faith.¹⁰⁹

It is at this overlap of priorities that a party of the middle can be located, and in this

context the MB, viewed in conjunction with the Bannatyne MS and its literary contents, confirms the theory that 'there must have been a party willing to go to great lengths to compromise; if we are to accept Sir David Lindsay as still orthodox, such a party has to be postulated'.¹¹⁰ This 'party' involved those who had merged Christian or Erasmian humanism containing Lutheran elements with a native tradition of learning that focused particularly on education and legal reform, a mixture that might be termed civic humanism. Thus, the names from the MB and the connections radiating from it in various directions reflect a 'republic of letters', with poets such as Scott and Maitland as its spokesmen. These connections represent a humanism that is concerned with the 'common weill' (John Bellenden's translation of *res publica*) and with the concept of a nation, based on the underlying notion that 'men are born for the sake of men', a shared motto for figures such as Galbraith and Foulis. Many of these men (and women?) followed Erasmus' call to 'take up literature as a profession'.¹¹¹ George Bannatyne's 'intelligent conservatism' and the 'mediating emphasis' of his editing form the literary expression of such concerns, aimed at a treasured Renaissance good, the golden mean. In this way, the MB and the Bannatyne MS suggest a paradigm for the history of the period that differs from the more polarising ones that dominated readings of this historical period for quite some time. People like the Bellendens and Simon Preston* represent the concern for a political consensus on which to build a nation – an impulse frequently obscured for later historians by louder but more marginal voices.¹¹²

However, the centre did not hold. One early, major indication of the growing estrangement between Mary and the 'middle' section of the Edinburgh establishment is the remarkable number of Bannatyne connections that was apparently deeply involved in the plot against Riccio (McGill, Bellenden of Auchnoull, Guthrie, Millar, Robert Henderson). For the Bannatyne MS and its contents, it is important to realise that by the time George Bannatyne finished copying it in December 1568 – after Mary's deposition, imprisonment on, and escape

from, Lochleven, and the disastrous defeat at Langside – the common ground between various factions had been almost totally eroded. The rhetoric of Mary's proclamation after her escape from Lochleven in 1568 exemplified this erosion in highly emotional language; she listed among the 'oppin traitouris ... airis to Judas, sones of Sathane ... Maisteris Hendrie Balknawis, James M'Gill ... and the rest of that pestiferous factioun, quhome ... we promovit, and oft pardonit thair offences'. As a result of the cultural and political conditions described above, the Bannatyne MS reflected a culturally conservative impetus yet at the same time tried to meet new political demands, and in his editorial self-censorship Bannatyne 'genuflected towards the prevailing ideology, while maintaining his personal integrity'.¹¹³

In the years immediately following the deposition of the Queen, the two factions within the King's party that had jointly vanquished the Marian cause rapidly drifted apart. The secularisation of learning, which had made men like Mr Thomas Bellenden* and Robert Galbraith instrumental in preparing the way for reform, by the same token now began to separate the Protestant establishment of Edinburgh from the new Kirk. Many of the leading Protestant political power-brokers resisted radical insistence on the autonomous authority of the Kirk and on egalitarian ministerial parity, on account of the concomitant loss of power that such a development would involve for those already established in the higher ranks of the hierarchy. For the same reason, they resisted Melvillian claims to ecclesiastical revenues; many of these Protestant merchants and men of affairs had appropriated former Catholic church property, privileges and positions which they were reluctant to surrender, while, in educational spheres, they considered former church livings to be highly suitable as bursaries for students, notably from among their own ranks; the Bannatynes benefited from such dealings as well.¹¹⁴

Consequently, many of the more moderate reformers and humanists that supported the Protestant movement in the 1560s in this period 'came to abhor "a perfect reformation"; brought up on Luther they wanted a laicised church and were offered instead a clericalised state'. Just as

their ancestors in the 1550s and 1560s had favoured a reformation outwith the Catholic Church but 'within the framework of duly constituted authority in the state', their moderate descendants of the 1580s emphasised the 'acceptance of legally constituted government or authority' and were anxious to avoid disruptions such as the ultra-Protestant Ruthven Raid in 1582 or the Stirling Raid staged by the Earl of Gowrie in 1584. Alexander Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' poem to Mary Queen of Scots (1562), which takes up a central position in the Bannatyne MS, breathes exactly that spirit.¹¹⁵

Pragmatic, irenic Protestants, in their political struggle against more radical forces, found themselves increasingly taking over the role formerly played by the Queen's men, who had formed the politically and socially conservative power in the 1560s. As a result, the differences between these pragmatists on the one hand and the Melvillian radicals in the Kirk on the other hardened into virtually irreconcilable opposites, and several persons named in the MB in the post-Marian years resisted kirk authority with increasing vigour. These advocates, writers and leading merchants, who habitually served as elders on the Edinburgh kirk session, found themselves more and more at loggerheads with the smaller men and younger merchants who had been appointed to the unpopular, relatively lowly job of deacon. This division along social lines made the session a breeding ground for radicalism and hardening oppositions. Mr Thomas Craig (on whom see above), who apparently had 'stubbornly Catholic inclinations' was charged with fornication; James Nicoll* was fined by his fellow councillors for fornication with his servant; John Young*, writer, was charged with misbehaviour towards a minister; and Henry Nisbet* was accused of 'irreverent and sklanderous speiches'.¹¹⁶

Henry Nisbet* was a close friend of the Bannatyne family: he married George Bannatyne's eldest sister Jonet, was a witness to the will drawn up by George Bannatyne's mother (26 June 1570) and was in 1580 made tutor to the 'bairns' of James Bannatyne, younger. During the civil war, his brother William Nisbet* (died 1585), the first husband of George

Bannatyne's wife, had been a leading Queen's man. Henry, a successful merchant and firm Protestant, was already in the mid-1580s an ardent supporter of James VI's ecclesiastical policies and a firm opponent of the more radical presbyterians. He was in 1583 ordered to set out the curriculum for the new 'University' of Edinburgh, the above-mentioned 'tounis college'.¹¹⁷ James Nicoll*, Thomas Aikenhead* and Henry Nisbet* were three of the four bailies appointed by the crown to the council of 1583-84, in the royalist backlash which followed the collapse of the Ruthven regime in the summer of 1583. On the same royal leets of 22 and 24 September 1583 is also be found William Nisbet*, Henry's brother, who was appointed a councillor. Thomas Aikenhead* and James Nicoll* have been selected by historians as examples of merchants who dissociated themselves from more traditional trades and merchandise and instead became more interested in money-lending and in land as an object of speculation, which is very similar to the post-Reformation profile of George Bannatyne himself. And again, literature and education were important cultural presences for these men: James Nicoll* was appointed to advise on the curriculum of the 'tounis college' in 1584; Henry Nisbet* and his wife, Janet Bannatyne, George's sister, brought up the son of George Bannatyne's sister, Catherine (who died in 1592) and William Stewart, younger. This was Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkhill (1585/6-1655), whose literary interests have recently been discovered. Finally, Thomas Aikenhead*, before he married George Bannatyne's sister, had a son James who married Elizabeth Mowbray, whose sister Marjorie married the poet John Burel.¹¹⁸

These links are, in themselves, only minor details, establishing connections that may seem tenuous in themselves in terms of wider cultural meaning. However, cumulatively they flag the evolution of a particular cultural tradition. These professional networks sustained a lairdly culture that is based on a conjunction of legal and commercial interests different from neighbouring or affiliated cultures such as those of France or England. For one thing, it is arguably a culture orientated towards the royal court, rather than away *from* it – yet at the same

time it is not emanating mainly *from* that 'court', unless we define 'court' not in more traditional ways, as the sovereign's establishment with his or her retinue, courtiers of aristocratic stock, and councillors, but as a much more porous entity, with legal professionals, merchants, clerics, government officials and lairds considered an essential part of 'the court'. In other words, in cultural-historical criticism of this period in Scotland, use of the term 'the court' needs to reflect an awareness of this distinct nature of the Scottish court. The same, by extension, would apply to the term 'courtly', which is likely to reflect this different make-up of the Scottish 'court' compared to many foreign equivalents, and its more urban, clerical, and professional emphases.

These Bannatyne connections were clearly in royal favour; in their conservative concerns and their impatience with the demands of the Kirk, men such as Henry Nisbet* seem to have shared common ground with figures like Neill Laing*, a pre-Reformation pluralist who had consolidated his position in the establishment, and who also had close personal ties to the Bannatyne family. Thus, he is, with Henry Nisbet*, a witness to the testament of George Bannatyne's mother. Moreover, John Laing, his son and successor as Keeper of the Signet, married Rebecca Danielston, sister of Mr John and Sir Robert Danielston*. Neill Laing*, scribe to Governor Arran, was made clerk of coquet for life on 12 April 1543 and appointed Keeper of the Signet in 1547 as successor of Mr John Danielston, rector of Dysart. He is identified as 'one of the Pope's Knights, about the Time of the Reformation' in a short 'satyr' on him by Thomas Maitland, one of the sons of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.¹¹⁹ He indeed seems to have been a man who shared little common ground with the post-Reformation Kirk, to judge from an entry in the 'Buik of the General Kirk of Edinburgh' which epitomises the 'crabbit' relations between the Kirk and many of those on the MB in the 1570s and 1580s. It is reported that Laing

had all to gidder violatit and transgressit the actis and ordinance of the kirk maid
anent mariage inhebeting and forbydding nocht only supperfluous and ryatus bancatting

bot als the pompius convoy of the bryd growme and brid ... and fordir it is declarit that the day foirsaid the said Sir Neill said and declarit the wardis following in greit disdane and disspyt that he rather wald be of the devillis kirk nor be of the kirk of this burgh and that he sould neuir be ane member tharof and wald nocht knaw the samin as the kirk and that the elderis and deaconis wer bot fallowis with sic vther maist opprobrius and disspytfull wordis sounding to the lik purpoiss and effect.¹²⁰

2.12 Later generations

A selective examination of the offspring of the Bannatyne connections confirms the notion that in the MB are to be found many of the originators of early-modern Scottish literature and learning. Katherine Bellenden, sister of Mr Thomas Bellenden* and of the poet John Bellenden, was the grandmother of John Napier, the inventor of logarithms; it is little known that this renowned mathematician also wrote some vernacular poetry. Moreover, his mother was the sister of Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, whose library and links to the court have already been mentioned. Henry Nisbet* was the ancestor of the Nisbets of Dean, of which family Alexander Nisbet, author of *A System of Heraldry*, was a direct descendant. In 1618, William Nisbet of the Dean, merchant, was Provost of Edinburgh in 1618, when he and James Nisbet, town councillor, 'were directly involved with the vote of the Magistrates and Town Council to make [the celebrated English poet] Ben Jonson an honorary burgess'. Robert Scott*, himself the subject of a laudatory epitaph by Alexander Montgomery and whose connections to the Bannatyne world are documented in Chapter 3, was the grandfather of John Scott of Scotstarvit. Scotstarvit wrote Latin poetry, and edited the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637), by far the most valuable collection of Scottish verse in Latin. He married Anne, eldest sister of the poet

William Drummond of Hawthornden, was knighted in 1611 and made a Lord of Session in 1617.¹²¹ The testament of William Stewart*, dated 1602, shows he was firmly embedded in the Bannatyne circle. He married George Bannatyne's sister, Catherine, and their son was the above-mentioned Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkhill, whose godfather was Sir Lewis Bellenden*. Stewart of Kirkhill, was a renowned advocate and royalist who acquired many historical manuscripts, including the 'Liber de Cupro', Bower's revised text of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*.¹²²

The Hamiltons of Orchardfield and Priestfield were a family of Marians and Catholics, loyal to the crown. Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, younger, merchant, son of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield*, elder, was a Queen's man, and bailie on the Queen's party council in 1571. John, younger son of Thomas Hamilton*, elder, was a secular priest and author of theological works. He corresponded with Queen Mary and acted as her messenger to the Duke of Alva; he famously picked a fight (initially physical and then through the printing press) with the poet, William Fowler. Later he became professor of philosophy in the College of Navarre and rector of Paris University as well as tutor to the Cardinal de Bourbon. Having ventured back to Scotland in 1601, he was finally apprehended in 1609, and died in the Tower of London. Thomas, younger, was in later years selected by the king to be raised to the bench as Lord Priestfield, renowned for his oratorical adroitness in both the vernacular and Latin, in both speech and writing. These skills should be viewed in conjunction with the fact that he married Elizabeth, a daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun, patron of (and probably related to) George Buchanan. Their son was Sir Thomas Hamilton, a famous advocate nicknamed, it is said, 'Tam of the Cowgate'; having been knighted in 1603, he was the first Earl of Haddington and Earl of Melrose. But most telling for the present purpose of showing how literature, law and learning meet in these Bannatyne circles is the fact that among the papers of Thomas Hamilton, younger, was found a copy of the first verses ever composed by James VI, allegedly written at the age of 15, the powerful 'Sen thocht is frie, think quhat thow will'. Moreover, this lawyer's third wife

was Julian Ker, widow of the courtier, civil servant and court poet Patrick Hume of Polwarth, 'familiar seruitour' and master of the royal household to James VI and I; he was also Montgomery's opponent in their famous 'Flyting', as well as the author of 'The Promine', the poem that in most aureate fashion inaugurated James VI's personal reign in 1579. Patrick Hume's brother was another successful (printed) poet, Alexander Hume, while Julian Ker's brother was Robert Ker or (in English spelling) Carr, Earl of Somerset, another man with 'frequent access to the royal person' (not to be confused with Robert Ker, Earl of Ancram, poet, friend of William Drummond of Hawthornden and curator of the papers of John Donne and Samuel Daniel). Carr was raised in the royal household in the 1580s and later became groom and then gentleman of the bedchamber as well as a particular personal favourite of the king. He became a very intimate friend of the English courtier and author Thomas Overbury, whom he met in Edinburgh c.1601 and whose work circulated in contemporary Scotland. In the volatile court politics of early Stuart England, however, their relationship ended in more than tears, with Carr, a noted patron and collector of the arts, eventually implicated in the murder of Overbury, known as the Overbury scandal.¹²³

In this generation, too, there are direct connections between these lettered circles and the Bannatyne family via godparenthood: in 1616 the godparents to Thomas, the son of Jonet Bannatyne, daughter of George Bannatyne, and her husband George Foulis, were Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning and later first Earl of Haddington (he was given the title of Lord Binning in 1609), who was married to Margaret Foulis, daughter to James Foulis of Colinton and had been in close professional contact with the Foulis family already in the 1590s; Mr Thomas Henderson, almost certainly the son of Mr Edward Henryson, who became Lord Chesters as successor of another Foulis-Bannatyne grandparent, Sir Lewis Craig of Wrightslands; and John Napier, most likely to be the scientist and author mentioned two paragraphs above. One would like to think that a prize family possession such as the Bannatyne

MS found a receptive home in such an environment, however small-scale its audience.

The delightful letters that Julian Ker sent to her husband, Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning, with their seasoned feminine wit and arch sexual innuendo, suggest that the spirit of some of the 'solatius consaittis' of the Bannatyne MS, as instanced in poems on love and desire by Sempill and Scott, will still have been appreciated in these circles. Especially memorable is the letter by Julian Ker that puns on the phrase 'to be John Thomson's man', i.e. to be obedient to a woman. She tells Lord Binning, 'my hairtly belouit husband, my lord Secretar of Scotland', that ever since he has been less obedient in returning to her, Gilbert Dick has been edging closer to his death. She now releases him from his obedience, and hopes that that will encourage him to resolve his 'melancolie' rather than constrain himself. This brief glimpse into an elite bedroom not only confirms that, indeed, 'Luve preysis but comparesone', but also how the register and sensibilities of the contemporary material in the Bannatyne MS were indeed mirrors of contemporary discourse and sentiment, and thus likely to enjoy considerable popularity, still shared by the literate classes in the early seventeenth century.¹²⁴

In further illustration of this is a letter in which Julian Ker gives advice on love to one of her sons and in which she relies on the same proverbial wisdom as Montgomery does: 'be vys and not ouer fond for folou loue and it vol fle an fle loue and it vol folou ye'. It may be noted here, too, that the poem by Montgomery referenced here by Julian Ker has been uniquely preserved in the Ker MS, a manuscript penned by one Margaret Ker, which again suggests that family is a more powerful cultural agent than the court by this time.¹²⁵ Approached through such culturally endogenous textual corpora, the literary material, its authors, and its users can increasingly be represented as embedded in an intertextual, literate community, one with its own emphases, such as, in the links attached to George Bannatyne's own offspring above, the proverbial, practical, civic, ethical and legal, rather than the theological, Petrarchan or courtly, to name but three powerful discourses often more readily looked for in previously established

criticism of literature of this period.

In another example of how the Bannatyne circles continued their social as well as cultural networks after the Reformation through godparenthood, we might expand briefly on a legal literary figure mentioned earlier. Katherine Bellenden, younger, the daughter of Mr Thomas Bellenden*, was the mother of the famous jurist and Latin poet, Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton. His oldest extant piece of Latin poetry, the epithalamium for Mary's marriage to Darnley, was written at a time when he had recently been appointed Deputy Justice Clerk (i.e. working, like George Bannatyne's father, under the Justice Clerk, John Bellenden of Auchnoull*). Here, literature and legal studies meet again within the Bannatyne circle in what seems to be an instance of a Scottish, Marian court culture. Although he was educated under the supervision of his uncle, John Craig, Knox's colleague at St Giles', Thomas Craig's training in French legal humanism made his work a crucial plea for a powerful, centralised monarchy based on a professionally-run administration, thus separating legal jurisdiction from territorial or other powers. This illustrates how royal power was linked to the rise of the legists, and Craig's *Jus Feudale* stands at the end of a development that emerged at the beginning of the century among the 'patrons of civic virtue' centred around Robert Galbraith, including, among others, Thomas Bellenden*, George Henderson of Fordell* and Thomas Marjoribankis*. All this shows how men such as Hamilton, Lord Binning, and Craig had access to legal and humanist training and read and wrote literature in both vernacular and Latin. They were actively involved with poetry circulating at court, poetry moreover that was closely related to the respective sovereigns themselves. Unfailingly, the Bannatynes retain their link with such people: Mr Thomas Craig of Riccartoun was a godfather to George Bannatyne's eldest grandchild in 1604. Moreover, godparents to the immediately following grandchildren include James Foulis of Colinton, Henry Nisbet, and – together with George Bannatyne himself, in 1606 – George Heriot, elder. Heriot's son, George Heriot younger, was the royal banker and jeweller, goldsmith and money-lender to

Queen Anne, who had an apartment assigned to him in Holyrood Palace. He is now better remembered as 'Jinglin' Geordie', the man who bequeathed his fortune to the foundation of Edinburgh's well-known Heriot's Hospital, a school for poor children of 'burgesses and friemen' which has now evolved into Heriot's School. This civic concern for learning and the commonweal exactly mirrors that behind the uses made of the Magdalene Chapel as well as the Bannatyne family's own involvement with Trinity Hospital, as discussed above. It is also an apt illustration of the still quite visible presence of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cultural enterprise in twenty-first-century Edinburgh. Whatever happened subsequently, in 1603 this was not, to most intents and purposes, a culture on the wane.¹²⁶

This leads to a fitting conclusion of the survey of the MB. It was through the descendants of George Bannatyne's own godchild in 1606, George Foulis, rather than through Bannatyne's eldest grandchild, George Foulis's elder sister, Jonet, that the Bannatyne MS finally came into the possession of the Advocates' Library.¹²⁷ It seems plausible to argue – particularly given the confluence of the importance of cultural activity with that of the extended family and godparenthood within the social environment of the Bannatyne family – that George Bannatyne's manuscript containing much of the nation's literary heritage was passed on to his grandchild as part of the spiritual as well as social and civic kinship that godparenthood entailed in early modern Scotland, and in further illustration of the links between literature, extended families and household anthologies.

2.13 The poets, and their protagonists

It is remarkable to see (above) how many of the names from the MB can be connected to the world of literature. In addition, suggesting a coterie-style intimacy between reader and author,

it is striking how many of those men and women connected to the Bannatyne networks could also become the *subject* of literature, some of it preserved in the Bannatyne MS itself. Thus, the ‘inside information’ concerning persons from the world of the Edinburgh legal and administrative élite in poems such as the one by Sempill mentioned above – which, apart from James and Patrik Bannatyne, also mentions Alexander Guthrie* and David McGill, brother of James McGill* – suggests a specific audience for this poetry as well as a particular shared discourse that had developed in a milieu that apparently relished such invectives and satires, and to which George Bannatyne must have belonged.¹²⁸ James Makgill* is also pictured as one of the ultra-protestants in ‘A Pretended Conference held by the Regent, Earl of Murray, with the Lord Lindsay and Others, January, MD.LXX’, a satire penned by Thomas Maitland, whose own legal-lairdly family was to contribute two more sizeable manuscript miscellanies to the corpus of Scottish literature.¹²⁹ Thomas Maitland also wrote the satire on Neil Laing*, mentioned above, and was himself framed as a Marian spokesperson in George Buchanan’s *De iure regni apud Scotos* (1579, but mostly written a decade earlier). As also noted above, Robert Scott* was the subject of an epitaph by Alexander Montgomery. Such interactions between poetic text and cultural context closely resemble those between William Dunbar and his more exclusively courtly audience half a century earlier, a relation between a court poet and audience that may well have been imitated a few generations later by the urban Bannatyne circle.

In more abstract terms, the allegorisation of the Justice Clerk in John Rolland’s *Court of Venus*, written *ante* 1560, may be mentioned here, too, because at that time the Justice Clerk was John Bellenden of Auchnoull*, who occupied that post from at least 1546 until his death in 1576. He was thus not only the Bannatyne ‘family patron’ but also the immediate superior of George Bannatyne’s father, as noted above. Rolland’s book, drenched in the legal diction of mid-century Edinburgh, must have been known to the Bannatyne household. Rolland himself, as will be detailed below, was also a contributor to the circulation of books

in their circles, as one of those who borrowed books from William Stewart*.

Casting the net wider to find literary protagonists in Bannatyne circles, it is worth noting that the grandfather of Margaret Barton*, was Robert Barton of Overbarnton, commander of the *Great Michael*, the famously oversized flagship built for James IV's navy. Robert's brother Andrew, commander of the *Lion*, was the subject of the well-known 'Ballad of Sir Andrew Barton', which relates how Andrew was killed in battle in 1511 when engaged by Lord Thomas Howard, father of the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, an event that played a prominent role in the hostile war of words on the battlefield at Flodden, immediately before the battle. Robert himself rose to become Comptroller of the Exchequer in 1516 (Gavin Douglas was fiercely critical of this appointment of 'ane very pyrett and sey-revare' to such a position) and, in 1529, Lord High Treasurer. He was frequently sent on diplomatic missions abroad; thus, he escorted Perkin Warbeck on his departure from Scotland in 1497 and went with the poet Sir David Lindsay as envoy to the Low Countries in 1531. In 1503 he had been commissioned to buy books for the king in Paris. Robert and John Barton were also on separate occasions entrusted with carrying the promising young illegitimate son of James IV, Alexander Stewart, to the continent, in 1502 and 1507 respectively; in the latter case, the young prince was on his way to become a cherished pupil of Erasmus.¹³⁰ The Bartons are thus an early example of how mercantile enterprise could not just contribute to, but (eventually) also itself embody, intellectual growth. At the same time, Captain John Barton, as well as Henderson of Fordell* (or, to be precise, 'the laird of Fordell') had become part of proverbs in the later sixteenth century, which suggests – as does the 'Ballad of Andrew Barton' – that these figures had become firmly embedded in the popular mind.¹³¹

The notion of such a coterie with a literary bias is confirmed most memorably, however, by the links between the names from the MB and the contemporary poets who dominate the Bannatyne MS. John Bellenden of Auchnoull's second daughter, Margaret, married William

Stewart, writer in Edinburgh, the father of the William Stewart* who married one of George Bannatyne's sisters – so there were close personal links between these Stewarts, the Bellendens and the Bannatynes. Moreover, these Stewarts had pronounced links to the world of literature. William Stewart, elder, father of William Stewart*, had an interest in books: he possessed 'warklumis belonging to the binding of bukis', and he received money for binding the town's books in 1560. Among his clients as notary we find many Edinburgh printers and related figures, while his son Robert Stewart, macer, incurred a debt of £400 to a London bookseller. The number and variety of books that William Stewart, elder, owned is similarly indicative of such literary interests: many legal works, French and Latin grammars, 'ane greik testament', but also – among others – 'Metamorphoses in Inglische of Ovid', 'The buk in latene of merie talis', and 'Auld storeis in Frensch'. It is worth noting that among those who borrowed books from him we find Sir John Rollang (i.e. the poet, John Rolland), who borrowed from Stewart a copy of the Acts of Parliament. Stewart also lent several Ciceronian titles and the 'Metamorphoses in Inglische of Ovid' to Mr William Robertson, the Catholic master of the 'hie scole' who, with the support of a cross-section of the burgh's professional men, successfully resisted attempts to dismiss him after 1560. With regard to this family's sympathies, this Catholic connection may be more than coincidental: Robert Stewart, macer, son of William Stewart, elder (and thus brother to William Stewart, younger, who married George Bannatyne's sister, Catherine), married Catherine Graham, daughter of the staunchly Catholic couple of John Graham and his wife Elizabeth Couttis or Coittis. But the most intriguing connection between these Stewarts and Middle Scots literature lies in their descent from the poet William Stewart; recent scholarship has found that William Stewart, elder, was almost certainly the natural son of the poet of the same name by Janet Hepburn, the aunt of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton*, which tightens the Stewart links with the Bannatyne MS even more. In his poetry, William Stewart gratefully acknowledged the gift of a horse to him (perhaps an instance of literary patronage) by Patrick

Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell, which proves there was indeed a connection between the poet and this branch of the Hepburns.¹³²

The close connections between the Bannatynes, Bellendens, Hepburn of Waughton and the Stewarts thus arguably explain the inclusion in the Bannatyne MS of the poetry of William Stewart, whose presence in the Bannatyne MS as a contemporary lyricist ranks second only to that of Alexander Scott. The theory of Stewart's verse being enjoyed by such a particular set of prominent men and women in Edinburgh as brought together in the MB is in fact confirmed by the existence of analogous links between the Bannatyne circle and this other makar. Scott's poetry, like Stewart's, is almost exclusively found in the Bannatyne MS; his lyrics clearly dominate the 'ballatis of lufe', which seems to have been the first section of the Bannatyne MS that Bannatyne put together; finally, as stated above, Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' poem to Queen Mary forms the major contemporary political statement of the anthology.¹³³ Considering this remarkably prominent presence of Scott's works in the Bannatyne MS, it is perhaps not surprising to find 'Alexander Scott, servant to his majesty' as one of three witnesses on 18 November 1573 in a document in which George Bannatyne is entered as heir to an annualrent of 50 merks of the lands of Lufnes, belonging to Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, James Bannatyne's 'superior'. A later deed records that in Stirling on 9 March 1576 Alexander Forrester of Garden registered an obligation to infest Alexander Scott, younger, in an annualrent pertaining to Alexander Scott, elder, 'servitur to the kingis majestie', present 'lyfrentar' of that annualrent, and failing the said Alexander, younger, to his brother, John. The latter piece of information reinforces the hypothesis that this Alexander Scott, elder, is the Chapel Royal poet of that name, for in 1549 the poet legitimated his two sons, Alexander and John. Considering the proximity in date and the similarity in description between the 'Alexander Scott, servant to his majesty', who was a witness to the document from 1573 involving George Bannatyne, and the Alexander Scott, 'servitur to the kingis majestie' in the 1576 obligation, it is most likely that

both documents refer to one and the same person, the poet and Chapel Royal prebendary. In other words, the poet-musician Alexander Scott was a personal acquaintance of the Bannatynes, and a close one at that.¹³⁴

In addition, Scott's personal history links him to several other names connected to the MB. He was presented to the Chapel Royal prebend held by John Danielston (see the discussion of the Danielstons above, in the section 'From the mid-1540s to the mid-1560s'), and the legitimization of his two sons in 1549 coincides with a spate of similar actions which seem related to the provincial church council of that same year. Other members of the old establishment, including Arthur Telfer* and Robert Danielston*, legitimated their offspring in the same period. Scott's legitimization is followed in the actual manuscript of the Register of the Great Seal (although they are separated in the modern printed edition) by that of one Dom. Henry Fethy; Fethy is also the surname of the poet whose verses in the Bannatyne MS make him the third contemporary vernacular lyricist from this period, after Scott and William Stewart.¹³⁵ This man, sir John Fethy, organist and chanter of the Chapel Royal, was paid for tuning the organs of St Giles' in 1554-55, and here, too, his path crosses that of Scott, for on 31 January 1556 Alexander Scott received a pension from Edinburgh town council to sing in the choir and play the organ 'for the yeir to cum alanerlie'. Other entries show that much attention was paid to the repair of the Edinburgh song school from April 1554 onwards, and the appearance of Scott and Fethy in this context (like that of sir William Makdowell*, as outlined above) was part of the revival of cultural activities in the capital; Scott was again paid for singing in the choir on 10 January 1558. His appearance side by side with Fethy in the Bannatyne MS thus mirrors their physical proximity in St Giles' itself (more details on the latter are to be found in Chapter 3). Their personal lives also intertwined with that of Bannatyne godparents. For example, Mr John Abercrombie* – a 'ubiquitous' and 'leading lawyer', acting as procurator in the separate Commissary Court of the Chapel Royal at Stirling – on 25 May 1557 acted as procurator for sir

John Fethy, chanter of the Chapel Royal, with Alexander Scott as witness, together with several Chapel Royal prebendaries. Together with Thomas Kincragy, he was 'clearly among the leading practitioners of the law of their time'.¹³⁶

All in all, the names from the MB offer clear evidence of social ties between the people listed therein and the contemporary lyricists whose presence dominates the Bannatyne MS. Apart from making the links between the Bannatyne MS and the MB even tighter, this evidence also suggests an answer to the question of where Bannatyne found his 'copeis awld mankit and mytillait' out of which he copied the Bannatyne MS: he found them among the same people whose names later went into his 'memoriall buik' and who formed a humanist 'republic of letters' that considered literature to be a vital component of a national heritage.¹³⁷

2.14 Towards Chapter 3

The narrated database of the cultural interface between the names in the MB and the world of letters shows there was a sizeable market for literature (provided we define literature in wider, contemporary terms, i.e. as 'letters') in contemporary Edinburgh, reaching (and incorporating influences from) well beyond the capital. By the same token, although such literary activity is impressive and varied considering the size of the community involved, we also note how relatively small these literary circles were, and that there is not much evidence of some of the cultural agents that we know from other contemporary literatures: thus, there is little sign of aristocratic involvement or of writing by nuns. Instead, we get a sense of a close-knit community of readers and book-circulators – which includes manuscripts – made up of legal professionals, merchants, lairds, scribes and clerics that had considerable cultural and (increasingly) political confidence. From the first three of these groups in particular

would come the new powerbrokers behind the throne in the next generation, increasingly vying with, or indeed replacing, the barons of Scotland in this respect.

The nature of this cultural market will have affected the literature written for it, imposing its own sensibilities, emphases and interests. As indicated in Chapter 1, this thesis will leave further inquiry into the latter aspect largely to a subsequent piece of research, but a few things are worth noting in general here. First of all, it is through a full engagement with the non-literary documents of the time that one understands how closely knit these circles were. Moreover, it is through these same means that one learns the inflections of the language, its rhythms and phonic qualities, the subtleties of embedded meanings, the twists and turns of idioms that enrich one's readings of vernacular texts. Through such textual historicisation we can not just listen to the voice of the dead but even speak with them.¹³⁸

The compressed nature of Edinburgh in purely demographic and architectural terms and its effect on cultural and social activity is well known: having a relatively large body of people living in 'high-rise' building on a narrow volcanic ridge hemmed in by defensive town walls led to a cultural milieu in which all had to rub shoulders with one another.¹³⁹ This is not only likely to have facilitated the (continued) existence of a shared repertoire of literary texts, but also, as a result, an appreciation of these texts across social divides. The points raised above regarding the cultural relevance of the extended household in (pre-)Reformation Scotland as well as the role of godparents within that social unit further underline the shared, collective nature of this literary culture and its mixture of high and low as well as oral and literate, as do the MB names that come up as protagonists in literature themselves. In these respects, the material in the Bannatyne MS operates in a sphere in which literature reflects a cultural continuum not unlike that represented by the Chepman and Myllar prints at the beginning of the century, with their mixture of literary genres and tones. In this, Scotland differs from contemporary England, where, as critics have noted, literary practice was

increasingly seen as a socially distinctive activity fuelled by courtly aspirations.¹⁴⁰

Collectively, the points raised regarding the material and social contexts in which the Bannatyne MS (and thus Alexander Scott's verse) circulated have another important consequence: in such a socio-cultural context, the need for print, or even its commercial attractiveness, will have been less prominent than in other cultural centres. A 'household miscellany' in manuscript form such as the Bannatyne MS, with its size and its highly evolved internal arrangements and reader directions, would have served such a community extremely well, instancing the wider phenomenon of a reliance on manuscripts, manuscript circulation and scribal communities well after printing had become firmly established as an alternative means of reproducing and circulating literary texts. As part of a cycle of literary (re)production, this reliance on manuscripts rather than prints in its turn prolongs the cultural continuum that gave rise to the writing that is preserved in these manuscripts in the first place. It also means that the relationship between writer and reader remains quite intimate, potentially giving the writing itself more immediacy as well as room to experiment with genres and styles, since readers are likely to share the author's cultural knowledge and expectations. This intimacy between an author and a knowledgeable audience, as well as an awareness of the social level at which this intimacy takes place, are important sources of information that need to be acted upon, and not just noted, in any analysis of the Bannatyne MS as a cultural phenomenon as well as of individual poems – such as those of Alexander Scott – as it is likely to affect diction, topic, style, and other literary features. But before turning to such more purely literary analysis, the conceptual and critical gain of having considered the Bannatyne MS through a cultural-prosopographical study of its most likely audience suggests that a corresponding study of Alexander Scott in *his* cultural-prosopographical context will have similar, and complementary, surplus value. This will be the subject of Chapter 3.

Notes to 'Chapter 2'

1. Lee 1989: 79.
2. On this, see Durkan: 1983b: 89. Donaldson (1983) and Margaret H.B. Sanderson (1987) are two monographs that likewise contribute towards a more refined understanding of the period in hand by means of prosopographical research. On Burckhardt and his *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, the secondary reading is overwhelming; Peter Burke's introduction to the Penguin Classics translation (1990) of this book is a good initial reference point, both because of its concise bibliography and for phrasing the relationship between modern scholarship and Burckhardt's book in a manner that also applies to the present thesis and *its* relationship to Burckhardt's work: while Burckhardt's approach is now considered too narrow and selective, modern research in Renaissance cultural history is nevertheless still 'answering a question which Burckhardt had formulated' (Burke 1990: 15).
3. Scott 1829: 11.
4. For details of the manuscript and its diplomatic and facsimile editions, see Bann. MS., *Bann. MS.* and *Bann. MS. (fac)*.
5. 'The memoriall buik of certane evidentis and vpiris writtis concernyng George Bannatyne anno 1582', printed in Scott 1829: 25-42, and in *Bann. MS.* I, pp. cxlii-cxlviii.
6. 'As Phebus bricht in speir merediane' and 'No woundir is althocht my hairt be thrall', *Bann. MS. (fac)*, fols 230^v-231^r, 234.
7. *Bann. MS. (fac)*, fols 124^r-125^v, ll. 63, 78.
8. Sheppard 1941: 419-20; *Bann. MS. (fac)*, fol. 357^v; *Bann. MS.* I, pp. clxxi-clxxiii. *Peerage* IV: 352, 358, 365. Mill 1927: 59, 332; Purves 1940: xciii; *TA* IX, pp. xv, xlv, lix, and *TA* X, *passim.*, notably pp. ix, xxx, xli. Robertson (1823-25: I, 379-82) details the genealogical relation between the Bellendens and Bannatynes. For glimpses of the art and architecture at Kinneil House, see Bath (2003), under 'Arran' and 'Kinneil House'.
9. *The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo*, in Hamer 1931-36: I, 57, ll. 49-54; Durkan 1979-80: 267.
10. *Bann. MS.* I, pp. xxi and xxxii-xxxv. John Bannatyne as Writer to the Signet and "daily servitour": Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 33; Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1983: ix; Hannay 1990: 301, 305, 311; *RSS* II.1416. As notary public: *RMS* III, *passim.*; a John Bannatyne acted as a notary for Cardinal Beaton: Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 106-7. As writer to the Exchequer: *ER*. XIV-XVII, *passim.*; *TA* VI-VIII, *passim.*; tabular: *RSS* II.2726; III.248.
11. James Bannatyne occurs as Deputy Justice Clerk on 30 November 1562 (*RSS* V.1158); he was succeeded at his death by his son Thomas (see below). Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 71; Watson 1929: 45. On town council: Lynch 1981: 228.
12. *RMS* III.3035 (15 Dec. 1544); 3301 (15 Aug. 1546); Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 71.
13. Customable skins (i.e. the skins on which export duty was payable to the Exchequer): *RSS* III.95, reconfirmed on 7 March 1543 (*RSS* III.131); *RSS* III.2444 (20 Sept. 1547). James Bannatyne, elder, and his son, Mr James, are re-appointed to the same position on 11 October 1567 (*RSS* VI.28). George Bannatyne himself in this post: *NAS* PS 1/77, fol. 4. Tabular: *RSS* IV.2757; V.230; VIII.1304.
14. Brunton and Haig 1832: 218-19; *Bann. MS.* I, p. lxiv.

-
15. The idea that the Bannatyne MS was meant to be printed is an old one, but has most recently been revived in MacDonald (1986); MacDonald (1993); see also Hughes and Ramson 1982: 22.
16. Dickson and Edmond 1890: 4-22; *ER* XIV, p. cxiii.
17. Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 27, 107. Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1983: ix, is the source for the 1494 details; Dickson and Edmond 1890: 13; Bawcutt, 1998: I, 97, l. 86.
18. *RMS* II.2872, 3239, 3498; *ER* XV, 387, and for Kincragy, *passim.*; see also 'Preface', p. lxi. Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 29; Hannay 1990: 301. Wood 1941: 723, 760. The confusion regarding John Chepman's relationship to Walter Chepman in contemporary documents as well as subsequent scholarship arises from the fact that the word 'oy' in Older Scots could refer to both 'grandchild' and 'nephew'. From other documents, though (e.g. Fraser 1889: II, 20), it would appear that this John was Walter Chepman's nephew.
19. NLS Adv. MS 25.5.9: 12 verses on fol. 278 (see *APS* I, p. xxvii, note), beginning: 'All kynd of mouthis quhair ...', and on fol. 303, with music: 'Our broder lat ws put in graiff', a text that can also be found in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatts*.
20. *RSS* II.4275 (22 Oct. 1541); Marwick 1871: 89-91 (17 July 1538); Fradenburg, 'God's Own Hand: The Poetry of James Foullis', in Fradenburg (1991), 47-64 [48, 52]; Durkan 1953: 7-8. For a recent study of Foullis's poetry (with translations), see IJsewijn and Thomson (1975).
21. Aldis 1970: no. 19; Dickson and Edmond 1890: 106; *RSS* II.1584, 3577, 3822 – where the King explicitly uses the Privy Seal to protect Agnes Cockburn from Edinburgh taxes – and *passim.*; her testament was recorded on 24 July 1565 (NAS CC 8/9/1).
22. *Bann. MS. (fac)*, pp. xviii, xxii. On the mass book of Mary of Guise and on Agnes Simpson: Alasdair A. MacDonald, private communication. On Norvell, see Beattie 1974: 118-20; Hannay 1980: 282-92.
23. The coat of arms of Marion Carkettill, still visible in Walter Chepman's aisle in St Giles', is clearly linked to that of Carkettill of Finglen; see Stodart 1881: I, 83, and II, 148. Anderson 1859-63: II, 260.
24. *DNB* III, 374-5. NAS CS 7/20, fol. 196, 303; Dobson 1887: 101. James Bassenden, burgess of Edinburgh, also had a son called James (Watson 1929: 49-50). That 'James Bassenden of the Netherbow' was related to the printer is also suggested by Sanderson 1984: 37 and n. 96.
25. Index to the Calendar of Charters (NAS RH6), vol. VII (1543-1552), no. 1342 (8 March 1544).
26. 'Iacobo Millar attornato et eonutri Georgii Bannatyne filii': Protocol Book Alexander King vol. IV, NAS B22/1/17, fol. 208 (23 Feb 1555); I owe this reference to John Durkan. See also Protocol Book Alexander King vol II, NAS B22/1/15, fols 11'-12' (24 May 1550).
27. MacKinnon 2008: 37, in a volume that has many more references to the importance of godparenthood in early modern Scotland.
28. Hollander 2008: 70-1.
29. Hollander 2008: 70.
30. Donaldson 1983: 5. On these and other 'concentric loyalties', see Mason 1998b: 78-9.
31. *RSS* VIII.1339, 2443. For Bannatyne and Bellenden connections, see also Roxburghe Muniments n.d.: *passim.*
32. *Bann. MS. (fac)*, fol. 4^v, ll. 31, 35-6. For the Bellendens, see Ballantyne (n.d.); I am extremely grateful to Mr Ballantyne for access to his typescript. Anderson 1982: ch. 3; Sheppard (1941). Adam Abell, author of 'Roit or

Quheill of tyme', was a kinsman of Robert Bellenden, abbot of Holyrood, and was in board with one of the canons of Holyrood. He speaks highly of the abbot: Stewart (1996).

33. *Peerage*, II, 61-2; Hamer 1931-36: IV, p. xi; Ballantyne n.d.: 3.
34. Young 1992-93: I, 338. A dedicatory letter to James Henryson of Fordell appears on verso of the title page of Galbraith's *Quadrupertitum* (1510). Verses in honour of Thomas Bellenden appear on the title-page and on fol. 126^v; the lines dedicated to George Henderson likewise appear on fol. 126^v, and can also be found in Foulis's own volume of Latin verse. The latter is dedicated to Alexander Stewart, the king's illegitimate son, archbishop of St Andrews and pupil of Erasmus, and contains poems in honour of Patrick Panter and James Henryson of Fordell; see Durkan 1953: 7-8, and IJsewijn and Thomson 1975: 133.
35. *The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo*, in Hamer 1931-36: I, 57, II. 37-54 [47]; Durkan, 1953: 7; Ballantyne n.d.: 2; Menzies (1929); Finlay (1999); Broadie (1985), esp. 4-5; *DNB* XX, 372; Watt 1969: 339; MacDonald 1996: 179-81, 186; Edington 1994: 98-9.
36. Rogers (1873), 95-9; Anderson 1859-63: VII, 114; Grant 1944: 144; Sanderson 1974: 45; Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 12, 53.
37. Ballantyne n.d.: 2-7; Campbell 1995: 319. The Epiphany interlude may refer to an embryonic version of Lindsay's 'Satyre'; see Edington 1991: 99, and Lyall 1989: x-xii.
38. Edington 1991: 277, 329-32. Edington even calls it an – albeit ill-defined – “evangelical party”, suggesting ‘there must have existed a significant, albeit hitherto largely silent, degree of support for at least a limited reform programme before the death of James V in 1542’ (300).
39. Chambers 1875: I, 78-9; Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 26, 87, 90, 174, 271; Spottiswood 1850: I, 144; Anderson 1859-63: I, 229-30; Edington 1991: 96-8, 114-5, 300, 338.
40. *DNB* III, 91-2; Cameron 1927: 404; Rogers 1874: 18; Laing 1846-64: I, 105, 106 (on Balnaves, see also III, 407-30); Dickinson 1949: I, 48; Watt 1935: 25.
41. Cairns 1994: 175-6; McFarlane 1981: 215.
42. Mapstone (1990). On how the manuscript of Balnaves's book came into the printer's hands via Richard Bannatyne, once John Knox's secretary but by 1584 'secretarie' to Alison Sandelandis, see Balnaves 1584: Aiii^r-Av^r, accessed 6/8/2009.
43. Durkan (1982-83a).
44. 'O gallandis all I cry and call', *Bann. MS. (fac)*, fols 138^r -139^v; Craigie 1919-27: I, 355-9; Mapstone 1990: 136; Ballantyne n.d.: 13.
45. Steuart 1929: p. xiii, 95-6. On Elizabeth Melville, see *Oxford DNB*.
46. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. clxi; *Oxford DNB* entry on Henry Balnaves, accessed 24/8/2009; Laing 1860-62: 428 (the italics are in Laing's article); see also Chalmers (1860-62); Durkan (1971-74).
47. Smith 1914-15: 279. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. cxlviii. Craig's *Henrici Illustrissimi Ducis Albaniae Comitiss Rossiae etc. et Mariae Serenissimae Scotorum Reginae Epithalamium* was published by Lekpreuik in 1565 (Aldis 1970: no. 47). *DNB* XII, 448-50; *Oxford DNB* XIII, 956-9. Durkan 1962b: 315. On Craig as Justice Depute: *RSS* V.1892 (18 Jan. 1565). On the development of this legal tradition, see also the present chapter, at note 84 (on noblesse de robe).
48. Shaw (1983), particularly p. 143. *Oxford DNB*, accessed 5/7/2008.

-
49. Watt 1935: 25; Skelton 1887-88 II, 283.
50. Burns 1956: 253, 263; Durkan 1953: 14-7 and 19-24; Kirk 1982: 7-8; Edington 1991:85; Coulton 1935: xxxii; Durkan (1981); Sanderson 1974: particularly pp. 43-5. On the links between a northern intellectual circle centred around Kinloss and Aberdeen and one in Edinburgh, see Durkan and Ross 1961: 20.
51. Durkan 1953: 14; Innes 1867: xxvi, lxiii, 17-27; Hay 1954: 67, 247-8. Telfer owned copies of Pliny Secundus, *Epistolarum libri novem* (Venice, 1510) and Seneca, *Tragedie* (Paris, 1512); see Durkan and Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (NLS, interleaved copy, shelf mark SU8).
52. RSS III.39, 2313; DNB IV, 187-8; Douglas 1813: I, 210; Laing 1846-64: II, 414; Lawson and Lyon 1844-50: I, 208, 217; II, 69, 78; Chalmers 1822: III, 427, 443; CSP Scot II, 168; Omond 1883-1914: I, 34, quoting Tytler, *An Inquiry, Historical and Critical, into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*.
53. Douglas 1798: 518; Thomson 1833: 100; Anderson 1859-63: I, 282-3; TA X, p. xxx; Peerage, II, 65-6; Harrison 1919: 104; NLS MS 25.9.5 (Marion Scott's rental book); McRoberts 1953: item 88, p.15 (Marion Scott's book of hours); Lynch 1981: 266. TA VII, 445, gives Margaret Scott as the name of the nurse to one of James V's sons who died in infancy in 1541, and, considering Bellenden's court connections, this may well be his wife.
54. Peerage, II, 66, 68-70; Anderson 1859-63: I, 283; RMS VI, p. 319, n.1; Brunton and Haig 1832: 218-9; Warner 1893: liii, and note also John Bellenden* as the recipient of royal gifts in the form of books, p. xlv, and as donor of books to the royal library, p. lviii. He also owned a *Materia Medica* and a Greek Testament: Sheppard 1941: 421.
55. Anderson 1859-63: VII, 74-5; Chambers 1875: II, 87. Fullarton (1829).
56. Hewitt 1982: 27; Craigie 1919-27: I, 34-6, 37-40; Bann. MS. (fac), p. xxi, and fols 12^r -14^v, 90r-92r. On John Maitland, see Skelton (1887-88), Lee Jr (1959). On Thomas Maitland, see McKechnie (1907). For William Maitland, and further details of the Maitland family, see Loughlin (1991), esp. ch. 1; Loughlin (1994); Blake (1989). On Scott's 'New Yeir Gift', see van Heijnsbergen (2008).
57. Quoted in Shrank 2009: 200
58. Jenkins 1988: 72-3, 300; see also pp. 77-81 and 367-88; Jenkins claims that this music manuscript is linked to St Giles', and not, as Elliott (1964) has it, Lincluden.
59. Hay 1954: 387; Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 59, 136; Lynch 1981: 347; Watson 1929: 393; Durkan 1985: xii; MacKenzie et al. 1836: 86, 179, 186; NAS B/22/1/21 (Protocol Book Alexander Guthrie, elder, vol. 2), fol.126, 23 May 1562; TA IX, 435; ADCP 308.
60. DNB XLII, 343; Lynch 1981: 15, 278, 282, 331-2; Lynch 1975: 124, 130, 138; Bawcutt 1991a: 183-4; it is unclear whether 'Guthrie' indicates that he was the scribe or the owner of this 'Regiam Maiestatem' MS, or both.
61. Menzies 1933: 182.
62. Lynch 1981: 116, 304-5; Burton 1897: IV, 34; Chalmers 1822: III, 427. The McGills were a family of legists; see Grant 1944: 132.
63. Pollen 1901: 272, 278; Lynch 1981: 276, 283, 366; Peerage, II, 64.
64. Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 261; Anderson 1899: 695, 737; Omond 1883-1914: I, 31; Lynch 1981: 116, 283, 305.

-
65. RSS III.1313; Lynch 1981: 74, 284, 357; Lynch 1975: 124, 131, 134.
66. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. lxxxiv; Fleming 1897: 502-3; *TA* XI, pp. xxix-xxx; Lynch 1981: 271, 282; Dibdin 1888: 20; Marwick 1882: 16-7.
67. Lynch 1981: appendices II and V, clearly show the overlap between the names from the MB and the Edinburgh Protestants. See also Lynch (1978). For Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, see Hillyard (1994).
68. *ER* vols. XV-XVII, *passim.*; Patrick 1907: 295; Watt 1969: 333, 372; *ADCP* 492; RSS I.383, 1474; Rogers 1882: xxxiv, cxxxiv, 14, 15, 25, 26; Ollivant 1982: 55; *APS*, II, 447-8; Fleming 1910: 547.
69. Haws 1972: 59; *TA* VII, p. xxxix; Hay 1954: 190, 196, 374, 445; Watt 1969: 90; The Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 45-6, 318; McFarlane 1981: 67.
70. RSS II.499, 852, 926, 1704 (see also 'Index of Offices'); RSS III.2436; MacQueen 1970: xl; Durkan and Ross 1961: 3-4, 20, 88. Ballantyne (n.d.: 14) corrects *Peerage*, II, 64, which held that James Danielston, the son of John and Robert Danielston's brother William, the provost of Linlithgow and Keeper of Linlithgow Palace, married Margaret, the daughter of Mr Thomas Bellenden*. For Henryson, see below.
71. Mr Arthur Telfer is referred to as James Bannatyne's 'gudsir bruder' by George Bannatyne, *Bann. MS.*, I, p. cxliv; RSS II.2737-38; III.76, 348, 1395, 1515; IV.346, 398; VI.857, 1223; Laing 1861: *passim.*; Black 1946: 765. On the royal foundations making up the Chapel Royal foundation, see Hay 1974: 61-3. On Restalrig in particular, see MacDonald (2000).
72. Haws 1972: 7, 52, 110; Haws 1972-74: 120; *RMS* IV.478; Burleigh 1955: 199-200. RSS IV.778; Patrick 1907: 107. On the identity and prebends of sir John Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's 'fader broder': RSS VI.857; NAS CS 7/47, fol. 131, B 22/22/23, fol. 115 and CS 7/6, fol. 164.
73. RSS II.1703; Haws 1972-74: 119; Hay 1954: 406; Watt 1969: 340; *TA* VII, p. xxxii; Craigie 1919-27: I, 243-4.
74. Master of Works: Marwick 1871: II, 269, 271; *TA* X, p. xl and *passim.*; Hamer 1931-36: IV, 142; RSS III.2604; RSS IV.2835, 2839; Haws 1972-74: 121; Hamer 1931-36: I, 398; IV, 139-43; Marwick 1871: 206.
75. Hamer 1931-36: IV, 142; *TA* X, 330; XI, p. xxxiii, 109; MacKechie 2000: 154, 159; Riches 1997: 35, 43-4.
76. Anderson 1982: 5; NAS B 22/1/14 (Protocol Book of Alexander King, I), fols 53, 62 and 66, 23 April and 6 and 22 June 1549. Both Nicol and Robert Cairncross were related to the Cairncross family of Colmislie: Stephen 1921: 142; Lynch 1981: 291; Dowden 1912: 226; NAS CC 7/49, fol. 168.
77. 'Journal of the Siege of Leith', in Dickinson 1942: 122; *ADCP* 383, 389, 489, 257; Anderson 1859-63: VIII, 406; Donaldson 1983: 107; *TA* xii, 126 and 218; *RMS* III.760, 1472; Brunton and Haig 1832: 19.
78. Stephen 1921: 142; Douglas 1798: 518; *ADCP* 224, 479, 561-2.
79. Douglas 1798: 87; *Peerage*, I, 224; Donaldson 1983: 40, 84, 162; Shearer 1951: 92-3, 141-2; Young 1992-93: I, 343; *APS* II, 526; III, 6; *TA* XII, 78, 80, 219; Wood 1937: 302; Hewitt 1982: 22, 199.
80. Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: 32, 190, 377; *RMS* IV.1348; Laing *et al.* 1827-55: III, 287.
81. *TA* XII, 28, 80; Donaldson 1983: 104; Easson and Macdonald 1938: 189; NAS CS 7/8, fols 386-7 (I owe this reference to the date of Galbraith's death to Mr John Ballantyne); NAS RD 1/2, fols 148-49; *ADCP* 537, 638; Pitcairn 1833: I, part II, 336-7. John Carkettill, bailie of Edinburgh, receives part of the escheat of Waughton's* father: *ADCP* 452.

-
82. Lynch 1981: 180; the sympathy of the older merchant establishment was with the Marian cause (*ibid.*, 146, 203, 207, 219).
83. Lee Jr 1986: 31.
84. Lynch 1981: 288, 293. For Charteris's preface to the *Warkis*, see Hamer 1931-36: I, 397-405. Paterson is a prominent name among the Queen's men (Lynch 1981: 347) and in Chapel Royal documents: Chapel Royal prebends exchange family hands at an impressive rate (RSS II.1206; RSS II, *passim.*, as appears from the 'Index'; RSS IV.1447-8) and children are legitimated (Fleming 1910: 546) in ways that are very similar to the details we know of poets such as John Fethy, Alexander Kyd and Alexander Scott. Alexander Paterson, probably the later Sacristan of the Chapel Royal of that name, was in 1530 named in print as an excellent singer by Robert Richardson, the strict Augustinian reformer: Coulton 1935: 80-1.
85. Lynch 1981: 30, 216, 222; Thomson 1842-49: V, 177-8.
86. Kirk 1982: 17; D.B. Horn (1966).
87. Durkan 1983a: 73-8; Kirk 1994: 280; Anderson 1982: 26, 32-3; Durkan 1953: 16; Durkan and Ross 1961: 4, 13, 49-60, 117; D.B. Horn 1966: 221; Finlayson 1980: 9-11; Chambers 1980: 240; Grant 1944: 100; Kirk 1982: 10.
88. Finlayson 1980: 11. On Rhynd, see Cowan (2008): 123-4; Lynch (1981): 30; Ross 1912-13: 96-9; Ross and Brown (1916).
89. Ross and Brown 1916: esp. pp. 7, 66. Isobel Mauchan, George Bannatyne's wife, was 57 when she died in August 1603: *Bann. MS* I, cxlvi-cxlvii. The Bannatynes and Trinity Hospital: *Bann. MS* I, xl, lxxv.
90. *Bann. MS*, I, lxxx.
91. Ross and Brown 1916: 10, and the colour reproduction of the roundels facing p. 68.
92. Paton 1914-25: I, 20-1. John Ballantyne drew my attention to the fact that this George Bellenden (rather than George Bannatyne, compiler of the Bannatyne MS, as is sometimes claimed) is almost certainly the 'Georgius Ballenden' who went to St Mary's College in St Andrews (1558-61) (*Bann. MS.*, I, p. lxxxvi). He was vicar of Dunrossness by 1561 and was presented to the chantory of Glasgow on 1 February 1564 as successor to John Bellenden, the poet (1537-47); Patrick Bellenden, his kinsman (1543); and John Steinston (1544-67). It illustrates again how church livings were frequently used as scholarships, Steinston continuing to act as chanter while George Bellenden was in Paris (Watt 1969: 159-60).
93. Durkan 1983a: 73-8; Durkan, 1971-74: 2-4; Durkan and Ross 1961: 115-6; Kirk 1982: 9.
94. Durkan and Ross 1961: 117.
95. Batho *et al.*: 1938-41: II, 403-9. The Lydgate MS is Boston Public Library MS fol. med. 94, on which see below.
96. *Oxford DNB*, entry on Edward Henryson, accessed 12/8/2009; *Bann. MS* I, cxlviii; Bawcutt 2001a: 86-8.
97. Watt and Murray 2003: 315, 319, 320. The Porphyry MS is Aberdeen University Library MS 223, on which see below.
98. Durkan (1982-83b); Beattie 1948-55; and van Heijnsbergen (1998) on Bellenden and Douglas.
99. Sheppard 1941: 447; Batho *et al.* 1938-41: II, 405.

-
100. Edwards 1971-73: 89. Sixteenth-century judgements on Bellenden, listed in Sheppard (1941), particularly on p. 411, express a contemporary poetics that corresponds more fruitfully with Bellenden's verse, representing the appeal of the latter in terms of the quality of Bellenden's almost all-encompassing learning, in both the human and divine sciences. This anticipates the comments by Hattaway that open Chapter 3 below.
101. Sheppard 1941: 457-8.
102. *Bann. MS*, IV, 315-6.
103. Sheppard 1941: 425-7; Ballantyne n.d.: 1, 13.
104. Sheppard 1941: 448-51, 456-8, 460 (449). *Bann. MS* I, 3-8; and II, 3-8. MacDonald 1983: 418. The Marchmont MS of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* is now in the Mitchell Library (Glasgow), MS 308876.
105. The information on the Fetternear banner in this and the next paragraphs is derived from McRoberts ([1956]).
106. The quotations on the Fetternear banner are from McRoberts [1956]: 17, 21, 23, and see figure 10. Cowan 2008: 122. On Haddington, see B.L.H. Horn 1966: 58, 78-9, 83-4. On Fethy, see Protocol Book Alexander King vol. 2, NAS B22/1/15, fol. 31, 19 July 1550: installation by Patrick Ireland, one of the bailies of Edinburgh (and a family with whom the Bannatynes had close connections, judging from no less than four Irelands on their godparents list), in name of the Provost *etc.*, of sir John Fethy, chaplain, in and to the prebendary founded at the altar of the Holy Blood, within the collegiate kirk of St Giles. And Protocol Book Alexander King vol. 3, NAS B22/1/16, fol. 46, 24 February 1552: sir John Fethy resigns the prebend called the prebend of the Holy Blood, founded at the altar of our Lady of Loretto.
107. The poem by Scott is 'Ye blindit luvaris luke', which is included in the Maitland Folio MS: see Craigie 1919-27: I, 294-8. In addition to the families of Sinclair and Maitland mentioned above, the Cockburns are another family with manifest literary interests who are active in this area: see B.L.H. Horn 1966: 60-1, 67, 90-1. The presence of Mr Patrck Cockburn (died 1568) as minister of Haddington will have been instrumental in this; for details on his literary publications, see his entry in *Oxford DNB*.
108. *DNB* XLVI, 312-4; Lynch 1981: 118, 221, 331-2; Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 119; Fraser 1878: I, 554, and ch. 10; Wood 1931: 22-4; Laing 1846-64: I, 236; II, 511. Melville: as quoted in Smith 1914-15: 279.
109. Lynch 1981: 104.
110. Durkan 1962b: 314.
111. Durkan 1962b: 294-5 (focusing on Robert Galbraith's use of Cicero's lines 'Homines hominum causa nati sunt, ut interesse alii aliis prodesse possint' in a letter to Henderson of Fordell); Durkan 1953: 7-8; Edington 1991: 105, 178, 241, 246-9 (and on the term civic humanism in a Scottish context, see Edington 1995: 87-8 and 243. On Robert Galbraith's work as a 'casualty of the Reformation', see Broadie (1990a) and (1990b). On the confluence between literature, legal training and the concept of a nation, see also Lynch 1992: 259-61.
112. Kratzmann 1989: 111.
113. Hungerford 1901: 273; MacDonald 1992: 14. For further discussions of Bannatyne's censorship, see MacDonald (1983), (1984), (1986), (1989) and (1993). On Mary, her poets and her moving away from the 'golden mean', see Jack 1979: 35-40.
114. Cockburn 1958-61: 120-21; Cockburn 1959: 277. George's uncle, sir John Bannatyne, mentioned above,

enjoyed various church livings before the Reformation (Trinity College, Restalrig, St Michael's altar in Crieff), and after his death in December 1569 his relatives appropriated these sources of income, exchanging them within the family and frequently using them to pay for a young relative's education: *RSS* III.76, 1515; *RSS* IV.3196, 3316; *RSS* VI.824, 831, 857, 1223; *RSS* VII.258, 1183; *RSS* VIII.712, 806.

115. Durkan 1962b: 317; Donaldson 1983: 7-8, 149. On Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' in its political context, see van Heijnsbergen (2008).
116. Lynch 1981: 41-2, 47 (n.51), 93; Wood 1931: 33; NAS CH 2/450/1 (Buik of the General Kirk of Edinburgh), fol. 8^r.
117. *Bann. MS.*, I, pp. lxvi, lxxii; *RSS* VI.1899; Lynch 1982: 4, 5, 9; Lynch 1981: 346, 158, where Henry Nisbet's replies to the veteran Protestant Edward Hope can be read as 'the manifesto of the moderate faction'; Geddie 1908: 86-92.
118. On Aikenhead and Millar as money-lenders and speculators in land, see Sanderson 1983: 187. Lynch 1981: 257-8. Young 1992-93: II, 542. On Lewis Stewart of Kirkhill's literary interests, see Joyce Sanderson (1987). On Henry Nisbet and Janet Bannatyne's upbringing of Sir Lewis, see William Stewart's testament, NAS CC8/8/37, 10 Dec 1602 (I owe this reference to Joyce Sanderson). I owe the Burel reference to Jamie Reid-Baxter, whose edition of Burel is forthcoming from the Scottish Text Society.
119. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. lxvi; *RSS* III.205; *TA* XII, *passim.*; Society of Writers to H.M. Signet 1936: pp. xi, 46; Wood, 1977-91: I, part ii, 54; II, 129-30.
120. NAS CH 2/450/1 (Buik of the General Kirk of Edinburgh), fol. 50^v; Laing later admitted the 'making of the pompious convoy' but denied 'thair wes ony superfluouis banketting' (see also fol. 42^v).
121. *Oxford DNB*, entry on John Napier of Merchiston, accessed 12/8/2009; Irving 1861: 471-3; *DNB* XL, 62; *Bann. MS.*, I, p. clxxiv; Herford and Simpson 1925: I, 207-8; Adam 1955: 89; Parkinson 2000: I, 98; II, 80; Anderson 1859-63: VIII, 412; Douglas 1798: 572; Snoddy 1968: 12-3, 49.
122. NAS CC 8/8/37, 10 December 1602; Sanderson 1984: 38; Joyce Sanderson 1986: 145-6.
123. Hamilton 1933: 412ff; Lynch 1981: 245, 332-3; Rogers 1872: 79; Omond 1883-1914: I, 80; *Peerage*, I, 677; Brown 1992b: 72; Finnie 1985: 15; Chambers 1875: II, 256; Fraser 1889: 10-24, 34-6; Douglas 1813: I, 677; Lyall 2000: 60. On Sir Thomas Hamilton, see also Hillyard (1994). On both Robert Kers, and on John Hamilton, see their respective entries in *Oxford DNB*. On Fowler's various fights with John Hamilton, see Meikle 1914-40: II, 8-68; III, pp. xii-xiv and 35-46.
124. *Oxford DNB*, entries on Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Melrose and first Earl of Haddington, and on Sir Thomas Henryson, Lord Chesters. Julian Ker's letters: Fraser 1889: *passim.*, the John Thomson letter appearing in vol. II, p. 123: 'For gud nouels, ples your Lordschipe, vit that ye volbe on fre man agane, and releuid of the bands that I beleue ye vor neuer fast bond into. Gilbert Dik vol de, and consequently Jhon Tomsone your master must de also: he thraif neuer sen ye scornit him to cal you his man. I suppon this lait leberte sal expell the dregges of your melancolie, quilk I vol be glaid of rether to haif you maister with merrenes nor said seruant be constraint'. I owe this reference to Sally Mapstone; see also Mapstone 2005b: 416-7.
125. NAS GD158/2697/4: letter dated 27 May 1633 from 'Juliana Kar' to 'my wellbeloued sone M George Home duck be vys and not ouer fond for folou loue and it vol fle an [superscript] fle loue and it vol folou ye yis is [deletion] ane ald prouerb bot ane very treu on [i.e. 'one'] ... Edin^{br}, 7 May 1633 your very louin mother Juliana Kar I sal burn your letter and his both'. The same proverb is used as a robust conclusion to Montgomery's 'A bony No with smyling looks agane': Parkinson 2000: I, p. 80, and see II: 4-5 on the Margaret Ker MS and its possible scribe.

-
126. *Bann. MS.*, I, pp. Cxlviii, cxlix. Hallen 1894: p. I. Craig's *Henrici Illustrissimi Ducis Albaniae Comitissae Rossiae etc. et Mariae Serenissimae Scotorum Reginae Epithalamium* was published by Lekpreuik in 1565 (Aldis 1970: no. 47). On Craig, see Cairns, Fergus and MacQueen (1990); and Smith (1914-15); *DNB* XII, 448-50; Durkan 1962b: 315. As Justice Depute: *RSS* V.1892 (18 Jan. 1565). On Heriot, see Lockhart (2003), notably p. 24
127. *Bann. MS.*, I, pp. xx-xxii.
128. Sempill, 'The defence of crissell sandelandis', *Bann. MS. (fac)*, fols 124^r -125^v, ll. 63, 75, 78, 80).
129. Laing *et al.* 1827-55: I, 31-50.
130. *Oxford DNB* for both Andrew and Robert Barton as well as Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), accessed 2/2/2010; Child 1857-59: VII, 55-71; Reid 1962: 61-2; Reid (1947). Baird 1898: 51-7.
131. Anderson 1957: 111 (no. 1748) and 66 (no. 413) respectively.
132. Joyce Sanderson 1986: 34-8; MacDonald (1996). On John Graham, see Lynch 1981: 289, 331 and *passim*., and Marwick 1875: 152-3. Stewart listed his books at the beginning of his 'Notarial notebook', now NLS MS 19312 (I owe this reference to Mrs Joyce Sanderson).
133. On the theory that the 'ballatis of lufe' form the original nucleus of the Bannatyne MS, see MacDonald (1986).
134. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. lxxxiv; *RMS* IV.395; NAS RD 1/16, fol. 77^l. For more details about these documents, see Chapter 3.
135. *RMS* IV.342, 395, 478; *RSS* III.2969.
136. MacQueen 1970: xxxii; Watt 1969: 337; Marwick 1871: 192, 236, 358; Adam 1899: I, 234; Lees 1889: 81-2, 353-4; Ollivant 1982: 59-62. The 1557 document: NAS CS 7/15, fols 24^r -26^r (I owe this reference to Mr John Ballantyne).
137. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. xxiv.
138. This is with reference to the famous opening sentence ('I begin with the desire to speak with the dead') of Greenblatt's *Shakespearean Negotiations* (Greenblatt 1988: 1) that launched a thousand New Historicisms.
139. Robinson (1980); Riches 1997: 37.
140. On the Chepman and Myllar Prints, see Mapstone (2008). On the increasing use of literature as a tool of social distinction of literature in England, the most appropriate recent scholarship for the present purpose (particularly because it applies to literary miscellanies) is Nebeker (2009).

Chapter 3. Alexander Scott: A Cultural Biography

3.1 Introduction

This section is structured around a series of facts that form a skeletal sequence of life-events of the 'Alexander Scott' most likely to be identified with the poet of that name. If we wish to turn these facts into something approaching a biographical narrative that speaks meaningfully to the literary texts and the cultural processes behind these, the scarcity of direct evidence makes it necessary to contextualise these facts through indirect means. This contextualisation can be done by appraising the people whom Scott did business with or who provided him with several kinds of patronage, or by aligning his life-events to those of men whom he associated with and who had very similar problems and patterns of life, but about whom we know much more. Such a bio-prosopographical method tries to access the individual poet through, as well as within, his cultural context (rather than ours). This approach fits the poetics of his time and place, in which the medium of poetry was still primarily thought of as a form of rhetoric (i.e., ultimately, a discourse on language and, thus, a form of metaphysical speculation) rather than authorial self-expression or even self-fashioning. Even though that medium – in Scott's hands, too – was itself in the process of generating the forces that would break those rhetorical conventions and drive it towards new lyrical forms of expression, its value was in Scott's days still largely judged by its effect on the reader rather than by its cathartic quality. In other words, and in ways that arguably link the sixteenth and (early) seventeenth century more closely to the late twentieth century than to literary cultures in between, rather than prioritising an affective response to the lyrical subject matter, the contemporary reader's 'enjoyment of literature comes from delight in a writer's verbal skills, from the satisfaction that comes from recognizing literary forms, and from

reflection upon the complex ways by which texts might be related one to another'. This means, as stated in Chapter 1, that there was an interest in *how* rather than *what* questions, with the reading as well as writing of literature seen as 'a faculty or skill, a person's acquaintance with learning'.¹

The aggregative accumulation of detail created by this bio-prosopographical approach – similar to, but not quite the same as, Clifford Geertz's famous 'thick description' – is intended to complement the study of the nature and role of Scott's audience and its cultural context provided in Chapter 2, which outlines the significant level of literary and intellectual activity in the circles that Scott's verse, at least as contained in the Bannatyne MS, moved in.² Such detail provides the kind of comprehensive view of contemporary lettered activity that even studies that assess Scottish literature's achievements in this period – such as those mentioned in Chapter 1, at note 1 – in considerable depth have often found themselves unable to reference and thus engage with. Jointly, chapters 2 and 3 try to piece together what kind of sensibilities or (inter)national cultural influences Scott's connections and life events suggest, or what the identity and cultural profile of his audience may tell us of the poetics he was writing within or towards. With these cultural-historical contexts made available by synthetic studies such as the present, future research will be in a better position to study the emergent lyrical voice of Scott and contemporary poets as it evolves new lyrical practices out of the literary and cultural conventions that, paradoxically, these poems are themselves often still written in and informed by.

Collectively, these different approaches (studying text, co-text, and context – this order implies no prioritisation) seek to contribute to an overall critical format through which to distinguish as well as connect writer (the creative agent within the work), author (the historical person behind the writer), and different kinds of readers.³ Considering the small number of previous studies of Scott, such a double or even triple hermeneutics⁴ is necessary to lay foundations on which future, more particular studies of his work and that of his contemporaries

can be built. In order to fulfil one of these requirements and identify Alexander Scott, the author (in the above sense), the present chapter seeks to provide the level of detail that is particularly required within a field of research that is characterised by relatively intermittent publications and in which much detail remains hidden in the form of scholars' personal notes and unpublished material. For these reasons, seemingly less meaningful details have often been included here, for future reference and in the hope that they will attract interdisciplinary exchanges of information, particularly between literary critics and historians, and thus trigger new leads.

Furthermore, presenting such cultural contexts in explicit detail should limit the need to rely on models of cultural reference that are not based on the study of contemporary Scottish literature or culture itself. To defend itself against such dehistoricised readings, any comprehensive study covering sixteenth-century Scottish verse still needs to detail explicitly, rather than postulate or assume a knowledge of, the particulars of the cultural condition of the time, however succinctly. The present chapter therefore occasionally brings people or publications into the discussion that, in their own right, may seem to have little direct bearing on Scott's or Scottish verse itself but confirm, or point to, patterns of its literary production that might otherwise remain invisible.

3.2 First encounters: the 1530s

Previous biographical enquiries regarding Alexander Scott have built up a consensus in which convergences of poetry, time, place, and loyalties single out Alexander Scott, musician, prebendary of the Chapel Royal in Stirling, as the most likely author of the poems attributed to an author of that name in the Bannatyne MS (1565-68). No other candidate has been suggested in modern scholarship. Following Helena Shire's important book, *Song, Dance and Poetry of*

the Court of Scotland under King James VI (1969), which in one of its sections tries to provide a literary-biographical profile of this Chapel Royal prebendary, John MacQueen gathered together all the then known facts regarding this man in his *Ballattis of Luve* (1970), and, as far as possible, pieced together a 'life' for him. MacQueen updated this information in 1983.⁵

To this previous research, a substantial number of references can now be added, including details that connect this musician more fully to his cultural contexts. This increase in knowledge allows us to consider the relationship between Scott's own life-events and the experiences and issues addressed in his poetry in a more nuanced manner, within the frameworks described in the introduction to both the present chapter and thesis. What emerges clearly from this combination of biography and cultural prosopography are patterns, as opposed to isolated events. These patterns in their turn give rise to wider conclusions and speculations about Scott's role as a cultural intermediary in a time that was critical in terms of both socio-political and cultural development. Moreover, the facts below make the identification of the poet as the Chapel Royal prebendary of that name a near-certainty.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that in contemporary records only the label 'musician' is ever applied to this man, never the description 'poet' or 'makar'. That is not an uncommon phenomenon for this period. The biographical documents that we associate even with the two foremost Middle Scots poets, Henryson and Dunbar, never add an epithet such as 'poet' or 'makar' to their respective names. To avoid any subconscious sliding from assumption or theory into fact, I will refer to Alexander Scott, the Chapel Royal prebendary, as 'the musician', rather than 'the poet'.

Hitherto, the earliest known reference to this Alexander Scott, Chapel Royal prebendary, musician and presumed poet, was dated 28 February 1539, when the (or 'a') prebend of Ayr, annexed to the Chapel Royal of Stirling, was gifted to him. In other words, Scott derived his income from (part of) the revenue of the parsonage of Ayr, which was one of the parishes

whose fruits were used to pay men to staff the Chapel Royal in Stirling, Scotland's foremost musical institution. The task of Chapel Royal prebendaries was to provide religious ceremony and music (secular as well as sacred) for the royal court, and substantial church revenues were appropriated to finance these appointments, patronage of which lay with the Crown. Members of the Chapel Royal were effectively considered to be part of the royal household.⁶ Chapel Royal prebendaries were active at court as singers, musicians, or in an administrative function within the Chapel itself. They were not expected to fulfil any pastoral duties in the parish from which they derived their revenue. A resident deputy or 'vicar pensioner' would normally be hired for a small sum to take care of such duties.

Scott's presence as a Chapel Royal prebendary can now be brought back to 11 August 1532, when James Nesbit, canon of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, resigned the prebend of Dalrymple, also known as Ayr *quinto*, in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, obtained through the patronage of the King of Scots by collation outside the Roman Court, in favour of Alexander Scott, clerk of the diocese of St Andrews, reserving a pension of £22 to Andrew Buchan, canon of the Chapel Royal and the original and ultimate possessor of the prebend ('possessori_ ... antus et propriisimus').⁷ Such a transaction in these terms often implies personal acquaintance between the people involved, or even a form of subsidiary patronage. Thus, when Andrew Buchan died some fifty years later, his prebend of Dalmellington in the Chapel Royal was passed on to Mr John Buchan, Master of the Haddington song school, who, if not Andrew's son, was no doubt a close relative.⁸ Both the crown and the church allowed benefice holders considerable freedom to set their revenues in tack,⁹ and Andrew Buchan may indeed have acted in some benefactory or overseeing capacity in connection to Scott in 1532. That there were personal or professional affinities between Scott and the Buchans also appears from other Chapel Royal appointments: the prebend of Dalmellington had been presented to Andrew Buchan's father, Alexander, in 1543; it was to be presented to Alexander Scott himself in 1559

(for more on the Buchans, see below).

This new reference to Scott requires, first of all, another look at the conjectural date of Scott's birth, which critics in the past have sometimes dated 'c.1525'.¹⁰ Considering Scott's unknown and therefore presumably relatively modest background, it seems possible or even likely – and in keeping with similar contemporary Chapel Royal appointments at this level – that he was given this prebend on account of his musical promise rather than any social connections. This 1532 document therefore implies that he had already by that time evidenced sufficient promise of a musical career to hold a Chapel Royal prebend. Moreover, if Scott had been thirteen years or younger, one or more tutors would normally have been named to oversee the minor's legal and financial transactions. None is named here, which suggests Scott was in 1532 already at least some twelve or thirteen years of age, and possibly a little older.¹¹ The fact that Scott is described in this document as a clerk ('clerico') of St Andrews diocese reinforces the latter assumption. Considering the fact that he died in 1582 or 1583 and is labelled 'old Scott' in a poem of c.1583 (see below), sixteenth-century dates of birth for Scott prior to c.1520, or even very late fifteenth-century ones, are all possible. But the most plausible scenario is that the 1532 benefice marks a young singer's or musician's entry into financial independence at the legally appropriate age, which makes 'c.1515-20' the most plausible time-bracket for his birth date.

The granting of the above-mentioned gifts of Chapel Royal prebends in 1532 and 1539 respectively suggests that, already in the 1530s, Scott was an established presence – however minor – in James V's Chapel Royal and, thus, at the Scottish court. That Scott may have tried to accumulate several prebends, as so many of his contemporaries did, is confirmed by other new evidence. From previously known references we know that Scott was styled 'parson of Balmaclellan' – another parsonage annexed to the Chapel Royal – in 1548 (see below). To this can now be added two related references from an earlier period. On 5 April 1541, Alexander Scott, canon of Dunblane and prebendary of Balmaclellan in the Chapel Royal of Stirling,

supplicated Rome to be allowed to hold other benefices as well. Five days later permission to do so is granted, stipulating that Scott should be able 'to sing as one of the choir and read out from the books'.¹²

This identification of Alexander Scott of the Chapel Royal as a canon of Dunblane means that one might assume the following two references to deal with this musician as well: on 13 October 1539 the king provided his beloved orator Alexander Scott, of Dunblane diocese or any other, with the chaplaincy of the chapel of the Virgin Mary in Peebles. This provision is confirmed after a renewed supplication at the Curia on 5 September 1540.¹³ However, in other sources, which are clearly dealing with the same appointment – one which apparently required several attempts before it was effected – this Peebles chaplain is styled '*sir* Alexander Scott'. The latter had been nominated for the chaplaincy already on 5 April 1538, and had resigned it by 12 September 1541, yet he is still styled 'chaplain of our lady chapel in Peebles' on 31 July 1543.¹⁴ Since the musician and Chapel Royal prebendary is never styled 'sir' or 'Dominus' (the usual terms of address 'prefixed to the name of an ordinary priest in the pre-Reformation church'), this is probably another Alexander Scott – the most likely candidate being *sir* Alexander Scott, Provost of Corstorphine, a high-ranking official in the Treasury in the earlier years of James V's reign, who can be found drawing up exchequer records with, amongst others, John Bannatyne, grandfather of George; this latter Alexander Scott died in 1544.¹⁵

Nevertheless, even if we indeed discount the Peebles appointment, the profile that begins to emerge of the Chapel Royal musician is clearly that of a minor royal favourite (as noted above, Chapel Royal prebendaries were nominated by the crown, not by Rome) who, already in James V's reign, had made some progress in a pluralist career that straddled church and court, a well known pattern of social self-advancement in sixteenth-century pre-Reformation Scotland. As a man beginning to accumulate benefices, Scott illustrates the laicisation of culture and society that characterises this period as well as his own later life.¹⁶

Such a blending of sacred and profane may have expressed itself in other ways, too. On 26 June 1540 one 'Alexandre Scot, joueur de fifre' (fife player) living in the rue du Temple in Paris, is hired, together with Jehan de Laulnay, a player of the Swiss drum, by Claude Chorel, clerk of the Palace of Justice in Paris, and captain of the band of the Knights of the Round Table of the King of the Basoche, the association of clerks of the courts of justice in Paris.¹⁷ The two musicians are paid 21 *s[ous]* *t[ournois]* and provided with a colourful outfit in yellow and green and a plumed hat. As MacQueen (1970: xxxvi-xxxvii) suggests, they were probably hired to perform at the association's annual *montre* or parade in July, where indeed special uniforms were worn by the association's members.

MacQueen speculates that Scott was granted the Chapel Royal prebend in 1539 to finance his going to Paris as a student (possibly of music); this would suggest that Scott was making some extra money in Paris on the side. The discovery of Scott's 1532 Chapel Royal prebend may partly challenge such a direct causal link, since it implies that in 1540 Scott was not only more advanced in age but also in the Chapel Royal hierarchy – and thus less likely to adventure abroad as a student – than was previously thought. However, in view of the intense cultural contacts between France and Scotland after James V's two ambitious French marriages in rapid succession (1537 and 1538), it is quite plausible that a Scottish Chapel Royal musician should find himself in Paris in the years immediately following. The use of a collegiate church prebend for musical study abroad indeed has precedents and parallels, as in the well known cases of John Fethy (either the poet of that name or his father) and James Lauder.¹⁸ Moreover, as outlined by Shire, the influences of French music in Scott's work are indisputably significant, and the satirical nature and quasi-legalistic diction of many of Scott's lyrics correspond to the productions associated with the Basoche. Anna Jean Mill has suggested that Lindsay, too, attended festivities of the Basoche or similar fraternities while travelling on the Continent.¹⁹ The clerks of the Basoche formed 'a *société joyeuse* or Abbey of Misrule, whose members were law

clerks attached to the *parlement* of Paris'. Apart from providing its members with opportunities to practice legal training, this society put on plays and provided a forum for satirical and burlesque writing. Professional musicians were often hired for such occasions. Its youthful version, the *Enfants-sans-souci*, had evolved into 'a semi-professional players' group', and included amongst its members – known as *sots* – the poet, Clément Marot, whose influence on sixteenth-century Scottish verse is well documented.²⁰ The costume that they wore, a doublet and hose, half green, half yellow, matches that of Alexander Scott, 'joueur du fifre', though he does not wear the fool's cap that the *sots* wore.

Originating as youth groups, these *sociétés* had developed all over France into professional or neighbourhood organisations which included both young and old men drawn from the ranks of craftsmen and middling merchants. Their members were often educated, although they did not come from the city's most prominent families; their satire tended not to attack magistrates or the legal profession, but clergy or courtiers instead. Such groups provided those of relatively modest means with an intelligence 'trained in the art of literary expression'.²¹ The jurisdictional and festive duties of these *sociétés* thus 'served to dramatise the differences between the stages in life and to clarify the responsibilities which youth would assume on entering marriage and fatherhood'.²² This milieu squares with the kind of audience that the Bannatyne MS seems to have had, as described in Chapter 2: educated citizens, often with a legal background, who were in touch with, but not necessarily part of, more exclusively aristocratic circles at court. Indeed, a poem such as Scott's 'May is the moneth maist amene' (see below), which actually refers to the institution of the Abbots of Misrule (l. 21), matches the description of the festivities organised by the Basoche: both satirical and didactic, Scott's poem presents sexuality as a biological drive as well as a social challenge in order to provide its audience with a notion of sexuality as both pleasure and responsibility, not unlike the 'responsibilities' that Basoche events conveyed.

3.3 Advancement at court: the 1540s

The evidence regarding both Scott's pluralism and his earlier appearance on the cultural scene than hitherto known helps anticipate data from his biography that might otherwise look slightly unexpected. In particular, it explains how Scott, having disappeared from sight after 1539, re-emerges in 1548 in a position of great trust in the closest royal circles, one that again seems to have taken him, albeit but briefly, to France, as a member of the household of the Erskines.

As has been known for some time, on 12 July 1548 John Erskine, Commendator of the priory of Inchmahome, and the chapter of that priory, granted 'our lovit servitour, Alexander Scott, musitiene and organist' a canon's portion for life 'for the decoir of our queir [choir] in musik and playing and for othir resonabill causes and consideratiouns moving us'.²³ There is an explicit connection between Scott and the Erskine family via one of Scott's poems, namely 'Depairte, depairte, depairte'. The latter became one of Scott's best-known lyrics, with manuscript versions being copied and circulated well into the seventeenth century, and its music printed in the *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* (1662), attributed to Thomas Davidson, but often referred to as 'Forbes' Songs and Fancies', after its printer.²⁴ In the Bannatyne MS this poem has a colophon: 'quod Scott off the *maister* of Erskyn' (fol. 246r). Apart from factual details provided by legal documents, this is one of the rare surviving comments on Scott recorded while he was still alive. Within the contents of the relatively few colophons that Bannatyne provides in his manuscript, the personal nature of this specimen is notable, and suggests that George Bannatyne had detailed knowledge regarding the contexts of the poet's work. If we put the connections between the Erskines and Alexander Scott, the musician, as established by the Inchmahome appointment, next to the association of the Erskines with Alexander Scott, the poet, in Bannatyne's colophon, the identification of the musician with the poet seems beyond reasonable doubt. In terms of written evidence, they could hardly be brought closer together.

The Erskines had become one of the families on which the Stewarts could rely most, evidence whereof we shall see again and again. They not only acted as officially appointed guardians of royal minors, but even gave birth to them: Lord James Stewart, Mary Queen of Scots' elder half-brother, leading Protestant, and future Regent of Scotland, was a bastard son of James V by Margaret Erskine, who was the sister of the above-mentioned Commendator of Inchmahome. She was the king's favourite mistress, and he seriously considered marrying her, but the Pope advised James that the lady's divorce from her previous husband was not valid. James was thus left with the prospect of marrying Mary Tudor, Mary of Bourbon or Christiana of Denmark, before he settled on Madeleine, daughter of the King of France.²⁵ The quality of Margaret Erskine's competitors indicates the prominence of the Erskines in the royal mind. At a later date, the Erskines were also greatly favoured by James VI. Many of them had been this later king's school companions in Stirling Castle, which was the private retreat of the Stewart sovereigns (with Edinburgh predominantly its public, administrative counterpart).²⁶

The Erskine connection does not only indicate the *quality* of Scott's contacts, but also their nature. It is striking how the very men from whom Scott derived an income are often used by modern historians to illustrate one particular trend, namely the incursion of the secular hierarchy on positions within, and possessions of, the church (the Erskines in the 1540s, the Murrays in the 1560s to 1580s) or vice versa (Alexander Gordon in the 1550s and 1560s). Such socio-economic resourcefulness and the personal networks that come with it were to be a constant in Scott's life, as we shall see.²⁷

John Erskine (c.1510-1572), the man named in the above grant as Scott's superior, was destined for a career in the church but found himself unexpectedly drawn into more worldly affairs when he became 'Maister of Erskine' after the death in quick succession of his two elder brothers, who pre-deceased their father, the fifth Lord Erskine. 'Maister' is here not an academic title but the designation applied to a male who was heir apparent to the title or estate named.

After succeeding his father as sixth Lord Erskine in 1555, John continued a policy of strict political neutrality as Captain of the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, defending the 'common weil' and the stability of the kingdom rather than representing the interests of any particular political faction. It was into his care that the Catholic Regent, Mary of Guise, James V's widow, committed herself in 1560 when, in the middle of the verbal and military battles of the Reformation, she felt her end was near.

The fifth Lord Erskine had already been one of the joint guardians of the young James V in the 1520s. In the temporary power vacuum after James V's death in 1542, his widow, Mary of Guise and her only surviving child by James V, the infant Mary Queen of Scots, stayed at the virtually defenceless palace of Linlithgow, where they were extremely vulnerable to the aggressive attentions of the English or indeed of any political force that might wish to rule Scotland. In that uneasy situation, four Scottish nobles were entrusted with the care of the infant Mary, among whom Lords Erskine and Livingston were the most closely involved with the royal family.²⁸ In the autumn of 1543, Mary of Guise managed to leave her vulnerable position in Linlithgow for the formidable castle of Stirling, where she and the infant Mary were in the care of Lord Erskine. The latter, quasi-hereditary keeper of the castle, became uniquely important to Mary of Guise, and he proved to be utterly dependable in guarding her daughter a few years later.

This relation of trust between the royal family and the Erskines is of crucial significance for Scott. The Erskines had become more or less hereditary guardians of Scottish royal offspring in the sixteenth century, and there are several documents in which 'the freindis of the hous of Erskin', 'the freindis and servandis of the Erll of Mar', or 'the freindis, servandis, and dependaris on the said Erll of Mar' (Lord Erskine was made Earl of Mar in 1565) are made answerable for the security of royal minors, or are thanked by the Crown for having done so faithfully.²⁹ The Erskines and their 'freindis' were, in effect, part of the royal family, and Scott's

appointment as an Inchmahome canon in 1548 confirms his connection with this important and close-knit courtly network. Inchmahome was a small Augustinian priory on a little island in the Lake of Menteith in the heart of Scotland, where the Lowlands give way to the Highlands.³⁰ In the turmoil that followed the heavy defeat of the Scots by the English at the battle of Pinkie (4 September 1547), the Scots were acutely aware that the prize that the English sought to take back with them from their Scottish campaign was the young Queen, in order that she be married to Edward, heir to the English throne. In this manner the English could conquer Scotland at little cost, through dynastic rather than physical aggression. The Scots therefore moved Mary to the remote safety of Inchmahome; here she stayed for three weeks in the care of the Erskines, and was visited by Mary of Guise.³¹

Knox claims that Mary of Guise had been particularly fond of Robert, Maister of Erskine, as the eldest son of the fifth Lord Erskine and – prior to his brother, John – Commendator of Inchmahome: ‘In that same battell [of Pinkie, 1547] was slane the Maister of Erskin, deirly beloved of the Quein, for whome she maid great lamentatioun, and bayre [bore] his death many dayis in mind’.³² This statement has led critics to label Robert Erskine ‘the lover of the Queen-dowager’, accepting Knox’s innuendo – if such it indeed was – as factual truth. Read in conjunction with Bannatyne’s colophon, this piece of gossip has been used to link ‘Depairte, depairte, depairte’ and its *topos* of parting lovers to a specific event, namely the death of this Robert, Maister of Erskine, at the battle of Pinkie. MacQueen without further comment simply states that ‘Depairte, depairte’ was written ‘in memory of Lord Erskine’s eldest son, Robert, the lover of the Queen-dowager, Mary of Guise’.³³ The colophon indeed links Scott’s poem to circles and places in which its author, as we have seen, himself occurs, a year after the event that the poem is here by MacQueen said to refer to; Bannatyne’s colophon would thus seem to carry some authority.

However, the proposed connection between the lyric and the particular historical

moment of Erskine's death at Pinkie follows a rather intrepid line of argument. The music and text indeed fit a small-scale domestic occasion, but they dramatise figures of leave-taking and chivalric wooing rather than, more specifically, those related to elegies. It is possible to construct a reading of the poem that finds the persona speaking from the other side of the grave, which is what would be the case if the poem was written on account of Robert Erskine's demise at Pinkie. But this assumes a rather heavy-handed use of dramatic irony throughout the poem (e.g. in lines such as 'what chance may fall me', l. 13, or 'I wait [know] the pains of deid can do no more', ll. 7-8) and a somewhat macabre play on images such as 'My thirlit hairt does bleed' (l. 26) – lines that are perhaps less likely to have been given to a lyrical persona representing somebody whose violent death in battle is being commemorated in these same lines. The poem may well deal with Robert Erskine, or even with Mary of Guise's appreciation of him, and Bannatyne's colophon indubitably refers to 'a' Master of Erskine, but any direct and causal link with the specific event of the battle of Pinkie seems unnecessary and unwarranted.

Moreover, there were in this period no less than four 'Maisters of Erskine' in very quick succession.³⁴ On Robert's death at Pinkie, the title of 'Maister of Erskine' was automatically transferred to Thomas Erskine, the second son, on whose death (shortly after 7 October 1551) it passed to the next son, John Erskine, the man under whom Scott was appointed in July 1548. Finally, when the fifth Lord Erskine passed away in 1555, John became the sixth Lord Erskine and therefore the title of 'Maister of Erskine' automatically passed to the next collateral male heir apparent to the lordship, John's younger brother Alexander. The colophon to 'Depairt, depairt' in the Bannatyne MS could therefore refer to any of these four brothers, sons of the fifth Lord Erskine. John Erskine himself would fit the picture quite well, but archival evidence shows that Thomas, the second of the Erskine brothers, was a particularly trusted servant of Mary of Guise immediately after Pinkie, setting out on many a journey on her behalf; Scott's poem (or, to be precise, Bannatyne's colophon) could just as easily be applied to him.³⁵

Nevertheless, although all this evidence means that we have to abandon a more particular but also more fanciful connection between Scott's poem and Robert Erskine's death at Pinkie in 1547, the link between the writer of 'Depairt, depairt' and the Inchmahome 'musitiane and organist' appears firmly established. Moreover, Scott's appointment at Inchmahome places Scott in the most intimate of royal circles; even prominent Scots did not know where the young Queen had been taken in the aftermath of Pinkie.³⁶ Finally, it is worth noting that Scott's proximity to the throne through these Erskine connections, and in particular a possible tutelary position that Scott may have occupied in relation to the young queen in this period (see below), are likely to have been significant contributors to his writing of a New Year gift poem in 1562 to Mary, newly returned from France and in need of allies. This poem takes up a central position in the Bannatyne MS, and is the only contemporary text with a date attached to it in the colophon, so the manuscript context singles it out as a poem that is considered particularly noteworthy by the scribe. Crucially, the reconciliatory if firm tone of advice of this poem, which I have discussed elsewhere, mirrors the kind of neutral but resolute position taken up by the Erskines in many contemporary political conflicts.³⁷ The Erskine background to Scott's life thus clearly has direct, demonstrable relevance to the literary interpretation of his verse.

The document of 12 July 1548 stresses that the appointment of Scott as musician and organist at Inchmahome is valid 'alsweill in his absence as presens', and is made not just for services at Inchmahome but also 'for othir resonabill causes and consideratiouns moving us'. That was probably in anticipation of a licence recorded merely eleven days later, on 23 July 1548, when Mary of Guise, with the consent of the Regent Arran, granted to

oure lovit familiar clerk, Maister Johne Erskin, prior of Inchemaholmo, and with him in service Alexander Scot, persoun [parson] of Balmaclellane, to pas to the partis of France and ony uthiris beyond sey in oure service.³⁸

First of all, this licence confirms that Alexander Scott, appointed canon of Inchmahome eleven days earlier, was indeed also prebendary of the Chapel Royal, namely the prebendary of Balmaclellan. Secondly, the phrase ‘with him in service’ suggests that Scott is in Erskine’s pay and will be travelling as part of the latter’s household, which in its turn is ‘in oure [i.e. Mary of Guise’s, and thus royal] service’. Moreover, the licence is granted ‘for the space of thre yeris’ and protects both Erskine’s and Scott’s ‘personis, benefices, landis [and] gudis’ against any harm or future legislation, while power is given to Erskine’s procurators ‘to have or send furth of oure realme furnissing and finance to him als mekle [much] and sa oft as thai sall think expedient to the partis aforesaid’. This phrasing suggests that more than a relatively short diplomatic mission is envisaged: such privileges of foreign travel were jealously guarded by the crown.

There is little doubt that this licence to travel to France was granted in anticipation of the infant Queen’s imminent departure for France, where she was to go for the sake of her upbringing as well as for her safety – and also in order to marry the French dauphin, as agreed by a Scottish-French treaty, hastily concluded on 7 July 1548 during the siege of Haddington. It is highly unlikely that the Erskines would appoint anyone but a tried and tested servant to accompany their royal ward on her dangerous crossing to France, and the rapidity with which Scott’s position is arranged in this sequence of complex and unsettling events suggests that he was already known to the Erskines – possibly in a similar capacity for which he was now being hired – well before the events of July 1548.

Scott’s status, as it emerges from these documents, also explains why he does not feature in state records in this period. Royal guardians would be expected to pay their own personnel to take care of the infant sovereign, and Scott would therefore have appeared on (no longer extant) Erskine pay-rolls as one of the ‘freindis, servandis, and dependaris on the said Erll of Mar’

rather than on national ones. As outlined above, the Erskines had an entourage of their own that was specifically geared towards looking after the king.

Scott's absence from the national accounts in fact suggests that he was indeed in the service of the Erskines in their capacity as guardians of Mary during all or part of the period from 1543 to 1548. The canon's portion of Inchmahome was most probably a means of providing Scott with a guarantee of extra funds necessary to prepare for the journey to France as well as to reward and secure his loyalty. Such a reading of Scott's appointment is strengthened by the fact that, in a parallel move, John Erskine, Commendator of Inchmahome, had on 20 July 1548 been presented by the Queen with the position of Chancellor of Glasgow, resigned by Mr Thomas Erskine, John's brother, pending confirmation by the Church.³⁹

After some delay caused by the weather, Mary sailed for France from Dumbarton on 7 August 1548, hoping to avoid capture by the English.⁴⁰ She was accompanied on this dangerous trip by her two guardians, Lords Erskine and Livingston. To judge from the documents quoted above, it is likely that Alexander Scott travelled with her as part of the Erskine household, as one of those entrusted with Mary's well-being. Direct evidence of this is lacking, though studies of Mary's reign simply assume it, or even refer to it as a certainty.⁴¹ There is no documentary evidence of Scott's arrival in France either, but this may again be because his salary was provided by the Erskines rather than coming directly out of the royal coffers. Some 200 people travelled with Mary, and most of these remain likewise nameless. Moreover, the French were eager to dispense with Mary's Scottish staff as soon as possible, and Henri II, almost immediately upon hearing of the young Queen's safe arrival on French soil, put his own personnel in charge of her. He had indicated in advance that he 'would superintend [Mary's education] with the utmost care and attention'.⁴² He immediately ordered the tutor of the French royal household, Jean d'Humières, sieur de Mouchy, to take charge of Mary. Scott may have returned to Scotland on the same ships that had taken Mary to France, when these were sent

back to Scotland in October 1548.⁴³

That Alexander Scott, prebendary of the Chapel Royal in Stirling, was indeed back in Scotland by 21 November 1549 is suggested by the legitimation on that date of his two bastard sons, John and Alexander, brothers germane (i.e. from the same parents).⁴⁴ MacQueen suggests that this legitimation was *post subsequens matrimonium*, the parents now having married, and that, *ergo*, Scott had broken with the church by this time. There is, however, no need for either assumption. First of all, Scott is in this document of legitimation still styled 'prebendary of the Chapel Royal of Stirling', which would not have happened if he had indeed broken with the (Catholic) church. Moreover, if the parents had indeed married, one would expect the name of the mother to be mentioned. By contrast, when the legitimation involves children of unmarried clergy, the mother – as in this case – is not usually mentioned, unless she has property to dispose of in her own right, which the children can then legitimately inherit from her directly.⁴⁵

The date of the legitimation strongly reinforces the notion that Scott at this stage is still to be seen as operating within the church hierarchy. The year 1549 marks the first of a number of Provincial Councils of the Scottish church during the absence of the young Queen, by means of which the church tried to introduce reforms within its own ranks and curb the many abuses that had gradually but comprehensively lessened the credibility of the Catholic church in Scotland as a moral, and thus political, authority. These Provincial Councils looked towards the Council of Trent (1545-63) for guidance. Scotland had no direct representative at the Council, but obtained news of its interim statements through Robert Wauchope, a native Scot who was Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He was one of the most ardent advocates of internal debate and reform, and had argued strongly for the Council of Trent to take place. An authenticated copy of the printed decisions of the earliest Trent sessions was passed on to Wauchope when he was about to set out for his native country in the Spring of 1549. The decrees of the Scottish Provincial Council of November 1549 are explicitly based on these decisions made in Trent, and

Wauchope's personal presence in Scotland at this stage is thought to have influenced the movement for internal reform.⁴⁶

Curbing the privileges of the illegitimate offspring of clerics and dealing with the many churchmen who openly had concubines were among the main areas of attention of the 1549 Provincial Council. Probably in anticipation of such council reforms, other beneficed poets with links to the Chapel Royal likewise felt the need to legitimate their offspring in this same period – men such as George Clapperton, godfather to George Bannatyne's sister and a close Bannatyne family friend, and present at the 1549 Provincial Council.⁴⁷ Mr Arthur Telfer, uncle of George Bannatyne's mother and himself a Bannatyne godfather in 1555, was another person present at that Provincial Council. He was a pluralist, who had no less than four bastard sons legitimated on 20 June 1550.⁴⁸ Clapperton, the Telfers and even the Bannatynes were busily exchanging prebends in the 1540s, notably in Trinity College (Edinburgh), and a minor pluralist with literary aspirations such as Scott would have been following the trend. Scott's own legitimation of his children occurs just six days before the 1549 Provincial Council drafted a large number of statutes against, among other things, the 'incontinence' of churchmen (that is in fact the council's first statute), who often also kept their concubines and their bastard children by their side. The statutes of the 1549 Church Council promise tough action aimed at those who do not renounce their concubines or who hold incompatible benefices, and Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie notes that it was decided by the council that if a person holding a benefice was found involved in 'harlotrie' or 'adullterie' he should be heavily fined at the first offence and lose his benefice if he was caught again.⁴⁹

It is possible that the legitimation was arranged by Scott via a procurator rather than in person, and that the date of the legitimation refers to the day on which it was registered in the state papers rather than to the day on which it was granted. However, it seems most likely that it was arranged in informed and prudent anticipation of decisions taken by the Provincial Council

of the church (Scott's 'employer') that same month. This suggests, first, that Scott was in Scotland at this point and was thus aware of these impending events, rather than still residing on the Continent. Second, there is no need to assume that the legitimation was precipitated by a marriage. Rather, Scott seems to have followed in the footsteps of many secular Scottish clerics before him who found pluralism and illegitimate children quite compatible with a career in the church. Men in minor orders did not take a vow of chastity, but they did normally lose their benefices if they married. Perhaps not surprisingly, many tried to resolve this dilemma by remaining unmarried and legitimating their children.⁵⁰ Robert Wedderburn, a trusted servant of Mary of Guise with reforming sympathies and also the reputed author of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549/50), could not legally marry the mother of his sons – so he had them legitimated (13 January 1552), before he then transferred property to his 'parents-in-law' to provide for his 'wife' and their offspring (10 March 1552).⁵¹ However, it does remain a possibility that Scott's legitimation of his sons may have been not merely a retrospective, defensive manoeuvre but also one taken in anticipation of a more reformed (but still Catholic) church.

There are indications, though, that Scott did get married at some stage. In the colophon to 'To luvv vnluvit it is ane pane', one of Scott's poems about disillusioned love, George Bannatyne has written: 'quod Scott quhen his wyfe left him' (fol. 256v). Since, as we have seen, the other colophon by Bannatyne that makes reference to the details of Scott's life ('quod Scott off the *maister* of Erskyn') fits very well with presently available documentary evidence regarding Scott's life, so, by extension, the reference to Scott's 'wyfe' is also likely to be based on fact. Bannatyne's personal acquaintance with Scott (even though not actually documented before 1573; see Chapter 2 and below) suggests that he had access to knowledge about the private circumstances of Scott's life. However, while the colophon to 'To luvv vnluvit it is ane pane' may be invoked as evidence that Scott married before Bannatyne wrote that colophon (1568), and even that Scott's wife had left Scott before that date, we should remain aware of the

fact that the link between the poem and any particular historical moment may reflect a reader's (including Bannatyne's), rather than the author's, conflation of text and history. We return to the issue of Scott's 'marriage' below.

3.4 In the queen's absence: the 1550s

The 1550s were, for both Scott and Scotland, a pivotal period. In order to adapt to new socio-political realities, we find the musician exploring urban and courtly connections based on his Chapel Royal and court connections in this decade; other musicians did so, too, as we will see. It was another Chapel Royal musician, John Fethy, who had 'brought the new skill of five-fingered organ-playing to Scotland'. He had been linked to the court already in 1542, when his 'childer' – probably the Chapel Royal choristers – played the viols at court. Fethy is indeed recorded as precentor or chanter in the Chapel Royal in 1545 but he was also, at different times, Master of the song schools of Aberdeen and Edinburgh.⁵² Fethy was also still attached to St Giles' when in January 1556 one Alexander Scott was paid by Edinburgh town council for singing in the choir of St Giles' on holy and feast days, and for playing the organ when required, the organ having been tuned the previous year by Fethy.⁵³ On 20 January 1558 Alexander Scott is again paid £10 'for his seruice in the queir'.⁵⁴ The required skills stipulated for these appointments are sufficiently specialised to warrant identification of this man with the musician and organist of the same name who was contracted by the Erskines in 1548: the amount of money involved indicates that Scott could demand a not inconsiderable financial reward for his singing and playing on the organ on specific days. In comparison, the Master of the song school, with all the attendant duties, received a yearly stipend of less than £13, although it is true that he also had the rent of his house paid.⁵⁵

This may well be the same Alexander Scott who paid for the supply of silver and golden candlesticks to the Dean of Guild in Edinburgh in the years 1555 and 1556 respectively, but proof hereof is difficult in the absence of further information.⁵⁶ The Master of the song school had to furnish wax to the high altar and oil for the lamp, so the supply of money for candlesticks may indeed have been part of a chorister's duties; this reference may therefore be thought to apply to the musician. However, it should be noted that the Deacon of the guild of hammermen in Edinburgh in the 1550s is also one Alexander Scott, which introduces some uncertainty.⁵⁷ As it happens, the musician was probably not a regular chorister; the specific nature of the payment ('for the year allanerlie') suggests a more limited, short-term arrangement.

In addition to his work at St Giles', Scott may have functioned in a private domestic capacity in the capital. In the decades leading up to the Reformation in Scotland, well-to-do burgesses appointed private chaplains to teach their off-spring, and they valued 'musical standards in worship' and the ability 'to sing a music which was becoming increasingly sophisticated' in particular.⁵⁸ Scott's experience and skills would have made him a most sought-after candidate for such a position.

At St Giles', Scott would be reunited with other Chapel Royal staff from one period or another. For example, in a summons raised on 25 May 1557 on behalf of sir John Fethy, chanter, regarding spoliation of his lands, we find among the witnesses Alexander Scott and sir George Gray, Scott's successor as prebendary of Balmaclellan in the Chapel Royal, with a small host of other Chapel Royal prebendaries.⁵⁹ Such a clerical courtly-urban milieu fits that of Fethy, George Clapperton and Alexander Kyd (on whom, see below): all were clerical poets who had started their career under James V in the Chapel Royal prior to 1542, all had legitimated their children, and all were now in urban employment. It is worth noting, though, that all those identified in this document as Chapel Royal personnel are identified, as was the custom, as 'sir' – but Scott is here neither identified as belonging to the Chapel Royal nor as 'sir'. This

document may thus confirm that he was no longer in possession of a Chapel Royal income, yet still part of the Chapel's coterie of prebendaries. Such a position, of having a foot in each camp, is quite characteristic of the poet-musician throughout his life.

Scott's connections to Fethy and to St Giles' make the following references particularly interesting: on 30 July 1537 Alexander Scott, chaplain at the altar of the blessed Mary Magdalene in the collegiate church of St Giles', Edinburgh, resigned this chaplaincy to George Richardson, with reservation of all revenues and emoluments of this chaplaincy to Scott, as well as the right of regress in the case that Richardson was unable to obtain the chaplaincy.⁶⁰ The resignation of the St Giles' chaplaincy by Alexander Scott, chaplain at the altar of the blessed Mary Magdalene in the collegiate church of St Giles', is confirmed by the Curia on 8 October 1537.⁶¹ There can be no absolute guarantee that this Alexander Scott is the musician, but the latter's connection to St Giles' in the second half of the 1550s lends support to such a theory. It fits the emerging profile of a pluralist who knows how to deal in church livings, however small.

The founder and patron of this Edinburgh chaplaincy was one Alexander Knollis, burgess of Aberdeen, and the transaction is based on a public instrument of procuration drawn up in Aberdeen on 24 July 1537. Musical connections between Aberdeen and Edinburgh were close. Before he became the Master of the song school in Edinburgh, John Fethy was Master of the song school in Aberdeen in the 1540s, where he would have met Mr Alexander Kyd, subchanter of Aberdeen from at least 1533/34 until his death in 1563. Kyd held the Chapel Royal prebend of Ayr *sexto* already in 1532, when he exchanged it for another Chapel Royal prebend with John Lambert, the very man whose Chapel Royal prebend Alexander Scott received in 1539. Kyd was also active in the Stirling parish church in that year, and he was mentioned in Lindsay's *Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo* (1530) as 'in cunnyng and prattick rycht prudent' (l. 43).⁶²

Kyd's verse survives solely in the Bannatyne MS, where his 'The rich fontane of hailfull

sapience' immediately follows Scott's 'New Yeir Gift', on fols 92r-93r. Its inclusion in the Bannatyne MS instances the connections between Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Kyd's poem also serves to illustrate how the cultural and political engagement of other poets connected to the Chapel Royal or burgh churches not only mirrors that of Scott but at the same time indicates which were the political and cultural discourses with which Scott himself was surrounded. Kyd's poem, like Scott's 'New Yeir Gift', clearly echoes David Lindsay's concern with social *mores*, expressed through an emphasis on the four cardinal virtues and education, underpinned by general references to King Solomon, Homer and Plato. As such, it is a model representation of the kind of humanisms (Erasmian, Christian, vernacular) that manifest themselves in the Bannatyne MS and that form an important context for Scott's poetry.⁶³ The appearance of Kyd's poem in the Bannatyne MS may instance connections between the north-east of Scotland and Edinburgh, which would make the possible role of Scott as orchestrator of May celebrations (which his poem on 'May is the moneth maist amene' shows he was indeed interested in and thoroughly acquainted with) in Aberdeen, as discussed below, not implausible.

Other details pertaining to Kyd also suggest something of the intellectual milieu in which Chapel Royal staff moved. As a bookowner, Kyd has been connected to Aberdeen humanist circles, and the inscriptions in his books bear this out.⁶⁴ Kyd gifted one of these books to William Gordon, bishop of Aberdeen. The bishop's patronage brought Kyd in the early 1540s into conflict with a rival seeker for patronage, Adam Mure. The latter, another book-owner, was a student at Aberdeen, where he was taught by the grammarian John Vaus before going on to Paris (1527-31). On his return he became schoolmaster in Edinburgh and member of the Edinburgh town council. He was a published Latin poet who was tutor to the sons of John Beaton of Balfour (1539) and then of Cardinal Beaton's own sons (1540), for whom he acted as book-buyer on his trips abroad. He had by this stage already become sub-dean of Trinity College, where he would have served under Provost George Clapperton (1540-66), already

mentioned in connection with Scott. Mure died in 1545.⁶⁵

The notion that these circles constitute the background from which Scott's verse emerged is reinforced not only by the poet's political and aesthetic sympathies but also by his dealings (detailed below) a generation later with John Beaton of Balfour, son or grandson of the John Beaton of Balfour mentioned in the paragraph above. For Scott, patronage was not only urban; in more directly court-connected circles the Beatons, together with the Erskines, Alexander Gordon, and the Earl of Cassillis (see below), formed another network of families and officials that potentially provided Scott with both patronage and a receptive audience. The fact that Chapel Royal poets gained the attention of such circles sheds light on the influences bearing upon Scott and his verse and on the possible contexts for its presentation, in areas where crown, town and gown met. His amatory poetry, as well as its subversive undertones, will have provided the backdrop for the sexual politics of courtly wooing, including that of the sovereign. Leaving Mary Queen of Scots and her court until later in this respect, it is worth noting how James V's mistresses overlap with the circles with which Scott can be connected. As noted above, Margaret Erskine, the sister of John Erskine, prior of Inchmahome, was James V's favourite mistress, and Mary of Guise may have been partial to a 'maister of Erskine'. James V also had Jean, Countess of Argyll, by Elizabeth Beaton, daughter of David Beaton of Creich (the other main branch of the Beaton family), while James V's illegitimate son Robert married Jean, eldest daughter of the Earl of Cassillis who in the 1550s also crosses the musician's path, as we shall see.⁶⁶

As an alternative or complement to patronage from town, nobility and crown, Scott may have continued to find sources of income in the circles of Augustinian canon regulars, to which his canon's portion of the priory of Inchmahome connected him. Successive Scottish monarchs had been able to direct revenues of prebends connected to Augustinian houses such as Inchmahome towards financing the Chapel Royal and, thus, towards the production of music,

verse and performance.⁶⁷ Before James V granted the commendatorship of Inchmahome to the Erskines, that position had itself been attached to the Chapel Royal. There were particularly strong connections between the Stirling Chapel Royal and the nearby Augustinian abbey of Cambuskenneth. Later in life Scott benefited from the feuing of churchlands of Inchaffray Abbey, another Augustinian house (see below). The Augustinian canons regular were very active in the world of letters and music: in earlier centuries, Wyntoun and Bower were Augustinians who distinguished themselves through their writing, and in the sixteenth century writers such as Alexander Mylne and Adam Abell were Augustinians. Several musicians were likewise members of the order – men such as Robert Carver, Scotland's outstanding musical composer, Andrew Blackhall, David Peebles, and several lesser-known masters.⁶⁸

Robert Richardson, the musical reformer, was also an Augustinian. It was through Richardson that the Italian humanist Ferrerio came to teach in Scotland, who ranked among his friends James Foulis, the Scottish neo-Latin poet, and Lawrence Telfer, a royal official who was not only the successor of Patrick Panter as royal secretary, but also a book-owner (he owned copies of Pliny Secundus and Seneca's *Tragedies*). Telfer was also the uncle of George Bannatyne's mother, Catherine Telfer, and godfather to George Bannatyne's eldest brother, Laurence. Moreover, some of the religious houses of the Augustinians in Scotland were conveniently close to royal centres: apart from Scone Abbey, there was Holyrood Abbey, adjacent to Holyrood Palace, just outside Edinburgh, and Cambuskenneth Abbey, just outside Stirling.⁶⁹

Such geographical distribution may have helped Scott to combine secular with ecclesiastical patronage in the marketing of his musical skills. In this respect, it is significant that the godfather, in 1512, of James Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's father, was James Kincragy, Provost of the collegiate church of St Mary on the Rock (also known as Kirkheuch), which gave him a seat on the (Augustinian) chapter of the neighbouring cathedral of St Andrews. St Mary

on the Rock had functioned from at least the thirteenth century onwards as Scotland's oldest chapel royal, although its importance declined as a result of the competition of first Restalrig (under James III) and then the Stirling Chapel Royal (under James IV). In the ambitious late-fifteenth-century plans for the erection of the Stirling Chapel Royal, the Provost of St Mary on the Rock had been *de officio* dean of the Chapel Royal.⁷⁰ The same church had also provided royal confessors, and the 1501 foundation of the Chapel Royal Stirling stipulated that to the Provost of Kirkheuch, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, 'shall be committed the cure of the king and queen of Scotland, and of the royal household'.⁷¹ In 1504, however, the Pope ordered the provostship of Kirkheuch to be detached from the deanery of the Chapel Royal, which was to be held henceforth by the bishop of Galloway. Nevertheless, the royal gift in 1508 of the prebend of Kirkheuch to Kincragy, in tandem with his connection to the Bannatynes, suggests strongly that prebends connected to the Chapel Royal and to Augustinian houses were important instruments of patronage for the king (thus, Patrick and David Panter were appointed Abbot and Commendator of Cambuskenneth).⁷² It also suggests that, even as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, certain foundations were being laid for the kind of culture that went on to inscribe, as it were, the Bannatyne MS. Such foundations can and should be invoked in a proper assessment of the readership of the Bannatyne MS in general, and thus also of Scott's verse. Moreover, in a material as well as spiritual sense, patronage from and within both Augustinian and other related circles may have sustained Scott in periods when direct court patronage was not available.

Having sketched the urban, courtly and clerical networks that begin to feature in Scott's biography from the 1550s onwards, it is time to pick up the specific trail of one of its defining features in particular: that of the overlap between the Chapel Royal and urban circles. In his position at St Giles', Scott provided a service to a municipal community that mirrored his attachment to the Chapel Royal. The latter institution was effectively the king's own collegiate

church, 'haveing the care of the king and queens souls, and those of their family'.⁷³ Modern scholarship has linked one more Chapel Royal musician from Stirling to the provision of church music in Edinburgh. Andrew Buchan was Master of the Edinburgh song school from 1579 to 1582, when he died while still a Chapel Royal prebendary. He is thought to be the author of the treatise on 'The Arte of Music' (c.1580), to which his son or relative, Mr John Buchan, contributed two psalm settings.⁷⁴ This is most likely the same Andrew Buchan – or a near relative of his – who, as canon of the Chapel Royal, is the 'original and ultimate possessor' of the prebend granted to Alexander Scott in 1532. The Buchans were a well known family with a tradition of involvement with musical institutions, both in Edinburgh and at the Chapel Royal in Stirling; the editor of the Scottish psalm book of 1635 even names Andrew Buchan as among 'the prime musicians' of his age connected to the Chapel Royal.⁷⁵ The Buchans were also well acquainted with Scotland's most renowned musical composer of the century, Robert Carver, the Chapel Royal prebendary of Ayr *sexto* to whose chamber in Stirling they went in 1551 to witness and sign important family documents.⁷⁶ John Buchan not only contributed two settings of psalms to the famous Wode part books, but in fact had these part books in his possession for some time between 1562 and 1566, during the very period in which Thomas Wode was assembling his material and, amongst other things, included a setting of a sonnet by Anne Lock, now known to be an excerpt from the earliest surviving example of an English sonnet sequence, a paraphrase of psalm 51 (1560). The latter probably came about through personal acquaintance. Lock was a close friend of John Knox, and the text of her sequence most likely came to Scotland via Christopher Goodman, a mutual friend who was from 1561 to 1565 employed by James Stewart, Earl of Moray, the very man who asked Wode to collect the material now preserved in his part books. In addition to any Chapel Royal connections, such international acquaintances and textual circulation make it extremely likely that Buchan knew Scott, who, after all, was another musician composing vernacular psalm paraphrases; the resemblances in composition

and tone between Scott's version of psalm 51 and that of Lock may be generic rather than personal, but nevertheless suggest at least intertextual familiarity.⁷⁷

Moreover, shortly before Scott emerges from the unknown in 1532, apparently under the wings of the Buchans, it so happens that sir Alexander Buchan, canon of the Chapel Royal in Stirling, had three sons legitimated, Andrew, Alexander and Jasper. Only two months later, in March 1530, we find sir John Fethy doing the same for his son, John. Such parallels reinforce the notion that we are dealing here with a fairly small group of people following similar social trajectories – ones which Scott, too, clearly travelled – and looking after each other's interests.⁷⁸

Scott's poem 'May is the moneth maist amene' refers to lovers kissing one another 'in Buchan wise'. This may simply be a reference to a particular geographical region, but it could also carry a hidden reference to the Buchan family or one of its members. Buchan is the outermost north-eastern tip of Scotland and known for its remoteness and inaccessibility. From a Lowland perspective, it was one of the imaginary extremities of contemporary Scotland.⁷⁹ Early maps of Scotland often show Buchan in a slightly exaggerated easterly position.⁸⁰ A poem in the Maitland Folio, attributed to Quentin Shaw, refers to the coast line between St Abbs Head in the south of Scotland and 'Buchan Ness' in the north to express the notion of 'anywhere on the eastern sea-board of Scotland'.⁸¹ Likewise, words used to refer to rustic individuals or Highlanders have through the ages been applied to the natives of Buchan, which corroborates the notion that there was an enduring Lowland perception of Buchan as a geographically remote and therefore 'wild' part of Scotland.⁸² In Scottish folklore a Bauchan or Buggan is a hobgoblin – sometimes dangerous, sometimes helpful.⁸³ In short, Buchan was clearly seen as a place where the unknown and unexpected began, and these Buchans of the Chapel Royal may indeed have been of north-eastern origin: Kenneth Elliott has linked the treatise on 'The Arte of Music', attributed to Andrew Buchan, to the north-east, both because of its language and because there are at least two works in it by John Black, successor of John Fethy as Master of the Aberdeen

song school from 1556 to 1560.⁸⁴

It is thus possible that the phrase ‘in Buchan wise’ from Scott’s poem may contain at some level a reference to a historical person, an innuendo understood by a close-knit literary coterie. We find such coded references, for example, in ‘A baxter’s bird, a bluitter beggar born’, the poem Montgomery aimed at his unsuccessful lawyer, John Sharp. This flyting sonnet in its venomous last line identifies its target: ‘Quha reidis this riddill, he is sharpe forsuith’.⁸⁵ Such techniques also occur in Robert Sempill’s poems in the Bannatyne MS, where he refers directly to locals and indeed to members of the Bannatyne family itself, relying on the ability of the audience to contextualise and thus decode the references. The manuscript in fact has the personal names of some of these Edinburghers scribbled in the margin of this verse that seem to instance exactly such decoding (fols 123v-124r), another important piece of evidence to suggest that the interpretation of contemporary poems in the Bannatyne MS can meaningfully be informed by a study of the manuscript’s prosopographical context. One of these poems by Sempill refers to a ‘flemyng bark’ (i.e. one Margaret Fleming) that needs a mariner to sail ‘her’, while another, about one ‘crissell sandelandis’ who had acted ‘contrair the ten commandis’, recounts how Beaton, a local minister, claimed ‘he sew [sowed] na seid in to hir sandelandis’. The latter poem also refers to several local public figures who have to judge the case of Sandelandis and Beaton; it is a clear indication of what coterie is at work here that all but one (parson Pennycuke) of these ‘judges’ appear in the list of close Bannatyne acquaintances as recorded in the Bannatyne ‘Memoriall Buik’ (see Chapter 2). As mentioned above, one of them, ‘Awld James bannatyne’ (l. 78) is most likely to be George Bannatyne’s own father, while one ‘Patrik Bannatyne’ (l. 63) is counsel for the defence. Sempill encoded his own identity in poems by puns on the word ‘sempill’, sometimes to evoke the presence of the humble plain-speaking voice, not unlike Scott’s alignment of ‘Inglis’ with ‘common sense’ in the last line of ‘Luve preysis but comparesone’, as I have discussed elsewhere. In his post-Reformation verse, Sempill

regularly speaks through a female persona, Maddie of the Kail Mercat, who also seems to represent a collective, plain-speaking morality.⁸⁶ Both Scott's and Sempill's practice here continues the tradition of poetic advice, albeit that in Sempill's case this is not directed to princes.

In a slightly different use of personal names in verse, on fol. 234v of the Banatyne MS the final stanza of an otherwise anonymous poem has the name 'bannatyne' worked into it in riddling fashion across three separate words (ban-na-tyne), which a later hand has signalled in the margin and decoded through underlining. Such use of poetry and names implies and instances a 'scribal community' of readers that is coherent enough to identify and interpret these coded references, and makes a pun on 'Buchan' altogether plausible.⁸⁷ It reveals the fingerprints of a courtly-urban readership.

Elsewhere, too, Scott himself uses personal and geographical names in a coded generic or topical way. As mentioned above, the last line of Scott's 'Luve preysis but comparesone' – 'She may persave sum Inglis through it' – teaches a lady to use common sense (i.e. plain 'Inglis') when choosing a lover, with the word 'Inglis' possibly also meant to provide a coded reference to one particular aspect of that lover, namely that he be of English stock.⁸⁸ Both the means of solving the riddle and the solution itself are thus embedded in the word 'Inglis'. Furthermore, in his 'New Yeir Gift', Scott capitalises on the political potential of his own name by signing off as 'Sanders Scott', the contemporary generic nickname for any – and thus every – Scot.⁸⁹ Likewise, William Adamson and John Sym, the protagonists in Scott's pastiche poem on 'The iusting and debait vp at the Drum betuix William Adamsone and Iohine Sym', instance Scott's use of personal names to import additional dimensions of meaning through these names' generic or local associations: Sym, Symmie (for 'Simon', probably linked to the Elizabethan as well as modern figure of 'simple Simon') or even John Sym was a common name, often used in contemporary writing to refer to a lower-class and especially rustic character, or a trickster

figure.⁹⁰ The local resonances of the name of William Adamson are discussed below.

Directly in line with Scott's reference to Buchan are Scott's toponymical references in other poems. Scott's references in 'May is the moneth maist amene' to Musselburgh (l. 60), six miles east of Edinburgh, and Inchebuckling Brae (l. 59), the hill marking the boundary between Musselburgh and Edinburgh and as such furthest away from the human communities that it separates, convey carefully coded messages that – as well as demonstrating Scott's own detailed familiarity with the area – rely for their effect on his audience's ability to recognise these toponymical references as referencing the different spheres of rational and bestial man, marking the boundary between orderly civic space and the realm of nature, although the notion of 'orderly civic space' is subtly undermined by the aphrodisiac and venereal connotations of '*Mussel*burgh'. The same boundaries are implied by the negative references in Scott's 'Ye blindit luvaris luke' (ll. 116-7) to Naples, Lombardy and Rome, or indeed to 'Italie' altogether, as the place of the unrestrained pursuit of physical appetite. For different purposes, but in a comparable way, Scott exploits the local and Scottish setting of 'The iusting and debait vp at the Drum'. In the latter poem, the unbridled, sexually motivated energy of the two hot-headed protagonists wears itself out in farcical fashion in the countryside, and they and their motley audience become appropriately docile again when they re-enter the civic order of the town at the end of the poem.

Toponymy and nomenclature are thus used in these poems to reference or manipulate moral and cultural distance, and to satirise, largely playfully, un-civic behaviour. It would be entirely in keeping with this practice if Scott's allusion to kissing 'in the way of Buchan' in 'May is the moneth maist amene' should allude to the Buchan family as part of that poem's overall play of presenting a courtly pastoral in a satirical way – by evoking the forces of nature that encroach on courtly fiction from several angles.⁹¹ A fortuitous allusion to a well-known colleague whose name or even background associates him with the forces of nature that can be

perceived underneath a courtly veneer – such as that of the songs Scott and Buchan knew or performed – would neatly activate Scott's playful subversiveness with both language and meaning. It also lends weight to the idea that Scott and the Buchans were indeed closely acquainted with one another.

In addition, 'Buchan' could also be in reference to an aristocratic title. Christian Stewart, Countess of Buchan in her own right at a very young age in 1551 and herself the grand-daughter of an illegitimate child of King James IV, was a plaything on the waves of contemporary amatory politics, and this may have given the phrase 'to kiss one's love in Buchan wise' particular political overtones. She was another minor in the care of the Erskines, who had married into her family. In January 1550, still a very young girl, she had been contracted to marry James Stewart, the half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots by Margaret Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Mar, who was also the Countess's guardian. Although widely seen as the pivotal figure in the Protestant movement, James Stewart benefited from, and readily participated in, the opening up of the new political realities that manifested themselves at the return of Mary Queen of Scots to Scotland. Mary was to grant him several titles. As Earl of Moray, he became Regent of Scotland after the Queen's flight to England. He eventually opted to marry another lady, Agnes Keith, leaving the Countess of Buchan to marry instead, in the autumn of 1562, Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, the son of her guardian, Margaret Erskine. If Scott's poem indeed in any way referred to this particular *contretemps* involving the Countess of Buchan, it would not be the only literary reference to it: a poem attributed to John Maitland of Thirlstane also cites the manipulation of the young Countess of Buchan as an immoral and shamelessly opportunist example of the abuse of marital and sexual loyalties.⁹²

It was at the Douglas family's castle of Lochleven that Sir Robert Douglas's brother William warded the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots in 1568, and it was there that another brother, George, who had fallen for the Queen's charms, orchestrated her escape by organising a

May-Day pageant, with himself, intriguingly, as Abbot of Unreason. In the ensuing events, the Queen, disguised, was able to walk out of the main gate of the castle.⁹³ Scott's poem, with its references to May games and Abbots of Unreason, is unlikely to refer in any direct way to these events, unless a meaningful link to the Countess of Buchan's role in all this can be established. However, the confluence between poem and political event via the figure of the Abbot of Unreason does indicate the at least discursive confluence of high-level amatory politics, a court circle in which disguises and covert action had an almost obsessive presence, and the potentially fraught role that May Day pageants could play in this as the reflection or even enactment of such political and sexual realities.

In the light of the reference to Buchan in Scott's poem and the links between Stirling and Edinburgh with the North East, there is one more tantalising connection between Scott and north-eastern Scotland. His 'May is the moneth maist amene' satirises the libidinous impulses behind the May games and the Robin Hood pastimes. Song and verse were part and parcel of these festivities, so Scott's poem may indeed be very directly linked to such a May celebration, in some way even participating in it even if only as an observation on its sexual and moral dangers.⁹⁴ To oversee such seasonal celebrations, communities appointed Lords of Misrule, or Abbots of Unreason; in Aberdeen they were known as the Lords of Bon-Accord. Scott's poem laments the fact that these carnivalesque occasions are increasingly abused by those who merely wish to indulge in excesses of vice. In a topical comment, the poem laments how the honest (in the medieval sense of 'honourable') dancing, games and music-making of the May festivities of the past are 'fastlingis gone' (l. 19) and have given way recently to the activities of 'Abbotis by rewll, and lordis but [without] ressonne', who have unleashed their vices 'thryis oure this zodiak' ('three times this year') with 'falsatt, fibilnes and tressone' (ll. 24-5). It may or may not be coincidence that on 14 April 1553 the town council of Aberdeen met to discuss the increasingly excessive nature of the May festivities staged on behalf of these 'abbots of unreason', which

were endangering the ‘honest ... danssis and gammes [games] vsit and wont’ (a phrase echoing Scott’s phrase of moral melancholy, ‘fastlingis gone’), the organisation of which was ‘in halding of the guid toun’. It decreed that in future such festivities were to be allowed only on ‘thre sobir and honest’ fixed points of the calendar year (Ascension Day, Tuesday after Easter, and the first Sunday in May), to be overseen by an elected official.⁹⁵ A week later, in their next meeting, they direct one Alexander Scott, as that year’s Lord of Bon-Accord, to organise the May festivities

for the honeste & plesour of this gud tounne conforme to the last act & statut maid
thairupounne in making of bankatis playis farsis & games conforme to the ald & ancient
ryt vsit befor.⁹⁶

The emphasis in both poem and Aberdeen documents on vice disrupting civic order ‘thryis ouer this zodiak’ as well as on the contrast between past and present festive practice may link Scott’s poem to a very personal engagement with events in Aberdeen, though the poem may also represent a more general contemporary concern with unruly May celebrations.⁹⁷ These official ‘presidents of Fools’ – a tradition shared with Europe, and with the *Enfants-sans-Souci* – played an important role in negotiating the community’s energies towards a social practice that was conducive of a ‘common weal’. Aberdeen was a very likely place for a churchman-musician to find employment, even in conjunction with positions in Edinburgh. Considering the poet’s possible associations with the Basoche, his engagement with the ambiguities of May games in ‘May is the moneth maist amene’, the above-mentioned musical links between Edinburgh and Aberdeen song school personnel, and the absence of any other reference to the musician for the first half of the 1550s, the musician’s appearance in such a public capacity in Aberdeen in 1553-54, while unproven, is not implausible.⁹⁸

The confluences of Scott’s musical connections with the Chapel Royal and Edinburgh,

and with Fethy, Kyd, and Buchan in particular, can be seen not only to shed light on the latter's earlier years but also to add urban dimensions to his biography, in addition to those of church and court. In the absence of a fully-fledged royal court and its attendant opportunities for musical and cultural patronage, men like Fethy and Scott found a source of income in clerical institutions that were interwoven with urban life, such as the collegiate churches of St Giles' in Edinburgh, or Trinity College, a royal foundation just outside the capital. These venues provided the combination of song, music and religious service in which Scott could continue his career in an urban context. With the young Queen holding court in France, and with the Regent Arran spending money largely within his own circle of relatives and dependents, particularly on his own estates, Edinburgh had begun to function in the early 1550s as a focus for musical activity and cultural patronage of national status in ways not dissimilar to the Chapel Royal in Stirling. Thus, in January 1553 the Town Council allowed James Lauder, prebendary of St Giles' choir, to go to England and France for a year 'to the effect that he may have and get better erudition in Musik and Playing nor [than] he hes'.⁹⁹

The ascent of Mary of Guise to the Regency on 12 April 1554 was an important boost to such cultural activity in Edinburgh, and opened up avenues of employment for Scott in the capital. A mere two weeks later, the Edinburgh town council ordered the Dean of Guild 'to repair and vpbig [build] the Sang Scule in the Kirk Yard as it wes of befoir sua [so] that the barnis may enter thairto and inhabit the samyn'.¹⁰⁰ The lock of the organ loft was mended, many repairs to the choir were ordered, and it was repainted; painters were also greatly involved in staging David Lindsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* in the capital only a few months later.¹⁰¹ The ambitious town council 'evidently spared no expense and trouble' to make St Giles' a place where music and worship could thrive, and it is most likely that the hiring by St Giles' in 1556 of Alexander Scott, as an experienced musician with connections to the Chapel Royal, was part of this desire for a cultural revival that gave expression to the new political realities that the start

of Mary of Guise's regency offered, and the town of Edinburgh was keen to be heard in that new dawn chorus. As the description of the choristers' duties indicates, the Town Council 'would have nothing but well-trained voices'.¹⁰²

This interaction between crown and town brings out another important point: whether or not Scott continued to be connected to the Chapel Royal, there are reasons to assume that in the 1550s he was still on good terms with those around the Stewart throne. His past service to the royal family appears to have been paying dividends in this period. In a bond and obligation dated 18 January 1555 (drawn up on 14 January 1555), Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, grants 'Alexander Scott our seruent ffor certain proffettis and plesouris done be him to ws' a pension of fifty merks yearly 'during his lyfthyme within the burcht of Edinburgh'.¹⁰³ This yearly sum was to be paid until 'ane sufficient gift and prouisioun of ane monkis pertiou of the abbay of Corsraguell' (i.e. Crossraguel, in the Kennedy heartlands in the south-west of Scotland) could be found for Scott and confirmed 'in the court of Rome'. The phrase 'within the burcht of Edinburgh' is worth noting, as it is here that we find the musician in the years 1556 and 1558, playing the organ and singing in the choir at St Giles' in Edinburgh, as documented above.

The sureties for this obligation were Sir Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains and Mr John Bellenden of Auchnoull, both men closely connected to the circles of the Bannatyne family in which the Bannatyne MS was copied, and to those around Mary of Guise. Thus, on 30 September 1554, a contract had been concluded between Mary of Guise and the Earl of Cassillis, who took the burden for Sir Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains, knight, stipulating that Barbara Kennedy, Hew's daughter, was to marry John Bellenden of Auchnoull. As detailed in Chapter 2, the latter occupies a very prominent position – almost that of a family patron – in George Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik'. Moreover, his (family's) connections to the world of literature are manifold: the poet John Bellenden was his uncle, and his own father, Mr Thomas Bellenden, was one of the two scribes who copied out the Lambeth MS of the *Eneados* of Gavin

Douglas, whom he had known personally. He also provided details to Thomas Cromwell of the 1540 interlude which is now generally thought to have been an early version of David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*.¹⁰⁵ Given these literary connections of the Bellendens as well as the Cassillis and Kennedy circles (see below), it is not surprising, though still illuminating, to find a man like Scott associated with these circles of trusted royal servants and their connections to the Bannatyne family.

There is another, more direct link to suggest that Alexander Scott, Cassillis's pensioner, is the same man as the Chapel Royal prebendary and musician of that name who in 1548 was in the service of the Erskines, care-takers of Mary Queen of Scots. On 6 August 1554 Mary of Guise had made the Earl of Cassillis and John, fifth Lord Erskine (father of the John Erskine under whom Scott served at Inchmahome) curators *ad lites tantum* to Mary Queen of Scots.¹¹⁰ It seems warranted to argue that the pension granted to Scott in January 1555 for past service to Cassillis is in some manner related to the appointment a few months earlier of Cassillis as 'curator' of the young Queen. Scott's past service as a trusted servant of the royal guardians is perhaps being rewarded here, either to pay for past duties or with an eye to future service, to attend to both of which it would now be Cassillis' and Erskine's duty.

It is indeed 'in the court of Rome' that we find more evidence. On 21 December 1554 Alexander Scott registered a supplication at the Vatican '*noua prouisio et de non promovendo*', in which he seeks confirmation of his earlier provision to the Chapel Royal prebend of Balmaclellan, as well as asking not to be promoted to holy (probably major) orders for the next five years.¹¹¹ The details of this document, in particular its reference to the prebend of Balmaclellan as being vacant, suggest that Scott's right to that prebend may have been considered to be open to challenge at this point in time because, although he had been provided to this prebend a considerable number of years before, he had still not gained promotion to (major) orders. This potentially allowed rival claimants to this prebend to call

into question Scott's rights to its fruits, as he was apparently unable or unwilling to confirm his commitment to the Church generally.¹¹²

There need not have been a rival claim to the prebend in any case in order for Scott to have supplicated to Rome in this manner. Such requests for non-promotion in particular tended to serve benefice holders who were in the service of the crown or students at universities, and who required confirmation of this source of income. Thus, on 2 May 1483, John Reid or Stobo had registered a very similar supplication. Stobo, the son of a priest and a single woman, supplicated for a dispensation to hold the rectory of Kirkchrist in Galloway diocese without being promoted for five years, citing his service to the king and his studies as reasons for this non-promotion; the supplication was granted on condition that Stobo was promoted to the subdiaconate within one year.¹¹³ As Davis comments, 'men starting out on a clerical career were frequently ordained to the orders of acolyte [one of the minor orders] and sub-deacon [one of the major orders] at the same ordination ceremony', but 'many men were ordained to the minor orders with no intention of proceeding further.'¹¹⁴ In other words, Stobo seems to have used his church living as a source of income rather than as part of a projected career in the church. Moreover, Stobo's case is a particularly relevant example to be considered here, as he is thought to be the poet referred to by William Dunbar in his famous list of makars in 'I that in heill wes and gladnes'.¹¹⁵ From the evidence, and in a strikingly parallel scenario, it seems that Alexander Scott, a fellow poet, is making exactly the same decisions in the mid-1550s.

In any case, and importantly, Scott's supplication to Rome clearly indicates that in the mid-1550s he is protecting the income he derived from the Church but is not committing his future to that institution. A servant of both Crown and Church, his priorities and allegiances clearly lie more with the former. In addition, it may be noted that 'ordination to the minor orders did not commit a man to a clerical career or to a life of celibacy'; in case he indeed had

a wife, or even if he was simply not averse to having one at a future date, this may have given Scott another reason to resist clerical promotion.¹¹⁶

Scott was still in Cassillis' pay in the Summer of 1556: on 13 August of that year, 'Alexander Scot, musiciane' confirms that he has received 25 merks from the Earl of Cassillis 'for this witsounday term last bypaste'.¹¹⁷ This hitherto unnoticed document – though see note below, regarding Shire (1972: 183) – was signed by Scott in Edinburgh and is the only verifiably holograph manuscript that we still have of the poet-musician, except for a few signatures appended to other legal documents. It is also worth noting that this document is endorsed on the back with the phrase 'Sande Scottis discharg', indicating that Scott was at least on occasion indeed referred to as 'Sande' [Sandy]. Moreover, it confirms that Scott wrote his surname on different occasions as 'Scot' as well as 'Scott'. These details, as well as the novel availability of a document which has a sample of the poet's own handwriting in a sustained piece of writing, may help future research into Scott's life and writing.

Supplications of the 'nova provisio' type concern petitions for benefices to which the supplicant has already been provided, for example by a previous grant from the pope that stipulated that the supplicant would be provided to the next vacant benefice in a particular diocese or church. In other words, Scott is most likely seeking confirmation of a previous provision, which is echoed by the 'prouisioun of ane monkis pertioun of the abbay of Corsraguell' by 'the court of Rome' that the Cassillis document refers to. The local patron (Cassillis), in line with Scott's successful supplication in Rome, uses church income to provide for a royal servant; such use of monks' portions – in provisons or in cash – either by the Crown or by those laymen who had come to enjoy the revenues of monastic lands was increasingly common, and by 1569 came to be described as 'the common practick of the realme', with Cassillis and Crossraguel in fact foregrounded by modern historians as an example of such practice.¹¹⁸ The details of this Vatican supplication thus fit extremely well with

the musician's known life-events, and there can be little doubt that the Vatican supplicant and the musician of the same name are one and the same person. The supplication not only neatly complements the Cassillis document, but its implications regarding the way in which Scott sought to use his benefice as property rather than spiritual office anticipates Scott's subsequent disconnection from the Church as his employer.

Scott may have intended to hold a monk's portion of Crossraguel in tandem with, rather than in exchange for, a Chapel Royal benefice. However, in the push for reform in the 1550s, sketched above, this aim may not have materialised, and Scott may subsequently have abandoned hopes of preferment within the Catholic church (a striking parallel with Scott's case, from this very same year and involving a much better known musician, namely Palestrina, is outlined below). In either of the scenarios outlined above, he may indeed have lost 'baith benefice and pentioun' in the 1550s, a general phenomenon discussed in Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' of 1562 (l. 73) with a piquancy that may suggest the makar's personal investment in this line. It most likely made Scott turn towards the secular kinds of income that we increasingly find him enjoying from 1555 onwards.

A brief look at Cassilis makes Scott's appearance in these circles even more plausible. As a Protestant and as a magnate Cassilis had been a leading figure in the pro-English party in the earlier 1540s. In the late 1540s and early 1550s, however, political expediency had made him a prominent supporter of Mary of Guise, and she made Cassillis Lord Treasurer of her government when she became Regent in 1554. He travelled frequently to France, and even became gentleman of the bedchamber to Henri II. His eldest daughter, Janet, married Robert Stewart, illegitimate son of King James V and half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots.¹¹⁹ Cassillis' career provides one of many contemporary examples that illustrate that, even if Scott had become estranged from the Catholic church at this stage, this need not mean that he was unlikely to continue to serve the crown. The combination is not surprising in a period in which Mary of

Guise had in fact become a focus for reformers' hopes on a political as well as religious front. Her vigorous yet measured government had even made a most prominent Protestant such as John Knox dedicate a publication to her. Knox's *The copie of a letter sent to the Ladye Mary dowagire*, written in May 1556, is a remarkably complimentary piece from this most difficult-to-please author, praising Mary of Guise's 'happy governance' and her 'moderation and clemency', even making allowances for the fact that she has not hastily abolished superstitions or removed unprofitable pastors.¹²⁰

It is striking how many of the men who were part of Mary of Guise's new apparatus of government in 1554 also feature prominently in Scott's biography (apart from Cassilis, Lord Erskine was made Mary of Guise's Commander of Edinburgh Castle) or belong to the cultured circles that produced the Bannatyne MS: John Bellenden was her Justice Clerk, the staunch Protestant James McGill was clerk register, and the pluralist sir William MakDowall was Master of Works; the latter three men all feature prominently in Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik'. In addition, Mary's Lyon King of Arms, i.e. her main herald, was of course still David Lindsay, poet, playwright and severe critic of abuses in the church.¹²¹ It was in these circles that the desire for measured but effective reform that lies behind Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' could take root. Such a desire was also characteristic of John, Lord Erskine, Scott's 'superior' as prior of Inchmahome. As instanced above, the strict neutrality that the latter sought to observe right through the Reformation struggle is echoed most strongly by the 'New Yeir Gift'. Scott's political and financial allegiances and his consistent pattern of service to the crown, relegating factional and religious loyalties to a lower level, blend in well with such a context and makes the identification of the Alexander Scott in the January 1555 document with the musician of that name seem not just plausible but likely, if not inevitable. This is also because there is no other Alexander Scott to be found in circles such as those of Buchanan, Cassilis and Bellenden in the 1550s and 1560s.

Moreover, the Earls of Cassilis indeed had a tendency to appoint men of letters to act as tutors within the family. In the early 1530s George Buchanan, already a humanist of considerable repute, had been tutor to the Earl of Cassilis himself in France, where Buchanan also taught other young men who grew up to become renowned public figures, notably – albeit at a slightly later date – Michel de Montaigne. Buchanan dedicated his 1533 translation of Linacre's *Rudimenta* to Cassilis. In the mid-1530s Buchanan returned with Cassilis to Scotland, where he subsequently acted as tutor to James V's illegitimate son by Elizabeth Sauchie; he also wrote his famous satirical poem *Somnium* at Cassillis' seat in Ayrshire.¹²² A generation later the flamboyant Mark Alexander Boyd, best known for his sonnet 'Fra banc to banc, fra wod to wod I rin', was tutor to the next Earl of Cassillis, on the latter's continental tour.¹²³

It was not merely in their choice of tutors that the Kennedy family (to which the Earls of Cassillis belonged) shows connections to the world of letters. Apart from Cassillis' kinsman Walter Kennedy, who early in the century famously flyted with William Dunbar, the lettered interest of the Kennedys of Cassillis can also be seen in the Earl's brother, Quentin Kennedy, best known for his public debate (later partially printed) with John Knox in Maybole in 1562.¹²⁴ Quentin Kennedy was Abbot of Crossraguel, and a Catholic who was critical of his own church, as appears already from his description of the misbehaviour of the Catholic clergy in his 'Ane compendius Tractiue' (1558, dedicated to Cassillis' son and heir). In his insistence that

there was no theological foundation for rebellion against established authority, temporal or ecclesiastical, because God had provided all the necessary means for an orderly settlement of doctrinal disputes and an orderly settlement of abuses,

Kennedy voices sentiments that re-occur in Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' and are typical for the circles in which the poet can be found throughout Mary's reign.¹²⁵

More directly related to the biographical outline of Scott is the fact that Quentin Kennedy leased his abbey to the Earl of Cassillis in 1559, in the same manner as bishop Alexander Gordon in that same year disposed of Inchaffray lands, annualrents of which fell to Scott (see below). On Quentin Kennedy's death in 1564, these temporalities of Crossraguel were passed on to George Buchanan, who had been employed from early 1562 onwards as tutor to Mary Queen of Scots after her return from France and who, subsequently, also tutored her son, the future James VI.¹²⁶ Considering Cassillis' 1555 remuneration of Scott by means of a monk's portion of Crossraguel (in the same way that the Erskines had paid Scott in 1548 with a canon's portion of Inchmahome), it seems that the fruits of this abbey were used – among other things – to pay those who served the crown in a tutorial capacity.¹²⁷ Indeed, just like Buchanan, who had to fight to receive the payments out of the Crossraguel lands for his tutorship to Mary, Alexander Scott had to work hard to get his promised pension from Cassillis' heir, the fourth Earl. On 1 October 1573, John Bellenden of Auchnoull, Justice Clerk, and Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains, the two sureties of the 1555 bond, had to take action on behalf of Scott against Cassillis's heir, after the latter had disobeyed a charge to appear before the king and his councillors on 28 May 1573 regarding payment of Scott's pension. This is happening in the same period in which Buchanan settles his long-running fight to get his pension from Cassillis, too. The action because of non-payment pursued by Auchnoull and Girvanmains had to be repeated (though now with Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull replacing his recently deceased father) on 18 May 1579.¹²⁸ Importantly, these documents prove that, like the poet and musician of that name, this Alexander Scott of the Cassillis bond in 1554-55 is still alive in 1579; in other words, they can indeed be one and the same person.¹²⁹

There are other reasons to point to parallels between Buchanan's position and that of Scott. It has been noted how Buchanan's earliest education was facilitated 'by a contribution from the priory [of Inchmahome] lands', assigned to the Buchanan family by Robert Erskine,

Commendator of Dryburgh and Inchmahome, in 1513; these were the lands of Arnprior, which were attached to the priory of Inchmahome.¹³⁰ In the same way that Cassillis used *his* income from Crossraguel, the Erskines used revenue from Inchmahome to fund those who served their house, particularly in a tutoring or caretaking capacity with respect to royal offspring. This may have gone beyond financial support: George Buchanan is said to have lived in a house belonging to the Commendator of Inchmahome when he needed to be in Stirling.¹³¹ Scott, as Chapel Royal musician and organist (the latter occupations explicitly noted in the 1548 appointment), was likely to be found in tutorial or at least teaching positions: organists were often also in charge of the song school, and as such taught the rudiments of more than just music. Inglis highlights Ayr and St Giles' as places where this set-up was indeed in place.¹³²

Buchanan can also be linked to Scott's life-events in other than financial ways. In 1543-44 Buchanan lived in Paris 'on the most intimate terms' (*familiarissime vixi*) with: John Erskine, prior of Inchmahome, the man under whom Scott was to serve in 1548 and for whom Buchanan showed 'some liking'; William Cranstoun, author of a textbook, *Dialecticae Compendium* (Paris, 1540), and later a distinguished doctor of theology; and David Panter, Scottish ambassador to the French court, and subsequently bishop of Ross.¹³³ In 1540, John Erskine had matriculated at the University of Paris, three years after his brother Thomas had already been taught there by William Cranstoun.¹³⁴ David Panter was the nephew of Patrick Panter (c.1470-1519), Secretary to James V. For his part, Patrick Panter, advocate of peace and moderation in the face of growing internal factions in the church, had been tutor to James IV's illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, a student of great promise who was also tutored by Erasmus in Italy.¹³⁵ Patrick was also closely involved with academically trained figures and the kind of learned, neo-Latin literature which also circulated in the Bannatyne circle.¹³⁶ David Panter succeeded his uncle as Secretary to James V and then Mary of Guise, and he is renowned for the elegant Latinity which he displayed in his many official letters of state to foreign powers. John Erskine's

acquaintance with Cranstoun, David Panter and Buchanan shows him to have been on familiar terms with Scottish academic and courtly circles in Paris.

The Erskine relations with both Scott and Buchanan brings the two latter, and very different, writers closer together, and provides one of several details that encourage us to consider Scott's output within a perspective wider than that alone of his amatory lyrics, the more usual focus of modern readers' interest. Buchanan and his peers may at first sight seem too lofty (even if virtual) company for an author such as Scott. However, if we view him in terms of, first, the men he associated with, second, the political subtlety of his 'New Yeir Gift', third, the prominence of his verse in the Bannatyne MS (in which Scott is without competition the best represented contemporary poet), and fourth, his mastery of the poetics of the past as well as of psalm translations and that most radical present and future genre, the love lyric – then one may be justified in seeing Scott as an all-round poet possessed of a conceptual and cultural significance that is considerably greater than that with which he is normally credited.

Scott's association with the royal family in 1548, if seen in conjunction with his 'New Yeir Gift' to Mary in 1562, serves to make his appearance in the circles around Cassillis in 1555 not only plausible but quite likely. Scott would have been part of a widespread tradition of using literary men for this kind of tutelary and potentially even advisory position, in line with humanist thinking elsewhere in Europe. Apart from Buchanan, the most eye-catching name in this connection is Erasmus, whose tutoring and admiration of James IV's gifted son Alexander is well documented (see above). One generation later, David Lindsay provides the most famous example of a sixteenth-century Scottish vernacular poet who looked after a royal minor. He was appointed 'maister uscher' (chief page) to James IV's heir, the later James V, on the latter's birth in 1512. As such, Lindsay was a close colleague of the mother of the poet John Bellenden, Marion Douglas, who was nurse to the young prince.¹³⁷ While James's official tutor was Gavin Dunbar, later Chancellor of Scotland and archbishop of Glasgow, Lindsay became a trusted

servant who, in his own words, dandled the little James V on his knees, told him stories and ‘with lute in hand, syne, sweitlie to the sang’.¹³⁸ Lindsay’s *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, apparently performed in embryonic form already at James V’s court (1540) to its sovereign’s acclaim, provides another example of how the harbouring of reformist ideas in the mid-sixteenth century did not necessarily lead to the withdrawal of royal patronage; in fact, such notions could be expressed most fruitfully by tutorial voices very close to the monarch. Buchanan’s anti-Franciscan verse of the late 1530s had effectively conveyed a similar message, and here, too, the Stewart monarch seems to have protected his literary counsellor, engineering – it would seem – Buchanan’s ‘escape’ to the continent to avoid the Catholic hierarchy’s attempt to punish the poet for his biting satire.¹³⁹ All this anticipates Scott’s address to Mary in his ‘New Yeir Gift’ in the next generation.

Two other poet-tutors of sixteenth-century Scottish royalty who are less frequently mentioned in this connection were Sir William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling, and Walter Quinn. Alexander was a prolific poet and playwright, best remembered for his Senecan dramas and his sonnet sequence *Aurora* (inspired by Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella*, but not published until 1604). He married Janet Erskine, whose grandfather was James, younger brother of John, fifth Lord Erskine, something which may have helped him to his appointment as tutor to Prince Henry.¹⁴⁰ Walter Quinn had come from Ireland to study at Edinburgh University in, or shortly before, 1595. Most significantly, in the light of Scott’s ‘New Yeir Gift’, Quinn made himself popular with James by presenting a ‘New Yeir’ poem to the King in 1596 in which he selected the same topic that Scott foregrounds near the end of his ‘New Yeir Gift’ to Mary: the harmonious union of England and Scotland under a Stewart king. Not long thereafter he was appointed music teacher to Prince Henry and later preceptor to Prince Charles. Quinn’s writings during his appointment as tutor show a learned style – he wrote in several languages, including Latin – and clearly address a small, court-centred coterie; thus, he celebrated William

Alexander's marriage. Both Alexander and Quinn would have served in their tutorial capacity under John Erskine, Earl of Mar, the son and heir of Scott's supervisor in 1548.¹⁴¹ These details mirror the organisation of the provision of care of royal infants in the 1540s as well as the production and circulation of literary writing at court, with the Erskines using the services of lettered men to look after royal offspring. That parallel was extended into poetry: when Quinn wrote a short sequence of sonnets to celebrate the king's narrow escape from the Gowrie conspiracy (1600), the first sonnets are dedicated to the King, the Earl of Mar and Sir Thomas Erskine, son of Alexander Erskine of Gogar, respectively – another indication of a court coterie that was made up of the same kind of individuals and families as the one in which Scott moved and in which he, it would seem, presented *his* work.¹⁴² The patterns of relationships, and the ways of expressing these, are the same in both historical periods. This continuity retrospectively reflects on Bannatyne's colophon to Scott's 'Depairte, depairte, depairte', a poem which reveals exactly such a pattern of relationships, celebrated by a court poet, and in which one sees a similar nexus of poetry and patronage. This conjunction arguably corroborates the inference that Bannatyne's colophon 'quod Scott off the *maister* of Erskyn' is indeed testimony to a historical situation.

As the above paragraphs show, the tradition of appointing lettered royal tutors or caretakers persisted throughout the sixteenth century, and is no doubt consciously in sympathy with ideas from humanist and Renaissance Europe. A final and most telling example of such 'tutorial politics' is that, when James and Anne went south in 1603, they left the infant Prince Charles in the care of Alexander Seton, the later chancellor. His was one of the families which had been most loyal to Mary. His house at Pinkie is renowned for its emblematic painted ceiling and gallery as well as for the inscriptions in its garden, breathing a peace-loving, urbane neo-Stoicism that is both classical and European.¹⁴³ It is the *locus classicus* of Scottish late-Renaissance humanism.

Erasmus, Lindsay, Buchanan and Seton are merely the most illustrious names. The Stewarts clearly took considerable care to select tutors and care-takers for their offspring. Scott's involvement with the young Queen of Scots and her guardians in the 1540s – and, possibly, 1550s – as well as his tone of address to Mary in the 'New Yeir Gift' are part of a literary tradition within the royal household, bringing together the practice of poetry, the position of a trusted royal servant, the importance of letters in a princely education, and the genre of advice to princes, a key Scottish literary genre in both fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writing. The combination of especially the first three of these elements was to become the most sustained feature of Scott's life.

There is more circumstantial evidence that links Scott to the urban circles which pinned their colours to the royal mast, often serving the Stewart household or the bureaucracy of state in positions of great trust. Again, it is in the circles of those officially appointed to look after royal offspring that the name Alexander Scott recurs with striking regularity. In 1513 and 1514 the wife of one Alexander Scott had been paid as nurse of the new-born heir to the throne ('nutrici principis'), the future James V. Nurses of royal children were always highly regarded and well rewarded, and families would have been keen to pass this position on to later generations.¹⁴⁴ It is therefore no surprise to learn that one Agnes Scott was '*servitrix regis*' under James V and Mary of Guise and even became nurse of James VI. She was rewarded with several royal pensions in the 1560s and 1570s for her past services in the royal household. Thus, on 12 March 1567 she was granted a pension to the value of the thirds of the fruits of the abbacy of Culross. The pension was granted because of

oure soverane lady having consideratioun and remembrance of the lang, thankfull and continual service of hir lovit dailie servatrice, Agnes Scott, done in tyme of umquhile hir hienes derrest fader the kingis grace of maist nobill memorie, as alsweile [also] hir

majesteis derrest moder [...] and to hir hienes sensyne [since].¹⁴⁵

The pension is granted because her services are still appreciated. The timing of this pension strongly suggests that it was triggered by the birth of the future James VI, and again – as with the gift of a monk's portion of Crossraguel to Alexander Scott – it doubtless signals an appreciation for past service even as it secures future service. That Agnes did indeed look after James VI seems confirmed by an impressive annual pension of £200 granted to her in 1578 for her past services to the king.¹⁴⁶

This Agnes Scott was the natural daughter of one Alexander Scott, burgess of Edinburgh, legitimated as such on 20 July 1566. Her father died – probably several years – prior to 24 September 1557, and although he therefore cannot be the musician or poet, he may well be (related to) the Alexander Scott, mentioned above, whose wife is nurse to the infant James V in 1513.¹⁴⁷ Even more importantly in the present context, the link between this latter Alexander Scott, burgess of Edinburgh, father of Agnes Scott, and the Bannatyne MS is very direct indeed. This burgess's wife was Marion Scott, one of the ladies in waiting to Mary Queen of Scots. What is more, she was a godparent to George Bannatyne's sister Marion, together with sir George Clapperton, minor poet, subdean of the Chapel Royal and Provost – the usual appellation of the head of a collegiate church in Scotland – of Trinity College just outside Edinburgh. The latter was a splendid religious institution, founded by Mary of Gueldres, the widow of King James II, as a memorial to her late husband. It provided religious ceremony (including song) for both capital and court, and received substantial sums of money from James V in the early 1530s for architectural improvements.¹⁴⁸

A remarkable woman in her own right, Marion Scott is first recorded as affianced wife of Alexander Scott ('sue assedate sponse', literally 'his assigned wife') in 1523, whom she had indeed married by 1530. However, she had remarried by 12 August 1536.¹⁴⁹ She was of the

branch of the Scotts of Balwearie, and it is an indication of the closeness of this latter family to the Bannatynes that the head of the family, William Scott of Balwearie, himself appears on the list of Bannatyne godparents for the year 1563. The Bannatynes clearly had connections that allowed them to branch out socially to more landed families. Moreover, in this Balwearie branch of the Scotts, the Christian name of Alexander occurs regularly: the younger brother of William Scott of Balwearie's grandfather was Alexander Scott of Fingask (*floruit c.1500*), while Sir William's grandson was Alexander Scott of Kinfauns.¹⁵⁰

Few subjects of the realm were entrusted with looking after royal minors, a potentially precarious and sensitive assignment. The discovery of such a sustained sequence of conjunctions of names (first names as well as family ones), court positions, and family connections is therefore significant. It suggests a long-standing tradition of loyal service in a branch of the Scotts in which the Christian name 'Alexander' occurs. (It is worth noting that there are only about half a dozen traceable 'Alexander Scotts' in mid-sixteenth-century Edinburgh.) These Scotts moved in social, cultural and political frameworks into which Alexander Scott, the musician connected to Mary's household already in the 1540s, fits very well. Indeed, the link can be made with reference to factual evidence: the appointment of the musician's son to the Chapel Royal prebend of Quiltoun *secundo* on 6 February 1567 (discussed below) may have been similarly linked to the birth of the future James VI on 19 June 1566. The previous prebendary of Quiltoun *secundo*, Robert Fraser, was her majesty's 'familiar domestik servitour' and chantor of Brechin. He was the son of Robert Fraser, chantor of Brechin and the Queen's 'familiar and daily servitour, ischeare of their majesteis chalmer', so this 1567 royal appointment ranks Alexander Scott junior among those in positions of great royal trust.¹⁵¹

The web can be spun in yet greater detail. Agnes Scott's sister, Margaret Scott, is thought to be the royal nurse of that name, paid £30 in April 1541 'for hir labouris being witht my lord prince v ulkis'; the amount paid for five weeks' work is indeed suggestive of a gentle-

woman's wages. Moreover, as noted above, Margaret was the first wife of John Bellenden of Auchnoull, the Justice Clerk, who emerges from George Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik' as such an important figure for the Bannatyne family, and who was extremely influential also by virtue of his marriages and other family connections. Interestingly, John Bellenden of Auchnoull's second wife was Barbara Kennedy, a favourite of Mary of Guise and the daughter of Sir Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains, the other surety mentioned in the 1555 obligation of Cassillis to Alexander Scott, the musician.¹⁵³

Bellenden's family details, as well as his political career, show that he was a prominent figure at court. He took great care to marry into the royal household and into families with a tradition of loyalty and service to the crown, including royal nurses. His grandfather (i.e. the father of Mr Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull and of the poet John Bellenden) was Patrick Bellenden, parish clerk of the Canongate and steward to Queen Margaret Tudor from 1509 until his death in 1514. Patrick's wife was Marion Douglas, later nurse or 'kepar' of the infant James V. As such, as mentioned above, she was a close colleague of the poet David Lindsay – himself married to a Douglas – who, as has been mentioned, was at that time 'maister uscher' to the young king. Moreover, Katherine Bellenden, younger sister to Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull, was the person who succeeded David Lindsay's wife as royal seamstress.¹⁵⁴ It seems clear that the Bellendens and Kennedys, and in their wake the Bannatynes and Scotts, moved in the most intimate court spheres, in which literature was a keenly practised form of cultural expression. It was a world into which the Chapel Royal prebendary was officially included in 1548 at the latest, and the 1555 obligation by Cassillis fits well into that picture.

Yet another connection illustrating the likelihood of the musician's 'circulation' in this group of people is the fact that Margaret Bellenden, daughter of Mr Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull, married James Danielston (also found as Denniston), Provost of Linlithgow. Their son was Mr John Danielston, a favourite of James V who in 1530 was presented with the

prebend of Balmaclellan in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, the benefice held by Alexander Scott from at least 1541 to 1548. Danielston's demission of this prebend on 18 March 1531 should be read in conjunction with a letter by James V (28 March 1531) asking the Pope to nominate 'the King's well-beloved clerk John Denneston' to the rectory of Dysart. This benefice, also in the gift of the king, was annexed to the collegiate church of St Mary on the Rock near St Andrews, the institution that had initially been considered as the Chapel Royal in the late fifteenth century. A few years later we see James V trying to help John Danielston, by now of the bed-chamber, in retaining three incompatible benefices. The king also succeeded in having Danielston appointed as archdeacon of Dunblane in November 1542.¹⁵⁵

John Danielston, deceased, was succeeded as rector of Dysart in 1547 by his brother Robert Danielston. The latter was godfather in 1551 to Marion, one of George Bannatyne's sisters. On 23 June 1535 he had himself been presented with the prebend of Ayr *tertio* (Dalmellington) in the Chapel Royal, vacated by George Clapperton, the minor poet and cleric mentioned earlier (as we saw above, this prebend later circulated in the Buchan family). A few months later Robert Danielston resigned the prebend of Ayr *quarto* in the Chapel Royal of Stirling.¹⁵⁶ In other words, when Scott can be found as prebendary of Ayr, he is 'mixing' with literate royal favourites, whose reading and cultural as well as political ambit should therefore be taken into account when critiquing Scott's verse.

Cumulatively these data help one to reconstruct social and literary connections within their historical contexts, and in doing so they paint a picture of a culturally vibrant society, where less historicised perspectives might foreground one-dimensional critical narratives of moral degeneration (originating in the Catholic church) or cultural poverty (due to the attentions of the Protestant kirk), or even – paradoxically – both. The information gathered in this thesis reveals the 'scribal communities' of reader networks that were important conduits for cultural patronage in society. These communities advanced their own value systems, and an awareness

of these is crucial for a nuanced, historicised interpretation of Scott's verse. The accumulated details of court servants and royal tutors, the nucleus of an urban-courtly literary circle, reveal a close network of people that goes beyond the sum of its parts, bringing together sets of ideas, sensibilities and intentions as well as socio-political and cultural points of reference. An understanding of this network greatly expands the ways in which we allow ourselves to hear Alexander Scott's verse position itself in the world for which it was written. It makes us notice aspects and influences that we would otherwise not look for, be they the subversive 'Highland pastoral' of Buchan ways, the humanist features of the 'New Yeir Gift', or the engagement with contemporary ethics and poetics and its interface with music in 'Ye blindit luvaris luke'.¹⁵⁷

3.5 Towards reformation

From the survey of the relevant references to Scott in the 1550s, as presented above, it appears that already before the Reformation Scott had begun to associate with those people who wished to reform clerical abuses but who at the same time sought to preserve certain vestiges of the past for social, political and, arguably, cultural reasons. He, moreover, always remained on good terms with those supporting the royal cause, be they Protestant or Catholic. This was to be the case for the remainder of his life, it would seem, and the Bannatyne MS itself stands as a testimony to those same causes and connections. The Bannatyne family circle of *literati* is characterised by supporters of internal social reform who were not averse to channeling the riches of the old Church into non-clerical hands, and Scott's financial affairs from 1559 onwards are a reflection of this. Links to the Chapel Royal and its benefices are replaced by more purely financial transactions, often involving income derived (ultimately) from church property.

Thus, on 17 March 1559, Alexander Gordon (1516-75), titular Archbishop of Athens

and Commendator of the monastery of Inchaffray, registers an obligation (originally drawn up on 5 March 1559) which stipulates that he owes Alexander Scott £106 13s 4d., to be paid back as follows: £40 at Lammas next; £33 5s 8d at St Michaelmas in 1560; and £33 5s 8d. at Easter 1561.¹⁵⁸ We know from later references (see below) that this is indeed the musician. The relevant middle section of this document is in a very bad condition, with large fragments missing from the top of the second folio. The parts that are still legible mention that the money is due to Scott 'for furnishing of o[ur] fynan[ce] and expenses', for which Scott is now granted a 'pensioun of the bischoprik of Galloway [...] of [...]llington'. In the context of the bishopric of Galloway, the latter can really only refer to 'Dalmellington', i.e. the prebend of Dalmellington, also known as *Ayr tertio*, of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, in the bishopric of Galloway. As stated above, this prebend had in the 1530s been held by Mr Robert Danielston, the Bannatyne godfather who had also held the parsonage of Balmaclellan, the latter in Scott's possession from at least 1541 to 1548. In 1543 Dalmellington was presented to Alexander Buchan, who appears in Chapel Royal documents together with Andrew Buchan, who had granted *his* Chapel Royal prebend to Alexander Scott in 1532.¹⁵⁹ Alexander and Andrew Buchan are most likely the father and son of the abovementioned legitimization request of 1530 by Alexander Buchan. Importantly, the parsonage of *Ayr tertio*, also known as the prebend of Dalmellington, in 1561 again pertained to Mr Robert Danielston.¹⁶⁰ The latter, a close friend of the Bannatyne family, may have been a pluralist who was in a position to suggest or even effect presentations of benefices such as Dalmellington and Balmaclellan to minor figures such as the Buchans and Scott, perhaps particularly with an eye on the prebendaries' musical talent. As such, he may also have been an important conduit for bringing Scott's work, or even actual texts by Scott, to the attention of the Bannatynes. Danielston's role in the Bannatyne circle is discussed in more detail below.

Alexander Gordon certainly was in a position to use Chapel Royal prebends in such

ways. He had been nominated for the bishopric of Galloway, which included the deanship of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, and, one week (10 March 1559) before registering his debt to Scott, Gordon had received the rule of its temporalities – which was all that the crown as patron could grant, provisionally, as long as such nominations had not been confirmed by Rome.¹⁶¹ The phrasing of Gordon's 1559 obligation to pay Scott a pension out of the Chapel Royal prebend of Dalmellington does not make clear whether it was in payment for services rendered to Inchaffray Abbey or to Gordon himself.¹⁶² Gordon was in severe financial difficulties in France in the summer of 1550, and it may be wondered whether Scott's 'furnishing of [Gordon's] fynance' had perhaps taken place in France in that period. In any event, it shows that already in the 1550s Scott was a money-lender of some consequence, with an apparently well developed and non-denominational instinct for business, something which may inform our reading of his verse. In 1554 Gordon had unsuccessfully tried to feu Inchaffray Abbey lands to alleviate his financial problems, but the Inchaffray canons had refused to allow this.¹⁶³ This does suggest that in the 1559 obligation Gordon is indeed, and with considerable promptness, using some of the revenue of the Chapel Royal that was now at his disposal as the postulate bishop of Galloway to pay off either personal debts or those of the Abbey, rather than making payments due to Scott because of the latter's service to either Inchaffray or the Chapel Royal.

In subsequent years, Gordon's controversial feuing off of the church lands of the Abbey of Inchaffray effectively allowed the conversion of church property into financial contracts and property deals for private profit. On 7 November 1560 Gordon and the chapter of Inchaffray Abbey granted the whole abbey in tack to David, Lord Drummond, and his wife, Lilius Ruthven, daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven. Their son James is appointed Commendator of the Abbey.¹⁶⁴ Such gradual disendowment of the medieval church was widespread in the 1550s and 1560s. As part of this manoeuvre, Scott received twenty merks as a canon's pension from the Abbey of Inchaffray on that day, and £26 13s 4d for wadset land, i.e. lands that were pledged in

security as part of an arrangement that could result in a sasine, but which also included the debtor's right of recovery of the lands on payment. Apart from Scott, those benefitting from this whole financial transaction are all Murrays and one solitary Drummond. This suggests that Scott had become an established figure in the circles of those whose spheres of influence included the Inchaffray area, because the Murrays and the Drummonds were the two dominant families in the Perthshire region. The Murrays especially had strong connections to the court, as would soon find literary expression in the shape of the Tullibardine MS containing Montgomery's *Flyting* with *Polwart*, which belonged to the Murrays of Tullibardine.¹⁶⁵ They also had strong connections to the Erskines: John Erskine, Scott's superior in 1548, married Annabella, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine. The couple were later entrusted with the care of the young James VI.¹⁶⁶

In 1559-60 the fruits of the Abbey 'in thir rebellious dayis throw laik of iustice and persecutioun of the spiritualitie and spoilzeing [spoliation] of thair landis and fructis [...] culd nocht be obtenit'.¹⁶⁷ By setting these church lands in tack to selected feuars Gordon effectively sold them off in the long term, but in the short term at least potentially protected the abbey's landed possessions from being taken away from those with an already existing interest in these lands. Gordon later was one of those who got into trouble with the reformed kirk for this feuing off of church lands, because it robbed the fledgling Protestant church of the revenues that it so badly needed.¹⁶⁸ He provided himself with a justification in the above-mentioned contract, stating that the tack to Drummond had been concluded 'vnto that tyme that the eternale of his prouidence reduce iustice heirintill and the samin ministrat to his afflictit now arraybit [*sic*] in diuersse partis'.¹⁶⁹

Scott's dealings with Gordon indicate a shift in his manner of earning a living: he has moved from being a Chapel Royal prebendary or even a St Giles' chorister to one whose income is based on money-lending and on the possession of land formerly belonging to the church. It is

a moot point whether that shift occurred because he *chose* to turn his back on the church (as implied by MacQueen 1970: xli), or because he could no longer make a living as a musician now that the old church was both disintegrating – a general trend, described by McQuaid (1952) – as well as reforming. These alternative explanations are of course by no means mutually exclusive, but the latter seems likely to have affected the musician most directly. In addition to recent pressures on musicians to conform to more rigorous regulations emanating from Rome, as illustrated in the case of Palestrina (discussed below), there had been sharp criticism already during James V's reign of church musicians who practised a more polyphonic and secular style. The Augustinian reformer Robert Richardson provided the most outspoken and sustained criticism of such music.¹⁷⁰ In any case, as with the income that he derived from the priory of Inchmahome, Scott is never mentioned among those living or working in the abbey itself, although he is linked to services done *for* the Abbey of Inchaffray in later documents.

Gordon's career resembles the general picture emerging of Scott – an at least seemingly loyal supporter of the Stewarts, yet operating among those who turned the increasingly besieged position of the pre-Reformation church in Scotland into a post-Reformation source of income for themselves. Moreover, Gordon's youth and upbringing link him to the circles in which Scott moved. Just like the younger Erskines, who came to spend much of their time with royal minors through their family's quasi-hereditary position as guardians of Stewart offspring, Gordon and his brother 'were brought up as companions to the young king'. This was because Gordon and James V, who was four or five years the elder, were closely related: Gordon's own mother, Margaret Stewart, was a natural daughter of James IV by Margaret Drummond, a connection which may also explain how Inchaffray Abbey came to be set in tack to the Drummond family.¹⁷¹

It is thought that Gordon received his education from the king's own tutors. Apart from bringing him into contact with men like David Lindsay or Gavin Dunbar, this gave Gordon the

necessary education and connections that opened up a career in the church. Mary of Guise relied on him on several occasions, and tried to have him promoted to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. Even after Gordon's strategic and characteristically (seemingly) effortless shift of allegiance to the Reformed church in 1560 and being, in Knox's own words, 'most familiar with the said John [i.e. Knox himself], in his house and at table', Gordon remained publicly supportive of Mary Queen of Scots.¹⁷² However, according to Knox Mary Queen of Scots described Gordon as 'a dangerous man', a comment that should perhaps be seen in connection with Mary's heavy-handed treatment of Gordon's brother, the Earl of Huntly. Although the latter was the hope of Catholic Scotland, Mary was more concerned with curbing Huntly's ambitions as the main aristocrat in the north-east, since these threatened to unsettle the precarious religious balance on which Mary was trying to build her sovereignty. One of Huntly's daughters was Jean Gordon, who married the Earl of Bothwell only to be divorced from him again within months, in order that Bothwell should be able to marry Mary Queen of Scots. This Jean Gordon is the famous 'she' in the sonnet sequence that is attributed to Mary herself, in which 'she' is the rival party vying for Bothwell's affection and therefore pilloried by the speaking voice in the sequence.¹⁷³

Such details relating to the Gordons, the Erskines, and their respective close relationships with the royal family indicate that Scott moved in circles where ambition indeed 'thunders around thrones'. Accordingly, this encourages us to view his work with expectations not dissimilar to those we activate when reading Wyatt, even if Scott remains more hidden behind his personae and his medium. Wyatt's phrase *circa Regna tonat*, in his poem 'Who list his wealth and ease retain', is a stoic borrowing from Seneca, setting up a tension between public and private, between the active life and withdrawal from it, that is characteristic also for some of Scott's verse, pointed by the theological dilemmas of the Reformation.¹⁷⁴

Scott's Inchaffray pension brings into focus another pensioner of the Abbey, whose career parallels Scott in several ways. Archibald Crawford was appointed almoner to Mary of

Guise in 1548, a post which had been held under James V by George Clapperton, the minor poet and Chapel Royal prebendary mentioned above. One of Crawford's duties seems to have been to act as a teacher of Mary of Guise in this capacity as well. After Mary of Guise's death, Crawford was appointed almoner to Mary Queen of Scots, in succession to John Erskine, prior of Inchmahome, who had acted as Mary's almoner in France. Like Scott, Crawford was an Inchaffray pensioner in the 1560s, his pensions also arranged via Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway. In 1564-65 Mary contemplated replacing Gordon as bishop of Galloway by Crawford, and historians have speculated that Gordon granted the pension to Crawford in order to make sure that the latter would not pursue such an ambition. Crawford is another name in Scott's 'vicinity' of whom the Erasmian ideas have been well attested: in keeping with this we find that Crawford made a will in 1584 in which he appointed his cousin, Robert Scott, director of Chancery and scribe to the Session, the 'Superiour of his Testament'.¹⁷⁵ The latter, another Scott with literary connections – notably to Alexander Montgomery, who wrote an epitaph on him, as noted in Chapter 2 – was a mild-mannered administrator with friends on both sides of the confessional divide.¹⁷⁶

Gordon's actions illustrate the opportunist but not unprincipled thought-processes of many who refused to take up partisan positions regarding the public issues of the day. Having sought preferment through a great variety of means and channels in the pre-Reformation church, Gordon subsequently prided himself openly on having been one of the first of the old order to preach in the reformed church and sign the *First Book of Discipline*. However, as bishop of Galloway he remained in charge of the Queen's Catholic chaplains. This kept Gordon in touch with the court as well as the Catholic church, and he was always mistrusted by the reformed kirk. When that mistrust began to prevent him from making a career in the Protestant kirk, he joined the Queen's party and became an increasingly important member in Mary's circle of adherents, as he had been to her mother. The reformed church assembly in 1567 regretted that he

'haunted court too much', but for that very reason Scott may have found Gordon a very useful contact and source of income.¹⁷⁷

If one looks back from the perspective of the 1560s, it seems quite plausible that Scott should have relinquished his appointment within the Catholic hierarchy in the 1550s. If he did so, it was probably for pragmatic rather than theological reasons. In financial and social terms, he effectively took part of the church with him, deriving his wealth from its benefices and its feued-off lands. After his supplication to the Vatican in December 1554 he is never again referred to as a beneficed churchman. His 1559 pension of Dalmellington, his canon's portion of the Abbey of Inchaffray and, possibly, his monk's portion of Crossraguel Abbey do not seem to have been granted to him as a member of the church as an institution or of those respective religious communities but rather as rewards for services done in a more secular capacity. This is also how he seems to have been paid for his services in St Giles' Cathedral as a musician in 1556-58, as a contracted outsider 'for the year allanerlie'. In other words, from the 1550s onwards, Scott's income seems to have been based entirely on professional contracts and on revenues deriving from church lands that had been feued off, rather than on any other role as servant of the church.

He may therefore indeed have 'left' the Church (in the public, institutional sense; he may well have retained Catholic sympathies in the private sphere) in the course of the decade after the legitimation of his two sons, and he may, indeed, have married the mother of his children. In a passage from the 'New Yeir Gift' (January 1562), Scott condemns those 'wickit pastouris' among the Catholic clergy who 'for wantonnes [...] wald nocht wed na wyvis / Nor yit leif chaste, bot chop and change thair cheir [merry-making]'; 'thai brocht thair bastardis with the skrufe [wealth] thai skraip / To blande thair blude with barrownis be ambitioune' (ll. 57, 61-62, 65-66). The attempts of churchmen to marry off their illegitimate offspring to landed nobility by dowering their daughters from the church's patrimony are an abuse that the 1559 Provincial

Council explicitly forbade.¹⁷⁸ The 'New Yeir Gift' was a very public text, with Scott's name woven into the final stanza of the text, and it seems unlikely that the poet would have written the lines quoted if he himself were guilty of what he impugned. This may be thought to increase the chances of Scott having indeed married or at least having concluded a contract of marriage before 1562. That a marriage may have indeed curtailed Scott's church career is suggested by another line from the 'New Yeir Gift', already quoted above: 'Thai lost baith [both] benefice and pentioun [pension] that mareit' (l. 73). The latter detail is not normally included among Reformers' grievances against the old church, as the loss of benefices within the Catholic church, in Protestant eyes, was a proper course of action rather than the basis of a claim to martyrdom. Overall, therefore, it would appear that Scott here indeed breathes a personal regret that internal church reforms regarding clerical marriage have failed to be implemented within the Catholic church. It is noteworthy, too, that not a single record survives that proves that Scott ever had any dealings with the Protestant kirk. These particular lines from the 'New Yeir Gift' seem especially close to Scott's own experience and they arguably provide information on what befell him in the 1550s.

With these details in mind, it seems plausible to argue that Scott married (possibly the mother of his children legitimated in 1549) sometime between 1549 and 1562. It is striking, though, how in all legal references to Scott and his children a wife (or the mother of his children), alive or deceased, is never once mentioned. She may, therefore, indeed have 'left him'. But, equally, this may have involved the termination of a relationship which a modern perspective might not instantly recognise as one between husband and wife, i.e. as a 'marriage'. Contemporary ideas and practices regarding marriage, and marriages of clerics in particular, were much more fluid and complex than is at present generally supposed. In the mid-sixteenth century we meet with situations in which a man might speak of his wife without having (formally) married her; one also finds churchmen who were also partners in a marriage that

involved the procreation of legitimate offspring. In addition, it is worth noting that sixteenth-century Scottish divorce laws were significantly more liberal than their English counterparts. In Scotland, under James V adultery provided sufficient ground for divorce for both men and women, and divorce was less unusual in Scotland than in England.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, separation (as distinct from divorce, i.e. dissolution of a marriage) was relatively common under Roman Catholic jurisdiction before 1560.¹⁸⁰ In other words, Scott's 'wyfe' may indeed have 'left him', as the colophon of 'To luvv vnluvv it is ane pane' claims – but what exactly constitutes, in contemporary terms, a 'wyfe' or how a man could be 'left' by her is open to discussion.

Conclusions based on this colophon therefore require careful historicisation. Again, Alexander Gordon shines an illuminating light on what may have happened in Scott's case. Like Scott, in the 1540s Gordon had been a cleric in the Catholic church, and, though he was as yet neither priest nor bishop (see below), he may well have focused on finding preferment within that institution. At the same time, however, Gordon had seven children by one Barbara Logie.¹⁸¹ While even among highly placed churchmen a passive attitude towards a lack of sexual abstinence among clerics had been widespread in the first half of the century (Cardinal Beaton had eight children, all by Marion Ogilvy)¹⁸², the above-mentioned Scottish Provincial Church Councils of 1549-59 mark a clear change in this. The 1549 Council argued that the causes of heresy are 'the corruption and profane lewdness of life in the churchmen of almost all ranks, together with crass ignorance of literature and of all the liberal arts'.¹⁸³ As the Council of Trent moved towards its close, the guidelines and appointment practices of Rome became increasingly strict, as part of an attempt to bring about internal reform and to counter Protestant accusations of Catholic corruption and institutionalised hypocrisy. To name just one, better known parallel of a musician who was caught out by the internal reform movement within the Catholic church in this period: the composer and singer Palestrina was admitted as a member of the papal 'Cappella Sistina' in 1555, in violation of the rules, which excluded married men. However, a

few months later a new pope was installed, the 'intransigent reformer' Paul IV, who almost immediately removed Palestrina from the papal chapel, together with two other married singers.¹⁸⁴

Because of his relationship with Barbara Logie, Gordon seems to have faced increasing difficulties in achieving preferment within the church. He had been nominated by Mary of Guise as Archbishop of Glasgow, but the Hamiltons lobbied successfully to provide one of their own kin to this lucrative post. Instead, Gordon was in 1551 appointed Commendator of the Abbey of Inchaffray and Archbishop of Athens, the latter being a merely titular distinction. In 1553 he was given the bishopric of the Isles with Iona *in commendam*. But Rome seems to have been reluctant to ratify Mary of Guise's nomination, early in 1559, of Gordon as bishop of Galloway, in succession to Andrew Durie, the churchman *cum* minor poet mentioned in Chapter 2. Gordon refused to terminate or renounce his relation with Barbara Logie, and he must have realised that his attempts to rise to the highest levels of the Catholic church had been thwarted. Sensing that the Protestant movement was gaining the upper hand, he adjusted his allegiances to fall in with this new order. However, as with Scott, one senses in Gordon's actions an air of regret regarding the lack of success of the Catholic church's internal reform movement.

Gordon's career as a whole suggests that he became not so much unprincipled as both wary and weary of political and religious dogma of any kind, and of institutionalised divisions between Protestant and Catholic or church and state, divisions that obstructed the running of the country as well as its social continuity. Thus, while he was 'the first [bishop] that publicly preached Christ in face of the authority', he became a committed Marian after the Reformation. Likewise, although he openly told the Marian leaders in a sermon on 'charity' at St Giles' in 1571 that Mary was a sinful adulteress, he still advocated prayer for Scotland's lawful magistrate rather than for her deposition. However, in an increasingly polarised nation, Gordon's actions made him vulnerable to the accusation of opportunism, a man greatly distrusted, yet

enlisted, by both sides. Often dismissed by historians as a self-seeking man, he died 'a rather poorer man than John Knox'. As Donaldson concludes, 'one can only comment that if Alexander Gordon's career was devoted to self-aggrandisement it had been singularly unsuccessful'.¹⁸⁶

This leads to a perspective on Gordon that is of relevance to how we view Scott as well. Gordon is typical of the contemporary opposition between a 'self-knowing, self-owning subject' and an administrative institution – be it Catholic or Protestant – such as church or state.¹⁸⁷ The fact that Gordon was distrusted by both Catholics and Protestants bears this out; his choices followed moral, secular lines of thought, not absolute theological or denominational ones. The civic structures that demarcate these opposites generate the mutual pressures which define both the individual and the institution. It is these same forces that can be clearly sensed in the actions of many of those associated with the Bannatyne circles in contemporary Edinburgh, men seeking a pious but laicised social rationale. Scott's implied regret in the 'New Yeir Gift' for what the Catholic church failed to do in that respect voices similar socio-political ideals. By extension, it is plausible to assume that it affected his other verse as well, notably his poems on amatory subjects. Here, too, one senses an overlap with Gordon's ideas. In a sermon, delivered on 17 June 1571, in the middle of civil war, Gordon said that 'na inferiour subiect hes power to deprive or depose their lauchfull magistrate', regardless of their crime, since they have been appointed by God. Judging from his 'New Yeir Gift', Scott would also instinctively have agreed with another sentiment that Gordon voices in the same sermon: 'Now our ministeris are growne so vantone and ceremonious, that they will not pray for there lauchfull heretrix, wha hes permitted them sic libertie of conscience, that they may vse what religione they pleis'.¹⁸⁸ Scott's insistence in his amatory lyrics on 'lesum' lufe suggests that he shared Gordon's moral as well as political code, based on developing one's private conscience and morality in ways accommodating of reality and opportunity but not outwith 'lauchfull' parameters.

In relation to the subject of marriage and how contemporary Scottish practice defined wifely status, what is particularly striking are certain contemporary academic discussions, especially those found in the lectures of William Hay in King's College, Aberdeen, copied by a student in 1535 – the very time and place, it would seem, of Gordon's own academic education.¹⁸⁹ Hay argued against the fact that,

although the Church enjoined celibacy on the clergy, as a general rule, this did not exclude the possibility of a man receiving major orders when already married. If ordained priest after marriage he should normally, at least in the Latin church, surrender his marriage rights and abstain entirely from intercourse with his wife. He might proceed to the priesthood with or without her agreement, but in any case his ordination did not deprive *her* of her marriage rights: if she was unwilling to accept the continent life contemplated by her husband, she could demand her rights as a wife, and he must grant her request.¹⁹⁰

This passage touches on one of many grey areas that Gordon, characteristically, seems to have exploited, one that allowed a married man to receive major orders yet still continue his marriage, albeit in an extra-ordinary form. Following Hay's line of argument, Gordon could theoretically marry, be ordained, and commit himself to a clerical celibate life yet also have children.

Gordon's choices thus indicate the contemporary variety of opinions and customs regarding celibacy and marriage and the attendant, frequently contradictory, use of labels (such as spouse and wife) that need to be taken into account in any interpretation of Bannatyne's reference to Scott's 'wyfe'.¹⁹¹ Thus, betrothal, if followed by intercourse, could constitute a valid marriage; it was only after the Reformation that the church insisted on the solemnisation of marriages in church and on celibacy *until* marriage, doing away with pre-Reformation practices such as

handfasting or the stretching of a trial marriage beyond the customary twelve months after the formal calling of the banns.¹⁹² Likewise, Hay points out that, strictly speaking, a spouse should not be called a spouse after marriage, as this term refers to the promise made to marry in future; therefore, the term 'spouse' is redundant after marriage, albeit that it is frequently used to refer to those having already married.¹⁹³ In the contemporary complexity of opinion as to what constituted a marriage, it is easy to see how this confusion could apply in reverse as well, and that a spouse could come to be referred to as wife. This possibility should also be taken into account when assessing Bannatyne's reference to Scott's 'wyfe'.

Gordon seems to have quite deliberately exploited the confusion as to when one's spouse is one's wife. In the Spring of 1560, even before the Reformers had fully wrested power from the old regime, Gordon was confronted with his pre-Reformation past during a church service in Perth, the town where in 1559 the popular Protestant uprising against the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland had started. Gordon readily confessed to having had a relationship with Barbara Logie, as well as to having offspring by her prior to his official marriage with her, but he added that he

wes mareit with the said barbara logy fourtene yeris bigane per verba de presenti beand na bisschop preist nor yit within ordouris or promiss quhatsumeuir quhilk be ony Law mycht haif maid derogatioun tharto and at na tyme denyit the samyn it beand requirit at hym be ony notable persone as be the quenys maieste of nobill memor Marie of lorane last dowriar of the realm My lord archbisshop of Sanctandrois sherref of air witht mony uthir diuerss to quhom he grantit the samyn to be veretable.¹⁹⁴

Barbara Logie, present at the service, confirmed Gordon's statement. This entire, very public confession was recorded on 21 April 1560 in a notary's protocol book, the notary adding that the validity of this marriage could not be contested by any law – a claim endorsed by the

document's modern editor. In the new configurations of power, it was now in Gordon's interest for his 'marriage' with Barbara Logie to be openly known, and one even wonders whether this whole *ad hoc* 'confession' (including the notary's written report thereof) during a religious service was not premeditated. It effectively provides him with an almost proto-Protestant profile (he had always wanted to marry the mother of his children but the institution would not let him).¹⁹⁵ It also seemingly absolves him from one of the main Reformist accusations of Catholic clergy, namely, as Scott says, that 'Thai wer sa proud in thair prerogatyvis' that 'for wantonnes thay wald nocht wed na wyvis / Nor yit leif [live] chaste, bot chop and change thair cheir [entertainment]' ('New Yeir Gift', ll. 60-2). By contrast, Gordon here affirms that he neither chopped nor changed his 'cheir', and he did want to marry the mother of his children. In all this, Gordon managed to hang on to his preferments in the old church, clearly seeking to make them the springboard for a prominent position in the new kirk.

Gordon's reference to a marriage *per verba de praesenti* ('by words of the present [tense]') draws attention to the possibility that Bannatyne's colophon may have used the word 'wyfe' in a particular contemporary meaning, namely to refer to Scott's *affianced* wife, i.e. to a marriage concluded *per verba de futuro* ('by words of the future [tense]'). A marriage *per verba de praesenti* creates a valid marriage and prohibits other marriages, and no further steps are needed to confer full married status, whereas a marriage *per verba de futuro* could be dissolved by mutual agreement. Many disputes originated in such distinctions, arising from the mistaken popular belief that a marriage *per verba de praesenti*, like a marriage *per verba de futuro*, created a spousal only, rather than a concluded marriage; a 'marital limbo' thus developed.¹⁹⁶ The reference to Scott's 'wife' in Bannatyne's colophon may thus have been to an *affianced* wife.

In the absence of more direct evidence regarding Scott's own circumstances, Gordon's predicaments and actions provide a revealing insight, as close to Scott's own circles and

circumstances as can be obtained, into contemporary ideas and practice regarding marriage and clerical celibacy as well as the attendant social practice of those caught in between. Like Scott, Gordon in the mid-1540s was still 'a simple cleric who had received the tonsure but was not in major orders and who was, therefore, still free to marry'.¹⁹⁷ The absence of the title 'sir' in all references to Alexander Scott, the musician, indicates that he was not a priest, and was therefore, judging from Gordon's example, free to marry. Moreover, the authorities in Scotland, including Mary of Guise and the Archbishop of St Andrews, had known about Gordon's marriage, but seem to have dealt with it discreetly, at least so long as Gordon remained within the Catholic church and a useful political ally. Such a career is especially likely for those who were granted church benefices that were in royal or other secular patronage, which is exactly the kind of benefice granted regularly to Scott, too, as well as to his son, even after the 1560 Reformation (see below). The fact that Scott, from the late 1550s onwards, can be seen to follow closely in Gordon's footsteps in terms of where, how, and in what form he obtained his income (as further outlined below), reinforces the notion that Scott in the 1550s faced problems similar to those of Gordon. Scott, too, began that decade on a royally-appointed church income, which might disappear with the kinds of reform as envisaged by the reformers, both internal and Protestant. If Gordon, who after all was the brother of the Earl of Huntly and could pull relatively far-reaching strings, had to tread so carefully to secure *his* benefices, it is likely that less established figures such as Scott faced an even more difficult task to achieve the same – hence, possibly, the particular reference in the 'New Yeir Gift' to those in the church who married and, as a result, lost 'baith benefice and pentioun'.

Bannatyne's reference to Scott's 'wife' may thus cover a range of eventualities, and cannot be used as unambiguous evidence of his social, clerical or confessional status. If we try to synthesise all references and contexts, the most likely scenario is that Scott in 1549 was still a beneficed cleric and, some time prior to 1562, 'contracted' a 'wife' who, in or prior to 1568

(when Bannatyne completed copying the Bannatyne MS), 'left' Scott, after a 'marriage' that may have deprived Scott of his church benefice, or even of a further career in the Catholic church.

These facts and suggestions play a role in Scott's poetry, too. Such discussions on priests and marriage, even if largely cast in the diction of late medieval thought, indicate a quickening of the secular pulse that heralds new epistemes, be they social or theological.¹⁹⁸ Thus, as Principal of Aberdeen, William Hay was the successor of Hector Boece, a good friend and admirer of Erasmus, whose writings dominated academic teaching in this period.¹⁹⁹ Such new ways of thinking influenced the very audience of the Bannatyne MS, and must therefore also have affected Scott's verse at some level. The fluidity of contemporary socio-political boundaries, sexual identity and political allegiances signalled by these cultural processes can be sensed as a potent force in his verse, even though critical analyses of verse by Scott or his contemporaries do not usually reference it, except when such verse deals more directly and explicitly with political events. Such issues and debates constituted ethical challenges on an existential level – the freedom imposed on the individual to make moral choices – that give Scott's satirical verse, his psalms, his 'New Yeir Gift', as well as his best amatory poems an urgency and, at times, ruthlessness, that makes these poems cut to the chase and dramatise questions about identity and individual choice in a manner unequalled by other contemporary Scottish poets. In this respect, Scott is indeed the heir of William Dunbar, regardless of the different personae they employ.

The discussion of the possible readings of the word 'wife' also provides us with a more focused, if not necessarily more transparent, profile of the musician himself. It adds another dimension to our awareness that 'lesum [lawful] lufe' and the bond of marriage emerge as central concerns in several of his poems, from the 'New Yeir Gift' and his amatory lyrics to the shrillest lines of 'Ye blindit luvaris luke'. That emphasis foregrounds an area in his work in

which personal experience may be close to the textual surface, and reminds us that in the circumambages of sexual love Scott seems to have been a participant rather than just an observer. In contrast to many lyrics on the theme of love by other cleric-poets, such as those by William Dunbar, Scott's lyrics on love are more engaged with love as practice, as a feeling, rather than (just) as a subject. This tends to lessen the perceived distance between author and speaker, an important step towards more modern conceptions of lyrical poetry, one which may in fact be instanced by Bannatyne's transferral of the bitterness of 'To luve vnluvit it is ane pane' to its colophon, 'quod Scott quhen his wyfe left him'. The latter poem, in its mimicking of the colloquial, spoken voice, is only rivalled by the very best of Dunbar's meditative lyrics. To distil such mimesis out of the very turbulent Scottish universe of the mid-sixteenth century is Scott's prime lyrical achievement. The fact that one of his texts ('Return the hairt hamewart agane') has recently been located in an English musical manuscript dated 'c.1560' suggests that such achievement had already become well known in the 1550s, which accords with his appointment in St Giles'.²⁰⁰

3.6 Parallel lines and divided loyalties: 1560-1567

On present evidence, then, Alexander Scott, musician, is in the 1560s no longer connected to the Chapel Royal. When we next hear of a parson of Balmaclellan by the end of 1561 his name is sir George Gray, while the parson of Ayr *tertio*, another prebend previously held by Scott, is Mr Robert Danielston. Nevertheless, the careers of these pluralists do identify the circles in which Scott would have found opportunities to continue contributing to religious or cultural life, since both these men reveal links with the world of literature. We have above already encountered Mr Robert Danielston, godfather to George Bannatyne's sister and himself a Chapel Royal prebendary from a family with an established interest in books and learning. Sir George Gray,

who had been with the Chapel Royal at least since 1549, in the late 1560s became chanter of the Chapel Royal, succeeding John Fethy, Scott's colleague at St Giles', who, unlike Scott, seems to have clung on to his Chapel Royal benefice at least a few years longer, perhaps because of his financial problems discussed earlier.²⁰¹

It is striking how Scott's life-events continuously touch on figures who combined culture and learning with court patronage and church income. Alexander Gordon has been discussed above; for their part, the Erskines in general have been singled out in historical scholarship as profiting handsomely and purposefully from the secularisation of church lands, while John Erskine, the Commendator of Inchmahome, in particular is foregrounded by historians as a most prominent example of somebody leaving the church to become a secular lord.²⁰² Another of Scott's main connections, Patrick Murray of Newraw (see below), confirms this pattern. In the absence of direct information about Scott himself, contextualising the events in Scott's biography and sketching his cultural profile through the studying of such historical figures and patterns is both valid and valuable, particularly given the fact that the lives of Gordon and Scott share several features and point in similar directions. Tracing the career of the man at the head of the Chapel Royal reveals the contemporary dilemmas of interweaving personal ambition with a life of public service to the state through serving in one or more of its institutions, including the church. It contributes to our understanding of the issues that Scott addressed in his verse, and also helps to outline contemporary contexts for the performance of literature. Many authors (and lyrical poets in particular) such as George Steil, George Clapperton, John Fethy, Alexander Kyd, William Stewart, John Bellenden, and John Rolland had depended in one way or another on church patronage, but after the Reformation such poets (and often their patrons, too) were forced to look elsewhere for new sources of income, thus also running the risk of becoming detached from their former audiences.

This socio-economic context will have affected the way in which Scott's work was

written and how it was intended to function. We soon find his verse pressed into the service not of lyrical aesthetics but of politics. By the time of the Reformation (1560), Scott seems already to have become a financially astute operator with a useful network of urban affiliations in Edinburgh over and above long-standing connections in royal and clerical circles. With his literary expertise as well as a record of long-standing service to the Stewarts, combined with Queen Mary's reconciliatory politics in the first months or even years after her return from France, Scott at the end of 1561 must have seemed a singularly appropriate choice of poet to address Mary, the newly returned Catholic Queen, on her first New Year in reformed Scotland. With his 'New Yeir Gift' poem to Mary 'quhen scho first came hame', Scott follows in the footsteps of David Lindsay, who was one of the most prominent court servants looking after Mary's father in the latter's infancy.²⁰³ As detailed in Chapter 2, together with two neo-Latin poets, James Foulis and Adam Otterburn, Lindsay prepared the address to Queen Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, on her arrival from France in Edinburgh in 1538. He had prepared a similar welcome to Princess Madeleine, James V's first bride, a year earlier, but had to change this into a 'deploration' because the frail girl died before Lindsay could present his piece.

Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' occupies a unique place in the Bannatyne MS particularly because of its explicit contemporary socio-political references. I have dealt with this poem in detail elsewhere (van Heijnsbergen [2008]), but it is important for the present biographical profile of Scott to note here that the 'New Yeir Gift' is a finely balanced work voicing a concern with social and political stability as well as the desire to dissolve rather than pursue factional differences. The poem's nuances allow it to represent the concerns of a whole national community rather than those of any one interest in particular. Its political emphases are loyalist rather than Catholic, reformist rather than Protestant.

However, in spite of Scott's 'New Yeir Gift', there is no trace of Scott in the royal household during Mary's personal reign (1561-67). Nevertheless, one possible sighting of him

on the fringes of these circles may now be suggested, and it is telling that this sighting again involves the Erskines, still Scott's most direct link to the court. His 'Luve preysis but comparesone' provides a lyrical chain of variations on the double meaning of its opening *sententia*: 'love oppresses without comparison', implying not only that love is without compare but also that it affects all and therefore blurs class boundaries. As suggested above at, and in, note 86, its last line, 'She may persaeue sum Inglis throw it', advises a young woman to use common sense truths and values (i.e. plain 'Inglis') in choosing a lover, but it also provides a coded reference to the most important quality of that lover, namely that he be English (this would be in tune with Scott's punning use of geographical and related terms, as discussed in section 3.4 above). My earlier suggestion that this reference may have something to do with Mary Queen of Scots' controversial choice of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, as her husband – a man who was indeed an Englishman, though of lower stock than the Queen – may now be reinforced by further biographical details pertaining to Scott.²⁰⁴ When John, Lord Erskine, Scott's superior in 1548 as Commendator of Inchmahome and one of Mary's most trustworthy servants, was asked in 1564 by the Queen whom she should marry, Erskine 'expressed his desire that she should marry an Englishman', namely the Earl of Leicester, as proposed by Elizabeth. Mary eventually settled on Darnley, another Englishman, but with good Scottish connections, a match which Erskine also 'cordially supported'. Erskine's sentiments in this show his affinity with those who (like Mary's advisors, the Earl of Moray and William Maitland of Lethington) sought to establish an 'amity' with England. Considering Scott's use of his poetic voice to articulate Erskine sentiments in 'To luve vnluvit it is ane pane', it seems plausible to link 'Luve preysis but comparesone' to this particular historical moment. As will be seen, Scott gives voice to similar political preferences elsewhere, too: his 'New Yeir Gift' is in tune with such efforts towards unity and amity, and it would make sense if Scott's poem had been written on behalf of Erskine, or at least with his interest in mind.²⁰⁵

That there existed such a framework for coterie verse is underlined by Darnley's own contributions thereto, as recorded in the Bannatyne MS.²⁰⁶ Mary fell in love with Darnley when he lay ill with measles in Stirling Castle, the royal residence of which Erskine was the keeper. Mary regularly travelled thither from Edinburgh to visit Darnley in the Spring of 1565, and she stopped off at Alloa Tower, Erskine's family home seven miles east of Stirling, on at least one of these journeys.²⁰⁷ A poem such as Scott's 'Luve preysis but comparesone' may thus point to a close-knit coterie in the mid-1560s, perhaps even based in the Stirling area, with its Chapel Royal and strong local Erskine influence, in the same way that 'Depairte, depairte, depairte' was connected to a similar coterie in the 1540s. In other words, the implications of the poem may locate Scott in the mid-1560s in the same circles where he was found in the 1540s, and where he will be found again in the 1570s, deeply involved still with the innermost circles around the royal family.

As argued in van Heijnsbergen (2008), the most likely occasion for the presentation of the 'New Yeir Gift' is Mary's stay at Seton Palace from 1 to 5 January 1562.²⁰⁸ It is in this poem that Scott emerges most clearly as the voice made to speak to, but also on behalf of, the moderates on both sides of the confessional divide. The poem shows great awareness of the political needs of the monarch as well as the 'commonweal', and it explicitly attends to these needs. This suggests that Scott, although a supporter of reform, still had access to those near the Queen, and even – via his poem – to the Queen herself. It should also be noted, though, that both the 'New Yeir Gift' and 'Luve preysis but comparesone' are pieces of advice which use a voice that is intimate yet formal. Scott does not become Mary's spokesperson; the distance between speaker and addressee is minimal but also maintained, which suggests that Scott's most daily and private dealings were with the Erskine circles and the Chapel Royal or even with his Edinburgh connections of the 1550s, rather than with the royal household itself. This distinction must be observed throughout the narrative of Scott's life and poetry, since it contextualises his

respective presences and absences, in both literary and historical terms; he was *at* but not necessarily *of* the court.

In line with such a cultural-political preference for continuities over discontinuities, Scott continued to generate income in the mid-1560s from the same sources that he had used in the period immediately before Mary's return to Scotland – namely Inchaffray lands and services rendered to its abbey. On 7 April 1564, Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway and Commendator of Inchaffray, and the canons of Inchaffray 'chaptourlie gadderit', grant Alexander Scott, their 'louit servand', a yearly pension for 'all the dayis of his lyfytyme' of £13 13s 4d 'for service done and to be done to ws', to be 'vpliftit of the reddiest males [rents]' of several of the abbey's lands (Cardny, Mure of Dollarie, Tullychandie, and Nether Ardewny) in the sherifffdom of Perth.²⁰⁹ With regards to this, MacQueen's statement that Scott is 'twice on record in the middle 1560s as a canon of Inchaffray' is misleading.²¹⁰ First of all, apart from the 7 April 1564 charter, MacQueen mentions a charter under the Great Seal, dated 24 February 1566.²¹¹ This, however, is a straightforward confirmation of the tack granted by Gordon to David, second Lord Drummond, on 7 November 1560, mentioned above. Moreover, it does not prove that Scott was at any time a member of the chapter of Inchaffray; he is never called 'canon' in any of the documents involved, but is rather a servant of the abbey and its chapter. Nor does this 1566 charter prove that Scott was in receipt of these sums in 1565, merely that he had been granted them in 1560.

Nevertheless, that Scott was doing well is something that does appear from other documents. On 6 January 1568 John Beaton of Balfour registers an obligation through his procurator, Richard Strang, dated 2 January 1568 (not 1567, as MacQueen says), in which Beaton states he has received £500 from Alexander Scott, musician. Beaton now sells Scott an annualrent of £50 out of his lands of Nether Petleddy, Balberdie, and Balfour in the sherifffdom of Fife, also on behalf of his (Beaton's) spouse, life-renter of these lands. John Beaton and

Robert Strang of Kilrenny (Beaton's brother-in-law) guarantee the fulfilment of this obligation; Mr Richard Strang and Mr John Sharp are appointed as their executors.²¹² Scott also maintained his interest in land and property in the Inchaffray area: on 10 May 1570 Scott purchased an annualrent out of the lands of Tullycandy and the Kirklands of Maderty, lands formerly belonging to the Abbey of Inchaffray, from Patrick Murray of Newraw.²¹³

These transactions reveal Scott's main post-Reformation sources of income and his connections. As a (former?) court musician he frequented – at least for business purposes – the company of those who were in a position to profit from lands sold off by the Church just prior to the Reformation. Scott seems to rely on a network of contacts that allow him to raise and invest increasingly substantial amounts of money. The identity of the people with whom he does business also provides important information as to the kind of political and cultural preferences that he may have had himself. The lands mentioned in the May 1570 transaction had been granted to Murray of Newraw by Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, in 1558 or 1559. The Murrays of Newraw are among the most prominent examples of a family specialising in obtaining landed property previously belonging to the church, and which thus guaranteed lairdly status for themselves.²¹⁴

As more fully detailed below, Scott purchased several annualrents from Patrick Murray of Newraw, and, in a parallel to his dealings with the Erskines and Alexander Gordon, he once more followed the trail blazed by families with a higher social or even court profile who turned pre-Reformation positions or sources of income into post-Reformation ones. Alexander, the eldest son of the above-mentioned Patrick Murray of Newraw, married Marion, a daughter of Alexander Alexander of Menstrie; her brother William was the grandfather of Sir William Alexander, the poet and statesman of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century. A younger son of Patrick Murray of Newraw, Thomas (c.1564-1623), wrote Latin poetry, collected in the famous collection of Scottish neo-Latin verse *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum* (two

volumes, Amsterdam, 1637), became tutor and then secretary to the future Charles I. He was also Provost of Eton, and his daughter, Anne, Lady Halkett, is now best known for her autobiographical rather than for her religious writing. Another son of Murray of Newraw, Patrick, was Commendator of Inchaffray and cupbearer to the King. Finally, Newraw's grandson William, first Earl of Dysart, was Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and a great favourite of Charles I, with a substantial collection of paintings. More immediately relevant for literary studies is the fact that he seems to have been a minor poet himself: he is credited with the authorship of 'To His Mistress Going to Scotland' ('Farewell, fair saint, may not the seas and wind'), a well-known lyric also attributed to Thomas Carew. Scottish authorship of this poem may be made more plausible by the poem's occurrence in the Drummond MSS, given by Drummond to Edinburgh University in 1627. Moreover, Sir Robert Ayton (1569-1638), the Scottish courtier and poet whose lyrical style is closest to some of Scott's leaner, more metaphysical poems, in his will called this Earl of Dysart his best friend, bequeathing jewellery to him. Ayton seems to have had other ties with this branch of the Murray family, too: he wrote a sonnet in praise of Margaret, Lady Maderty, who had married John, second Lord Maderty (their son David, third Lord Maderty, founded Innerpeffray Library, as discussed below). The second Lord Maderty was the son of James Drummond, the second son of Lillias Ruthven and David, second Lord Drummond. Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, in 1560 had set in tack to all three of them, while James was still barely more than an infant, the whole of the abbey of Inchaffray, of which James in 1565 became Commendator, by royal appointment. As another boy from these 'lesser' noble families who was educated with the king, he became a royal favourite, and personally protected James VI in the Gowrie plot in 1600. These Murrays, and the families with whom they interacted and intermarried, thus again reveal how literary interests run in families in contemporary Scotland, families, moreover, with whom Scott was in close touch. And once again, this was a family that could originally be classed as belonging to the minor

gentry, or a cadet branch of a more prominent family, that gained in influence through service to the crown over a number of generations. A slightly later example of this literary interest running in the Murray family is Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.30, the so-called 'Tibbermuir MS', in which over a long period of time various members of the Murray of Tibbermuir family, a branch of the Murray family closely connected to the Murrays of Tullibardine, copied verse ranging from Lydgate's *Troy Book* to early seventeenth-century court lyric.²¹⁵

It is in such aspiring circles that literature, didactic or otherwise, found a keen audience. Both the Strangs and Sharp re-occur in Scott's biography just over a decade later, as will be seen below. Sharp, a baker's son, was the advocate of the 'maister' poet of Renaissance Scotland, Alexander Montgomery; he was pilloried in Montgomery's flyting sonnet quoted above ('A baxter's bird, a bluitter beggar born'), and identified by Knox as one of those ministers who 'had left their charges, and entered into other vocations more profitable for the belly'. Sharp had a substantial library, and his son sent home a copy of Virgil from France.²¹⁶ The Strangs of Kilrenny were relatives of the Beatons of Balfour by marriage, Robert Strang having married Agnes, the daughter of John Beaton of Balfour. Richard Strang was a Protestant town councillor in Edinburgh from 1559 to 1561, while Robert, as portioner of Kilrenny, was in touch with Mr James Melville, then minister of Kilrenny. In other words, the Strangs belonged to a family with a strong Protestant pedigree and with contacts in educated circles.²¹⁷

The Beaton family, mentioned in the 1568 obligation, were behind the French and Catholic influence under James V and Mary of Guise. They were a powerful force, who had always rallied behind the Stewart cause in the name of a Catholic Scotland, notably through Cardinal David Beaton (?1494-1546). The grandfather of the John Beaton of Balfour mentioned in the 1568 obligation was Cardinal Beaton's brother, while John's father was Keeper of St Andrews Castle, the residence of the Cardinal. John's great-grandfather was the grandfather of the poet and translator – or rather 'abridger' – of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, John Stewart of

Baldynneis, through Elizabeth Beaton, mistress of James V. Moreover, the Beatons of Creich and Balfour were quasi-hereditary keepers of the royal palace of Falkland, which is renowned for having the earliest Renaissance façade in Britain, created with help from a group of mason artisans from France.²¹⁸

The nature and political colour of Scott's post-Reformation connections thus continues those from before the Reformation: links with those who make a living by money-lending and feuing of churchlands are combined with connections to families around the throne with strongly legal and clerical emphases. Many of the people with whom Scott is found doing business in this period have important (if sometimes second-generation) links to powerful families with connections to the court and to circles of cultural activity. Initially, such historical figures appear as mere names in documents connected to Scott's life, but once the details are filled in, a three-dimensional picture begins to emerge of a society in pursuit of progress, power, continuity and culture – a society, in short, comprised of relatively close-knit circles, within which Scott's poetry requires to be re-situated, unless we want to make *ourselves* his (only) audience. In 1567, however, things were going to change.

3.7 Going underground: 1567-1579

Although we have no poetry written by Scott after the completion of the Bannatyne MS (1568), we can continue to sketch Scott's biography by contextualising his contacts in this period. From these contacts, we can also extract a remarkable number of literary connections that suggest a post-Reformation readership for Scott's verse, which, in its turn, also prioritises particular interpretations of his poems, even if the latter were written a decade or so earlier.

In the period under discussion (roughly, 1567-1579), Scotland not only lacked a royal

court with a mature sovereign, but also suffered the culturally destabilising effects of civil war (1568-1573). It is therefore perhaps not greatly surprising that we know of no poetry by Scott written after 1568. Nevertheless, Scott seems to have kept in touch with the milieu in which he had moved in the preceding decades, i.e. with men and women whose wealth and interests, or at least aspirations thereto, had previously enabled Scottish culture to maintain European dimensions. In combination with royal institutions themselves, these urban, clerical and lairdly circles had provided Scott with patronage and an audience for his work. However, even though it is out of these same networks that the poets of the next generation arose in the 1580s (Alexander Montgomery, Stewart of Baldynneis, William Fowler), this earlier cultural environment was badly affected by the events of 1567-68, the very period in which the Bannatyne MS was completed and which witnessed Mary's forced abdication, preventive detention, subsequent escape, and ultimate imprisonment in England.

Nevertheless, Scott still has a cultural presence in the fifteen or so remaining years of his life. Shire states, without further reference, that Alexander Scott 'appears in deeds of 1571/2 as musician and servant of the king'.²¹⁹ I have been unable to trace these deeds, but documents of the later 1570s (see below) do style Alexander Scott, elder, musician, unambiguously as 'servant to his majesty', which means that the following document (already touched on in Chapter 2) surely refers to the musician: on 14 November 1573 in Edinburgh, Alexander Scott, servant to his majesty, is witness to a bond involving an annualrent granted to James Bannatyne, whom failing to George Bannatyne, out of the lands of Lufnes owned by Patrick Hepburn of Waughton.²²⁰ In other words, Alexander Scott is witness to a key document involving the scribe of the very manuscript that contains versions of all his extant poems.

Considering the relative scarcity of documents that directly refer to George Bannatyne in his younger years, it is striking that Scott appears in one of them. Such personal acquaintance makes it plausible to argue that Bannatyne's attributions of texts in his manuscript anthology to

specific authors – so inaccurate with regard to long-dead poets such as Chaucer – are more authoritative in the cases of contemporary poets; this has already been seen in relation to the information provided in his colophons, discussed above. Most importantly, this 1573 document, in tandem with the seeming accuracy of the information in the Bannatyne MS colophons, suggests that it was indeed through personal acquaintance that he obtained the copytexts for his manuscript. We may therefore expect that the actual attributions of poems to Scott in the Bannatyne MS have a particular authority. Finally, the Waughton connection in the 1573 document once more links the Bannatynes to literary circles: from intermarriages between the Hepburns of Waughton and the Humes of Polwarth there came two prominent poets, Patrick Hume of Polwarth – champion of an older poetics at James VI's court in the early 1580s, and a man famously 'flyted' by Alexander Montgomery²²¹ – and his brother Alexander Hume, minister of Logie near Stirling.

One of the sources that Bannatyne used for his anthology is a copy of Scott's vernacular psalms. Bannatyne copied two of the latter into his manuscript, with one of these also included in the so-called 'Draft MS'. No print of Scott's psalms is extant, but at some point in the mid-seventies 'Alexander Scottis sone' presented 'psalmes in English [i.e. either English or Scots], 32^o', to James VI; as John Durkan has suggested, these are quite probably those translated by his father.²²² This volume was later gifted to Magdalene Livingston, maid of honour to Mary Queen of Scots, daughter to Lord Livingston – Mary's earlier guardian, together with Lord Erskine – and the younger sister of Mary Livingston, who had been one of the Queen's famous 'Four Maries'.²²³ Magdalene Livingston was married to Arthur Erskine, Queen Mary's equerry. Arthur Erskine, younger brother to John Erskine, Scott's former superior at Inchmahome, was one of Mary's most reliable servants. It was to Arthur Erskine that Mary passed the painful present of a vernacular bible during her official entry into Edinburgh in 1561, and it was behind Arthur Erskine that Mary mounted on horseback in her dramatic escape from Holyrood Palace

after the murder of her Italian secretary, David Riccio. The murder itself had taken place in Arthur Erskine's presence in Mary's private apartments in Holyrood Palace, with Mary six months pregnant. James Melville reports moreover how, just over a year later, during the argument between Mary and Bothwell, her new husband (the suspected murderer of Darnley, Mary's former husband) about the possession of the infant James, it was Arthur Erskine whom Mary, in her deepest despair, asked 'for a knife to stab herself, or else, said she, I shall drown myself.'²²⁴ This event also confirms the finding of modern critical studies: 'Mary's attendants tended to form a tight little circle who were both related to each other and who married each other – as Erskine had recently married Magdalene Livingston'.²²⁵ This wedding, moreover, is thought to have taken place on 7 January 1562, in the same season of festivities that is most likely to have been the stage for the presentation of Scott's 'New Yeir Gift'. The newly-weds received a handsome present from the Queen.²²⁶ All this makes it more likely that the psalms passed on by the king to Magdalene Livingston were indeed Scott's; even if they are here passed on by the crown, they are being kept in the 'family', of which Scott, by virtue of his link with the Erskines – if nothing else – was at least at one time an important member. These details show how such literary productions circulated among a particular group of people at court who were on very confidential terms with their Stewart sovereigns – and Scott seems to be one of this group.²²⁷ As the details in this chapter show, it is striking how his connections continuously circle back to these same families, such as the Beatons, Livingstons, and Erskines, who had literally become 'household names' in the Scottish royal household by the middle of the sixteenth century.

Magdalene Livingston's elder brother William, who inherited the family title, and William's wife, Agnes Fleming – sister of Mary Fleming, both maids of honour to the Queen – were Protestants who remained loyal to Mary and served her in exile. William travelled to Scotland and France on the Queen's behalf, while his wife even 'became an active agent in

facilitating secret correspondence between the Queen's friends' on her return visit to Scotland. This no doubt means that they – and thus, most likely, Magdalene Livingston – knew, or at least knew of, Alexander Scott's sons, both of whom were in the 1570s suspected by the English authorities of being agents for Mary (see below), and at least one of whom, like Agnes Fleming, served Mary personally in exile in the 1570s and acted as Mary's agent on *his* return visit to Scotland. Here, too, this close-knit circle yields direct connections to the Bannatyne family and their affiliated families in Edinburgh: Margaret Livingston, the daughter of William and Agnes, became the second wife of Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull, the son and heir of John Bellenden of Auchnoull.²²⁸ The links between the innermost court circles (with Marian emphases), urban Edinburgh, and the world of letters in general and of Alexander Scott in particular continue to become more and more conspicuous when pursuing such connections.

The way in which the identity of the donor of these psalms is recorded ('donnez par [gifted by] Alexander Scottis sone')²²⁹ is revealing: the father's name takes pride of reference over that of the actual bearer of gifts, the son. First of all, this in itself may be an indication that they were indeed Scott's own psalms. Secondly, it suggests that, when this gift was recorded in the relevant court documents, the father was still a well known (literary) figure, at least at court. Moreover, what seems largely to have escaped scholarly attention is the fact that there exists a single sheet printed by John Scot in Edinburgh in 1567, on which we find the final stanza – without mention of the author's name – of Scott's version of psalm 51, or, to be more precise, the 'Gloria Patri' with which Scott's psalm ends. The sheet advertises 'The haill hundreth and fyftie psalmes of Daud, in Inglis meter, be Thomas Sternholde, with vtheris diueris poyetis'.²³⁰ Regardless of whether this single sheet was just a single sheet print-trial or a page from a now lost book of psalms, it is a printed witness to Scott's contribution to the vernacularisation of Scripture and seems a logical continuation of Scott's reform-minded proposals articulated in the 'New Yeir Gift', confirming his status as one who in the 1560s was possessed of a not

insignificant public voice. Given the information assembled in the present thesis, Scott's two psalm translations are perhaps best read as a social act rather than as implying an interest in theological matters. From the evidence of his verse (notably the 'New Yeir Gift') it would appear that Scott saw theological issues as being in function of social stability and moral integrity, both on the collective and individual level. These emphases identify him as a reformer rather than as a Reformer. In line with this, Scott's psalm translations are probably not to be seen as an indication of any change in what was the mainstay of his public profile – good relations with the crown.

This is made apparent by the following: the donor of these psalms, 'Alexander Scottis sone', is likely to have been Alexander Scott, younger (the son of the musician), who had begun to tread in his father's footsteps in terms of his political loyalties and (consequently) his sources of income. On 6 February 1567 Alexander Scott, younger, received the prebend of Quiltoun *secundo* (i.e. Coylton, in Ayrshire) in the Chapel Royal of Stirling.²³¹ In this turbulent period, such royal appointments seem to have been based on candidates' political usefulness rather than their musical abilities, in a bid to reward or entice service to the increasingly isolated Mary. However, Fraser (1970: 222) notes that 'musical talent played its part in the selection of her valets of the bed-chamber', since such a position allowed these musicians to provide music in the most intimate settings. Fraser mentions Riccio as an example, but more pertinent for the present purpose is James Lauder, whose position and background were much closer to Scott's, as will appear below. Moreover, music and politics may have been combined: as the cases of both Scott and Lauder will illustrate (below), musicians were usefully anonymous carriers of letters and news. This appointment of Alexander Scott, younger, may indeed be a gesture towards his musician father, as MacQueen (1970: xliii) has suggested, but, arguably of at least equal significance to Mary, it ensured the services of what seems to have been his loyal son, as we shall see below.

This Chapel Royal prebend was surrendered to Alexander Scott, younger, by Robert Fraser, in a move superintended by Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway. As noted above, Robert's father, Robert Fraser senior, is in the mid-1560s, when his health was failing, repeatedly described as the Queen's familiar domestic servitor, usher of her majesty's privy chamber.²³² The poet David Lindsay had also been usher and then master usher to his monarch, in his case the young James V, from 1511 to 1523. An usher was a doorkeeper, i.e. safe-keeper, who sometimes also operated as assistant schoolteacher, and Lindsay indeed seems to have fulfilled that role.²³³ Given Alexander Scott elder's involvement with the young Mary Queen of Scots it seems not unwarranted to suggest that these shifts in prebends that were in crown patronage – in addition to inducing personal and political loyalties – are likely to have been connected to the arrival of another royal minor, the future James VI, who needed to be entrusted to servants from families or circles with a long-standing reputation for serving in exactly such a capacity.²³⁴ The fact that Scott younger enters crown service as successor to the son of the Queen's usher may strengthen such a reading. Moreover, a month later (March 1567) the same man who in July 1548 hired Alexander Scott, the musician – John Erskine, now Lord Erskine and Earl of Mar – is entrusted with the care of the young prince, who is to be 'nurist and upbrocht' under the tuition of the Earl and his wife Annabella, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine.²³⁵ In other words, Scott senior's history is repeating itself, with (the reasons behind) his son's appointment in 1567 mirroring his own appointment in 1548.

The Erskines thus once more emerge as 'indeed the king's family'.²³⁶ But the fact that the earliest, and only contemporary, witness to 'The Flyting of Montgomery and Polwarth' – a contest ultimately for the position of 'maister poet' at James's court – is the Tullibardine MS, a manuscript that has been said to function as a Murray 'family memorial', draws attention to the fact that these Murrays of Tullibardine were also becoming part of that select circle at court in which literature was a crucial preoccupation.²³⁷ The wife of the previous William Murray of

Tullibardine (who died in 1562) was Katherine, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, a Highland family well known for its literary interests.²³⁸ Their son and heir to the title, also William Murray of Tullibardine, was in 1573, together with Alexander Erskine of Gogar, his brother-in-law, appointed joint-governor of the king. In that capacity they shadowed Lord Erskine and his wife, Annabella Murray, Tullibardine's sister and Countess of Mar, as mentioned above. Such links also extended down the social scale and well beyond the Stirling area. Tullibardine's sister Janet married James Henderson of Fordell; as we saw in Chapter 2, he was one of the closest Bannatyne relations and of considerable urban-lairdly prominence. Most importantly for our present purpose, the Murrays have their powerbase in those areas away from Stirling and Edinburgh where we also obtain several sightings of Scott, namely in the Perth, Inchaffray and Dunblane areas (Tullibardine was treasurer of Dunblane from 1567 to 1581, a post held by successive Murrays from 1501 to 1622).²³⁹

The Murrays of Tullibardine and the Erskines thus emerge as being linked in many ways, through marriage and shared court responsibilities. Tullibardine's 1583 testament records financial debts to the Countess of Mar, James's former care-taker.²⁴⁰ Like Lord Erskine, Tullibardine in the mid-sixties supported an English marriage for Queen Mary. He helped Mary escape from her prison island of Lochleven in 1567 and he was present at the opening of the famous Silver Casket, in which incriminating documents about Mary's actions were found. His son and heir, John Murray of Tullibardine (who succeeded in 1583) was a great favourite of James VI. He was brought up with the king, together with several Erskine boys, and was appointed Master of the king's household in 1579. He married Catherine, daughter of David, Lord Drummond, and of Liliass, daughter of Lord Ruthven, the very people to whom the abbey lands of Inchaffray were set in tack by Alexander Gordon, through which arrangement Scott was able to benefit from the secularisation of church lands in 1560, as already noted. One of John Murray of Tullibardine's daughters was 'fayre Mistris Ann Murrey, the Kinges mistris', who in

1595 married Patrick, Lord Glamis, one of the most prominent politicians of Scotland in James's Scottish reign, and a man who enjoyed the king's favour, apparently because he, too, had been taught together with the King during James's boyhood. Their – quite lavish – Glamis household contained 'a musicianer', which indicates the manner in which Scott or at least his songs may have found exposure after the Reformation. Their daughter Mary's choice of husband confirms such artistic inclinations within the family: she married Robert Sempill of Beltries, the substantial poetic pedigree of whose family will be discussed below. Anne Murray's sister, Lillas, had a sizeable library of twenty-eight mainly religious books, and she copied out love poems in her own hand. James VI and Queen Anne reputedly came to her wedding to John Grant of Freuchie, and John Taylor, the Water-Poet, left a lively account of the days he spent at Lillas Murray's home, Castle Grant.²⁴¹ The cultural ambitions of sixteenth-century individuals and families can thus also usefully be examined from the viewpoint provided by an awareness of the actions and life-style of their late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century descendants.

There was clearly a network of relations in the area around Perth and Inchaffray Abbey between members of, in particular, the Murray, Ruthven and Drummond families that in several ways mirrored the way in which the Erskines were connected to cultural and political families and individuals in the Stirling area, and through which it had links at the highest level, in particular through intermarriage. The continued post-Reformation literary appreciation of Scott's work as well as the poet's social milieu in these circles can be gleaned from the connections adduced below.

This Perthshire network, like that of the Erskines, was based on a pattern of service to and ties with the royal family and its household, as well as on intermarriage. Thus, the first wife of the next Lord Erskine and Earl of Mar was Anna (or Agnes) Drummond, second daughter of the above-mentioned David, second Lord Drummond, and Lillas Ruthven.²⁴² This Lord Drummond's son and heir, Patrick, had a daughter, Lillas, who married Alexander Seton, the

later Earl of Dunfermline, whose house, painted ceiling and gardens at Pinkie have already been named above as the highlight of Scottish late Renaissance culture.²⁴³

In such networks, women played an important role as cultural intermediaries, and not just as marriage pawns. Catherine, the sister of the above-mentioned Lillas Ruthven, wife of Lord Drummond, married Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, whose cultural interests are of importance as they provide a key channel – perhaps even *the* key channel – through which Highland and Lowland culture interacted. The surviving letters to and from Colin Campbell and Catherine Ruthven indicate their respective families' central position in such interaction in the political and cultural spheres, as well as the important role of kinship in this. This in particular involved the role of godparents, who 'would regard the [god-]child as their own', which provides an important parallel to the social structures that regulated the Bannatyne family's relations with the outer world.²⁴⁴ Catherine Ruthven was an intelligent, independent and literate woman, who frequently ran her husband's affairs when he was away from home. This included going to court in Edinburgh to represent her husband and getting him out of difficult political positions. She also corresponded with her sister, Lillas, in order to prevent a destabilising regional conflict, and enjoyed a particularly good, even close, relationship with William Maitland, the Queen's Secretary. Given the latter connection, it is perhaps not surprising that, although they were Protestants, Colin and Catherine were of the Queen's party in the civil war of 1568-73.²⁴⁵

The son of Catherine and Lillas Ruthven's eldest brother Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, was William, fourth Lord Ruthven, future Earl of Gowrie. He owned an early manuscript copy of Douglas's *Eneados*, the so-called Ruthven MS.²⁴⁶ Catherine herself was a book-owner: she owned a copy of the *Chronicle* of Sleidan, the Lutheran historian.²⁴⁷ Her husband's family had distinct literary interests as well. Earlier vassals of these Campbells of Glenorchy had copied out the famous Book of the Dean of Lismore, a manuscript which has verse in both Gaelic and

English or Scots, including a stanza (ll. 561-7) from Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*.²⁴⁸

Moreover, Colin and Catherine's son, Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, was a considerable Gaelic poet in his own right,²⁴⁹ and also owned several books and manuscripts. Among the latter was a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, which he had in his possession in 1592.²⁵⁰ This manuscript is of particular interest for the present study, since (as discussed in Chapter 2) among the verses in Scots that have been copied on its flyleaves, appears the opening line of Scott's 'How suld my febill body fure'.²⁵¹ As the available manuscript evidence shows, this was one of Alexander Scott's most popular lyrics during the century after his death.²⁵² The fifteenth-century Lydgate manuscript on which its opening line is recorded is of English origin, but seems to have travelled north in the course of the sixteenth century, where it was owned by one John Swinton at some time between 1551 and 1592, when it came into Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's possession.

It has been suggested that it might prove impossible to identify who this John Swinton was; however, it is possible to identify a most likely candidate.²⁵³ In 1555, Helen Swinton was godmother to John Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's younger brother.²⁵⁴ The Swintons were an ancient Lowland family, as were many with whom the Bannatynes had dealings, and the fact that in this very same Lydgate manuscript there appears a portion of a poem by John Bellenden (as mentioned in the discussion of the Bannatyne family networks) suggests that there might indeed be close links between its owner, John Swinton, and the Bannatynes/Bellendens – and thus between this John Swinton and Helen Swinton. Helen Swinton was the eldest daughter of Marion Hume and Mr John Swinton of Swinton. After the latter's death in 1549, Helen's brother, also John Swinton, inherited the title.²⁵⁵ This man – who married Catherine Lauder, daughter of Robert Lauder of the Bass, a name that we shall encounter again below in Alexander Scott's biography – or his father is a quite likely candidate for the John Swinton who owned the Lydgate manuscript. And indeed, Helen Swinton's connections are of surprising literary

eminence, which suggests that literature, or letters in the wider sense, was a significant focus of interest in the family. Mr Robert Heriot of Lymphoy, the father of her first husband, Mr Robert Heriot of Trabroun, did not only own books but also wrote them, it would seem: he has been credited with the authorship of the *Introductorium Astronomicum* (Paris, 1517).²⁵⁶ He moved in educated circles, no doubt helped by his kinsman Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, who had one of Scotland's biggest libraries; books that Heriot had owned in fact ended up in Sinclair's library.²⁵⁷ After her first husband's death, Helen Swinton married somebody with even more learned connections: Edward Henryson, Greek scholar and translator of international repute, and for that reason, as discussed in Chapter 2, appointed as one of the two first royal lecturers in Edinburgh under Mary of Guise.²⁵⁸

Agnes (also known as Anna) Heriot, heiress of Lymphoy, and daughter of Helen Swinton and Mr Robert Heriot, married James Foulis of Colinton, whose father, Mr Henry Foulis, was the godfather of George Bannatyne's sister, Christian, and whose grandfather was the neo-Latin poet and prominent court official and loyal servant of the crown, James Foulis of Colinton.²⁵⁹ Even more relevant for the present purpose is the fact that the eldest son of Anna Heriot and James Foulis was George Foulis of Ravelston, who married Jonet Bannatyne, the only surviving child of George Bannatyne himself. It was through this marriage that the Bannatyne MS was to pass into the hands of the Foulis family, perhaps already before George Bannatyne's death: we know that he lived with his daughter and her husband in 1606, one or two years before he died.²⁶⁰

In other words, there are demonstrable links through which Helen Swinton, Bannatyne godmother as well as daughter of one John Swinton and sister to another, is likely to have been able to access to at least one manuscript – the Bannatyne MS – that contained a text of Scott's 'How suld my febill body fure', the opening line of which appeared on Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's manuscript copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, which at some stage in the sixteenth

century had been in the possession of one John Swinton. In fact, two more of the six fragments of Scots verse copied into this Lydgate manuscript also appear in the Bannatyne MS, one an anonymous advice poem, the other a stanza from John Bellenden's 'Proheme of the History', the very poem that ends the Bannatyne MS.²⁶¹

The latter detail is one of several facts that signal that Bellenden's 'Proheme', and apparently especially this stanza, was of particular interest to contemporary readers, even well beyond the readership of the Bannatyne MS. Intriguingly, not only has part of Bellenden's poem been torn out of the Bannatyne MS exactly where this particular stanza occurs (only the first two lines of this stanza still survive in the Bannatyne MS), but this single stanza has also been written into a manuscript copy of Porphyry's *Isagoge super Organon* (Aberdeen University Library MS 223). The latter manuscript, which in itself highlights a noteworthy late-fifteenth century or early-sixteenth century Scottish interest in Plotinus and Platonism, was at some time in the earlier half of the sixteenth century owned by Gavin Lesley, Prebendary of Kingussie, a colleague at Elgin cathedral of the poet John Bellenden himself, who was Archdeacon of Moray, which may explain how Bellenden's stanza came to be included in the Porphyry manuscript.²⁶²

The latter connection signals that there are more ways than one in which verse, or fragments thereof, may have travelled across the Lowland-Highland boundary. However, the Swinton link is again worthy of special attention in this respect, suggesting how Glenorchy's *Siege of Thebes* MS came to include not only Scott's verse but also Bellenden's stanza, especially in the light of the strong emphasis on the role of godparents in the circles of the Bannatyne and (as noted above) Campbell of Glenorchy families: when Helen Swinton was godmother to George Bannatyne's sibling in 1555, one of her two fellow godparents was John Bellenden of Auchnoull, the nephew of the poet, John Bellenden, author of the excerpted stanza.²⁶³ That such connections between these Swintons and the Bellendens were neither accidental nor incidental is likewise evidenced by Helen Swinton's daughter, Dame Helen: this

lady married Mr Thomas Craig of Riccarton, the famous lawyer, whose literary exploits and legal humanism have been discussed already in Chapter 2. His parents were Robert Craig, an Edinburgh merchant, and Katherine Bellenden. The latter was the daughter of Mr Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull, who was the brother of the poet, John Bellenden, and who was himself one of the first godparents of the Bannatyne family.²⁶⁴ In other words, this particular branch of the Swinton family had access to the Bellendens and Bannatynes, and the appearance of the first line of Scott's 'How suld my febill body fure', as well as Bellenden's stanza, in the *Siege of Thebes* manuscript arguably provides further evidence of such literary connections.

In a wider context, the above information on the Swinton family instances the cultural traffic that took place between different parts of the country, and the meeting therewithin of older writing and contemporary vernacular verse. Such features can also be observed in the known details of the later owners of the same *Siege of Thebes* MS, the families of Glenorchy and Ruthven. This returns us to the context of Scott's association with Inchaffray Abbey in the 1560s, and the people to whom the abbey had been set in tack: Lilius Ruthven herself was the object of literary patronage, as the dedicatee of 'The Latter Will and Testament of William Hay, Earle of Erroll', set 'into Scottish meeter' in 1539 by Mr Robert Alexander, an advocate who had been the fifth Earl's schoolmaster. This text was subsequently printed by Thomas Bassandyne in Edinburgh in 1571, complete with its dedication to Lilius Ruthven. William, fifth Earl of Erroll was a cultured man, who had not only been 'brought up into humaniteis, but als weill in the schoole of Christ'.²⁶⁵ After his death, his wife (Elizabeth Ruthven, the sister of Lilius Ruthven's grandfather) married Ninian, third Lord Ross, whose son James, fourth Lord Ross, plays a role in the narrative of the final days in the early 1580s of Alexander Scott, the Chapel Royal musician (see below). This suggests that Scott's involvement with these circles twenty years earlier was no one-off coincidence, but exposes a pattern of cultural and economic or even political interaction.²⁶⁶

In the subsequent generation, the Earls of Errol continue to exhibit literary impulses and connections: William Fowler writes a sonnet in praise of Elizabeth Douglas, who in or shortly before July 1590 married Francis Hay, the incorrigible Catholic ninth Earl of Errol. Elizabeth herself was the daughter of William Douglas of Lochleven, a Marian sympathiser who was the keeper of Mary Queen of Scots after her abdication.²⁶⁷ Again, a young female with close connections to the royal household – her husband had previously been married to a daughter of James Stewart, Earl of Moray and half-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots – appears as the catalyst for verse. She is even thought to be the writer of two sonnets written in praise of Fowler and signed ‘E.D.’, prefaced to Fowler’s translation of Petrarch’s *Trionfi*. However, these may also, and perhaps more likely, have been authored by Elizabeth Douglas, wife of Maister Samuel Cockburn, laird of Temple Hall; her funereal sonnet by Fowler was printed by Waldegrave (she died 19 March 1594) and is bound up with the Hawthornden MS of Fowler’s translation of Petrarch’s *Trionfi*, at the end of ‘The Saxt and Last Triumphe of Immortalitie’.²⁶⁸

As the above already suggests, Lilius Ruthven moved in the highest circles. Her brother Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, married Janet Stewart, Lady Methven, who had previously been married to Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven, the third husband of Margaret Tudor. A prominent supporter of Darnley, Patrick became the ‘principal actor in the murder of Riccio’. His son and heir, William, fourth Lord Ruthven, created Earl of Gowrie in 1581, continued this family tradition of taking a pronounced interest in the life of their sovereigns: he ‘was the principal actor’ in an event named after him, the ‘Raid of Ruthven’, the kidnapping of James VI in 1582-83. As noted earlier, he was also the owner of a manuscript copy of Douglas’s *Eneados*, known as the Ruthven MS, which, it has been suggested, came into Ruthven’s possession through his wife, Janet Douglas, natural daughter of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus. These Douglasses were close relatives of Gavin Douglas, the poet, and also patronised another prominent poet, John Bellenden.²⁶⁹ The connections between Bellenden and the Douglas family

were very close – Bellenden’s own mother was a Douglas – including ties with the poet Gavin Douglas himself.²⁷⁰ Moreover, Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, later became the second husband of Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV and Queen-Dowager of Scotland; their daughter Margaret was to be the mother of Henry, Lord Darnley, second husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Learning, literature and court intrigue go together in these families.

The importance of literature in these circles appears from other facts, too. The Ruthven MS of the *Eneados* carries the signature of ‘Patrik Drummond’, who has been identified as Patrick, third Lord Drummond (1550-c.1602). He was in fact the son of Lilius Ruthven and David, second Lord Drummond, the couple mentioned above in connection to Scott and Inchaffray Abbey.²⁷¹ This provides yet further evidence of literary coteries and the circulation of manuscripts in the Perth area, as well as of the proximity of Scott to such coteries. In fact, the verso side of the opening leaf of the Ruthven MS carries a love poem beginning ‘As phebus brycht in speir meridiāne’, a lyric that we also find in the Bannatyne MS, flanked by poems by Scott and similar lyricists.²⁷² Not only that, this lyric is attributed to ‘Bannatyne’ in the Bannatyne MS, which could be either George Bannatyne himself, or John Bellenden. The astrological opening and register of this poem are not unlike some of Bellenden’s other verse, and ‘Bellenden’ and ‘Bannatyne’ are variants of what is ultimately one and the same family name, with the name ‘Bellenden’ in contemporary documents frequently spelled as ‘Bannatyne’, and vice versa.²⁷³ Yet again, tracing the backgrounds and cultural activities of those with whom Alexander Scott, the Chapel Royal musician, can be associated brings up a surprising number of literary connections. More often than not, these connections often involve the Bannatyne circles in Edinburgh.

Importantly, the above details also show that cultural contacts between Edinburgh and areas such as Perthshire were of noteworthy substance. It is indicative of the level of the contemporary engagement with letters of at least the upper echelons of society in Perthshire that

when William, fourth Lord Ruthven, in 1584 found himself entangled in political intrigue and an atmosphere of 'deeper dissimulation than any man could conceive' – he indeed lost all, including his life, within a matter of weeks – instinctively turned to classical writing in order to express his most profound feelings. A visitor found him

in words, in countenance, and in gesture greatly perplexed, solicitous for his estate, besides the affairs of the Countrey, and greatly afraid of the violence of the Courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his Gallerie where wee were walking at that time (which hee had but newly built and decored with Pictures) he brake out into these words, having first fetched a deep sigh; *Cousin (sayes he) Is there no remedie? Et impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit? Barbarus has segetes?*²⁷⁴

This coming together, in an area and among families with which Scott, too, was in close contact, of an impromptu quotation from Virgil's *Eclogues*, uttered by the owner of a manuscript of Douglas's *Eneados* which included amatory verse that also features in the Bannatyne MS, suggests that, even away from Edinburgh, we can postulate a highly literate contemporary audience for Scott's material. Furthermore, this particular conjunction of literary quotation and political dissimulation suggests a context for some of the more fragile meditations on life and love by Scott's lyrical personae. It thundered around the Scottish throne, too. Such application of historical incident to cultural inquiry also usefully indicates that literary activity in mid-sixteenth century Scotland ought to be measured not solely in terms of the production of new texts, but also through evidence of book and manuscript circulation, and even oral record.

That such networks as those within which the Ruthvens operated expanded well beyond Perthshire becomes clear when we continue to trace similar links between this family and other cultural as well as political networks. Thus, Lilius Ruthven's own offspring moved in cultured as

well as politically prominent circles. Her daughter Catherine married John Murray of Tullibardine, mentioned above, while David, third Lord Maderty, the grandchild of her son James – who was educated with James VI at Stirling and later became a great favourite of the king, as discussed above – c.1680 founded Innerpeffray Library. This was the first public lending library in Scotland, a foundation that appears the more remarkable on account of its relatively isolated – if considered from a traditionally court-focused cultural-historical viewpoint – geographical location.²⁷⁵ Mary, one of the granddaughters of William, fourth Lord Ruthven, married Anthony van Dyck, and this famous painter has left us her portrait. Ruthven's sons, John and Alexander (the latter the reputed lover of Queen Anne), were killed in the so-called 'Gowrie conspiracy' of 1600, when they were suspected of having attempted to take the King's life. Ruthven's daughter Liliass married Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, and was the subject of a sonnet by Alexander Montgomery.²⁷⁶ The marriage was strongly disapproved of by James, as it interfered with his dynastic politics (Ludovic was heir to the Scottish throne until James produced a child). The king in fact had the bride warded on the other side of the Forth estuary, which, according to English intelligence, was done 'for the better surety of her keeping out of the Duke's company', until the sixteen-year old Ludovic might exchange passion for reason again. It has recently been suggested that a volume of verse by John Burel, published at the time and dedicated to Ludovic, was linked to this scandal, as it argued strongly and at length against the disastrous consequences of giving in to fleshly temptation.²⁷⁷ All such admonition was to no avail: in April 1591 the young Duke slipped across the Forth, transported the girl on his horse to her sister's home under cover of darkness and married her overnight.²⁷⁸ The couple subsequently retired from court for a while.

All this places Liliass Ruthven and her husband David, Lord Drummond, to whom the abbey lands of Inchaffray were set in tack in 1560, and through whose dealings with these lands Scott was able to benefit from the secularisation of church lands, in a less anonymous and much

more literary context.²⁷⁹ By way of offering a parallel, it does the same for Scott and (provided the Chapel Royal musician is indeed the poet of the same name) his verse. The many layers and resonances of the latter can be better apprehended if we take into account how his poems may have reflected contemporary motives and issues. Historicising the cultural dimensions of those men and women that he came into contact with outlines such motives and issues. Over and above the Erskine and Cassilis connections mentioned earlier, the cultural dimensions that appear when investigating Scott's connections in the Inchaffray area suggest that, in addition to the existence of an urban and clerical readership for his verse, Scott's writing may indeed be conjectured to have been written within contexts and for audiences that reflect the political and psychological dimensions of the lives of the landed cultural elite of mid-sixteenth century Scotland. His verse may thus legitimately be read, at some level at least, as anticipating particular, more exclusively courtly aspects of the writing of Scottish poets of the 1580s and 1590s. However, this should not blind us to the fact that many aspects of his poetry have non-courtly points of reference or departure, and that evidence of a more courtly-urban readership for his verse is more substantial in terms of both quality and quantity. On balance, the cultural connections with urban and lairdly as well as secularised clerical figures are in fact more immediately prominent and demonstrable. This makes it imperative that we approach his verse with all these readerships in mind, and that assumptions derived from the study of Elizabethan or even 'Castalian' lyricists, while potentially useful in some respects, must not predominate and should be historicised in the contexts assembled in the present thesis and in similar scholarship.

As can be deduced from the information above, Scott's activities from c.1555 onwards are largely limited to the three areas of Stirling, Inchaffray in Perthshire, and Edinburgh, all three providing key literary impulses. 'Regional' centres such as Stirling or Inchaffray could provide an 'international' audience and are perfectly possible locations for the kind of verse that Scott wrote. Thus, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, son of Alexander Scott's superior at Inchmahome in

1548 and tutor to Prince Henry in the 1590s, was in temporary exile in Westminster in 1585, where he was visited by Sir Philip Sidney on behalf of Elizabeth to discuss Scottish affairs. It was through such channels that these regional literary circles kept in touch with international politics and culture. A generation later, James Caldwell's *The Countess of Mar's Arcadia* (published in 1625 by the Countess's physician, Patrick Anderson, but written at least a decade earlier – Caldwell had died in 1616) instances the continuation (and thus, the existence) of earlier patterns of literary influence and production as well as the continuation of networks of cultural patronage in Scotland. Caldwell's work is dedicated to the then Countess of Mar, Mary Erskine, and shows the adaptation of the influence of Sidney that characterises early seventeenth-century Scottish poetry more generally, in terms of both imitation and reaction: Caldwell was a minister of the church, and the religious meditations contained in his books form a very deliberate spiritualisation of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, which is 'for the body', into an *Arcadia* 'for the soul', written by a pastor, not a courtier.²⁸⁰

We return to Alexander Scott younger's appointment on 6 February 1567 as Chapel Royal prebendary, an occasion that was followed three days later by an event which affected the careers of everyone in Mary's service. On 9 February 1567 Darnley, Mary's estranged husband, was assassinated in a night that triggered the endgame of Mary's personal reign. The musician's son seems to have followed in his father's footsteps in terms of loyalty to the crown, though: Alexander Scott, younger, appears as 'sommelier de panneterie' (the officer in charge of the provision of bread and other food) on a list of the household of the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots in England, dated 31 July 1573.²⁸¹ That does not necessarily mean that he was with Mary in England at the time: there are names on the same list of other people who had been abroad already for a considerable time when the list was drawn up, such as Jehan de Court, the French court painter.²⁸² Many of the granted sums of money on this list are no doubt pensions, rather than salaries awarded for the services specified in the inventory. The list states that Scott should

receive 'cent livres tournois de gaiges' (one hundred pounds in wages), while against many other names on the list is simply written 'Neant' (nil). The latter names are merely entered on this 1573 household list to make it match a preceding one from February 1567. But the fact that all 'sommeliers de panneterie' of Mary's 1567 household²⁸³ have been replaced in the 1573 household list by Scott younger and one other suggests that Scott by that year was indeed not just a 'virtual' pensioner from a previous era but someone actually active in Mary's service. He here joins the – ever-decreasing – list of names of faithful retainers, pensioners and loyal servants whom Mary could afford to pay from her English prison.

It is difficult to judge whether the 'panneterie' was indeed Scott younger's (sole) remit; in the contemporary French household, one of Cathérine de Medicis' portrait-painters, René Tibergeau, was likewise paid as 'sommelier de panneterie'.²⁸⁴ That Scott younger was indeed at least at times personally in attendance on Mary appears from a sequence of other documents that give us an indication of what may have been the musician's own loyalties, too. In an obligation dated 9 March 1576 at Stirling (and officially registered on 12 April 1577), Alexander Forester of Garden states that he has received £1000 from Alexander Scott, 'seruitur to the kingis maieste'. He now infefts 'Alexander Scott sone to the said Alexander' in an annualrent of the barony of Garden, near Stirling.²⁸⁵ This does not prove that Alexander Scott younger was in Scotland at the time the obligation was signed or registered; he does not sign the document of that date in any capacity. The infeftment of this annualrent will be provided to Alexander Scott, elder, as 'lyfrentar', with his son Alexander as heritable fiar thereof, failing whom the rent will pass to John, brother to Alexander Scott, younger, and failing these two brothers and any 'airis of thair owin body' to John Robeson, cutler burgess of Edinburgh and 'sister sone' to Alexander Scott, elder.

In addition to confirming that Alexander Scott elder had two sons, Alexander and John (whom Scott had legitimated in 1549), this also tells us that he had a sister who was or had been

married to a man called (presumably) Robeson, by whom she had a son, John. The latter's appearance as third on the list to inherit the income strongly suggests that no other children of Alexander Scott, elder, himself were alive (if there had ever been any), since one would expect such children to have preceded John Robeson in the list of inheritors, or at the very least to have been mentioned. By the same token, it seems that this sister of Alexander Scott, elder, was no longer alive at that time. Finally, it suggests that the musician did not yet have any grandchildren, who would most likely have been mentioned in the sequence of heritable fiars.

The above suggests that in the mid-1570s Alexander Scott, musician, was living as a man of fairly substantial means, with connections in the Stirling area and access to the royal court there. Scott and his sons seem to have had access to the young king, who resided in Stirling almost continuously from 1567 to 1579 (which means that Alexander Scott younger probably presented his book of psalms to James in the more private domesticity of Stirling), away from the more volatile and radical atmosphere of Edinburgh. Through his sons the musician also had access to Mary's court in exile. On 26 April 1577 Alexander Scott, younger, is with Mary Queen of Scots in England, but preparing to travel to Scotland; his moves and those of others at Mary's court are watched carefully by Walsingham.²⁸⁶ Forester of Garden's belated registration of the above annualrent on 12 April 1577, more than a year after the infertment had been agreed, may have been triggered by Alexander Scott younger's imminent return to Scotland. The latter indeed travelled to Scotland later that year, since on 31 August 1577 Mary asked the Archbishop of Glasgow – in a letter partly in cipher – to help Alexander Scott, her officer of the pantry, who is in Scotland to visit his 'parens'. The latter word need not indicate that Alexander Scott, the musician, was married and that his wife was still alive: in contemporary French, 'parens' could refer to a range of persons with whom one shared ancestors, i.e. to 'family' in a much wider sense than those connotated by modern English 'parents'.²⁸⁷ However, it would appear that the relations between Scott, younger, and these

‘parens’ were good. In her letter, Mary states that she hoped Scott would bring her good news, and especially from her son, James VI, to whom she had sent letters via Scott younger.²⁸⁸ This suggests that Alexander Scott younger indeed had direct access to James VI, which renders it extremely likely that he it was who presented (his father’s?) psalm paraphrases to James VI, as posited above.

Only two paragraphs further down in the same letter, Mary mentions that she is greatly displeased by Magdalene Livingston’s choice of a new husband, James Scrymgeour of Dudhope (Arthur Erskine, her first husband, had died in 1571).²⁸⁹ The latter indeed proved to be an unpleasant man, and he would be one of the Ruthven Raiders, the Protestant faction that forcefully detained James at Ruthven Castle for 10 months (1582-83).²⁹⁰ Mary’s letter stipulates that what she had ordered to send Magdalene as a wedding gift should not be sent until she (Mary) is better informed. This proves that Magdalene was important to Mary, and also that gift-giving in these contexts – such as the book of psalms – was a politically charged action. This also represents the king’s gift of the book of psalms, donated by Scott’s son, to Magdalene Livingston more than a matter-of-fact gesture.²⁹¹ It again suggests the poet’s presence or even ‘circulation’ – this time in manuscript – within the quite small group of people in or near the royal household, which was dominated by ‘the magic inner circle of families [Erskines, Beatons, Livingstons, Setons, Flemings] who could expect to attend on the queen’.²⁹² Royal household positions were difficult to obtain or, for that matter, to fill, since they required a virtually waterproof and demonstrable guarantee of trustworthiness on the part of the appointee.²⁹³ For that reason these circles remained close-knit, and positions at court often developed hereditary dimensions. The accumulation of these figures and facts in this period makes it plausible to consider that it was on behalf of Mary that Scott younger passed on a copy of his father’s psalms to James VI, perhaps to remind the young king of past loyalties with a view to offering him future ones. If these were indeed Scott’s psalms, the fact that they are in the vernacular

potentially adds a political dimension to the gift, and thus also to the psalms.

Musicians frequently played a key role in carrying messages for Mary. They are hardly ever named or identified by those who analyse the political events of the period, and this may also have been true at the time. As a result, they remained usefully anonymous. Although musicians were relatively humble members of court entourages, their practice of frequently travelling between towns and courts would nevertheless have made them potentially quite unobtrusive messengers. There is in particular one combination of father and son musicians whose careers mirror those of the Scotts, in a way that suggests that there may be a pattern at work. As mentioned earlier, James Lauder, a chaplain in St Giles' in 1552, was in 1553 allowed to go to England and France for a year to further his musical studies. In 1569 and 1571 we find him as *valet de chambre* and musician to the exiled Mary Queen of Scots in England, and he is in receipt of a pension from Mary in 1576. Mary is particularly anxious that he receive his £200 pension. But Lauder is also employed by James VI to transport musical instruments from London to Scotland in 1579, and he is recorded as one of James's musicians in 1582. Despite this, the very next year Lauder is on record as being 'very affectionate to Queen Mary', and he is the recipient of a possibly coded poem by Montgomery that evinces Marian sympathies. Lauder had an illegitimate son, also called James, who was himself deeply involved in organising Mary's network of connections and its internal mechanisms; however, this son seems not to have been a musician. Another – legitimate – son, John, was Mary's 'panterer' and player on the bass-viol' in the mid-seventies and also carried secret messages from Mary to Scotland. In 1593 we find James Lauder (the father) employed by Edinburgh Town Council to examine musicians' skills, another example of how a musician's career could, or even had to, straddle town and court.²⁹⁴

The parallels between James Lauder, James Lauder junior, and John Lauder on the one hand and Alexander Scott elder and younger on the other are striking. The older men have the

same involvement with music at St Giles', and an identical dual (as distinct from divided) loyalty to Mary as well as to James, as well as to both town and court. Moreover, John Lauder's position as 'panterer' exactly matches that of Alexander Scott younger as Mary's 'panetier' or pantry-man, overseeing the provision of bread to the royal mouth, i.e. food for royal consumption.²⁹⁵ In financial terms, 'the case of Lauder would appear to confirm the belief ... that those musicians who won the favour of the court prospered mightily and lived in comparative security': the details of Scott's biography seem to confirm this.²⁹⁶ What has been said of Lauder also applies to William Kinloch, another musician, an acquaintance of the Lauders who is thought to have been another one of Mary's supporters; he travelled regularly between Scotland and London, carrying messages.²⁹⁷ Another trafficker for Mary in 1570-71 was George Robeson. Interestingly, a man of that name is on record as the son of John Robeson, cutler, burgess of Edinburgh, the name of the man who was 'sister sone' to Alexander Scott, musician, in 1576/77.²⁹⁸

Mary claimed that Alexander Scott younger was being kept in Scotland and prevented from returning to her against the express promise that Walsingham made to her. The authorities clearly suspected – and, it would seem, with good reason – that Scott younger's trip was more than a family visit. All this shows that his mission was of considerable importance to Mary. Indeed, she was to renew her attempts to get Scott younger back to England: on 22 July 1578 she requested Walsingham for a passport for Alexander Scott, her groom or officer of the pantry, so that he could return to her.²⁹⁹ The request states that by this date Scott had been away for more than a year.

The Scottish records fill in some of the details of this matter. On 12 May 1577 a boy was sent from Edinburgh 'with a clois [sealed] writing of my lord regentis [i.e. Morton's] grace' to Alexander Scott in Stirling.³⁰⁰ This is followed by an official Privy Council caution sent on 25 May 1577 to Alexander Scott in Stirling and to Alexander Scott his son, which stipulates that

Alexander Scott younger has to stay within the realm of Scotland and is not to go abroad without the Regent's licence,

and als [also] that he sall behave him self as ane dewtifull subiect to our souerane lord in the menetye and sall nowther send ressaue nor haif intelligence be lettres messages or ony vther maner of way with ony personis presentlie furth of this realme. Nor uther wayis do or attempt ony thing to the hurt of his maiestie his estate and authoritie vnder the pane of fyve hundreth pundis.³⁰¹

This warning is followed on 11 October 1577 by a caution to John Scott, also son of Alexander Scott, elder, telling John, who is preparing to go to England, to behave himself when abroad 'as ane obedient subiect to our souerane lord and his authoritie and sall do nor attempt na thing in hurt or preiudice of his maiestie his realme and liegis [...] vnder the pane of ane thowsand merkis'.³⁰² Surety for the two sons (to the considerable tune of £500 and 1000 merks, respectively) is John Robeson, cutler burgess of Edinburgh, who is surely identical with the above-mentioned man of the same name and description, sister-son of Alexander Scott, elder. Clearly, the musician's sons were watched carefully by the Regent Morton: they were obviously suspected of dealings on behalf of Mary.

It is possible that John Scott was meant to replace his brother in Mary's household. This may be because Alexander may have offered not just psalms but also his services to James VI, thus becoming a useful fly on the wall in Stirling for Mary while being replaced at Mary's court by his brother. Alexander younger may have decided to remain in Scotland for a while, voluntarily or not: in this period he and his father are regularly found operating together in financial business, while there is no further trace of John. Thus, on 25 June 1577 Patrick Murray of Newrath registers a contract of wadset of an annualrent with 'Alexander Scott, musician', and

Alexander, his son.³⁰³ Murray infefts Alexander Scott, elder, musician, in lyf-rent, and also Alexander Scott, younger, in heretable fie of an annualrent. Failing Alexander younger, the annualrent is to fall to John Scott, son to Alexander Scott, elder, and, failing this, to John Robeson, cutler burgess of Edinburgh, 'sister sone' to Alexander Scott, elder. This document is not only to be registered in the books of council, as is usually the case, but also in the commissary books of Dunblane. Moreover, one of the witnesses is Mr Duncan Nowene (also found as Newene, Nevey or Nevay), schoolmaster of Dunblane. The latter two details suggest that Alexander Scott elder was indeed firmly attached to the Dunblane area, which is close to Stirling. Since it is here that we first meet with him, in 1532, this may also have been the area in which he grew up.

Duncan Nowene is another significant acquaintance to emerge here. He is yet another teacher to come to the fore in the details of Scott's life-events, an educated man and bookowner (Nevay owned a copy of Boece's *Vitae episcoporum Aberdonensium*, Paris, 1522) who used Greek in his notarial sign.³⁰⁴ His name can also be found on a list of people who borrowed books from King's College library in Aberdeen c.1557, and it is telling that he borrowed the Gospel commentaries of Lefèvre d'Étaples.³⁰⁵ The latter (c.1450-1536), a teacher of philosophy in Paris, played an important role in the battle of humanists who sought to dispel the scholastic influence in Catholic Europe, particularly through adherence to humanist ideas on language and its changeable nature. He got into trouble with the Sorbonne after having argued that Mary Magdalene was in fact a composite figure made up of three different individuals. Suspected of Lutheranism, he fled Paris in 1525 and appears in Blois a few years later as tutor to the children of François I. Lefèvre finished his bible translation there, and published it in Antwerp in 1530; he always remained a Catholic, though he promoted reform within and without the church.

This is the same profile that in Chapter 2 was shown to characterise those most closely associated with the audience of the Bannatyne MS and thus also, by implication, with Scott's

verse: reform-minded along Erasmian lines and progressive, but not necessarily radical. In this, Nevay followed suit. Although he served as minister of Dunblane (1567-72) in the Reformed kirk, he was at loggerheads with his employer for refusing to abandon 'superstitious' practices (he owned a statue of a Celtic saint which he refused to discard).³⁰⁶ He is one of many examples of Scott's acquaintances who display a reluctance to make a total break with all pre-Reformation ways of life, even if they should take an active part in the new kirk's work.

The Stirling area is indeed where we continue to find references to Scott. On 15 August 1579 (in an obligation registered on 24 September 1579) Alexander Forester of Garden, the latter an estate near Stirling, obliges himself to pay £1057 to Alexander Scott, younger, son of Alexander Scott, in redemption of four annualrents. This indicates that Scott younger was used to dealing with quite substantial amounts of money. In the same obligation Forester binds himself to provide Alexander Scott, elder, with a life-rent out of his (Forester's) lands of the barony of Garden.³⁰⁷ The Foresters of Garden were a powerful local family, combining – at times with a strong hand – intermarriage with financial transactions involving land-ownership. Alexander Forester, Provost of Stirling in the 1560s, was himself married to a daughter of the prominent but moderate and conciliatory Reformer, Erskine of Dun (1509-1590), a supporter of episcopacy who set up a French teacher of Greek in Montrose as early as the 1540s and maintained good links with the court throughout his life. All Foresters adhered to the Erskines and the Earl of Mar, and Alexander Forester in particular acted frequently as one of the Erskines' most frequently used agents. The Foresters had made their fortune through loyalty and service to previous Stewart monarchs, especially under James IV, and a splendid Roman gradual with plainsong music that was in their possession at the time (1496), thought to be of Italian origin, attests to the family's musical and cultural interests.³⁰⁸ The latter are also evidenced in later generations: in the 1570s, Alexander Forester of Garden donated Pierre Boaistuau's *Les Histoires Prodigieuses* to the royal library.³⁰⁹ In such respects, the Foresters mirror another

family, with whom they shared a common ancestral background, and with whom they maintained close links, the Foresters of Corstorphine. Sir James Forester of Corstorphine, a direct descendant of Duncan Forester – the owner of the gradual – and a loyal Marian in the 1567-8 crisis, owned ‘a collection of classical and religious works of which five are in Edinburgh University Library.’ His wife Janet Lauder ‘is known to have borrowed Chaucer’ from Robert Douglas, Provost of Corstorphine.³¹⁰

The Foresters of Garden may have had close links to the Bannatynes: according to Maidment, George Bannatyne’s grandmother was Catherine Forester, daughter of James Forester, baron of Garden.³¹¹ But, more immediately important for Scott, Alexander Forester of Garden in 1572 subscribed a bond of relief whereby the friends of the house of Erskine oblige themselves to assist Alexander Erskine, Master of Mar, in the charge of keeping the king’s person in the castle of Stirling, which he is to do along with the friends and servants of the young Earl of Mar, his nephew. The latter was the son and heir of the John Erskine who had hired Scott in 1548, and he here continues his father’s and grandfather’s role as guardian of royal minors, even although he himself is still a minor.³¹² Scott’s connection to Forester of Garden again allows us to see a pattern in the individual incidents of Scott’s life. He continues to support himself via his association with those close to the royal family, and especially with the care-takers of royal offspring, and he is able to live on the accruing interest or ‘annualrent’ of financial transactions, most of the latter being concluded with or through men belonging to these same spheres of influence.

As telling as Scott’s presence in the 1570s in the Stirling area is his absence from Edinburgh in this period, except – significantly – to sign a Bannatyne family document, as discussed above. No other Alexander Scott is identified as ‘servant to his majestie’ in this period. It is therefore worthy of note that, as soon as James enters the city of Edinburgh after a twelve-year minority mainly spent, moreover, in Stirling, one ‘Alexander Scott’ is also involved:

he was selected as pall-bearer at King James VI's official entry in Edinburgh in October 1579.³¹³ Since the names on the list are selected from the 'good neighbours' of the town, this 'Alexander Scott' could be the Edinburgh merchant burgher of that name who begins to appear regularly in the town records after 1579, and who survived the musician.³¹⁴ However, a selection as pall-bearer would be an apt reward for the musician's past services to the royal family and a logical continuation of his role as author of the 'New Yeir Gift', which was itself, like an entry, a carefully staged dialogue between town and court. As in 1562, the musician would in 1579 still have been well placed to neutralise tensions between past and present, town and court, Queen's men and King's men.

For their part, several of the other pall-bearers are again connected to the Bannatyne circle: Thomas Aikenhead, James Nicol, and Robert Abercromby are all names associated with the Bannatynes in the pre-Reformation period; by 1579 they were among the senior names of the Edinburgh elite. Aikenhead was a relative by marriage of John Burel, goldsmith and poet, who published a versified *Discription of the queens maiesties maist honorable entry into the tovn of Edinbvrgh vpon the 19. day of Maii. 1590.*³¹⁵ In an earlier era, those officially appointed to welcome Mary of Guise to Edinburgh in 1538 also came from the families with which the Bannatynes were closely in touch.³¹⁶ Such parallels to 1538 and to the 'New Yeir Gift' of 1562 suggest that the 1579 entry should be seen as trying to be part of a search for cultural continuation as well as renewal, seeking to make connections to the past and to transfer cultural and political patterns and, thus, coherence, from pre-Reformation to post-Reformation days. Scott would have been an appropriate ceremonial presence at James's entry, when he could have provided a link to the revival of cultural activity in the mid-fifties and early sixties (and perhaps the past generally), during which time Scott had played a crucial role. His presence would also have continued the tradition of adding a literary dimension to royal entries, as well as connecting the new regime to the previous period of personal monarchical government – as had indeed

happened with Scott's own 'New Yeir Gift' to Mary Queen of Scots in 1562.

James's 1579 entry into Edinburgh marked the opening of his personal reign, and gave rise to a revival of music in the capital, particularly through the boost given to the burgh song school, which had been languishing since the end of Mary's reign.³¹⁷ Scott may well have been linked to such a revival, just as he had been in the mid-1550s, when Mary of Guise also re-invigorated the municipal provision of song within weeks after taking over as Regent, as discussed above. Scott's possible presence in 1579 is made more likely by the involvement in this royal entry of 'the sangsters' of – presumably – the Edinburgh song school, and by the fact that the new 'maister of the sang scole', appointed on 27 November 1579 to spearhead this revival of music in the capital, was Andrew Buchan, the very man (or a relative of the same name – see above) whose Chapel Royal prebend had been granted to Alexander Scott himself in 1532. The treatise on 'The Arte of Music' that is attributed to Andrew Buchan was written in this same period, and the composition hereof was no doubt also connected to this renewed cultural vigour. Moreover, we find that James Lauder, the above-mentioned musician and trafficker for Mary Queen of Scots, was employed to go and purchase 'two pair of virginnalis' in London in 1579/80, at the express command of King James VI, and to transport these back to Scotland with him. In other words, those who had provided music in the previous reign are called upon to provide the same to the new monarch.

Alexander Scott, musician and poet, would thus have been an appropriate person to be involved in the 1579 entry (the town council for this entry also took the advice of William Stewart, husband to one of George Bannatyne's sisters and son to the poet (now deceased) of the same name, who ranks second only to Scott in the Bannatyne lyrics section).³¹⁸ The reference to Scott as 'old Scott' in Montgomery's poem (discussed below), as one of a group of poets related to James VI's court in the early 1580s, proves that Scott was still a known presence in court circles; details of his last years (below) show that the same applied to Scott's presence in the city

of Edinburgh. Although both father and son were in Scotland at the time, it is less likely that the pall-bearer was the musician's son: this is not only because of the suspicions raised against the latter only a few years earlier (James Lauder was similarly a servant and trafficker of Mary Queen of Scots, and was used in this period by the king only for rather less high-profile purposes), but also because the men chosen for these honorary functions were normally 'ancient townesmen' – a consideration which makes Alexander Scott senior a more likely choice for this ceremonial honour.³¹⁹

3.8 The final years: the 1580s and beyond

We are without a doubt dealing with the musician in an obligation registered on 4 November 1580, in which Alexander Scott, elder, musician, Alexander Scott younger, his son, and the latter's spouse, Elizabeth Lindsay, oblige themselves to pay an annual rent out of the eight merkland of Penefoidyeoch, in the barony of Cumnock, sheriffdom of Ayr, with the rent to be paid to Harie Stewart, 'appearand' [apparent heir] of Craigiehall, and his wife, Dame Jean Ross, Lady Calder.³²⁰ This connection to Harie Stewart of Craigiehall (an estate near Edinburgh) again reveals a connection with royalists close to the throne and the inner sanctum of the royal household. The Stewarts of Craigiehall were related to the royal family, to Darnley and the Lennox family, as well as to Margaret Tudor, James IV's widow, by the latter's third marriage in 1526 to Henry Stewart, later Lord Methven. Margaret Tudor and Methven played an important role in James V's escape from his 'guardians' in 1528, and became his chief advisors in the early stages of his personal reign.³²¹ Harie's own father was a staunch royalist, as was Harie's father-in-law, James Ross, fourth Lord Ross, who was close to Mary in the 1560s and fought with her at the decisive battle of Langside (1567). His name occurs on a 1578 list of

Scottish nobles who adhered to the Queen and were 'not very attached to Calvinism'.³²² His daughter Elizabeth married John Mowbray of Barnbogle, brother-in-law of John Burel, the poet.³²³

Moreover, Harie Stewart's wife had previously been married to James Sandelandis of Calder, whose uncle, also James Sandelandis, was the patron of Robert Wedderburn, now thought to have written *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549), the important pro-French political prose allegory dedicated to Mary of Guise. Wedderburn (who died in 1552/3) had been appointed by Sandelandis at the same time and in the same circumstances as those in which John Erskine hired Alexander Scott: as an amanuensis to help his superior so that the latter could accept a higher position in royal service. Other details, too, align Wedderburn with Scott: Wedderburn was vicar of Dundee, and therefore 'could not legally marry', but made legal provision 'for his "wife" and two children, for whom Robert also obtained precepts of legitimation dated 13th January 1552'. His modern editor's description of the ethos of *The Complaynt of Scotland* matches Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' poem or indeed David Lindsay's *Satyre* almost seamlessly: 'law and order, the preservation of the best in tradition, and reform from within by using one's office, were the best lines of action'. Again, it appears that the royal household and its web of patronage gave rise to literary productivity – and also that such patronage may have been used by the Catholic establishment to preserve the loyalty of those who had embraced the principles of the Reformation. While Robert Wedderburn died before the Scottish Reformation and remained a Catholic until he died, his brothers, James and John did become more involved with the Protestant movement. James apparently wrote comedies and tragedies that 'nipped the abuses and superstitions of the time', according to Calderwood, and, probably as a consequence of such a reformist bias, he had to leave for France, even though there is no evidence that he was ever a committed Protestant. John was, though, and he is considered the most likely candidate to be the 'Wedderburn' who is – in an as yet unknown

capacity – behind the *Gude and Godlie Ballattis*, also known as ‘Wedderburn’s Psalms’ or ‘Wedderburn’s Songs’, a collection of Scottish Reformation verse circulating at this time. Likewise, Sandelandis himself was one of many royal servants who converted enthusiastically to Protestantism yet who were granted many favours, possessions and privileges by Mary Queen of Scots (he was created Lord Torphichen in 1564). And again, these figures may have left an imprint in the Bannatyne MS itself, which contains three poems attributed to ‘Weddirburne’, the last one (with a revealing first line, ‘O man transformit and vnnatural!’) occurring in a strategic position: immediately before Scott’s ‘Ye blindit luvaris luke’, which ended the initial version of the Bannatyne MS and its book of ‘ballatis of lufe’ before Bannatyne decided to add a string of longer narrative poems. It is impossible to say which ‘Wedderburn’ is the author of these poems in the Bannatyne MS – there is also Robert Wedderburn, the notary, whose poetic activities were mentioned above – but their robust vernacular and their alignment of Biblical and Classical exempla are not dissimilar to the *Complaynt*. Quite apart from that, this short study of these Wedderburns and Sandelandis reveals yet again that in the Bannatyne MS ‘reform’ and ‘Reform’ were barely distinguishable.³²⁴

Harie Stewart became a prominent member of the so-called ‘Stewart Band’ which agitated against Morton, the Protestant Regent. It was formed c.1578 by the Earl of Atholl, who was poisoned soon afterwards. Morton’s political operations furnish the topic of verses for which their authors were hanged in 1579, an event (discussed below) which has a bearing on our assessment of Scott’s presence at court as well. After Atholl’s death, this ‘band’ was led by Esmé Stuart, Lord d’Aubigny, James VI’s enigmatic favourite and close relative, who, soon after his arrival from France (8 September 1579), was made Duke of Lennox. It was clear that he was meant to be declared successor to the Scottish throne, and his conversion to Protestantism eased the way for that. However, he was forced from the King’s presence by Protestant nobles who were willing to go to the length of kidnapping James himself in the so-called ‘Ruthven

Raid' (August 1582 - June 1583) in order to achieve d'Aubigny's exclusion. But in May 1580, before these events, and in the wake of d'Aubigny's meteoric rise, Harie Stewart had been appointed Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in James's household. He may have accompanied d'Aubigny on the latter's forced return to France soon after the Ruthven Raiders seized power, since, when d'Aubigny's son and heir Ludovic came to Scotland in 1583 as James's next of kin, Harie Stewart, son of the laird of Craigiehall, is prominently named as one of the 'five or six ... papists' who arrived in Leith from France with this young man. Harie continued to attach himself to the main royal favourites, such as the next leader of the 'Stewart Band', the dashing Captain James Stewart, soon to be Earl of Arran and James's anti-Presbyterian Chancellor.³²⁵

Harie Stewart's mother was a Seton, and his eldest son John married another Seton, a family most firmly associated with Mary Queen of Scots throughout this period. In 1580 Harie Stewart had been appointed tutor (i.e. guardian) of young James Sandelandis of Calder, his wife's son (born 1574) from her first marriage to Sir James Sandelandis of Calder, the aforementioned patron of Robert Wedderburn. The young Sandelandis in 1589 chose three others as his curators, among whom was John Cockburn of Ormiston, an estate in East Lothian that had itself become a centre of considerable literary (particularly Protestant) activity. It was at Ormiston in 1546 that one of Scotland's best-known Protestant martyrs, George Wishart, was arrested, an event that ultimately led to the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. John Knox had carried Wishart's sword in front of the Reformer at his arrest. Knox had been tutor at Ormiston to the Cockburn family, and Ormiston's wife, Alison Sandelandis, sister of James Sandelandis, the Wedderburn patron, owned books and manuscripts, which she circulated in Protestant circles, including Edinburgh printers, thereby preserving key Reformation texts. The Cockburns had active links with the capital's establishment, going back to Mary's reign. Successive generations of Bellendens and Cockburns occupied the post of Justice Clerk, and intermarriage strengthened such professional ties: thus, Cockburn of Ormiston's second wife was Elizabeth,

the daughter of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull.³²⁶

The literary connections that come into focus when looking at Harie Stewart do not end here. His ward, young James Sandelandis, married Elizabeth Heriot, daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun by his wife Isabella Maitland, daughter of the poet Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. Another daughter of this poet, Helen, was the first wife of John Cockburn of Clerkington, close kin to the Cockburns of Ormiston. The latter's relative, John Cockburn of Choicelea, owned the Reidpeth Manuscript, containing no less than fifty poems by Dunbar.³²⁷ In short, the Harie Stewart with whom Alexander Scott is conducting business in 1580 was linked in various ways to families with literary or courtly connections, such as the Setons, the Maitlands, and the Cockburns, all Lothian families with significant political connections and cultural dimensions, if not necessarily of the same religious persuasion.

These trails again lead back to the Bannatyne circle in Edinburgh. Sir James Sandelandis of Calder, mentioned above in connection to Wedderburn and *The Complaynt of Scotland*, died in 1579, and his wife, Jean (or Janet) Murray, later married Sir Peter Young of Seton. Young was royal librarian and joint tutor of James VI with George Buchanan, and we find him engaged in business transactions with George Bannatyne. The fact that he was also the king's almoner and preceptor is another instance of the link (as noted above regarding Archibald Crawford, Mary's almoner) between the position of almoner and that of tutor (in the didactic sense of that word), for Sir Peter Young was appointed tutor to Prince Charles in 1604. An active and book-minded man, Young, with four others, in January 1577 obtained a licence to print the works of several classical authors, as well as Vives and Erasmus.³²⁸ Books were a prized possession in these circles: Sir James Sandelandis, Jean Murray's first husband, was in possession of some of Queen Mary's books in the 1570s, and he was clearly reluctant to surrender those. He would only admit to the authorities that he had 'a certane bukis', a wonderfully evasive phrase. He did eventually return most of them, and these volumes make up a striking 'reader's profile',

arguably more so of Sandelandis than for the books' actual owner. Nearly all the titles are secular, and apart from a number of Classical texts there is a preponderance of French, Italian and even Spanish works, a multi-language selection that no doubt owes something to Sandelandis' earlier career as a Knight of St John and an ambassador.³²⁹ In other words, the Bannatyne connections – in this case, Sir Peter Young – overlap yet again with those of Scott in the area where looking after young sovereigns, not seldom on a very intimate and domestic level, brings together the urban and lairdly ranks from which the Stewart monarchy throughout the sixteenth century drew its most loyal servants. It appears that these are also some of the circles from which much of contemporary literature emanated and in which 'Renaissance' literature was most avidly read, ranging from vernacular material in the Bannatyne MS via European classics to Buchanan's Latin writings.

A case in point arises from the connections of Harie Stewart's wife, Dame Jean Ross, Lady Calder, also mentioned in the Penefoidyeoch annualrent. Her mother was Jean Sempill, daughter of Robert, third Lord Sempill. The siblings of this Jean Sempill are worth noting.³³⁰ Grisell, the eldest sister, became the mistress of John Hamilton, the regent Arran's illegitimate brother, who, as Archbishop of St Andrews, played a leading role in the movement propagating inner reform and humanist learning in the 1550s.³³¹ MacQueen (1970: lxiv-lxvi) has linked an anonymous poem in the Bannatyne MS to her, based on the same name-punning practice as instanced above for Scott and Sempill. Another sister, Dorothea, married Robert Montgomery, sixth laird of Skelmorlie, a relative of the poet, Alexander Montgomery. Their son, Robert Montgomery, seventh laird of Skelmorlie, in 1636-38 built the splendidly Baroque extension to Largs parish church, now known as the Skelmorlie Aisle.³³² Its tomb and painted ceiling, using Continental models and Catholic iconography, provide two of the most noteworthy examples in the west of Scotland of Renaissance influences on native art. They have been compared with equivalent projects commissioned by Alexander Seton, the Chancellor (the Montgomerys and

Setons were closely interlinked through marriage), while the neo-Classical tomb in itself is in imitation of that of Mary Queen of Scots in Westminster Abbey. These are suggestive signals of where the laird's sympathies lay.³³³ Such cultured links between these Montgomerys and other families are mentioned in the present chapter at regular intervals, and indicate the likelihood of a continuation of a (pre-)Reformation poetics in the writing of Montgomery and, by extension, his contemporaries, a not unimportant but rather understudied aspect of research into Scottish Renaissance literature. Moreover, the link between the laird and his wife, Margaret Douglas, and the world of letters is very direct: Montgomery wrote two sonnets to celebrate their wedding in 1593.³³⁴

One of the more enigmatic paintings on the Skelmorlie ceiling has recently been identified as depicting a scene from Boccaccio's *Decamerone* which was also used in a Lowland ballad. The central image of both texts, of a heart in a cup, neatly links Margaret Douglas's family crest (a heart) to these literary texts and imagery, and to the theme of loyalty. Such connections add to our understanding of the literary dimensions of these Montgomerys as well as of this era in general.³³⁵

Yet another sister of Jean Sempill, Marion, married Hugh Montgomery of Hesselheid (like the Skelmorlie branch, another offshoot of the main Montgomery tree, that of the Earls of Eglinton), the elder brother of Alexander Montgomery, the poet. Marion later married Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, a Protestant who developed Catholic sympathies. He was another who was commemorated by Montgomery in a verse epitaph.³³⁶ Such familial literary impetus continued down the generations: the grandson of Marion Sempill and Hugh Montgomery was Sir William Mure of Rowallan, one of the more prominent Scottish poets of the seventeenth century.

The frequency with which Montgomery's occasional verse occurs in the present analysis suggests that there was indeed a tradition of literary expression and exchange in these Sempill-Montgomery circles, which seem to have had strong links with the west of Scotland. That

Alexander Scott was in touch with such circles (albeit at a slightly earlier date³³⁷) is not only suggested by the link to the Sempills through Dame Jean Ross, Lady Calder, but also by the phrase with which Montgomery lists Sempill, Scott and himself as a somehow definable group of poets in a sonnet sequence in which he writes, when he is himself in rustic exile, to Robert Hudson, a prominent musician at James's court in Edinburgh: 'Your self and I, old Scot and Robert Semple / Quhen we ar dead that [who] all our dayis bot daffis [jest, fool around]'.³³⁸

The last sibling of Jean Sempill to mention here is John Sempill of Beltries, who fathered three generations of authors. James Sempill, Beltries' son, was educated with James VI and later helped the king in writing the *Basilikon Doron*, while his grandson was the author of the famous elegy on Habbie Simson, 'The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan', the poem that set the tone for the eighteenth-century Vernacular Revival and provided its key poetic format, which was even given its own name of 'Standard Habbie'.³³⁹ It is infrequently noted that this stanza form had been used before in two sixteenth-century lyrics. One of them was Alexander Scott's 'How suld my febill body fure'.³⁴⁰ More to the present point, John Sempill of Beltries, known as 'danceand' John Sempill, was the husband of Mary Livingston, one of the Queen's Maries. As we have already seen, Mary's sister, Magdalene Livingston, married Arthur Erskine, the brother of Alexander Scott's patron, John Erskine; she was the recipient of the psalms that Alexander Scott, mostly likely – as discussed above – the son of the musician poet Alexander Scott, presented to James VI in the mid-1570s.³⁴¹

One can here discern the contours of yet another literary coterie (or indeed several), linking Sempills with Montgomeries and Scotts, and with a west-of-Scotland focus. To this coterie belong the poets mentioned in Montgomery's sonnet to Robert Hudson, himself a court musician and poet, in which Montgomery figures as an associate of Robert Sempill and 'old Scott' as 'ill-guided' men who waste their time 'daffing' and writing verses. Resituating Scott and his poetry in this bio-prosopographical manner thus brings to the fore not just such

juxtapositions but also the reality of coterie verse in contemporary Scotland, which should be one of the frameworks of reference when discussing his verse. It puts into context in particular those poems which seem to participate in a dialogue in verse, such as his ‘Considdir hairt my trew intent’, which is, according to its colophon in the Bannatyne MS, ‘The ansueir to the ballat of hairtis in the 228 leif’ of that same manuscript, in itself more evidence that Bannatyne’s colophons are indeed aware of the performative contexts of the lyrics between its covers. It is also worthy of note that such exchanges are more than amatory epistles: there is clearly a discussion about style and poetics in this particular case, with Scott’s poem paring down the excesses of language in the poem to which his lyric is a response.³⁴²

To flesh out this period of Scott’s life a little more, another parallel to a similar figure sheds helpful light on the fate of a pre-Reformation poet-musician in the 1580s in Scotland. Thomas Wod, compiler of the famous Wode part books, was admonished by the St Andrews kirk session in May 1584 that he

in tyme of prayaris, reid onlie the prayar in the Psalme Buik, and the chaptouris alanerlie of the New and Auld Testament without ony additioun of his awin brane, noit, or wtherwyis, except it be gevin him be writ from the sessioun, and he to reid that without additioun simplie.

This admonition is echoed a generation later in directions handed down to a scion of the Buchans, the musical family mentioned above, with whom Scott’s verse and life events signal what seems to have been a close connection. John Buchan transferred from the music school in Haddington to become Master of the music school in Glasgow in 1592. Within a few years he was in trouble with the presbytery, who commanded that ‘thair be no thing red or sung in the new [*i.e.* Tron] kirk be Johne Buchane reidare thair, bot that quhilk is contenit in the word of

God'. As Munro notes, there was probably something unfamiliar about Buchan's words and singing, perhaps as a result of older, more decorative traditions of music still asserting themselves in his musical practice.³⁴³ These examples of how pre-Reformation music and musicians fared after the Reformation, matched to the historical evidence regarding Scott's own life, make it likely that Scott's sensibilities were along similar lines, making him less fit or indeed less willing to serve in the new kirk. The eloquence and nuance of his lyrics indeed suggest that he had too much of 'his awin brane [and] noit' to make it likely that he would suffer dictates such as the above gladly.

For the early 1580s, one new piece of evidence can be added to the details known about the musician's son, Alexander Scott younger. On 10 March 1581, 'Alexander Scot person of coltoun callet secundo, vouth [with] my hand', is witness to a tack set by sir William Angus, 'ane of the personis of Creif called s[e]c[un]do', prebendary of the King's Chapel Royal, with consent of the subdean, canons and prebendaries, several of whom also sign. The document was signed at Stirling, and provides evidence that Alexander Scott younger indeed spent his days in the Stirling area and, moreover, was actively engaged in Chapel Royal business.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, such business was conducted with people who were once part of his father's Chapel Royal circle: sir William Angus had already held Coylton, prebend of the Chapel Royal, in 1561, and had resigned it on 5 March 1566 to Robert Fraser, son to Robert Fraser, usher of her majesty's chamber; the latter, as we have seen above, in 1567 resigned the Chapel Royal prebend of Quiltoun *secundo* to Alexander Scott younger, the son of the musician. This sir William Angus has an intriguing musical connection: his brother, sacristan of the Chapel Royal in 1565, was John Angus, the composer, whose work survives in the Thomas Wode partbooks. Wode affectionately calls him 'gude Angus' and 'meike Angus'. John and William happily exchanged a number of Chapel Royal prebends, notably from the parsonage of Crieff, thus clearly moving in the same circles of royal patronage as Scott and the Buchans as well as many Bannatyne

connections such as Mr John Danielston.³⁴⁵ The passing on of Chapel Royal prebends from figures such as Robert Fraser, Alexander Scott and sir William Angus in the 1560s to their colleagues and offspring in the early 1580s suggests strongly that cultural networks from the reign of Mary Queen of Scots were seeking to re-establish themselves – even if not always demonstrably with music or culture foremost in mind – in the early days of James VI's personal rule. Thus, we find that John Angus is particularly remembered by James VI in December 1584, when Angus is referred to as the king's 'daylie oratour'.³⁴⁶ It should also be noted that, among other things, John Angus provided the music for vernacular psalms, a genre which Alexander Scott also practised. The single sheet printed by John Scot in Edinburgh in 1567 on which we find the final stanza of Scott's version of psalm 51 (as discussed above) tells the reader 'pleis to sing this Gloria Patri', which proves that this is another of Scott's texts that came with song and it is most likely that the two men knew (of) each other's works. Moreover, the appearance of Alexander Scott younger on the tack set by John Angus's brother William dated 10 March 1581 strongly suggests that Scott senior and John Angus knew each other personally, too, and they may well have collaborated on projects such as creating text and music for vernacular psalms. In such a light the translation of the Psalms into the vernacular by Scott is primarily to be seen as a poet-musician's participation in the cultural practices of the time rather than a major theological statement.

The Chapel Royal Subdean who subscribed this document of 10 March 1581 was John Duncanson. The latter had succeeded George Clapperton, the poet and Bannatyne godparent, in this post. John Duncanson was chaplain to James VI, appointed to guide the young king's spiritual development; he also donated books to the royal library.³⁴⁷ But Duncanson was also the father-in-law of Alexander Hume, who, like his older brother, Patrick Hume of Polwarth, was a notable poet early on in James's personal reign. Both are linked to the Stirling area. Alexander Hume was minister of Logie, a few miles from Stirling, where he was on very friendly terms

with two other poets of considerable renown, Sir William Alexander and Elizabeth Melville. Patrick Hume is linked to the Stirling area through his *Promine*, a poem that celebrates the first public appearance of James VI as a king ruling in his own right, descending from Stirling Castle to the royal park at the foot of the castle hill on 12 June 1579. It is striking how the tracking down of Scott's connections continues to lead to such remarkably concentrated pockets of literary activity even well after the Reformation and after the Bannatyne MS had been compiled.

Within a few days after signing the above document, Alexander Scott younger was dead. On 27 March 1581, one Thomas Lindsay is granted, for his lifetime, the prebend of Quiltoun *secundo* in the Chapel Royal of Stirling, vacant by the decease of Alexander Scott.³⁴⁸ This Lindsay is most likely the same man as 'Thomas Lindsay, scholar' – probably a relative of Alexander younger's widow, Elizabeth Lindsay – who is one of the witnesses to the obligation of 4 November 1580. By a 1567 Act of Parliament, prebends of the Chapel Royal and other collegiate churches were turned into bursaries for students to 'study vertew and letteris' in Scotland in the 1570s and 1580s; several Bannatynes also benefited from this. Given the epithet 'scholar' added in this 1580 obligation to Thomas Lindsay, it would seem that Scott younger's prebend is fulfilling exactly such a role.³⁴⁹ Again, the world of letters of the later generation is not far away from these circles and sources of income. In 1580, a future poet, Simion Grahame (c.1567?-1614), was presented by King James with the prebend of Brodderstanis' (Brotherstone in East Lothian) for his 'sustentatioun at the scolis, for sevin yeiris'.³⁵⁰

The above-mentioned Thomas Lindsay, scholar, can now be identified as the son of Thomas Lindsay of Lochhill, Snowdon Herald (1590-94) and later Lyon depute at the court of the Lord Lyon. He was a relative of his more famous kinsman, the poet Sir David Lindsay, as his coat of arms shows (both belonged to branches of the well-connected Lindsays of the Byres) and of David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, who married James VI to Anne of Denmark. The prebend of Coylton or Quiltoun *secundo* was in 1588 passed on to Thomas Lindsay's brother,

Bernard, who was already in receipt of a pension from the abbey of Ferne, an arrangement that confirms Thomas Lindsay's identity.³⁵¹ That Thomas and Bernard Lindsay were held in high regard by James may appear from the fact that when James returned from Denmark in 1590 with his future bride, he went to stay in Bernard Lindsay's house in Leith, the so-called 'Kings Wark'. Bernard duly went south in 1603 in the king's retinue. He was to become Gentleman of the Bedchamber, while his sons were to hold similar positions of trust in the royal household in the next generation.³⁵²

Moreover, on 3 April 1592, James VI ratified a grant of the surplus of the thirds, fermes and duties of the abbacy of Ferne to Thomas Lindsay of Kingswark, Snowdon Herald, and his son Bernard, noting that Thomas had enjoyed this privilege for some years already.³⁵³ This grant has further literary dimensions: one of the first named Scottish women poets was Christian Lindsay, whose father, it would seem, was Robert Lindsay of Ferne, and who thus belonged to the same branch of Lindsays.³⁵⁴ A connection between her and these Lindsays of Leith, trusted servants of James VI, is therefore plausible, and indeed seems confirmed by other details.

Christian Lindsay occupied a place of considerable trust in James's VI's household in the mid- to late 1580s, providing 'ait kaikis and broun breid [...] to his maiesteis awin mouth', as well as having a seemingly well-established reputation as a writer in the literary coterie at court.³⁵⁵ To the evidence adduced previously regarding Christian Lindsay's status at the Scottish court in the 1580s can now be added the fact that James VI took a keen interest in her wedding in, or shortly before, May 1586 to William Murray, Master of the Carriage.³⁵⁶ More immediately relevant for the present purpose of mapping the details of the life of Alexander Scott, musician, and his relationship to the royal family, one intriguing, possible connection should be pursued here. The *Exchequer Records* list annual payments from 1589 to 1594 for the provision of 'ait kaikis [oatcakes] and broun breid' by one Thomas Lindsay, 'indwellar in Leith',

whose services are said to have been contracted by the king himself in a letter under the Privy Seal. The only extant letter in the Privy Seal that provides for such an arrangement is one made out in 1588 to Christian Lindsay, spouse to William Murray, 'master of his hienes carriage'. This is the same Christian Lindsay who has been identified as the most likely candidate for the person of that name mentioned in the Montgomery sonnet referring to 'old Scot', and whom Montgomery selects as the person best qualified to assess the 'daffing' of poets such as himself, Sempill, and Scott; she is also the reputed as well as disputed authoress of the first sonnet written by a named Scotswoman, a poem written on behalf of Alexander Montgomery.³⁵⁷

In the above-mentioned Privy Seal letter to Christian Lindsay, the stipulated payment of 'four chalders beir [barley]' for the provision of bread and oatcakes is exactly what Thomas Lindsay also receives in payment for providing the king with bread. In other words, Thomas Lindsay's services indeed seem to match the terms of the king's contract with Christian Lindsay. This supports the idea of a direct connection between Thomas Lindsay and Christian Lindsay, whose contract to provide oatcakes and bread 'to his majesteis awin mouth' suggests a position that entailed quite particular dimensions of trustworthiness. Providing food 'to the sovereign's mouth' was a task only given to the most trusted retainers, as appears from Mary Queen of Scots' concerns a decade earlier. In April and May 1574 she repeatedly mentions that she is worried about the 'sûreté de [s]a bousche' [safety of her mouth], because she has temporarily lost the only servant in her kitchen – no name mentioned – whom she trusted with this responsibility.³⁵⁸ We have seen above that from 1573 to 1581 Alexander Scott younger was Mary's officer of the pantry or 'sommelier de paneterie' (i.e. 'officier de bouche chargé du pain'),³⁵⁹ whose departure and prolonged absence from her court in England in 1577 to visit Scotland made Mary very anxious for his return. It is no more than an intriguing possibility that Scott is the unnamed servant – or one of a small number of those – whom Mary entrusted with the 'safety of her mouth'. But, given the contextualising evidence, the fact that the phrase

‘Thomas Lindsay, indweller in Leith’ is applied to both the man who was granted Alexander Scott younger’s benefice at the latter’s death and to the provider of bread to James VI’s royal mouth less than a decade later seems to suggest not just a coincidence of names but also of identities. In any case, this Thomas Lindsay, whether he is indeed the herald’s son and ‘scolar’ of the same name who receives Alexander Scott’s younger prebend, can be connected, through no less a channel than Christian Lindsay, to the circles that the poet Alexander Scott moved in. Establishing such connections by mapping them in terms of continuities and networks lessens the distance between Scott’s poetry and that of the Jacobean period.

By the same token, even if he is not the provider of bread to the king’s mouth, Thomas Lindsay, the recipient of Alexander Scott younger’s prebend of Coylton and possibly kinsman by marriage (Alexander Scott younger’s wife was one Elizabeth Lindsay), had well-established and particularly literary links with the court of the royal poet and was connected to tightly-knit circles of trusted royal servants. Thus, John Lindsay, fifth Lord Byres, the head of the family to which these Lindsay heralds belonged, had been present at James V’s death in 1542, and he was one of four nobles who were subsequently entrusted with the care of the infant Mary Queen of Scots.³⁶⁰ The connections of Thomas Lindsay, indweller in Leith, and Alexander Scott younger suggests that the Scotts may have operated on the same level, too.

It should be noted that the identification of this Christian Lindsay as the named woman poet of that name is largely based on the fact that no other woman of that name has been identified at the Scottish court. Nevertheless, the connection traced here with the other Lindsays and their closeness to James as well as their link to Alexander Scott makes the identification of this Christian Lindsay as a literate person with coterie authority more plausible.

The likelihood of such a status is reinforced (because mirrored) by the fact that the relationship of trust between the Erskines and their royal ward is expressed in the very same

terms. Under a separate entry for the phrase ‘the King’s mouth’, the two examples in the *DOST* that exemplify this phrase both refer to Annabella Murray, Countess of Mar as Lord Erskine’s wife, which underlines the fact that this was a position of great trust with which only the Erskines, or those affiliated with them or of similar status, were entrusted. In the 1570s, Alexander Erskine of Gogar had been charged with looking after James VI as a child, ‘his highness continuing as afore under the noriture of the Lady Countesse of Mar, his Majesteis governante, as toward his mouth, and ordering of person’.³⁶¹ James clearly trusted Alexander Erskine of Gogar, and extended that trust to his son, Thomas Erskine of Gogar, one of his former ‘classmates’ when they were both being taught by George Buchanan.³⁶² Thomas became one of James’s most trusted courtiers, with ‘enviable access to the king’. He even became ‘the only statesman and secretary for secrets’, after his heroic defence of the king against the Gowrie conspiracy.³⁶³ This is merely one of many examples encountered in this *milieu* that prove that, in several ways, ‘intimacy was power’.³⁶⁴

Importantly for the present purpose, such intimacy could indeed have literary dimensions: Thomas Erskine of Gogar’s name or, indeed, signature appears in the manuscript of James VI’s ‘Amatoria’. While this indeed need not indicate that Erskine had a hand in composing any part of James’s sequence, the quite commanding presence of the signature on the page in question suggests that there is a link between Erskine and the material that it, in a literal sense, underwrites – perhaps as reader, scribe, or provider of the copytext.³⁶⁵ Thomas Erskine’s son and heir married Anne, the eldest daughter of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline and James VI’s Chancellor in the early seventeenth century, whose artistic and philosophical importance, and in particular that of his residence, Pinkie House, was discussed earlier. Thomas Erskine’s own daughter Anne married Sir Robert Mowbray of Barnbogle, a man from a family which, like the Setons, was noted for its literary interests and its adherence to the Stewart cause.³⁶⁶

This does not exhaust the intriguing connections between the Scotts and the provision of bread to the Stewarts. In the days of James V, and then under his widow, Mary of Guise, the provider of bread to the royal household was Walter (or 'Wat') Scott, whose son Alexander is frequently mentioned in contemporary accounts. The latter is of particular interest here not merely because of the provision of bread to the royal mouth, but for something much more directly linked to the realm of literature. This Alexander Scott, son of Walter Scott, and his wife Katherine (also Mariota or Marion) Touris, occupied the lands that were, in the mid-1540s, appropriated to the prebend of Grotill (also spelled Groatill, Grothill or Grotel) in St Giles' Cathedral. However, Alexander's possession of the pertinents of the prebendary of Grottil was contested by one William Adamson, the scion of a powerful Edinburgh family, whose wife was Agnes Bellenden, daughter of Sir Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull. William Adamson is also, of course, the name of the man lampooned by Alexander Scott, the poet, in 'The Justing and Debait up at the Drum'.³⁶⁸ The conflict regarding the Grotill prebend arose because sir Richard Lawson, prebendary of Grotill, had in 1542 set his lands in feu to Scott and had been allowed to do so by the town; subsequently, however, Adamson was granted the prebend and its attendant rights to take possession of the land.³⁶⁹ Alexander Scott, the baker's son, lost out in the ensuing conflict, was found guilty of 'non desisting fra ane part of the ... landis of Dene', and in October 1546 his escheated goods were passed on to Marion Towris (i.e. probably his own wife or her relation; see below).³⁷⁰

Alexander Scott, the son of Walter Scott, baker, is dead by 1551, but a string of documents show that his eldest grandson, Alexander Scott of the Dene (i.e. Dean village, a mile north-west of Edinburgh), was from 1597 to the early 1600s involved in a legal battle over a property and two booths in Gray's Close, 'a comparatively spacious and aristocratic-looking alley'.³⁷¹ It had once belonged to his grandfather, Alexander Scott, son of Walter Scott, baker, and subsequently, in the later 1540s, to William Tod, wax maker, with a liferent reserved to

Katherine Touris, relict of Alexander Scott (the would-be Grotill prebendary), and to Gavin Scott of the Dene, their son, who was the father of Alexander Scott of the Dene.³⁷² The rival claimant to the property is none other than John Robeson, cutler burghess of Edinburgh. This is very likely to be the son of 'John Robeson, cutler burghess in Edinburgh', who appears above as the 'sister sone' and then 'freind' of Alexander Scott, the musician. This cutler burghess was dead by July 1593, when his son, also called John Robeson, and also cutler, is made burghess of Edinburgh.³⁷³ Although the precise relation between the Scotts of the Dene and John Robeson remains unclear, the fact that legal claims on the same property have come down from Alexander Scott, son of Walter Scott, baker to James V and later Mary of Guise, on the one hand and the direct descendants of Alexander Scott, musician, on the other, suggests that the two branches of Scotts were somehow connected. Moreover, the sasine granted to the young Alexander Scott of the Dene at the end of the century was based on a precept of the Chapel Royal, possibly indicating a particular relationship between these Scotts and the Chapel Royal.³⁷⁴ Finally, as always when tracing Alexander Scott connections, the Bannatynes are never far away: Agnes Bellenden in 1574 sells her conjunct fee of Grotill, after the decease of William Adamson, her spouse, to James Bannatyne, younger (writer); the latter is the brother of George Bannatyne, compiler of the Bannatyne MS.³⁷⁵

To return to the issue of the use of Chapel Royal prebends as bursaries for young scholars who are connected to the world of letters: among the initially relatively small group of beneficiaries of the 1567 Act of Parliament that regulated this practice is one William Drummond, who on 26 August 1571 is granted the parsonage and vicarage of Alloway in the Chapel Royal on the death of its incumbent, Henry Arnot, for his 'sustentation at the scolis quhill he be of the aige of xxvi yeris compleit'. Drummond will continue to enjoy the fruits of this living after he reaches the age of 26, provided he become a minister. This William Drummond is identified in the same document as the son of Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock,

James VI's Master of Works from 1579 to 1583, for whom Alexander Montgomery wrote an epitaph. In other words, this William Drummond can be identified as the uncle of the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden, through his brother, John, whose wife, Susannah Fowler, moreover, was the sister of yet another well known poet, William Fowler, later Secretary of State to Queen Anne.³⁷⁶ Montgomery addressed a two-sonnet sequence to 'Maister Dauid Drummond', presumably the same 'M[aster] D. Drummo[n]d' to whom William Fowler dedicated a short poem.³⁷⁷ In themselves, such links may seem of little value; collectively, though, they show a dynamic interaction of literary activity with social networking across the generations. Even though the quasi-riddling, coded style in which these poems by Montgomery and Fowler are written clearly signals a self-sufficient literary coterie of sorts, this dynamic interaction belies the notion that the so-called 'Castalian' court poets in Jacobean Scotland wrote verse in splendid isolation. It is therefore not surprising that Alexander Scott, the poet-musician, is referred to in the 1580s in what seems to be an affectionate way by Montgomery as 'old Scot' in a poem that explicitly references such a literary coterie. The literary evidence here eminently parallels the prosopographical data above.

And again, there are direct links to the world of pre-Reformation letters. In 1574, William Drummond obtained another Chapel Royal prebend, namely the prebend of Crieff, on the decease of its previous incumbent, Mr George Cook. The latter had held the prebend of Crieff in the Chapel Royal already in 1539; in other words, he was at that time a fellow prebendary of Alexander Scott. Cook also acted as scribe to the Privy Seal and the Exchequer in these years, moving in the same circles of 'civil servants' as the Bannatynes did.³⁷⁸ This position allowed Cook to scribble didactic prose on the end fly leaf of the Privy Seal volume in April 1542. Their combination of misogyny with rudimentary humanist didacticism, clearly still in a late medieval clerical tradition yet with a nascent secularising spirit, provides important clues to the kind of cultural discourses that were current when Alexander Scott wrote his poems (which,

in certain cases, have similar emphases), and to the kind of audience that at least some of them will have been presented to. Cook's words are therefore quoted here in full, though this is not the place for a further analysis of how they apply to or otherwise contextualise Scott's verse:

Thare ar sevin kyndis of men that be nievir without vexatioun.

The first is he that can nocht forzet his truble; ane invyous man duelling with folk newlie inrychit; he that duellith in the place and can nocht thryfe quhair at ane uthir thryvith befor him; a riche man decayed and fallin into povirtie; he that suld obtyne that quhilk he may nocht get; the last is he that duellith with ane wyse man and can learne na thing of him.

A faire huire is a suete poyson.

Women in mischeif ar wyser than men.

Women is moir pietefull than men, moir invyous than a serpent, moir malycious than a tyraunt, moir deceytfull than the devill.

Woman's counsale is waike and a chyldis unperfyte.

Woe be to that cietie quhair a woman beirith rule.

It is better to be in companie with a serpent than with a wikit woman.

Off all this world ye may weill kene thair is bot thrie unhappie men, the first is he than [*sic*] na guid can, and will not leirne at na uthir man.

Luikit.³⁷⁹

On 3 May 1581 the vicarage and parsonage of Coylton was granted to Mr Matthew Wylie, who was already a minister there at the parish church. It indicates that such prebends were split into two tranches, one for the actual curate, the other to subsidise a non-resident, who is now no longer a courtly musician but, as we saw above, a student.³⁸⁰ Mary Queen of Scots on 3 and 4 December 1581 requested a new officer of the pantry, 'instead of one named Alexander Scott, lately deceased in Scotland, whose return had been expected every day'.³⁸¹ This is not only an indication of how slow and difficult communication was between Mary and Scotland, but also a further indication of the importance of Alexander Scott younger to Mary. The tone

and details of Mary's requests show that he had been among the last and most trusted of an ever decreasing band of faithful retainers physically present at Mary's court in exile.

On 10 April 1582, Mr William Hart of Wester Levelandis [i.e. Livilands] registers a mutual obligation between himself and Alexander Scott, 'musiciane', by which the latter purchases an annualrent of fifty merkis in liferent out of Hart's lands of Little Preston, in the Lordship of Stow, sheriffdom of Edinburgh, with these lands wadset to John Scott, the musician's son, and John Scott's male heirs, whom failing to Alexander Scott, son of the deceased Alexander Scott, brother of John Scott (i.e. to Alexander junior, the musician's grandson), whom failing to Alexander Scott, elder (i.e. the musician himself) and his heirs.³⁸² This 1582 document is signed by 'Alexander Scott musitiane with my awin hand'. This is another and final example of the musician's own hand-writing, apart from the deed signed on 25 June 1577 and the short note dated 13 August 1556, which may help in any future attempt to link to the musician other documents signed by any 'Alexander Scott' (it may be worth noting that he writes his own surname with one 't' in 1556, but with double 't' in the 1577 and 1582 signatures). In this 1582 document Scott actually identifies himself as 'mvsitian', which suggests that 'music' is still his professional occupation and best defines his social status and position, even if it may not have been his main source of income. At the end of the sixteenth century there was a dearth in good music teachers; 'the best of them are therefore found moving from one town to another on the promise of better terms of employment'. This dearth, combined with the effects of the 'act of tymous remeid', an Act of Parliament from 1579 that was meant to revive the teaching of music in Scotland, had boosted the income of those song school masters and music teachers that were available at the time, such as the Buchans mentioned above.³⁸³ Scott may well have profited from such a revival of interest in music and demand for musicians in his last years.

The history of the Lordship of Stow itself once more confirms that Scott's income in

later life was derived from speculating with (revenues from) landownership involving lands feued off by the Catholic church in the decades before the Reformation. The whole of the somewhat remote and largely pastoral Lordship of Stow, forming part of the temporality of the bishopric of St Andrews, had been feued off in the 1540s. This turned it into an area populated by landless inhabitants who had to cope with absentee landowners who 'had ridden the crest of the price rise to an enviable affluence'.³⁸⁴ Though the latter may in the first instance apply to Mr William Hart rather than to Scott himself, it again indicates the circles and activities that the musician engaged with in his later life.

This April 1582 document again also suggests that Alexander Scott, elder, had no other living children than John at this stage – unless any children were deliberately not included in these transactions, which happened in the case of female children as well as female relatives in particular – nor did the deceased Alexander Scott younger apparently have offspring other than the one son mentioned above (the musician's grandson, Alexander junior), since the annualrent ultimately reverts to Alexander Scott, elder, the musician, if this grandson dies.

Mr William Hart of Wester Livilands, the man with whom Scott registers the mutual obligation on 10 April 1582, is of interest. Livilands was just outside Stirling, and the house of Wester Livilands is now best known for six wooden panels with paintings of individual sibyls, with verses written underneath. The paintings show striking similarities with other portraits of sibyls in England, and the verses have been found there, too, so they must go back to a common, and most likely printed, source. They were commissioned c.1629 by Mr Robert Murray, a Stirling advocate, who was the son of Oliver Murray and Elizabeth Hart; the latter was no doubt a relative of Mr William. The panels with the sibyls adorned the walls of a narrow passage which was rediscovered only in 1866, when work was done to the house. It has been conjectured that this passage functioned as an oratory, and that 'the proprietor adhered to the old church'.³⁸⁵ More importantly, Scott's contacts here once again lead us to a cultured world; this is

particularly remarkable if we take into account the relatively small body of surviving evidence of such cultural expression in the period concerned.

In keeping with such a cultured world, the musician's financial transactions in this period suggest a comfortable standard of living. Further proof of this is a complex deed (registered 30 July 1583) which states that the musician is now dead.³⁸⁶ Most importantly, the sequence of obligations incorporated in this composite 1583 document gives us the *termini a quo* and *ad quem* of Scott's date of death: he died sometime between 18 June 1582 and 30 July 1583. Moreover, this document contains within it partial transcripts of two earlier transactions. One of these records how on 9 May 1581 Patrick Murray of Newraw had agreed to pay Alexander Scott, pursuer, a specific sum of money. The other transaction involved an instrument of redemption of 18 June 1582, in which a new agreement was recorded regarding the annualrent granted in 1570 by Patrick Murray of Newraw to Alexander Scott, 'muscitienar lyfrentar', out of the church lands of Maderty, Tullichandie, and Woodend. The document of 9 May 1581, in which Scott starts his legal action against Murray for non-payment was drawn up at Stirling, which is another indication that this was where the musician spent his last years.

MacQueen was the first to draw attention to the complicated 1583 document, but he did not know that the copy of the original 1582 instrument of redemption also survives. The latter provides several useful details not present in its summary as contained in the 1583 obligation.³⁸⁷ It stipulates that, if Alexander Scott, musician, dies, his grandson Alexander, son of the deceased Alexander Scott, younger, is to receive the rent, whom failing John Scott, natural son to the musician, whom failing John Robeson, cutler burgess in Edinburgh.³⁸⁸ The latter, who is almost certainly the 'sister's son' of that name encountered in the documents of 1576/77 (see above), is now simply styled 'freind to the said Alexander muscitienar', which indeed suggests that Scott's sister, the mother of John Robeson, is no longer alive. Thomas Lindsay, 'indwellar in Leith', is 'tutor testamentar' of Alexander Scott junior, his 'pupill lauchfull', grandson of Alexander Scott,

musician, as stipulated in the testament of the minor's father. The reference to Leith suggests strongly that this is Thomas Lindsay senior, Snowdon Herald, whose connections to Scott's offspring, to the poets David and Christian Lindsay, and to the Scottish court have been mentioned above.

Edward Aitkin binds and obliges himself for £500 as surety that the transactions as stipulated on this instrument of redemption will take place. The document itself was signed in Edinburgh on 15 June 1582, in the dwelling of Margaret Arthur, relict of William Aitkin, names that come up again later in arrangements relating to Scott's posthumous affairs. Thomas Lindsay from Leith and his sons, Barnardo and Thomas Lindsay, are witnesses. The latter Thomas Lindsay has already been noted as the 'scolar' who, on the death of Alexander Scott, the musician's son, received the latter's Chapel Royal prebend of Quiltoun *secundo*.

The reason for the incorporation of the 1581 and 1582 documents in the deed of 30 July 1583 is Patrick Murray's non-payment of outstanding sums of money and his subsequent refusal to appear before the Lords of Council. John Scott here obtains a decree against Murray regarding the money owed to his now deceased father, Alexander Scott, musician, arising from the £50 annualrent out of the lands of Maderty and Tullycandie granted by Murray to Alexander Scott, elder, on 10 May 1570. After the latter's recent death, Murray has refused, or been unable, to honour the deeds signed on 9 May 1581 and on 18 June 1582 and to pay the remaining sums of money to the deceased's heirs.

In the 1582 document, Scott is clearly trying to make sure that the annualrent of which his son, Alexander younger, now deceased, was heretable fiar, is passed on to his grandson, Alexander 'minor'. The fact that a 'tutor testamentar' was appointed at this stage shows that the latter was indeed still a 'minor'. It may also suggest that the musician was anticipating his own death, which may therefore have taken place shortly after this document was drawn up. Moreover, some time must have passed after his father's death before John Scott could obtain

the decree against Murray. However, the opening sentence of the 1583 obligation originally stated that it was drafted ‘at the instance of alexander scott, mvstiane’; the words ‘Ihone Scott sone to vmq/hyle’ have been added in the margin with a sign indicating that they should be inserted before ‘alexander’. This may be a last-minute correction or slip of the pen may; in either case, both explanations may be used to suggest that the musician’s death is quite recent.

The precise date of death may seem a trivial detail in itself, but it is very relevant in weighing what seems to be the last reference to Scott while he was still alive, in the sonnet by Montgomery to Robert Hudson. Montgomery had been banned from court for some undisclosed indiscretion, and this poem was part of a short sonnet sequence that was intended to persuade James VI that Montgomery be allowed to return to court:

Ye knau ill guyding genders mony gees,
And specially in poets; for example,
Ye can pen out tua cuple and ye pleis -
Your self and I, old Scot and Robert Semple,
Quhen we are dead, that all our dayis bot daffis,
Let Christian Lyndesay wryt our epitaphis. (9-14)³⁸⁹

know; dark moods, foolish acts

couple, couplets

fool about

These lines indicate that Scott, known by Montgomery to be of an advanced age, is thought of as still alive at the time of writing (c.1582/3); if he were dead, the beginning of l. 13 would require a somewhat contrived reading (all the other poets mentioned are still alive), an infelicity that would be unusual for Montgomery. The sonnet can therefore be dated 'Summer 1583' at its latest, taking into account the fact that news of Scott's death may not have reached the exiled 'maister poet' instantly.³⁹⁰

Montgomery's phrase 'old Scot' suggests a degree of affection and therefore, most

likely, a personal connection between Scott and Montgomery, and it credits the latter with a degree of knowledge regarding Scott's life-events. The pun on 'gander' and 'goose', implied by 'gender' and 'gees' (l. 9), has another dimension. 'Gander' was widely used to refer to a simpleton or a fool, and referring to fools as geese was a widespread practice.³⁹¹ However, Montgomery elsewhere shows he knows the more particular image of geese as fools of love, beguiled by Cupid and suffering in self-imposed unrequited love: that geese are a ready metaphor for poets in describing one another is shown by Polwarth who, in his flyting, calls Montgomery a 'gukit ... guise' and even a 'plukit guis', once his writing has been stripped of lines plagiarised from fellow poets, notably Sempill.³⁹² As hinted above, a court coterie and its attendant language and imagery can clearly be glimpsed in Montgomery's reference to himself, Sempill and 'old Scot'. More particularly, and in the light of Scott's own poem 'To luvv vnluvv it is ane pane', which the Bannatyne MS identifies as 'quod Scott, quhen his wyfe left him', it is possible that Montgomery's 'gees' intimates an insider's knowledge of more particular aspects of Scott's personal past.

Such knowledge may also prove to have political dimensions, likewise part of the poem's act of male camaraderie. Montgomery's sonnet identifies the named poets in ll. 9-11 as people who got into trouble for disregarding social and political decorum. Montgomery speaks from a position of rural exile himself in this poem, and he later became deeply involved in Catholic plots. Scott's sons, as we have seen, had been engaged in trafficking on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots in the second half of the 1570s, while Sempill, a relative of Montgomery, had been imprisoned for his versified comments on contemporary politics (on which, see below). 'Ill guyding' (l. 9), i.e. irrational behaviour, lack of self-government, is something that these poets share, and for which Christian Lindsay seems to have berated them.³⁹³ The king in his 'Admonition to the Maister poete' (i.e. Alexander Montgomery) shows he was well aware of the dangers attached to the presence of such articulate men in his immediate surroundings.

Nevertheless, he took great pains to retain their loyalty to the throne.³⁹⁴

This juxtaposition of Montgomery and Scott as poets susceptible to 'ill guyding' concurs with the profile sketched above, of the musician as somebody who moved in circles that raised the suspicion of the authorities. The only other person to whom the phrase 'old Scot' might refer is Robert Scott, Director of Chancery (appointed 1579), who was indeed of quite mature age in the 1580s and on whose death in 1593 Montgomery wrote an affectionate 'Epitaph'.³⁹⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, Robert Scott was another close family friend of the Bannatynes, and he was godfather to one of George Bannatyne's siblings in 1560.³⁹⁶ But when Montgomery, in the final three lines of his sonnet to Robert Hudson, places 'old Scot' in a sequence of Hudson ('yourself'), Montgomery himself ('I'), Sempill and Christian Lindsay (who appears to have been a writer herself, or at least somebody with very pronounced and well known views about court poetry),³⁹⁷ this provides a context which leaves little doubt that Montgomery is thinking of a *poet* called Scott.

The reference to 'daffing' (l. 13) also had very particular poetical and political resonances in the early 1580s. The verb itself (meaning 'to act playfully or irresponsibly') is normally used in contexts which associate it with negative rather than neutral connotations of conflict.³⁹⁸ Poetry and poetics again interacts with political reality here: late in the summer of 1579 the Regent Morton caused 'twa poets of Edinburgh', a schoolmaster, William Turnbull or Trumbill, and a notary, William Scott, to be brought to Stirling. They were tried and hanged there for publishing a poetic libel against him. Contemporary chroniclers were shocked by this

new preparative, seing none had beine execut for the lyk of befoir. Notwithstanding quhearof, in the skailing [dispersing] of the pepill from the execution, thair wes ten or tuelff inuectiue and dispytfull letters fund in proes, tending mikle [much] to the dispraise of the erle of Mortoun and his predicessouris'.³⁹⁹

In a speech in Parliament on 20 October 1579, Morton defended himself against rumours that he was responsible for the death of the Chancellor, the Earl of Atholl, who was allegedly poisoned at a dinner in Stirling Castle. The Earl of Mar, as Keeper of the Castle, felt the need to make a similar statement, but he was apparently *not* implicated in the slanderous 'rymes' which explicitly name Morton as the perpetrator. Morton denounced the accusations as inventions and lies, the very terms used to describe poetry in contemporary discussions on poetics. In 1581, when Morton was a prisoner in Edinburgh and awaiting his own execution, 'a woman, who had her husband put to death at Stirline, for a ballatt, intituled "Daffing dow nothing", sitting down upon her bare knees, powred out manie imprecations upon him'.⁴⁰⁰ Considering the exceptional nature of the 1579 execution, Morton's involvement therein, and the topographical details (the woman's husband was apparently a man from Edinburgh deported to Stirling and executed there) it is likely that either William Turnbull or William Scott was the husband of this distraught woman.

In the context of this execution, the word 'daffis' (suggestively rhymed with 'epitaphis' by Montgomery) clearly had very particular overtones, linking poetry more closely to danger in the political arena. That such 'daffing' could have serious consequences is shown not only by Montgomery's own life-details and by the aforementioned hanging of two poets in 1579, but also by Sempill: he had been forcefully detained and imprisoned in 1581-82, an experience anticipated or echoed in his 'Ane complaint vpon Fortoun', ll. 119-20: 'I speik na further in feir thay suld gar hang vs: / Preichouris and poiettis are put to silence baith'.⁴⁰¹ If one recalls Scott's silence after 1568, the last line will appear particularly suggestive. However, the notion that an execution such as that of the two men in Stirling was unprecedented should be judged against the fact that on 26 March 1538 one William Scott – the similarity in name an uncanny coincidence – had been executed for 'leasing-making' and 'eschewing [achieving,

accomplishing] discord' among king and nobles.⁴⁰² Likewise, a Dominican Friar, William Killour, was executed for heresy early in 1539, an event doubtless connected to his play performed in Stirling before the king on Good Friday in 1538, in which he likened priests to pharisees and the bishops and religious orders to Pilate.⁴⁰³ In 1549, 'Schir Dawid Lyndesayis buike' (probably his 'Testament of the Cardinal') was condemned by the Provincial Council to be burned, and there are regular legislative attempts during Mary's reign and James's minority to curb the production and circulation of subversive 'bukis ballatis sangis blasphematiounis rymes or tragedeis outhier in latine or Inglis tounge'.⁴⁰⁴ In 1567, James Murray, brother of William Murray of Tullibardine, was accused of having 'devysit, inventit and causit be set up certane payntit paperis upoun the Tolbuith dur [door] of Edinburgh, tending to her Majesteis sclander and defamatioun, and swa [thus] committand manifest treasoun aganis hir Hienes'.⁴⁰⁵ In 1582 Mr David Makgill, advocate (the brother of a prominent Bannatyne godfather, Mr James Makgill, Clerk Register), was in trouble for writing a 'sklanderus and wicked proclamation, publissed against the Kirk'.⁴⁰⁶ In other words, Morton's action against slanderous poets in 1579 is not unprecedented but fits into an established, if intermittent, series of similar occasions. Such tensions between literature and politics can also be glimpsed in Montgomery's verse, and Scott seems to have played a part within these tensions, to judge by Montgomery's bracketing of Scott with himself and Sempill as those suffering 'ill guyding'.⁴⁰⁷

The reference to 'old Scot' in Montgomery's sonnet, the musician's sons' movements in the 1570s, and the above examples of 'ill-guided' poets thus combine to suggest a pattern that sheds further light on Scott's own movements in the 1570s. Although one needs to bear in mind that Montgomery's reference to Scott is ultimately part of a masterful poet's attempt at rhetorical manipulation, and may accordingly represent eloquence rather than truth, it is clear that Scott was in the early 1580s still sufficiently well remembered at court to become part of Montgomery's attempt at persuasion in the poem to Robert Hudson. It links Scott to a specific

group of poets and thereby implies the probability of his influence on the next generation of poets, particularly on Montgomery himself, with whom he shares a musical inclination and a proverbial turn of phrase.

Moreover, the coupling with Sempill confirms the likelihood of Scott's gradual shift from courtly lyric to more polemical material. The last poem of Scott's in the Bannatyne MS, 'Ye blindit luvaris luke', indicates that Scott could indeed dip his pen in very graphic and apocalyptic ink, perhaps in order to rouse popular feeling. Other popular poets show similar capacities. An English parallel is provided by William Elderton, whose popular verse circulated in Scotland, where it was included in the Bannatyne MS and is thus linked up with Scott's work.⁴⁰⁸ Sempill, whose witty satires in the Bannatyne MS were referred to above, was caught up in the politically motivated style of Reformation verse polemic after 1566/7. If Scott did write poetry after the final compilation of the Bannatyne MS (1568), Montgomery's coupling of Scott with Sempill in the 1580s may indicate the nature of what such poetry would have been.

Montgomery's reference to 'old Scot' confirms that the poet Alexander Scott was roughly in the same age group as the Chapel Royal musician of the same name, which further supports the theory that they were indeed one and the same person. In other ways, too, the musician's life-events at this stage match the profile of the Bannatyne MS poet. The 9 May 1581 document returns us to names mentioned in the 1568 obligation, namely Richard and Robert Strang, and Mr John Sharp. Robert Strang acted as procurator for Patrick Murray of Newraw and Woodend, for example in June 1579; both Robert and Richard Strang in 1584 held annualrents of Woodend lands, as did Mr John Sharp.⁴¹⁰ Inchaffray Abbey, as well as its lands, such as those of Woodend, are only a few miles away from Tullibardine, and Patrick Murray of Newraw and Woodend, the man who sold Alexander Scott several annualrents out of former Inchaffray Abbey lands, not surprisingly also did business with the Murrays of Tullibardine, whose literary interests have been already noted. Thus, Patrick sells John Murray, heir apparent

of Tullibardine, an annualrent of the lands of Woodend itself in 1582.⁴¹² More tellingly, in his testament he appoints 'my cheif the laird of tullibardin' to tocher (i.e. provide a dowry for) his (i.e. Patrick's) daughter and to

do vnto hir the quhilk he promest vnto me for gude seruice and vtheris special caussis
quhilk he knawis himself and this to be done as my traist is into him ... Lykewayis I will
desyre him to be ane fader and protectour to my wyf and thai to serve and depend vpoun
[him].⁴¹³

In other words, the same people as in 1568 – legally trained men such as Sharp and the Strangs – and landed gentry, both with links to the pre-Reformation establishment and thus to poets and men of letters known to have been part of the Bannatyne circle, are in the 1580s still pursuing the same sources of wealth and kin protection, and in 1581 Scott is still to be found among them.

Both the historical data and the information that we may gather from verse (particularly Montgomery's sonnet) thus confirm the links between Scott and those who were to combine literature and power during the personal reign of the next Stewart monarch. We have mentioned Patrick Murray of Newraw's quite illustrious off-spring, connecting his family to William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Anne Halkett and William Murray, first Earl of Dysart. A few words may be added here with reference to Patrick's younger son, Thomas (1564-1623), whose Latin poems grace the *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum* (1637) to show more in particular the closeness of these Murrys to the literature of Jacobean Scotland. Soon after 1603 he became tutor and subsequently (1617) Secretary to Prince Charles, ending his career as Provost of Eton (1622-23); in other words, he was clearly a trusted royal servant. As such, he is in good Scottish company, since William Fowler and Robert Ayton were Scottish poets and functioned, consecutively, as secretaries to Queen Anne. That Thomas Murray had been close to James's interests prior to

1603 is indicated also by Thomas Murray's literary output: he translated James VI's *Lepanto* into Latin in 1588 before that text was itself printed (1591), though Murray's translation was itself also not printed until 1604 in London, under the title *Navpactiados, sive Lepantiados Iacobi Magni*.⁴¹⁴ Robert Ayton applied to succeed Thomas Murray as Provost of Eton; 'by his own account, his application was motivated by a desire to provide for Murray's widow [Jane Drummond] and children as much as by personal ambition'. The post eventually went to Sir Henry Wotton, close friend of John Donne, and himself another secretary, foreign intelligence agent and poet.⁴¹⁵ One is again struck by the way in which the connections of Alexander Scott, the musician, are almost unfailingly with men and women who played a major role in the culture and politics of his own day as well as of the next generation. It gives rise to the hypothesis that the culture which his verse foregrounds does not represent a cul-de-sac but was one which could go on to develop its own seventeenth-century adaptations of vernacular culture, in which Scottish patterns would increasingly blend with their English counterpart.

One more document is known that refers directly and unambiguously to Alexander Scott, musician. On 30 March 1591, the testament is recorded of Margaret Carkettill (who died on 10 March 1585), spouse of Mr Edward Aitkin, advocate. They owe £500 to the heirs of the son of umquhile [the late] Alexander Scott, son of umquhile Alexander Scott, musician.⁴¹⁶ This debt is clearly the result of the instrument of redemption dated 18 June 1582, discussed above, in which Aitkin bound himself as surety for payment of these £500 to the Scott family. Margaret Carkettill was the daughter-in-law of William Aitkin, deceased goldsmith burgess of Edinburgh, and Margaret Arthur, in whose dwelling that document had been drawn up. Again, direct links with the world of culture in Edinburgh can be discovered. Mr Edward Aitkin's (and, thus, most likely, Margaret Carkettill's) tenement is on the north side of the High Street, in the great lodging formerly belonging to Mr Thomas Marjoribankis; next door are the tenements and lands of the deceased John Carkettill and the deceased James Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's father – all

familiar names from Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik'. The Aitkin, Carkettill, Bannatyne and Mauchan families were interlinked through several marriages.⁴¹⁷ The last extant item in George Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik' (recorded 22 December 1601) is a sasine granted by Margaret Carkettill to George Bannatyne and his wife, Isobel Mauchan. The name of John Carkettill, like Mr Thomas Marjoribankis, appears in George Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik' of his parents' and siblings' godparents. As Chapter 2 showed, that John Carkettill was closely related to an earlier Margaret Carkettill, the first wife of Walter Chepman, of the famous Chepman and Myllar prints.⁴¹⁸ Considering the connections listed above, the printer's wife was most likely related in some way to her above-mentioned namesake, wife of Edward Aitkin. That the printing business was a familiar occurrence in these circles also appears when we find that Aitkin subsequently 'disposed' the above-mentioned tenement to Andro Hart, merchant burgess of Edinburgh. The latter was the prolific printer, whose printing shop was indeed in this area north of the High Street, in Craig's Close, almost directly opposite the mercat cross.⁴¹⁹

These connections place the Arthurs and Aitkins in urban circles that shared literary interests. Not only did these involve Scott, but also the poet William Stewart, the second-most prominent contemporary poet (after Alexander Scott) in the Bannatyne MS, whose daughter-in-law was, in fact, another Margaret Aitkin.⁴²⁰ She had married this poet's son and heir, also named William Stewart. The latter was a writer in Edinburgh, who left a notarial notebook in which he recorded the books he lent to friends – which indicates either his own ownership of these books, or at least their possession at a particular moment in time.⁴²¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, these books included a wide range of genres and authors, and among the borrowers we note the poet, sir John Rolland, the author of *The Seuin Seages* and *The Court of Venus*. These books will have been passed on to the poet William Stewart's son and heir – who married George Bannatyne's sister, Catherine. This provides another important insight into where (and how) Bannatyne may have found his 'copeis auld, mankit and mutillait' which he used as

copytext for his manuscript; the fact that Edward Aitkin's lodging is next door to Bannatyne property is a useful indication of the way in which, in Edinburgh's exceptionally configured urban development, physical nearness facilitated circulation of manuscripts and books.⁴²²

Though the exact relationship is unclear, the way in which these urban connections were interwoven makes it likely that Mr Edward Aitkin, debtor to Alexander Scott, the poet-musician, was related to Margaret Aitkin, the daughter-in-law of the poet William Stewart, possibly through William Aitkin, goldsmith. In other words, in addition to Scott's own links with George Bannatyne, the two foremost contemporary poets in the Bannatyne MS, both Scott and Stewart, had close links with those living next door to the property of George Bannatyne's father, too.

Margaret Carkettill's testament is thus one of many post-Reformation documents that reveal the tightly-knit clusters of names in contemporary Edinburgh that have cultural-historical connections with literature past and present. Their overlap with Bannatyne circles from mid-century suggests that pre-Reformation networks were still intact almost half a century later. Moreover, the fact that almost a decade after his death, Scott is still explicitly remembered in this milieu as a *musician* makes it tempting to assume that there was still an audience for his *poetry*, too, particularly if his verse was accessible in manuscript, or even in printed format. It is notable that, as has been detailed above, official references to Scott which date from after the compiling of the Bannatyne MS in 1565-68 designate him as 'musician' with greater regularity than before.

It is doubtless also not irrelevant that Edward Aitkin's first wife, Margaret Lauder (who died 1578/9), came from a family with pronounced cultural and often Catholic connections. Her father, Robert Lauder of the Bass, had been with Mary Queen of Scots at her final stand as a Queen, at Carberry, following a long-standing tradition of family loyalty to the Stewarts. Margaret's uncle, John, was secretary to Cardinal Beaton and the bitter opponent of Wishart in this prominent Reformer's trial. Margaret's brother, James, became Dean of Restalrig and was

likewise devoted to the old church. Helena Shire connects him with James Lauder, the musician, who was an agent for Mary in the 1570s and 1580s; however, clear details hereof are missing. What we do know is that Margaret Lauder's sister Mariota married Thomas Otterburn of Reidhall, son of the neo-Latin poet Adam Otterburn, mentioned earlier as one of the text-writers for Mary of Guise's entry in 1538. That text itself was read out, in French, by Henry Lauder of St Germain, the brother of Margaret's grandfather. The sister of Margaret's grandfather, also Margaret, married Alexander Hume of Polwarth, from whom descended Patrick and Alexander Hume, the two brothers who were prominent as poets during James VI's reign. Finally, Alexander Lauder of Haltoun, from a related branch of the family, married Marie Maitland, third daughter of Sir Richard Maitland, the poet; the poems of her father and of many other contemporary authors were transcribed either by or for her (c. 1586) in an important manuscript anthology now known as the Maitland Quarto. After Marie's death, Alexander Lauder married Annabella, daughter of John Bellenden of Auchnoull, whose intimate connection to George Bannatyne's family has been mentioned already. Once again, the trails of literature and family lines jointly come full circle.⁴²³

In these different ways, a coterie of sixteenth-century Edinburgh literati, branching out into nearby country estates, becomes increasingly visible, as well as the way in which texts circulated amongst them. It further instances a particular community of readers, courtly as well as urban, that was already instanced by the puns and plays on personal names in poetry contained in the Bannatyne MS (discussed above) as well as by the scrutiny of names in Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik' in Chapter 2.

There are a few additional pieces of evidence from the Bannatyne MS that suggest how that manuscript may have been used by its community of readers immediately after its completion in 1568. Scattered throughout the manuscript, contemporary or near-contemporary hands have written a few remarks and personal names⁴²⁴ in the margin, as well as cross-

references⁴²⁵ that signal relationships between individual poems within the manuscript. The latter indeed instance the active (near)contemporary use of the manuscript by readers, as do the poems written into the manuscript after 1568 and the alphabetical index of first lines with many corrective additions that appears at the end of the manuscript. Although it is difficult to date the additional lyrics precisely, some are clearly from the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The proper names that have been scribbled into the manuscript may provide information as to who copied these later additions into the manuscript, and who read the manuscript after 1568. George Bannatyne's only heir, his daughter Janet, in 1603 married George Foulis, and it is therefore not surprising to find the names of several members of the Foulis family in the margins and on the last folio of the manuscript, since they owned the manuscript in the seventeenth century. Thus, James, George and Alexander Foulis, George Bannatyne's grandsons, wrote their names into the manuscript, possibly in 1623. These names indicate that the manuscript was still being consulted by a close-knit group of readers, something that in itself suggests it was used in similar ways at an earlier date. In that respect it is intriguing to find the quite stylised signature of 'Iacobus Foulis 1623' at the very beginning of the manuscript's fourth book, that of the 'ballattis of lue', a section arguably most immediately appealing to a young male ('Iacobus Foulis' was born in 1605). A family readership would also fit the decoding of the 'Ban-na-tyne' family name from a poem on fol. 234v, and it is also worth noting that the set of three poems by Sempill, which includes the text which names James and Patrick Bannatyne as well known legal practitioners, as discussed above, also has other 'decodings', making Sempill's veiled references explicit (fols 123v and 124r).⁴²⁶

The inscription that occurs next to Barbara Foulis' signature on fol. 84v ('I forbeir to decat my selff my book to great personis') is particularly intriguing, as well as baffling. Using this particular example in its entry on 'self (pronoun)', *DOST* can only gloss 'decat' as '*sic*'; possible readings of the word might include 'docat', a spelling recorded for 'docket', v; or

‘dedicate’. Whichever it may be, the reference to ‘my book’ suggests a reader consciously engaged with the act of reading while on this very page, and its tone may reflect aspects of the poem that it accompanies, Dunbar’s ‘‘Quhome to sall I complene my wo’ and its troping of the need to be constantly alert to the lack of assurance in the world. On fol. 375v, effectively the manuscript’s back cover, also appears the signature of William Foulis of Woodhall, Jonet Bannatyne’s great grandson, who in 1712 gave the manuscript to Mr William Carmichaell of Skirling, and thus beginning the process of making the manuscript accessible to readers more widely. Carmichaell himself effectively continued George Bannatyne’s effort by entering a poem in the so-called ‘Draft Manuscript’, as did the poet Allan Ramsay in the Main MS in 1726. Note also that the name written in the margin of one of the Sempill poems (‘John Carmichaell’, fol. 123v, in a clearly later hand) to expose the identity of one of the ‘villains’ in the poem is also the name of William Carmichaell’s son, the fourth Earl of Hyndford, who presented the manuscript to the Advocates Library. Whether the marginal inscription indeed refers to the fourth Earl is difficult to say, but the various details in the paragraphs above do indicate that the Bannatyne MS indeed did function as a family manuscript.⁴²⁷

Of a different impact, but equally suggestive of late sixteenth-century readership, is an inscription in the margin of fol. 39^v, reading: ‘the leaird of wairidstoun’, which seems unconnected to the godly text that it occurs next to. The inscription may refer to the tragic popular ballad ‘The laird of Wariston’, based on the murder of John Kincaid, the laird of Wariston, an event organised by Kincaid’s own wife in 1600.⁴²⁸ But a previous John Kincaid, also laird of Wariston, may provide a better explanation as to why this name or signature appears in the Bannatyne MS: he was the husband of Margaret Bellenden, the sister of the poet John Bellenden who features so prominently in the manuscript. There are various transactions between this John Kincaid and the Bellenden family. Most importantly, a benefice of the poet was transferred to Kincaid in 1548.⁴²⁹ Kincaid later (1572) married Jean Ramsay of Dalhousie.

This lady's eldest brother, John Ramsay of Dalhousie, in October 1564 married Marion, the eldest surviving daughter of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull, the Justice Clerk who played such a prominent role in Mary's reign. Moreover, Jean Ramsay's sister Marion married, before 1548, William Bannatyne of Corehouse, the branch of the Bannatynes from which both Bellendens and Bannatynes descended, and whose coat of arms features on the front page of George Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik'.⁴³⁰ Given these most intricate family connections it is quite likely that 'the laird of Wariston' had access to the Bannatyne MS at some stage, as a family friend, and the same can plausibly be expected for others who moved in these circles. The Bannatyne MS thus indeed may have been well read in the later sixteenth century.

The members of the Corehouse branch of the Bannatynes were loyal to the Marian cause, and they were close to the circles of government under James V and Mary of Guise. In 1529, John Bannatyne of Corehouse had married Isabella, the sister of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who became heir presumptive to the Scottish crown in 1536 and was Regent of Scotland from 1543 to 1554.⁴³¹ It is in accordance with the pattern outlined above, with George Bannatyne's family following in the wake of these two more high-profile related families, that we find close links between John Kincaid, laird of Wariston, and James Bannatyne, burgess of Edinburgh, George Bannatyne's father. Thus, on 2 June 1551 they act as curators of a Kincaid family member.⁴³²

John Kincaid of Waristoun is reported as deceased in November 1571,⁴³³ but connections to George Bannatyne's family continue. George Bannatyne's stepmother and step-brother (Janet Cockburn and William Wod of Bonnington) are among the feuars of the next laird of Wariston, in the 1580s.⁴³⁴ Political loyalties, too, conform with earlier patterns. The document drawn up in November 1571 is a charter granted by Christina Bellenden, prioress of the Dominican nunnery of St Catherine of the Sciennes just outside Edinburgh, who, on behalf of herself, the convent and her sisters, states that they have fallen on hard times and have to rely on

friends and family members to make ends meet. This charter was drawn up at Wariston itself (which was also just outside Edinburgh), and it is clear that the Kincaids of Wariston were among those ‘friends and family members’ who were well disposed towards the sisters. Such sympathy for Catholic causes is confirmed by the laird of Wariston’s subscription in January 1586 to the ‘Grant of voluntary subsidy by the barons of Lothian to defray the expensis to be incurred in aid of Queen Mary in her present peril’. These barons intended to raise 10,000 merks to save Mary or, if necessary, revenge her.⁴³⁵

The appearance of Wariston’s name in the margin of the Bannatyne MS thus draws attention to the possible post-reformation sympathies or interests of the Bannatyne family or at least of their readers and their (as well as the manuscript’s) continued association with those who were disinclined to reject certain pre-Reformation values and connections, despite the Bannatyne family’s own quite consistent Protestant pedigree. The evidence suggests that the manuscript was read by family friends, possibly even circulated among friends and relatives – such as the laird of Wariston himself or someone who knew of the connections between the Bannatynes and Wariston. In any of these scenarios, there is a strong impression of a literary coterie or ‘scribal community’.

3.9 Coda: other Alexander Scotts

In the pages above, all the details have been reviewed that can be connected more or less directly to Alexander Scott, musician. There are, however, a few references to contemporaries likewise called ‘Alexander Scott’ and to some of the marginal figures mentioned, and these should be mentioned here and in the next section because they contain links to the musician’s life-events. Thus, there is one more reference to an ‘Alexander Scott’ that fits the profile of somebody at

odds with the post-Reformation political establishment, and which clearly touches on the kind of political intrigue in which the musician's two sons, Alexander and John, had become involved in the 1570s. On 9 December 1589 one Alexander Scott 'junior' was called before the Edinburgh presbytery, accused of 'misbehaviour in the realme of Spaine', such as kneeling at the ringing of church bells, or conferring with Spanish churchmen and attending 'processionis'. Scott, who admits he spent the last two years in Spain, having travelled there by land, denied the allegations, but the case was continued because he did admit to having lifted his hat on passing Catholic churches in Spain or when churchbells were ringing.⁴³⁶

There is probably more to this than a difference of opinion about etiquette: in the Spanish State Papers a letter from Paris dated 8 May 1588 is recorded in which Bernardino de Mendoza – the Spanish ambassador to France, expelled from England – identifies one William Hunter, a man who claims to be James VI's banker, as an English agent. Mendoza sends additional Scottish information, but all this

will be explained by the man who will go with the proofs. He is one Alexander Scott, who also discovered last year a great quantity of English goods, which was impossible from their character could be Scotch [...] Scott is starting by way of Nantes to explain the whole matter. He says one of the ships sailed from Scotland, where she loaded the English goods, but the other two sailed from Norwich, where they had taken their cargo on board ...⁴³⁷

The very next entry in this volume of State Papers is the 'Full statement of the Armada', listing all ships involved, number of men they could carry, and similar details. This nearness of Scott, at least in the records, to the sailing of the Armada would not be unbecoming to a relative of Alexander Scott, Mary's officer of the pantry in the 1570s, though without further evidence the

connection should not be pressed.

William Hunter was a well known English agent, normally stationed in Lisbon, and another letter from Mendoza (13 October 1588) explains how a trap is set that will implicate Hunter as the secret agent who informed Walsingham of the Armada's readiness to sail. From what Mendoza says, it is obvious that he thinks this trap is a better ploy to catch Hunter 'than that of Alexis Droscot'.⁴³⁸ There is no other reference to a man named Alexis Droscot anywhere else in *CSP Foreign Eliz.* or *CSP Spanish* for this period, and considering the first-noted connection between Hunter and Scott, 'Alexis Droscot' is most likely to be a misreading of 'Alexandro Scot', perhaps as the result of a misinterpretation of a manuscript abbreviation of the Christian name. Hunter petitioned James VI in March 1590 regarding the injustice that Scott's false accusations had caused him, and James judged that Scott was indeed worthy of punishment. Scott is labelled by the English diplomats as 'procurer of the troubles of the Scottes men staid in Spaine'.⁴³⁹ That the Alexander Scott who was employed to set up a trap for William Hunter was indeed the Alexander Scott suspected by the Edinburgh presbytery of misbehaviour is made more likely when we learn that on 20 July 1591 Hunter writes to Burghley to reveal that Scott has left Spain some time ago and is now in Edinburgh.⁴⁴⁰

These details link this Alexander Scott to the circle of Marians in Paris who were in touch with Mendoza after Mary's execution in 1587. They are the very kind of people that the musician's two sons were suspected of being involved with in the 1570s. It would indeed not be a surprise if the grandson of the musician were to surface in these circles; Alexander Scott junior, grandson of the musician, was still alive at this stage, as will appear below, and it should be noted that his hat-lifting namesake was also called 'junior'. However, so far no further traces of an Alexander Scott in Marian circles in Britain or on the Continent has come to attention.⁴⁴¹

Nevertheless, the manner in which James VI dealt with Hunter's appeal tentatively suggests that there was indeed a literary connection between this Alexander Scott and the poet of

that name. English sources at the time noted that the letter in which James VI confirms that this Alexander Scott was worthy of some kind of punishment, as well as the instructions that came with it, are to be delivered only into the hands of Mr William Schaw, James VI's Master of Works, and to nobody else. This is a revealing detail. Schaw was charged with a wide range of tasks at court, and was clearly greatly relied upon by James. At court, he was employed as master of ceremonies, and as such entrusted with the entertainment of visiting ambassadors. He also went on diplomatic missions abroad himself, for example in 1584 with George, fifth Lord Seton, arguably the staunchest supporter of Mary Queen of Scots at the highest level and the most prominent Catholic nobleman in the country; Schaw also worked as Master of Work at Seton Palace. In 1589, Schaw accompanied James to Norway when the King went to fetch Anne, his bride. Schaw became a favourite of Anne, and was appointed as her chamberlain.⁴⁴²

Most significant for the present purpose, however, is the fact that 'Schaw was repeatedly accused of being a Roman Catholic, evidently being one of the small circle of Catholics who survived at court with the connivance of James VI'.⁴⁴³ In 1583, he had been appointed as master of Works to replace Robert Drummond of Carnock, even though the latter had been appointed for life not long before. This may have been as part of a backlash against the Protestant 'Ruthven Raiders' from whose clutches James had only just escaped, and it provides a first suggestion that Schaw 'was associated with conservative interests'. The nature of such 'conservative interests' may be gathered from the fact that in 1588 Schaw was one of the 'papists and apostates quho sall happin to resort to Court' who were summoned to appear before the Edinburgh presbytery, in the same atmosphere of expectation of Catholic plotting that also forced Alexander Scott, junior, to appear before the Edinburgh presbytery for lifting his hat in Catholic Spain.⁴⁴⁴ Not long after Hunter lodged his complaint with James, Schaw was listed as a 'suspected Jesuit', and described by English intelligence as one of those 'evill affected' towards amity with England.⁴⁴⁵

Such parallels between Schaw and the Alexander Scott who was ordered to explain his

behaviour in Spain to the Edinburgh presbytery suggest that the King's decision to allow Schaw to deal with Hunter's complaint against Alexander Scott – even if this was *not* the same Alexander Scott as the man of that name who lifted his hat in Spain – was at least unfortunate, possibly deliberate, and certainly, in retrospect, highly ironic. Another, similar case in 1598 indeed suggests that James put individuals, who were somehow under threat because of their Catholic inclinations, under Schaw's wings:

In 1598 English agents watching the movements of an English Catholic who had come to Scotland reported that he claimed to have been recommended to Schaw. The king had given protection to the former and arranged for him to meet Schaw, and soon Schaw and the Englishman were reported to be meeting frequently.⁴⁴⁶

The above details suggest that, in the Hunter v. Scott case, the explicit stipulation by the King that only Schaw was to receive James's letter and instructions – which themselves are no longer extant – sees the King consciously committing Scott's case into the hands of somebody who will have had a degree of sympathy for the target of Hunter's accusation. Such a person would therefore probably deal with Hunter's complaint discreetly and temperately – or even leave it to gather dust – rather than pursue the case vigorously. In addition, Schaw belonged to the family of the Schaws of Sauchie, near Stirling, and was thus also closely linked to Scott's family in geographical terms. There are no further references to this matter in the records, which is perhaps exactly as James wanted it, because if this Alexander Scott was indeed a kinsman of the poet, whose status as a man of letters James would no doubt also have appreciated, James – especially in the kin-conscious politics of Scotland – faced a slightly awkward conflict of loyalties in dealing with the descendant of a trusted retainer, even care-taker, of his mother. James faced a similar conflict of loyalties in the case of another, much-favoured Scottish poet: in

the 1580s Alexander Montgomery had also become deeply involved in Spanish plots both at home and abroad. The related, vexed matter of Montgomery's pension was the issue of a bitter and prolonged legal battle which was approaching its climax in the early 1590s, and in which Mr John Sharp, whom we have also encountered in the narrative of Scott's life, acted as Montgomery's legal representative.⁴⁴⁷

More directly relevant to the present purpose of resurrecting the cultural reference points of Alexander Scott, the poet, is the fact that this possible connection of Schaw to the biographical details of Alexander Scott, the musician, uncovers yet more connections between the sphere of letters and the historical figures that we meet when researching Scott's biography. The role of Masters of Work as cultural intermediaries and as disseminators of royal propaganda has been noted by architectural historians. Thus, as Master of Works, Schaw was responsible for the new Chapel Royal building within Stirling Castle, stage of the heavily politicised triumphal baptism of Prince Henry in 1594.⁴⁴⁸ He was also involved as architect – Schaw was the first in Scotland to be given that designation – at Dunfermline Palace, Queen Anne's residence, and, it would seem, Schaw also worked on Seton Palace and on Pinkie House, mentioned above as a Scottish humanist Renaissance highlight; both, it is worth noting, are properties belonging to those close to the King. He 'seems to have been inspired by the Renaissance exaltation of architecture as the greatest of the arts, and built on old traditions of the primacy of masons (as the agents of architects) to claim a special status for them'. This belief no doubt explains the fact that 'he played a key role in the creation of freemasonry', with the so-called first and second Schaw statutes developing its organisation and rituals.⁴⁴⁹ Schaw's learning and the fact that he had travelled and thus broadened his mind was appreciated by leading literati: on William Schaw's death, Alexander Seton, on the orders of Queen Anne, provided a noteworthy epitaph in stone in Dunfermline Abbey, where Schaw was buried, which praised exactly these qualities.⁴⁵⁰

Schaw's predecessor as Master of Work was Robert Drummond of Carnock (1579-

1583), the grandfather of William Drummond of Hawthornden, Scotland's foremost seventeenth-century poet. Like Schaw, Drummond of Hawthornden brought Renaissance and Italian ideas to bear on Scottish culture. In the case of Robert Drummond, it was Montgomery who wrote a eulogising epitaph.⁴⁵¹ Before Drummond of Carnock, the post was held from at least 1554 by sir William Makdowell. As described in Chapter 2, Makdowell benefitted from the cultural revival surrounding Mary of Guise's appointment as Regent in that year, just as Scott did at St Giles' a year or two later. One of Makdowell's first tasks was to build the stage for the performance of Lindsay's *Satyre* in 1554, and he also seems to have worked for the Erskines, in Stirling. Moreover, the Bannatyne family again makes its cultural presence felt at this junction: Makdowell was godfather to George Bannatyne's sister, Margaret, in 1557.⁴⁵²

Three successive Masters of Work (1554-1602) thus have clear literary connections and dimensions (in addition, Sir Anthony Alexander, Master of Works from 1628 to 1637, and later Secretary to Charles, was the son of the court poet, Sir William Alexander). James VI's selection of William Schaw as the man to deal with Hunter's claim against the Alexander Scott who had newly returned from Spain has to be seen in this larger context. That context, once resurrected, may reinforce the notion that this namesake of the poet was indeed a relative. But even if this connection is one step too far, the present chapter has accumulated evidence that the poet, and his verse, were part of a quite intricate and comprehensive network of connections that combined cultural interests or expression with the negotiation of political power. Moreover, and crucially, it again transpires that post-Reformation networks worked along the same lines and used the same type of cultural intermediaries as their pre-Reformation equivalents.

Many of the possibly relevant archives in which Scott or his descendants might appear are as yet still only available – if extant at all – in often voluminous and unindexed manuscripts. Until these records are made more accessible, one might instead draw another additional parallel with Alexander Gordon to suggest what may have become of the poet's descendants. The eldest

son of Alexander Gordon, John Gordon (1544-1619), was in 1565 granted a pension by Mary, as was granted to Alexander Scott's son, and out of Inchaffray lands, too. John Gordon's appointment by royal charter as bishop of Galloway in 1567 – and thus, effectively, as successor to his father – failed to take effect. He eventually abandoned his Scottish income, it would seem, and sought his post-Marian future in the exiled Scottish queen's household in England (1572), just like Alexander Scott younger, the musician's son. As the son of Alexander Gordon, and as a man educated at St Andrews, Paris, and Orléans, John Gordon had the connections to venture further abroad: he married twice in France, where he became Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to three successive kings, Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV. He later became Dean of Salisbury and went on to publish several books that show his learning and his strongly Protestant views.⁴⁵³ The networks of their parents as well as their attendant dilemmas seem to have determined the lives of the sons of both Alexander Gordon and Alexander Scott, the musician.

There are many references to other Alexander Scotts. While some of these have little or no relevance to the musician's biography, the most important ones need to be listed for the sake of disambiguation and future reference. The details below only instance Alexander Scotts who can be connected to the world of culture and letters in the widest sense and who should therefore be briefly mentioned here, if only to distinguish them from the poet of that name.

One Mr Alexander Scott (who died 1569) was parson of Sanday and of Westray, and later chancellor of Orkney. The prebend of Sanday was linked with the post of precentor of Orkney, an office that presumes an ability to take care of the provision of music. As chancellor, however, he was librarian and in charge of the books of the choir, and Mr Alexander Scott was indeed himself a book-owner.⁴⁵⁴ In February 1550 and again in June 1554 this parson of Westray, who had a room in the Edinburgh tenement of John Sym, and sir Simon Blyth, a St Giles' prebendary, witness an assignation by William Scott of Balwearie to Marion Scott, drawn up by James Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's father. All these are names connecting him to the

Bannatyne circle, but there are no further leads that draw him nearer to Alexander Scott, the musician or, indeed, the poet, himself.⁴⁵⁵

Alexander Scott, monk at Newbattle Abbey, in 1523 transcribed the Cistercian *Institutiones*.⁴⁵⁷ One of the monks of Kilwinning, listed in 1532, was called Alexander Scott, perhaps the same man as Alexander Scott, Prior of Kilwinning in 1512. In or shortly before 1536 an unnamed monk of Kilwinning built the organ of the town church in Ayr, and he or other monks of Kilwinning were in subsequent years called upon to repair or service it.⁴⁵⁸ As we have seen, Alexander Scott, the musician-poet, was an organist who drew revenues in the late 1530s from the parsonage of Ayr. Family traditions and connections may well link the poet to the monk(s) of Kilwinning of the same name. Building an organ was not, one would imagine, a skill possessed by many, so the convergence of names, places and professional qualities is at least worth noting.⁴⁵⁹

Thomas Dempster's list of illustrious Scottish authors mentions an Alexander Scott, but this is the Aberdeenshire grammarian and professor of law of that name, who died in Carpentras in 1614.⁴⁶⁰

Finally, there is one more Alexander Scott who was most certainly not the poet but who may lead us to the latter's origins. Gavin Scott of the Dene (died 4 September 1585), mentioned above, named Alexander Scott of the West Port in Edinburgh as overseer of his testamentary executives; Alexander was also Gavin's major creditor.⁴⁶¹ This same man, also known as Alexander Scott of Orchardfield, married Margaret Logan of the Logan of Restalrig family.⁴⁶² She appears frequently in papers dealing with Edinburgh properties and legal transactions, especially in the 1580s, and she is likely to be the Margaret Logan who owes £15 to Robert Hudson, the court musician and poet, at his death in 1596.⁴⁶³ Moreover, her husband, Alexander Scott, can be woven into the musician's life story in several ways. He was the eldest son of John Scott, maltman in the West Port, and of Elizabeth Scott, of the Scotts of Balwearie. This John

Scott was a well known figure in Edinburgh, also known as John Scott of Orchardfield or Orchardton, the part of Edinburgh at the foot of Castle Hill.⁴⁶⁴ Marion Scott, an important name in the Bannatyne 'Memoriall Buik', lists him in her rental book as one of her business contacts. Little is known of the maltman's second son, John (who was dead by 29 May 1581),⁴⁶⁵ but their third son, William Scott of Ardross and Grangemuir, was Director of Chancery in the 1580s and married Elizabeth Hamilton, a daughter of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, whose father was a Bannatyne godparent. Their son John was famous for his devotion to literature, and wrote a 'Poesy' to James VI.⁴⁶⁶

Elizabeth Scott, the widow of John Scott, maltman in the West Port, remarried. Her new husband was Robert Scott of Knightspottie, a royal favourite, the man for whom Montgomery wrote a short, laudatory and affectionate epitaph in 1593.⁴⁶⁷ He had formerly been married to Elizabeth Sandelandis of the house of Calder, another family which we have encountered in the narrative of the musician's life. Robert Scott's grandson, and also in his time Director of Chancery – a position to which this family enjoyed an uninterrupted, quasi-hereditary claim for several generations – was John Scott of Scotstarvet, the well known statesman and man of letters, whose tutors (in the legal sense) were the above-mentioned Mr William Scott of Grangemuir and Alexander Scott of Orchardfield.⁴⁶⁸ Scotstarvet married Ann, a sister of the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden,⁴⁶⁹ and there is proof of other connections between these Scotts and the Drummonds. Thus, William Drummond of Hawthornden's brother James is cautioner (security) for the debts of Alexander Scott of Orchardfield's daughter.⁴⁷⁰

Robert Scott's father, sir Alexander Scott, is worthy of note. He was the son of Robert Scott of Allanhaugh and Janet Adamson, which suggests that it was because of kinship that he was appointed tutor to William Adamson in 1558. This is again a name that has resonances in the musician's life-story as well as in the poet's work. As discussed above, William Adamson is the name of one of the two protagonists in Scott's poem, 'The iusting and debait vp at the Drum

betuix William Adamsone and Iohine Sym'. This is a poem with otherwise very particular local references, but it is difficult to be sure whether a reference to a real-life William Adamson is intended in Scott's poem, and *which* William Adamson this then might refer to, since the name is common, and a prominent one in Edinburgh municipal politics.⁴⁷¹

Sir Alexander Scott, Robert's father, was a royal favourite: he was the king's 'lovit servant and oratour', whose offspring exercised a quasi-hereditary right to the post of Director of Chancery.⁴⁷² He was from 1505 to 1510 vicar-pensioner of Glenquhome, a prebend of the Chapel Royal, which was a year later (1511) annexed to the archdeanery of the Chapel Royal.⁴⁷³ From at least 1513 to 1516, sir Alexander Scott was vicar of Kirkurd, a prebend attached to Trinity College Church in Edinburgh, an institution which emphasised the musical skills that its staff were required to have. From 1520 onwards, the Bannatyne godfather and poet George Clapperton was a prebendary there, before becoming its Provost (1540-1566).⁴⁷⁴ In 1516, sir Alexander was appointed as 'depute' of the Clerk Register, and subsequently enjoyed a long career in the king's service.⁴⁷⁵ In the summer of 1526, he was paid for 'watand [waiting] continuallie apoun the kingis service', which he seems to have combined with notarial activities.⁴⁷⁶ In this period, sir Alexander frequently copied out the national accounts as deputy, first, of Adam Otterburn, then Provost of Edinburgh, and, subsequently, of Mr James Foulis of Colinton, Clerk Register and, like Otterburn, a neo-Latin poet.⁴⁷⁷ In such a clerkly capacity, right through the reign of James V, he also worked alongside men such as John Danielston, who held the Chapel Royal prebend of Balmaclellan in 1530, which Alexander Scott the musician obtained in 1539.⁴⁷⁸ In the 1530s, he is joined in this work, amongst others, by John Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's grandfather.⁴⁷⁹ He was appointed vice-register [i.e. Clerk Register] of Scotland in 1534, and Provost of Corstorphine collegiate church near Edinburgh.⁴⁸⁰

In this period we also catch tantalising glimpses of him in direct dealings with literary figures. Thus, in this same year (1534) he is a witness to an infetment of David, son of John

Beaton of Balfour, together with Mr Alexander Kyd. The latter is almost certainly the above-mentioned poet whose verse appears cheek by jowl with Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' in the Bannatyne MS (the name is not very common, let alone a graduate with that name).⁴⁸¹ Most intriguingly, considering the musician's tutorial capacity, sir Alexander Scott also acted as deputy of Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen. Dunbar was one of Scotland's foremost humanists, a clergyman who believed in the *vita activa* and whose humanism was of the civic kind: he acted at various times as Clerk of the Rolls, Register, and Council during James V's reign. Sir Alexander Scott – like Dunbar, a clergyman who came to work in government – is often found as Dunbar's 'depute' in these functions.⁴⁸² Most importantly for the present purpose, Dunbar was, from at least February 1517 onwards, also the official schoolmaster of the young King.⁴⁸³ His wisdom, learning and benevolence is celebrated in unambiguous terms by George Buchanan in an epigram in which Dunbar is described as surpassing others in eloquence, 'even as Apollo, leader of the Castalian choir', and whose conversation at the dinner table was 'seasoned with Attic wit'.⁴⁸⁴ Dunbar was also tutor to Alexander Gordon, later bishop of Galloway – and was indeed, like Gordon in the 1550s, granted the Abbey of Inchaffray *in commendam* in 1538, at the king's request. This confirms a pattern of the same royal rewards being used for the same positions, held by a select group of people. Finally, Gavin Dunbar is also said to have been the patron of John Bellenden, the vernacular poet and translator of Livy whose verse and family play such an important role in the Bannatyne MS and George Bannatyne's 'Memoriall Buik'; Bellenden, too, operated in the areas in which civic and clerical duties overlap; he had come through the ranks of royal officers as clerk of the king's expenses (1515–1522) before concentrating on an ecclesiastical career.⁴⁸⁵

As deputy of Gavin Dunbar, Clerk of the Rolls, Register, and Council, sir Alexander Scott copied out an extract of an act of parliament in 1523 regarding the keeping of the young king under the care of Lord Erskine, who had succeeded Gavin Dunbar as tutor of the infant

king in 1522.⁴⁸⁶ That parliament confirmed that the care-takers of James V were: the then bishop of Galloway, who was *ex officio* Dean of the Chapel Royal in Stirling and was as such also charged with ‘the cure of the king and queen of Scotland, and of the royal household’, as we have seen above;⁴⁸⁷ Alexander Mylne, Abbot of Cambuskenneth (like Inchmahome, an Augustinian foundation near Stirling); Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis (which throws an interesting light on the nature of Scott’s services to the Earl of Cassillis in the 1550s); and Lord Fleming. Lord Erskine had already been put in charge of Stirling Castle the year before, during a parliament that had stipulated, more importantly, that Lord Erskine

sall be his [James V’s] scoule master that sall wait on his Grace, and instruct him in all gude vertuis, to reid and write and to speke Latin and Fransh; and the said maister to ly in the Kings chalmer, and the usher togidder with the verletts of the chalmer.⁴⁸⁸

It appears that Dunbar delegated his task as tutor partly, or when abroad, to Erskine.⁴⁸⁹ The latter would thus have been tutoring or otherwise educating the king together with the poet David Lindsay, who was the ‘Kingis maister uschar’ at the time.⁴⁹⁰ This makes the next Lord Erskine’s choice of Alexander Scott as one of those attached to the closest circles around the infant Mary in 1548 part of a by then well established pattern, and indeed suggests a link of some sort between this sir Alexander Scott and the Inchmahome organist. Precedent and family ties will have played a large part in finding reliable men and women for these positions close to the heart of sovereignty and its continuation. All in all, although he cannot be connected directly with the musician or poet of the same name, this sir Alexander Scott, Provost of Corstorphine – who died in May 1544 – provides the profile and connections of somebody who could have guided a relative or friend to a Chapel Royal career, combined with service in the royal household, including the care of royal children.

The grandfather of this Provost of Corstorphine, David Scott of Buccleuch and Branxholme, had a younger brother, Alexander Scott of Howpaslot and Abington, rector of Wigtown and ancestor of the Scotts of Thirlstane. He belonged to a generation of Scots who, under bishop William Elphinstone of Aberdeen (1431-1514), one of Scotland's foremost clerical humanists, were trained to help establish an effective system of legislation under James III; Scott of Howpaslot was indeed in 1476 appointed Clerk of the Rolls, Register, and Council.⁴⁹¹ This branch of the Scott family knew that it did not have sufficient influence to compete with powerful aristocratic families, but could rather make its fortune by consistent loyalty to the state and, thus, the monarch. Tellingly, such civic pride is summed up most eloquently by a poet and statesman from among their own ranks – who was, moreover, a close relative to two major poets (Drummond of Hawthornden and William Fowler), which suggests that such a civic milieu was indeed fertile soil for authors: Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, snubbed by more blue-blooded counsellors to the king, retorted that

albeit he might not compare with noblemen as not being of there degree, yet he might affirme that himselffe and 5 of his predecessors of qhom [whom] he is Lineallie descended had served his majestie and his noble progenitors continuallie without intermission since the dayis of King Ja[m]es]. 3rd 145 yeirs in place of estate as counsellors, clerks of register, clerks of the session, or directors of the chancellarie, and that amongst all there wryts there was not a remission for any fault committed against there King or country.⁴⁹²

The names as well as the sentiments that here arise with sir Alexander Scott, Provost of Corstorphine, and his descendants, are seen clearly to match the profile of some of the key figures and issues that have come to the fore in the musician's life-narrative above, too. This

particular branch of Scotts – which frequently used the Christian name ‘Alexander’ – was connected to men who took care of Stewart minors, performed clerkly services to the state more generally, and drew their income from prebends of collegiate churches such as Trinity College, Corstorphine, and the Chapel Royal. Moreover, the legal and clerkly services provided by these families, whose younger sons in particular were not averse to serving in the apparatus of government, are precisely those most likely to have elicited and encouraged the quasi-legal features and style of Scott’s verse. This is a milieu that could have brought forth a poet such as Alexander Scott, with an audience ready-made. There are in fact indeed sporadic marginal insertions of verse in the kind of accounts that sir Alexander and his colleagues drew up in the reign of James V, some of it not too distant from the material of Alexander Scott in the Bannatyne MS – those by George Cook have been quoted above. However, the only recorded son of this Provost of Corstorphine is Robert Scott, the later Director of Chancery celebrated by Montgomery. When the Provost of Corstorphine died in 1544, his brother, sir James Scott (who died in 1563), succeeded him.⁴⁹³

The overlap between the details and life events of sir Alexander Scott and those now known about the Chapel Royal musician of that name is thus noteworthy, but no direct contact between the two can as yet be established. Until more conclusive evidence appears, the best informed guess, then, is that the poet Alexander Scott emerged from a relatively obscure background somewhere in the folds of the entangled branches of the Scotts, the Chapel Royal and the royal household, as detailed above. He rose from obscurity probably thanks to his musical skills, at a court that was keen to profile itself in cultural terms. However, James V’s untimely demise, and then internal church reform followed by the Reformation itself, seem to have thwarted Scott’s career as a musician and pluralist. He seems to have abandoned his career at the Chapel Royal in the 1550s, finding employment at St Giles’ instead. But his continued good relations with the Crown – something that is also characteristic of many of those who can

be linked to the Bannatynes and their manuscript anthology – led to his sons’ (and, perhaps, his own) involvement with Mary’s court, both before and after her forced abdication in 1567. It would seem that he spent his last years mainly in Stirling, living from his financial investments but continuing to style himself as a musician in official documents. He was still remembered in the 1580s by the next generation of court poets, with some of his better-known songs circulating in manuscript well into the seventeenth century.

3.10 Towards a conclusion

If nothing else, Chapter 3 establishes that the Chapel Royal musician, Alexander Scott senior, is the only candidate to be the poet of that name. Most immediately important for the study of Scott and his verse is the crucial question raised by the interconnections between the details of his life and Scottish culture, as outlined in this chapter. That question is: what is the explanation for the fact that writing the cultural biography of Alexander Scott, musician and poet, a man of relatively obscure origins, has touched on so many of these ‘literary productions’ and ‘agents’? In more practical terms, this can be rephrased as: how can we explain that, within the overall body of knowledge about sixteenth-century Scotland, the life events of this Alexander Scott, Chapel Royal prebendary, continuously show him in contact with very particular kinds and categories of people, ideas, and spheres of influence: care-takers of royal offspring, royalists, ‘secular’ clerics, and pivotal figures in the world of letters and cultural expression more generally, as well as the patrons, producers and consumers thereof?

The mass of details suggests that a simple answer may be the best answer, at least for the moment: Scott’s contacts with this ‘cultured’ and relatively well-to-do world – contacts which lasted until the end of his life, and even beyond – are best explained as a result of his continued

activity as a musician and, possibly, poet. Although he seems to have been of relatively humble origin, Scott's activities as a musician will have brought him into contact with those who were (and, importantly, could afford to be) interested in music and verse, and, partly inevitably, therefore had a habit of preserving the culture of earlier generations – something which inevitably brings one back to consider pre-Reformation sensibilities. As noted above, it is striking how Scott identifies himself, or is identified as, 'musician' in post-Reformation documents, more so than is the case with those from the pre-Reformation period. It is significant that the last recorded reference to him, almost a decade after his death, is as a musician, in the papers of an Edinburgh family whose house was adjacent to Bannatyne property and which had political, commercial and cultural interests and connections of its own. This is one of many facts that suggest that Scott and his verse appealed to a wide readership in contemporary Scotland, one that included many who can be defined as 'not with an anti-Catholic or anti-royalist bias'. This wide appeal may also explain why and how some of Scott's songs found their way into early seventeenth-century song books. Because of the existence of, and his interface with, this audience, Scott seems to have been able to continue to meet patrons, political figures, and cultural agents of all denominations. Most likely it was in these circles, too, that Bannatyne found the 'copeis auld mankit and mutilait' from which he compiled the Bannatyne MS.

The two paragraphs above arrive at conclusions pertinent to the more practical aspects of the circulation of literary energy in mid-sixteenth-century Scotland, and the respective roles of Scott and of the Bannatyne MS within that, thus placing Chapters 2 and 3 in complementary and reciprocal perspectives. For the wider, conceptual implications of this siting of Scott and his verse within the cultural context of the Bannatyne MS as well as vice versa, i.e. moving the discussion back onto the level of poetics as defined at note 8 in Chapter 1, we turn to the conclusion of the thesis as a whole.

Notes to 'Chapter 3'

1. Hattaway 2005: 1, 7.
2. On this term, which Geertz borrowed from philosophy, see Murray 1999: I, 436.
3. These distinctions between author (the person behind the work) and writer (the 'person' *in* the work) go back to T.S. Eliot: see Barry 2002: 24.
4. This idea of a 'double hermeneutics' is derived from Lyall (1992), where the specific argument is for a doubling of historicist inquiry, combining literary-formal with socio-political historicisation.
5. Shire 1969: 47-51; MacQueen 1970: xxxv-xlv. The section in MacQueen's book that deals with Scott's life (which was also used as an introduction to the Scotsoun Makars series, audio-cassette SSC043, 'Alexander Scott') is a re-working of MacQueen 1968: 101-106. Shire (1972), in a review of MacQueen (1970), adds a few extra biographical details though without providing references. Finally, partly in response to Fox (1972), MacQueen updated his own earlier articles in MacQueen (1983). The notion that the poet was actually not the musician but his son, Alexander Scott younger, has been raised on occasion, perhaps fuelled by the desire to connect the poet more particularly with Mary's Scottish reign in the 1560s. The distinguished Scottish historian George Chalmers pointed out this possibility to David Laing in a letter dated 11 September 1821 (EUL MS. La.IV.6/Chalmers/46-46x) in which he drew attention to the 1549 legitimisation of the two bastard sons of the Chapel Royal prebendary. David Laing refers to the latter document in his 1821 edition of Scott (p. ix) but, rather than making a statement about which of the two Alexander Scotts is the poet, he is sceptical about being able to prove that the legitimisation applies to the poet in the first place, which from the then known facts was indeed but a hypothesis. With the new information that has become available in the course of the twentieth century, the possibility of Alexander Scott younger being the poet has been rejected, by consensus.
6. For the 1539 appointment, see MacQueen 1970: xxxvii-xxxviii.74 p. ccxxxiv. This prebend may have been that of Ayr *sexto*, as that is the one held by John Lambert, the man whose prebend Scott is presented with in 1539 (before, Lambert, it had been held by Mr Alexander Kyd, whose verse stands shoulder to shoulder with that of Scott in the Bannatyne Manuscript): RSS II.786, 787. Rogers (1882) is still the only full-length study of the Scottish Chapel Royal; van Heijnsbergen (1995) can only suggest starting points for a badly needed upgrade.
7. Vatican Archives, Reg. Supp. vol. 2086, fol. 290^r, 11 August 1532; Reg. Lat. 1575, fols 271^r-274^v (on such *resignationes ad favorem*, see Williamson 1998: I, 202-5). All references to the Vatican Archives are taken from catalogues and microfilms held in the Department of Scottish History in the University of Glasgow. The prebend of Ayr was substantial enough to finance several prebends, and was therefore carved up into smaller parts that were usually given additional labels in the shape of Roman numerals. One prebend could thus be divided between several prebendaries; thus, the prebends of Ayr *primo* to Ayr *sexto* were all attached to the Chapel Royal.
8. RSS III.513; RSS VIII.1923; Munro 1999: I, 35.
9. RSS VIII, pp. xi-xii.
10. DNB LI, 10; Shire 1969: 50; Shire 1972: 183.
11. Under Scots law, a 'tutor' usually acted on behalf of a minor until the minor was fourteen years old, when a curator would be appointed – though this rule is not always observed, as in the case of the Earl of Cassillis and Mary Queen of Scots below; see also Cameron 1998: 219n, 220n, 223n.
12. '... ex chorij dicere et recitare libere': Vatican Archives, Reg. Supp. 2417, fol. 102^r (5 April 1541) and Reg. Supp. 2414, fol. 90^v (10 April 1541).
13. Reg. Supp. 2304, fols 215^v-216^v (13 Oct 1539); Reg. Supp. 2387, fol. 202^r (5 September 1540).

15. *DOST* IX, 79. Laing (1846-64: I, 155-6) explains that the title of 'sir' or 'Dominus' was used for churchmen who had not (yet) completed their master's degree at University, but Patrick (1907: 88n) notes that the label 'sir' gradually came to be extended to priests and curates generally. To distinguish the use of this title given to priests as opposed to that given to knights, the former is printed without an initial capital.
16. For the most recent analysis of this process of laicisation, see Mason (2000).
17. Connat 1950: 113. MacQueen (1970: xxxvi) describes de Laulnay somewhat ambiguously as 'a Swiss tambourin player'. The original document, though, calls him 'joueur de tambourin de Suisse', in which the adjective 'Suisse' refers to the musical instrument rather than to the person. The 'Swiss drum' (or 'swasche') was a very popular instrument in contemporary public ceremonies, a small drum that town drummers used to draw attention and that was often used in processions.
18. Shire 1969: 37, 260-2. Lauder's life-details provide many parallels to those of Scott, including being beneficed at the age of thirteen, acting as musician in Edinburgh in the 1550s, and having very close connections to the circles around Mary Queen of Scots in the 1570s and 1580s. Fethy's life details likewise significantly overlap with those of Scott, as will further appear below.
19. Mill 1930: 430.
20. On the Basoche and similar societies, see Brown 1963: 26ff, 76, 79; on page 67 Brown describes the kind of occasion for which Scott may have been hired. On Marot, see especially Shire (1969), *passim*.
21. Harvey 1941: 34-5, 174, 176-7.
22. Knecht 1995: 364-6.
23. Macphail 1924: 223-4. This particular instance of the word 'decoir' ('honour, beauty, adornment') is the first recorded use of it as a noun (*DOST* II, 32). *DOST*'s earliest instance (1491) of 'decoir' as a verb describes chaplains who 'sall decoire the queir ... on haly dais'. Even though 'decoir' may have been used formulaically in the 1548 document, the choice of words suggests that Scott enjoyed a good reputation as a musician.
24. Elliott and Shire 1975: 212. The text also appears in Margaret Robertson's anthology, NLS MS 15937.
25. Cameron 1998: 151, 160n, 188n.
26. *Peerage* V: 83-4; *DNB* XVII: 422-4.
27. On John Erskine himself, see Mahoney 1962: 56. On the Murrays and Gordon, see below.
28. McKerlie 1931: 69.
29. *RPC* II, 181, 28 January 1573; *RPC* III, 113: 16 March 1579.
30. Inchmahome had originally been united to the Chapel Royal by James IV, but James V disjoined it and gave it to the Erskines: Chalmers 1887-94: VII, 181.
31. Furgol 1987: 219-31 and fiche 1:C3. In older studies of Mary's life, her stay at Inchmahome is sometimes erroneously stated to have lasted up to nine months.
32. Laing 1846-1864: I, 213; MacQueen 1970: xxxviii. Robert had also been imprisoned after the battle of Solway Moss (1542), when he was one of those for whose safe return Mary of Guise was most anxious.

-
33. The view here expressed by MacQueen (1970: xxxviii) goes back at least as far as Hailes 1770: 314. Cranstoun (1896: xi) likewise talks about Robert Erskine and Mary as 'lovers', Scott's lyric possibly marking their 'final parting'. Shire (1969: 47-8), while less committed to such a reading, also seeks to view the poem as an elegy to Robert Erskine, possibly commemorating his departure on the eve of battle.
34. *Peerage* V, 610-11.
35. Cameron 1927: *passim*; *ADCP*, 576-80. I am most grateful to Dr Julian Goodare for guidance on the transference of the title of 'maister'.
36. Hulley 1944: 185.
37. van Heijnsbergen (2008).
38. *RSS* III.2876.
39. *RSS* III.2869 ('ad presentationem regine, sede Glasquens vacante, et collationem (*etc*) spectante').
40. Furgol 1987: fiche 1:C3.
41. Thus, MacQueen 1990: 180. No lesser Marian historian than George Chalmers (1818: I, 4) lists John Erskine and Alexander Scott, parson of Balmaclellan, as Mary's 'preceptors', defining them as Mary's 'two subordinate instructors' – i.e. serving under Lords Livingston and Erskine – who boarded ship to accompany Mary to France. Strickland (1850-59: I, 97, 99; III, 20) writes in a similar vein, calling Scott Mary's 'schoolmaster', but seems to be merely embellishing Chalmers' account. In any case, neither identify him as the poet of that name, and Chalmers may be fusing fact and likely hypothesis. However, he may have found confirmation of what is indeed most likely to have happened – Scott's sailing to France – in sources that have since disappeared, particularly from the Scots College in Paris, nearly all of which were lost during or shortly after the French Revolution (Halloran 1997: 188; Rapport 2002: especially 101-102). The Earl of Mar himself gave his papers to the Scots college in the early eighteenth century; none survive, not even among the Scots College papers preserved in the Irish College (N. Genet-Rouffiac, French Ministry of Culture, 'Sources and Resources of the French Archive', paper given at the 1992 Scottish Records Association conference, and private communication). The same fate has befallen most of the papers of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow; in 1570 he left Scotland for France and deposited a large part of his papers in the Scots College in Paris (Dilworth 1983). Mary Queen of Scots herself bequeathed her belongings to the College on the eve of her execution. (Duff 1907: 436. Fleming 1952: 101, 103-4, 127). Regardless of where Chalmers found his information, from a letter he wrote to David Laing in 1821, in which he writes that he knows nothing of Scott other than the legitimization of his children in 1549 (Edinburgh University Library MS La IV.6/Chalmers/47-47x), it becomes clear that he did not connect the Alexander Scott who, he claims, boards ship with Mary and the Earl of Mar with the poet of that name – perhaps a telling example of how past critics separated poetry and learning or didacticism in ways that were not in line with sixteenth-century ideas.
42. Tytler 1828-43: VI, 52, 434.
43. Baudouin-Matuszek 1990: 92-3. Lesley 1830: 210. In his comments on the French royal households of these years, De Ruble (1891: 41, 61) does not mention Scott; but from 1550 her household was almost entirely French, including a preceptor, Claude Millot (91).
44. *RMS* IV.395; *RSS* IV.505.
45. On legitimization by subsequent marriage, see Paton 1958: 117-18. On the legitimization of bastard children and their legal rights to inheritance, see McNeill 1962-63: I, 237-40.
46. Durkan 1950: 58-62, 64.

-
47. Durkan 1950: 60-2. Patrick 1907: 87, 89-91, 98 ('Maturely advised and adhering to the decrees of the Council of Trent ...'). A John Fethy had been legitimated by sir John Fethy in 1530 (*RSS* II.584, 14 March 1530). See Fleming (1910: 540-69) for a list of legitimations of natural sons and daughters of 'the celibate clergy of Scotland' (1529-1559).
48. See Chapter 2 above, and van Heijnsbergen 1994: 205.
49. Patrick 1907: 89 (nr 171) and 113 (nr 207). Pitscottie 1899-1911: II, 141.
50. Mahoney 1962: 50, 56.
51. Stewart 1969-70: 405. For more on Wedderburn, see below, section 3.8.
52. Shire 1969: 260; MacQueen 1970: xxxi-xxxiii; Munro 1999: I, 153-4.
53. The pension of £10 is granted to Scott on 31 January 1556 by the town council of Edinburgh 'for the yeir to cum alanerlie [only] [...] for his avating [being in attendance] and singing in thair queir during the said time all the haly and festiual dayis and playing on the organis quhen he salbe requirit be the towne thairto' (Marwick 1871: 236; see also Smith 1905: liv-lv).
54. Adam 1899: I, 234.
55. Smith 1905: lii.
56. Adam 1899: II, 32, 36, 52.
57. Smith 1905: lii, 149, 158, 173. For the central role of the Hammermen guild in Edinburgh cultural life, see also Chapter 2 above, particularly the sections on Jonet Rynd.
58. Durkan 1979: 91, 92.
59. NAS CS 7/15, fols 24^r-26^r. I owe this reference to Mr John Ballantyne. Fethy's troubles continued into the next decade: Kirk 1995: 263; MacQueen 1970: xxxii-xxxiii.
60. Vatican Archives, 'Resignatio Regressus' Serie A, 64, 120; Consensi 7, 325^v-326^r. This reference is taken from printed extracts of the Resignations series held in the Scottish History Department of Glasgow University.
61. Vatican Archives, Reg. Supp. 2264, fol. 40^r-40^v.
62. *RSS* II.787. Woods 1984: I, 42. Hadley Williams 2000: 59.
63. Edington 1991: 147. MacDonald 1996: 210.
64. Durkan and Ross 1961: 121, 179, 186.
65. Durkan and Watt 1979 (especially pp. 232-33). Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 109, 142. Durkan and Ross 1962: 183. Durkan 1979-80: 259, 263. Hannay 1913: 95, 107, 121, 199.
66. The genealogical table provided by Donaldson (1983: 170-1) shows these families circling around the throne.
67. Watt and Murray 2003: 431. References to Augustinian houses and their relation to the Chapel Royal are frequent in the foundation documents of the Chapel Royal: see Rogers 1872: 1, 3, 13, *etc.*
68. Woods 1988: 89. Ross 1962: 224-5. Lynch 1991: 79, 80. McFarlane 1981: 70. Dilworth 1994: 170-74. Reid-Baxter (2001: 131) draws attention to the link between Augustinian intellectual thought and music.

-
69. On Richardson, see Coulton (1935). For Mylne, see Thomson (1823). On Telfer, see Chapter 2 above and van Heijnsbergen 1994: 196; Durkan 1981: 183.
70. Watt and Murray 2003: 432-3, 484, 486. On Kincragy, a civil servant like James Bannatyne, see Chapter 2 above and van Heijnsbergen 1994: 204. Rogers 1882: xxxii.
71. Dalzell 1828: 52. See also Laing 1863.
72. Watt and Murray 2003: 434, and see also p. 431. Dalzell 1828: 55. Rogers 1882: xxxi, xlii. On the Panters, see Watt and Shead 2001: 27, and below.
73. Duncan 1834: 135.
74. Munro 1999: I, 27-8, 72. Maynard 1961: 171. There is a problem regarding the identification of this Andrew Buchan, though: on 18 November 1579 Edinburgh town council decided to approach Andrew Buchan for the post of Master of the Song School (which he accepted on 27 November), but on 20 November they also discussed the matter of a prebend in St Giles', now vacant by the decease of *sir* Andrew Buchan (Marwick 1882: 126-8). This may be just a slip of the pen. For example, *sir* Andrew may have demitted rather than died. That very same confusion in fact arises later with Andrew Buchan, Master of the Song School, when in 1582 he is said to have both demitted and died (Marwick 1882: 239). In any case, the use of 'sir' indicates that this was a man who was known to have been part of the pre-Reformation ecclesiastical hierarchy and who apparently still valued that association.
75. Stenhouse 1853: lxxxiii.
76. Woods 1988: 87-9.
77. Elliott 1961: 20-1, 25; van Heijnsbergen and Royan 2002b: xix, xxviii.
78. Fleming 1910: 546-7.
79. Pittock 2002: 354, 357.
80. These maps can be found at <<http://www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/map/early/scotland.html>>, accessed 15 November 2006.
81. Craigie 1919-27: I, 384.
82. Thus the noun 'hummlie' refers to: '1 a rustic, *specif.* a Highlander. 2 a native of Buchan *Abd.*' (i.e. Aberdeenshire): *Thesaurus*, 375. Although referring to the period after 1700, *SND*, III, 224, adds several examples that reveal a similar perceived link between Buchan and images of Highland rusticity and geographical locations where nature holds sway.
83. Briggs 19: 214-5.
84. Maynard 1961: 172, quoting an 'unpublished description' by Elliott.
85. Parkinson 2000: I, 112, and II, 96.
86. MacQueen 1970: lxiv-lxvii. Cranstoun 1889-93: I, 144-155, and II, xxxiii-xxxiv. On Scott's use of 'Inglis', see van Heijnsbergen 2005b: 334.
87. Love 2002: 106.
88. van Heijnsbergen 2005b: 333-34.

-
- 89.Daiches 1980: 4.
- 90.Most pertinent here is 'Sym and his bruder' in the Bannatyne MS: *Bann. MS (fac)*, fols 145^v-147^r.
- 91.In an anonymous contemporary Scots lyric, a young courtier woos a country lass rather forcefully with what in the lyric's refrain is described as 'ane countrie kisse' (NLS MS 15937, fol. 178).
- 92.*Peerage* II, 268-9; Brown 2000: 134; the poem that refers to the Buchan affair ('Ane Schort Inveccyde maid aganis the delyuerance of the erle of Northumberland') is found in the Maitland Quarto: Craigie 1920: 190-6; the reference to the Buchan affair is in l. 77. For comments on this poem, see Bain 1830: 173-6.
- 93.Fraser 1970: 401, 423, 426.
- 94.Pitcairn 1833: I, part ii, 15, references a telling example of the subversive nature of May games, this time with explicit literary involvement: in the parish of Arbutnot in 1570, the choosing of Robin Hood and the Abbot of Unreason coincided with the production of 'ane ragment of ryme in name of Johnne the Commoun-wele, with convocation'.
- 95.Mill 1927: 150-1. Stuart 1844: 279-80 gets the year wrong, as does Maidment 1834-37: II, 309-10.
- 96.Mill 1927: 151. See also the entry for 16 January 1554 on the same page.
- 97.Cranstoun (1896: 132-3) and Donald (1902: 82-3) record growing unease in this period with May festivities, as instanced by Acts of Parliament against some of them. Todd (2000) provides ample evidence of the fact that they continued well beyond the Reformation.
98. There is in fact also one Alexander Scott – burgess of Edinburgh, it would seem – who, together with several musicians, is arrested for celebrating Robin Hood in 1561 in Edinburgh (Pitcairn 1833: I, part i, 409-10).
- 99.Smith 1905: liii.
- 100.Smith 1905: liii. For more details regarding this revival of court and burgh literature, see Chapter 2 above and van Heijnsbergen 1994: 211-12, 223.
- 101.Hay 1975-76: 254, 256. Apted and Hannabuss 1978: 27.
- 102.Smith 1905: lii-liv.
- 103.NAS RD 1/1, part 2, fols 40^r-41^r.
- 105.On the Bellenden family, see Chapter 2 above. As to the facts mentioned in the present paragraph, see Roxburghe Muniments (n.d.): NRAS 1100; Edington 1994: 50; Hamer 1931-36: II, 1-6; *Bann. MS*, I, xxxvii; Fraser 1885: III, 221.
- 110.Court of Session 1790: 1. A *curator* is appointed to administer the estate of another, e.g. a minor or an insane person; a *curator ad litem* is appointed 'to look after the interests of a party to proceedings who is under legal disability but has no guardian' (Duncan 1982: 28).
- 111.Vatican Archives, Reg. Supp. 2840, fol. 294v. I am extremely grateful to Dr Eila Williamson for helping me with deciphering as well as interpreting this document, which is written in a very difficult hand, as well as for drawing my attention to the reference to Stobo (below), and for deciphering the name of the 'referendary', i.e. the person presenting this supplication in Rome: this was not Scott himself but 'B. Lomellinus', i.e. – most likely – Benedetto Lomellini (1517-1579), who was appointed Secretary Apostolic on 1 December 1551. He later became bishop of Ventimiglia and Cardinal of Anagni (Giannini (2005); see <<http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1565.htm#Lomellini>>, accessed 4 August 2009); no particular interest in

Scottish affairs can so far be detected in his biographical details, so his role in Scott's supplication was most likely a purely clerical one.

112. For examples of such challenges, see Williamson 1998: I, 144, 156. On how a supplication 'de nova provisio' could pre-empt or counter such charges, see I, 172.
113. Williamson 1998: II, 590-91; see also pp. 378, 604.
114. Davis 1990: 75-6.
115. On Stobo, see Bawcutt 1998: II, 337; MacQueen 1972: 62-3.
116. Davis 1990: 75.
117. Ailsa Muniments, NAS GD 25/9/323, box D, item 5. Note that one of the two named witnesses is James Millar, which is the name of a writer (i.e. clerk) in Edinburgh who was godparent to one of George Bannatyne's siblings in 1562, and who seems to have been involved in George Bannatyne's education: see Chapter 2 above. Other items in this same box testify to the close links between Sir John Bellenden and the Earl of Cassillis (item 8), and it is worth noting that we find two well known pluralists among those doing business with Cassillis: sir William Makdowell, the Queen's Master of Works (item 6, 8 August 1555) and Alexander [Gordon], Archbishop of Galloway and as such Scott's superior in the Chapel Royal (items 6 and 7). Again and again we find traces in Ayrshire of men who acted as cultural agents, even if only through patronage.
118. Fergusson 1963: 55, 58.
119. Ritchie 1999: 169. *DNB XXX*, 419. *Oxford DNB* LII, p. 745.
120. Cockburn (1555); and Knox (1556). The latter is included in Laing 1846-1864: IV, 69-84; its expanded and much less reconciliatory 1558 version appears on IV, 423-60.
121. Pabst 1951: 53.
122. McFarlane 1981: 42-7, 83, 94-6. Durkan 1986: 34. Cameron 1998: 187. Aitken, 1939: xvii.
123. Allan 2000: 84n, and see p. 109 for another lettered Cassillis tutor, John Lyon of Auldbar. Boyd's sonnet can be found in Jack 1978: 158; Donaldson (1994) discusses its authorship and provides additional bibliographical detail.
124. Kuipers 1964: 25, 57, 216-24. In 1539, one Thomas Kennedy, a young man from Ayrshire 'of excellent inye [invention] in Scotish poesye', was burnt for heresy (Laing 1846-64: I, 63-6).
125. Kuipers 1964: 61.
126. McFarlane 1981: 208.
127. Kuipers 1964: 26, 41-2. Hewat 1907: 86-90.
128. *RPC* II, 283-5. NAS CS 7/76, fol. 81. McFarlane 1981: 214-5. Fergusson (1963: 59) notes that Cassillis' heir was an equally reluctant paymaster even to the remaining monks of Crossraguel themselves, avoiding payment of their monks' portions for over a quarter of a century (1576-1602).
129. Shire (1972: 183) mentions that 'holograph deeds that are almost certainly his [i.e. the poet-musician Alexander Scott's] show him transacting business with, or for, the Earl of Cassillis from 1556 onwards.' Shire does not footnote this reference, but the record mentioned above, NAS GD 25/9/23, box D, item 5, may have been one

of those documents, even though it is only a single leaf and is not officially registered by Scott as a 'deed', but an acquittal. I have not been able to find any references to these 'holograph deeds' among Shire's papers deposited in Aberdeen University Library.

130.Durkan 1986: 32. Root 1974: 7. McFarlane 1981: 20. Smith 1896: 311.

131.Millar 1907: 425-6 and the illustration facing p. 14. Root 1974: 8.

132.Inglis 1991: 28.

133.Aitken 1939: 26/27, 95, 160. McFarlane 1981: 338. There is confusion about which 'John Erskine' this is: Aitken identifies him as the sixth Lord Erskine, the man who was Scott's superior as prior of Inchmahome in 1548, who in 1543-44 was at least in his mid-twenties. But McFarlane (1981: 98) suggests it is the father, the fifth Lord Erskine. The decisive factor must surely be that Buchanan not only explicitly mentions that this John Erskine was 'prior of Inchmahome' but also 'brother of the lady who had caused all my troubles'. This was Margaret Erskine, Lady Lochleven, the King's mistress and by him mother of the Regent Moray. She was indeed sister to the sixth Lord Erskine, i.e. it was indeed Scott's 'superior' who lived in Paris with Buchanan (Aitken 1939: 4-7; *Peerage* V, 612).

134.McNeill 1964: 70, 74.

135.On Erasmus and Alexander Stewart, see Durkan 1953: 6-7; Herkless and Hannay 1907-15: I, 231-49; Hughes and Ramson 1982: 20.

136.Van Heijnsbergen 1994: 192-3n.

137.Hamer 1931-36: xi. Van Heijnsbergen 1994: 192.

138.Easson 1947: 4. Hamer 1931-36: I, 5 and IV, xi.

139.McFarlane 1981: 53-4, 71, 73, and the *Oxford DNB* entry on Buchanan.

140.*Peerage* VIII, 171, 176. For Alexander's works, see Kastner and Charlton 1921-29.

141. On Quinn, see Paton 1904-30: I, 39-44; *Oxford DNB* XLV, 697-8, where it may be noted that Quinn's son, James, was a noted singer, making a name for himself in that capacity in the seventeenth century.

142.Reprinted in Laing 1825: 1-7. See also *CSP Scot.* XII, 79-86, 100, 120.

143.Seton's achievement is most conveniently illustrated in Bath 1995: 107; the relevant garden inscription is quoted on pp. 102-3.

144.*ER* XIII, lxxxiv, 574, 576. *ER*, XIV, 56.

145.*RSS* V.3323.

146.*RSS* V.3323. *RSS* VI.1468; *RSS* VII.1621; *RMS* IV.749; Stephen 1921: 143.

147.Stephen 1921: 143. *RSS* V.2984.

148.*TA* VII, 445. NAS RD 1/15, fol. 243^v-246^r. Van Heijnsbergen, 1994: 197. *Bann. MS* I, cxliv. Stephen 1921: 143. *RMS* IV.749 and a deed from 20 March 1570 (NAS RD 1/11, fol. 362) confirm the identity of Agnes Scott as the daughter of Alexander Scott, burgess of Edinburgh, and Marioun Scott. Anne Henryson and Jonet Henryson, daughters of James Henderson of Fordell, are here also identified as sisters to this Agnes Scott. This is because Marion Scott later remarried, firstly, Nicol Cairncross, and, secondly, George Henderson of Fordell.

-
149. Durkan 1985: 366 (13 April 1523). Marion's sister Jonet was also an affianced wife, to one Henry Scott: Roxburghe Muniments n.d.: 98 (15 January 1530). In 1539, Henry Scott is recorded as having a son, Alexander, but further details are missing (NAS B 22/1/11, fol. 85, read in conjunction with NAS CS 7/29, fol. 261).
150. Anderson 1859-63: VIII, 406. *Peerage* VIII, 471.
151. RSS V.3213, for Scott younger. For Robert Fraser junior and senior, see RSS V. 1785, 2007, 2675, 2978.
153. Douglas, 1798: 518. Thomson 1833: 100. Anderson 1859-63: I, 282-3. *TA X*, p. xxx. *Peerage* II, 65-6. Harrison 1919: 104. *TA VII*, 445, gives Margaret Scott as the name of the nurse to one of James V's sons who died in infancy in 1541; considering Bellenden's court connections, this is likely to be his wife.
154. *Peerage* II, 61-2; Ballantyne n.d.: 3.
155. Haws 1972: 59. *TA VII*, pp. xxxix. Hay 1954: 190, 196, 374, 445. Watt and Murray 2003: 119.
156. RSS II.499, 852, 926, 1704 (see also 'Index of Offices'); RSS III.2436; MacQueen: 1970, xl.
157. On the latter, see van Heijnsbergen 2005a: 171-5.
158. NAS RD1/3, part 2, fols 224^v-225^r. NAS RD 6/1, fol. 14^r, under '17 March lvij' (= 1559). The latter source adds, in a later hand, the information that the bonds in this minute book were drawn up 'in sir william scot's chalmer', where on the same day Robert Scott, writer (whom Montgomery fondly remembers in a versified epitaph, as noted in Chapter 2), also registers a bond; these are in fact the only two entries for that day. Sir William Scott may have been a relative of both Alexander and Robert Scott, but evidence is lacking.
159. RSS III.513.
160. Donaldson 1949: 87.
161. Lindsay 1908: xc. Ross 1963: 33.
162. On how Inchaffray pensions considerably burdened the income of its Commendator, see Donaldson 1987: 2.
163. Cameron 1927: 386. Wood 1925: 215, 217. Ross 1963: 33n.
164. Lindsay 1908: xciii-xcv, 248. This tack or lease is not confirmed until 25 February 1566. *Peerage* I, 469.
165. On this manuscript, see Parkinson 2000: II, 6-9.
166. Paton 1904: 16, 21; *Peerage* V, 615.
167. Lindsay 1908: xciv-xcv, 166, 168.
168. Ross 1963: 35; Thomson 1839-45: I, 112.
169. Lindsay 1908: 166.
170. Coulton 1935: 78-81, 142-3.
171. Donaldson 1987: 1. *DNB XXII*, 159-61.
172. Donaldson 1987: 1, 3. Ross 1963: 30.

-
- 173.Herman 2002: 231-254, sonnets III-VII.
- 174.Rebholz 1978: 155.
- 175.Murray and Watt 2003: 173-4. Pollen, 184-5 and note. Durkan 1988: 86. Smith 1933. On Clapperton: Laing 1861: xxvii.
- 176.Sanderson 2002: 194-201, a chapter entitled "'Good Robert Scott" – Clerk of Session, 1539-1592'.
- 177.Donaldson 1987: 14.
- 178.Patrick 1907: 165.
- 179.Leneman 1998: 3-6. Leneman's book shows that chapter 13 of Fleming (1910), on the state of marriage laws in Scotland, requires updating.
- 180.Guthrie 1911: 42, 48.
- 181.Ross 1963: 30.
- 182.Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 289-90. On Marion Ogilvy, see Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1987: 3-21.
- 183.Quoted in Mahoney 1962: 56.
- 184.Lockwood 1975: 7. The extracts from contemporary documents in Lockwood's book illustrate how the Council of Trent sought to curb the use of 'inappropriate' (e.g. *chanson*-like) music in church. This foregrounds another pressure that was put on Scott's musical career, since some of his work is closely related to the *chanson* tradition.
- 186.Donaldson 1987: 16.
- 187.Hanson 1998: 4.
- 188.Dalyell 1806: 181-2.
- 189.Ross 1963: 31-2. Hay's lectures have been published: Barry 1967; see also Barry 1951. Barry 1967: xix, notes that Hay's lectures were to a large extent based on the fourth book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, the key medieval theological textbook, still popular in contemporary Scotland.
- 190.Ross 1963: 32. See also Barry 1967: 11.
- 191.Further detail about contemporary forms of regular and irregular marriages can be found in Forte 1991, esp. pp. 107-9; Clive 1997: 1-7; Barry 1967: xxxv-xxxviii; Seton 1919-20: especially 274-5; Anton 1958; and Leneman 1998.
- 192.Lynch *et al.* 2002: 295. Barry 1967: xxxv.
- 193.Barry 1967: 7.
- 194.Ross 1963: 30-31. In other words, Gordon claimed that he had been married with the said Barbara Logie for fourteen years *per verba de praesenti*, being neither a bishop nor a priest or in orders or having been promised anything that might detract from its legality. At no time had he denied the marriage, when asked by any notable person, such as the then Queen Dowager of noble memory, Mary of Guise-Lorraine, my lord the Archbishop of St Andrews, the sheriff of Ayr and many others, whom he assured of the truth of his claim. On Gordon's marriage, see also Donaldson 1987: 4.

-
195. 'The great object of [Gordon's] life was to provide for [his] children and, if possible, get his lady recognised as a wife' (Lindsay 1908: xci). In a letter to Randolph of 9 September 1560, Gordon refers to Barbara Logie as 'my bedfallow' (*CSP Scot.* I, 483), a term that conveniently covers both mistress and wife.
196. Black 1979: 5th edition, p. 1031; Sokol & Sokol 2000: 291-5.
197. Ross 1963: 31.
198. Durkan 1979-80: 270.
199. See especially Edwards 1986: 413.
200. On this manuscript, the Osborn Commonplace Book, previously known as the Braye Lute Book, see Bawcutt (2000b) and van Heijnsbergen (2005a).
201. Donaldson 1949: 86, 87, 147. MacQueen 1970: xl. Kirk 1995: 603. *RSS* III.2969, IV.510, V.2042. Munro 1999: II, 249. On Robert and John Danielston's careers, see Chapter 2 above, and van Heijnsbergen 1994: 204.
202. Mahoney 1962: 56. Lynch 2001: 18. Watt and Murray 2003: 466.
203. On Scot's 'New Yeir Gift' as a welcome and entry poem, see van Heijnsbergen (2008).
204. van Heijnsbergen (2005b: 333-4), but see below for how this pun may provide information on Scott's activities and whereabouts in 1565.
205. *Peerage* V, 613. *DNB* XVII, 417. Randolph, Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, reported to Cecil that 'the Duke [of Chatelherault, i.e. the Earl of Arran], Argile, and Ariskine [Erskine] like well of this English marriage with Leicester' (Lawson and Lyon 1844-50: II, 260).
206. *Bann MS (fac.)*, nos. 147 and 305; see also no. 304.
207. Furgol 1987: 228 and fiche 1:C12.
208. Furgol 1987: fiche 1:C4. Mackay 1899-1911: II, 173.
209. NAS RH 6, no. 1944.
210. MacQueen 1970: xliii.
211. MacQueen 1970: lxxxiv (note 75). The Great Seal charter, also copied as Dupplin Charter no. 24, is quoted in Lindsay 1908: 165-70, 248.
212. NAS RD 1/9, fols 217^r-218^v. MacQueen 1970: xliii.
213. NAS RD 1/11, fols 238^r-239^r; the obligation was registered on 15 July 1570. See Lindsay (1908) for a 'Map of Inchaffray and surrounding district' (facing p. 316). An update on the history of the Inchaffray Abbey lands is provided by Ewart (1996).
214. Sanderson 1973: 125, 128 (Maderty). Dilworth 1994: 177. Wormald 1983: 72. The Murrays feature regularly in NAS E14, 'Abstract of Abbreviates of Feu Charters of Kirklands' (2 vols, 1564-86). In addition to the lands obtained through dealing with Alexander Gordon, many of the lands around Crieff seem to have come into the possession of these Murrays through John Murray, barber to James V: Marshall 1883: 17-18. The prebend of Crieff in the diocese of Dunkeld was annexed to the Chapel Royal, and its vicar's pension explicitly made equivalent to that of Balmaclellan (Rogers 1882: 42-8).

215. *Peerage* III, 398-402; *Peerage* VIII, 215-8; *Oxford DNB* XXIV, 578-80; *Oxford DNB* XXXIX, 983-4 and 989-91; MacGregor (1912); Scott 1975: 6, 9; Gullans 1963: 102-4, which includes Ayton's will, and 161, 278, for the sonnet to Lady Maderty. For details regarding the poem that was attributed to both Thomas Carew and William Murray, see Crum 1969: I, 230; Davidson 1997: I, 82-3, 361; Gray 1935: xxi-xxii; Meikle 1914-40: I, 27-8. On the Tibbenuir MS, see most recently Verweij (2008), Chapter 3.
216. Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1987: 29, 31. Laing 1846-64: II, 337. Sharp is another figure who, considering his impressive accumulation of connections and wealth, should receive more critical attention as a cultural intermediary.
217. Lynch 1998: 251. Wood 1887: 361, 377. On the Strangs and their Beaton connections, see Wood 1887: 376-7, and Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 289. For Stewart of Baldynneis, see Crockett (1913) and McClune (2005).
218. Margaret H.B. Sanderson 1986: 7, 9, 288-90. MacDiarmid 1950: 53. Wood 1887: 376. On the Falkland masons, see Thomas 1997: 111; Charles McKean 1991: 4.
219. Shire 1972: 183, which provides no footnotes or further details. No references to this were found in Shire's papers now deposited with Aberdeen University, although I checked these before cataloguing had taken place, and when access to some papers was restricted. There is mention in Shire's scholarly notes of a Mr Alexander Scott who is allowed to go abroad – possibly as a minister – but source references are not included.
220. *Bann. MS.*, I, lxxxiv. See Chapter 2 above for more detail.
221. Mapstone (1999).
222. Durkan 1988: 79.
223. Warner 1893: liv, taking into account the correction noted in Durkan 1988: 79.
224. Steuart 1929: 151.
225. Fraser 1970: 320.
226. Fraser 1970: 309, 320-21. Marshall 2006: 160. *Peerage* V, 438. Note that *Peerage* V, 611, states that 7 January 1562 marks the day on which the marriage contract between Arthur Erskine and Magdalene Livingstone was drawn up, and not (necessarily) the date of the actual wedding. Moreover, one may doubt whether the reference in the inventories – themselves drawn up in February 1562 – from which historians seem to have derived the date of 7 January 1562 ('le lendemain de ces nopces et les manchon de mesmes qui fut le viij^e jour de janvier') indeed refers to that year: this information comes in what seems to be a series of later additions to the original inventory, nearly all dating from the mid-1560s, particularly 1565-66. Nevertheless, the marriage between Magdalene Livingston and Arthur Erskine adds additional weight to the idea that Mary's marital policies for her household in general promoted concordial interests, with many hoped-for new beginnings. The discussion of Scott's 'New Yeir Gift' in van Heijnsbergen (2008) further develops this idea.
227. The next gift recorded is another book of psalms in the vernacular, presented by the royal nurse (Warner 1893: liv). Warner identifies 'la nourrice' as Helen Little, the 'maistress nureis', but it is not impossible that this is Agnes Scott, the other nurse linked above to the infant James VI, who was indeed presented with other pious books from the royal library (Warner 1893: lxiv). This inventory of books in the royal library was drawn up by Sir Peter Young, care-taker of the young James VI together with the Erskines and George Buchanan, with whom George Bannatyne himself did business (*Bann. MS.*, I, clxi), as was noted in Chapter 2.
228. *Peerage* V, 438-9, 441, 443. Marshall 2006: 182.
229. Durkan 1988: 79.

-
230. Reproduced in Mitchell 1897, the fourth and fifth facsimile following p. cxxvi. They are ll. 81-8 of Scott's version of psalm 51, for which see Cranstoun 1896: 96.
231. RSS V.3213. The prebends of Quiltoun (or Coylton) *primo* and *secundo* were also known as *Ayr primo* and *secundo*: Chalmers 1887-94: VI, 501.
232. RSS III.2675.
233. Hadley Williams 2000: viii.
234. Hadley Williams 2000: viii. Hamer 1931-36: IV, xi-xii.
235. Paton 1904: 16, 21; *Peerage* V, 615.
236. Juhala 2000: 295.
237. Parkinson 2000: II, 7.
238. Information on the Murrays in this and the next paragraph is from *Peerage* I, 461-8.
239. Watt and Murray 2003: 114. Cockburn 1959: 268, 275.
240. NAS CC 8/8/33 (16 March 1583).
241. *Peerage* I, 470; *Peerage* VII, 467-9. *Peerage* VIII, 284-5, 291. Lilius Murray's list of twenty-eight books can be found in Fraser 1883: II, 54; the list, in Dame Lilius's hand, appears on the back of a letter from her daughter, Lilius Grant, c.1630. The two poems, also written in her hand, but unlikely to be her composition, are printed in Fraser 1883: 193-5; I owe this information to Dr Sebastiaan Verweij.
242. *Peerage* V, 621.
243. *Peerage* II, 46. For Pinkie House, Seton's 'suburban villa', see Bath 2003: 79-103.
244. Dawson 1997: 9. On the extensive literary interests of the family of Campbell of Glenorchy, see Meek (1989 and 1996), who particularly notes this family's cross-cultural position, passing on Highland culture to the Lowlands, and vice versa (1989: 388 and 1996: 255; page numbers below refer to the 1996, revised version of Meek's article); the latter is also detailed by Dawson (1997), particularly 7, 31, 34-43. Much relevant detail about this is found in Gillies (1978), (1981), and (1983), important scholarship on Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's literary activity which indicates more fully how literary circulation and production in the Highlands reveals an interest in English, Scots and Continental material, and involves – if perhaps at one further, geographical remove – similar emphases and kinds of audiences and compilers as those outlined for the Bannatyne MS. The Book of the Dean of Lismore was a family manuscript that travelled beyond the family, with family loyalties and its attendant cultural networks lying behind its production, and as such served what has been termed a 'Book of the Dean of Lismore coterie' (Meek 1996: 263, 272). Its careful practice of textual collation and emendation has been compared to contemporary humanist scholarship, with such qualities most likely due to the influence of teaching at Aberdeen University (Meek 1989: 400; Meek 1996: 270-1). Copied by notaries 'trained in the tradition of the Lowland Scots notary', it contains pieces by Henryson, Dunbar and Lydgate, as well as anonymous Lowland material also found in the Bannatyne MS and an anonymous translation of a short section of Juvenal's sixth satire ((Meek 1996: 258, 265; Bawcutt 1996: 262; MacGregor, 2007: 217). The particularly misogynist nature of the Book of the Dean of Lismore, noted by MacGregor (2007: 216-7), will be discussed below.
245. On Catherine Ruthven, see Dawson 1997: 22-28; for her correspondence with Lilius, see p. 60.
246. Coldwell 1957-64: I, 98.

-
247. Bawcutt 2000a: 27-8; Bawcutt 2001a: 83-4.
248. Meek 1996: 268; Fox 1981: xcvi. For more detail on the Lismore MS see note 218 above.
249. See Gillies (1978), (1981), (1983).
250. Boston Public Library MS fol. med. 94. See Bawcutt 2001a: 83, 85; Bawcutt 2000a: 27, and note 41, for other texts owned by Glenorchy.
251. Bawcutt 2001a: 86.
252. For other textual witnesses, see Cranstoun 1896: 149.
253. Bawcutt 2001a: 83, though, does note that 'John' was common in the family of Swinton of Swinton as a first name.
254. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 225; see also 211-12.
255. Swinton 1883: cxv, 43-45, 49.
256. Mr Robert Heriot was initially credited with *owning* a copy of *Introductorium Astronomicum* (Durkan and Ross 1961: 117), but T.A.F. Cherry (1963-66: 19), in a list of additions and corrections to Durkan and Ross (1961), changed 'ownership' to 'authorship', without further comment. Shortly before he died, Dr Durkan commented, in private, that Heriot 'wrote many learned things', but Dr Durkan's state of health unfortunately prevented further elucidation on the subject of the *Introductorium Astronomicum*.
257. Durkan and Ross 1961: 117, 49-60; Gray-Buchanan (1909).
258. See also van Heijnsbergen 2004: 206.
259. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 189, 225. On the poetry of James Foulis, see Fradenburg 1991: 47-64.
260. *Bann. MS*, I, cxlvii; *Oxford DNB* III, 702-3.
261. Bawcutt 2001a: 86-8.
262. Bawcutt 2001a: 88, 94; Edwards (1971-73); *Bann. MS*, I, ix-x; Macfarlane 1994: 70-71.
263. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 225.
264. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 219-20. *Oxford DNB* XIII, 956-9.
265. Thomson 1842-49: I, 134-5. *Peerage* IV, 260.
266. *Peerage* IV, 259; *Peerage* VII, 251-2.
267. Meikle *et al.*, 1914-40: I, 259; III, 28; *Peerage* III, 573-6; VI, 374.
268. NAS CC 8/8/35, fol. 316; Meikle *et al.*, 1914-40: I, 6, 9; III, 4, 5; a facsimile of the funeral sonnet faces the title page of volume I of Meikle's edition of Fowler. As to which Elizabeth Douglas wrote the sonnets to Fowler, compare Dunnigan (1997: 27) to Giles (2004: 64-8, 152-3, 210); through an elaborate argument that cannot be set forth in the present thesis, it becomes evident that Elizabeth Douglas, wife of Samuel Cockburn of Temple Hall, is part of a landed literary coterie in East Lothian in the 1590s and is the most likely candidate to have written these sonnets to Fowler.

269. *Peerage* IV, 261, 263; Coldwell 1957-64: I, 98; *Oxford DNB* V, 7 and XLVIII, 414. Note that *Peerage* IV, 261, claims that Janet was the mother rather than the wife of the fourth Lord Ruthven.
270. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 192; *Oxford DNB* V, 7.
271. *Peerage* VII, 47. Fox 1981: xcvi.
272. Bennett (1938); *Bann. MS*, III, 305-7.
273. Sheppard 1941: 418.
274. Reid 2005: II, 305-6, 584. The quotation is from Virgil's *Eclogues*, I, 70-1: 'And shall the impious soldier have these tillaged fields? The barbarian this standing corn?'
275. *Peerage* VIII, 215-6. William, fourth Lord Maderty, son of David, third Lord Maderty, wrote *The Genealogical History of the House of Drummond* (1681), still a well known document, if not printed until 1821. As indicated by the number of family histories of the later sixteenth and seventeenth century, such as those of the houses of Maitland, Seton, Douglas and Angus, landed families clearly saw family history as a form of literary production that not only brought credit to the writers but also allowed them the chance to enhance the reputation of their ancestors and, thus, also of themselves (on such family histories, see Reid 1996: I, x-xiv).
276. *Peerage* IV, 265-7. Parkinson 2000: II, 101-2. According to one source quoted in *Peerage* (IV, 266), Lillias Ruthven, wife of the Duke of Lennox, was (also) known as Sophia Ruthven. Early historians have also named her erroneously as Jean, the name of Ludovic's second wife: Reid-Baxter 2000: 244-5.
277. Reid-Baxter 2000: *passim*., most notably 210-3, 246-8.
278. *CSP Scot.* X, 502. Reid-Baxter 2000: 244.
279. William, fourth Lord Ruthven, in fact mentions 'Inchaffray' and 'Drummond' as his closest friends in his time of need: Reid 2005: II, 305.
280. Young 1862: 38-9.
281. Lang 1905: 354. The epithet 'younger' is not mentioned in the household list, but later details regarding this servant of Mary (see below) make it clear that it is Alexander Scott younger and not his father that we are dealing with here.
282. Percival 1962: 37-8.
283. Teulet 1852-60: II, 123.
284. De Ruble 1891: 80.
285. NAS RD 1/16, fol. 77¹. Later documents confirm that this is indeed Alexander Scott, son of the musician of the same name; see below.
286. *CSP Scot.* V, 227 (no. 249).
287. Robert (1972), *parent*, B.
288. 'J'ay eu advis que Alexander Scot, mon officier de panneterie, qui eust dernièrement permission de visiter ses parens en Escosse, y est retenu: secourez-le en ce que vous pourrez. Il ne sçauroit avoir esté de si près éclairés, qu'il n'aye eu le moyen de me rapporter de bonnes nouvelles, et principalement de mon filz, auquel j'avois escript par luy.' ['I have been told that Alexander Scott, my officer of the pantry, who had been permitted to

visit his family in Scotland, is held there: help him in whichever way you can. He will not have been so well informed without having had the means to bring me good news, particularly from my son, to whom I have written *via* him (i.e. Scott).’ This translation is my own.] This letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow is printed in Labanoff 1844: IV, 389.

289. *Peerage* V, 611-12.

290. Maxwell 1891: 348-50.

291. *CSP Scot.* V, 248 (no. 279), records that extracts from the letter were endorsed by the English authorities on 6 November 1577. For some reason, when doing so the order of the letter’s contents was altered, and the Magdalene Livingston reference was placed immediately before the request for Scott to be allowed to return. This may or may not mean that those who endorsed this letter were aware of a connection between these two servants of Mary, Alexander Scott and Magdalene Livingston.

292. Fraser 1970: 55.

293. Donaldson 1983: 65.

294. Shire 1969: 75-9 and Appendix II, 261-2; Shire 1959. *CSP Scot.* III, 565-6. *CSP Scot.* IV, 666, 672, 673, 676. *CSP Scot.* V, 213; *CSP Scot.* VI, 185, 313. Shire’s discussion of Lauder also links James Lauder, the musician, to the deanery of Restalrig, which was purchased for James Lauder, then apparently in his fourteenth year, in April 1547, with the poet John Bellenden as one of the witnesses to the document recording the transaction (RSS III.2237/2238). It is a tantalising connection, as Restalrig was an important collegiate foundation with cultural and therefore potentially worldly aspirations, not unlike Trinity College – so much so that one of the first acts of the new Protestant regime in 1560 was to quickly order its dismantling; see MacDonald 2000: 55. It is also tantalising because Margaret Lauder, the sister of this James Lauder, Dean of Restalrig, and her husband Mr Edward Aitkin, advocate, play an important role in the final years of Alexander Scott’s life, and it is in Aitkin’s personal papers that we find the last reference to Scott, the musician (see below). However, the James Lauder who was actually Dean of Restalrig was a son of Robert Lauder of the Bass, and cannot be the musician of the same name at Mary’s court. Shire does not explain further her slightly cryptically implied alignment (if it is) of these two James Lauders in her Appendix, p. 261.

295. *DOST* V, 284, has to be read in conjunction with p. 288 here: ‘panterer’ is a contracted – to ‘panter’ – and then expanded form of ‘panetar’, i.e. ‘panetier’; it is not an expanded form of ‘panter’, i.e. Modern English ‘painter’.

296. Percival 1962: 186.

297. Shire 1959: 18. Shire 1969: 71. Stell 1999: I, 55.

298. Labanoff 1844: III, 85, 121, 361, 366.

299. *CSP Scot.* V, 304 (no. 364).

300. *TA* XIII, 167.

301. NAS PC 1/8, 25 May 1577. This is not included in its proper chronological place in the sequence of printed Privy Council records in *RPC* I, but a reference to it is included in the ‘Index of names excluded from the text’ in *RPC* II, 734.

302. NAS PC 1/8, 11 October 1577.

303. NAS RD 1/16, fols 319^v-320^v. Both Alexander Scott elder and younger sign the statement with their own hand.

304. Durkan 1962a: 153. Durkan and Ross 1961: 133.

-
305. Durkan and Ross 1961: illustration facing title page, with a brief discussion of this list on p. 19.
306. John Durkan, private communication.
307. NAS CS 7/76, fols 295^v-296^v.
308. Fergusson 1949: 28-43. McRoberts 1953: 10. Sir Duncan Forester of Garden, the owner of the gradual, had been Keeper of Stirling Castle under James III and Comptroller of the Household under James IV, while James IV was godfather to Duncan's son (Young, 1992-93: I, 256; McRoberts 1957: 33). On Erskien of Dun, see the entry on him in *Oxford DNB*.
309. Warner 1893: li.
310. Cowper 1991-92: III, 19. Note that the identification of Janet Lauder as 'the Lady of Corstorphing' who borrowed the Chaucer depends on how 'yung' she was in January 1585, as that is how 'the Lady of Corstorphing' was described at the moment in time when Robert Douglas died; her borrowing of the Chaucer was recorded in his testament (Laing 1861: lxxiv). We only know that in March 1560, she was already married to James Forester of Corstorphine, who had come of age a few years earlier (Cowper 1991-92: III, 14-5). It is tempting to speculate that the 'young lady' of Corstorphine might refer to Janet Lauder's only surviving child from her marriage with James Forester of Corstorphine. This was her daughter Geilis, who married Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull, son of John Bellenden of Auchnoull, mentioned above. She seems to have died in 1580/81 (*Peerage*, II, 70), but the testament in which the loan is recorded may have been drawn up well before January 1585 (it also took almost two years to be registered).
311. Maidment 1834-37: I, 178-9.
312. NAS GD 124/10, no. 40.
313. Walker 1822: 20-1, 30. Marwick 1882: 114-5.
314. Lynch 1981: 255. Marwick 1882: *passim*. *RPC* III, *passim*. There is also in this period an Alexander Scott, ensign at a muster, while another – or the same – is a spokesperson for a group of 'nichtbouris' in a tax dispute (Marwick 1882: 123, 171, 214).
315. Burel's poem was included in a collection of his work of c.1596, of which the title page is missing; *STC* 4105 lists it as '[To the right high, Lodvvik Duke of Lenox ...]'. The poem was also included in *Watson's Choice Collection*: see Harvey Wood 1977-91: I.i, 1-15. For a discussion of Burel's volume as a whole, see Reid-Baxter 2000; Dr Reid-Baxter is preparing an edition of the works of John Burel for the Scottish Text Society.
316. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 189-90.
317. Dibdin 1888: 13.
318. Mill 1927: 192. Sanderson 1984: 33, 35, 41.
319. Mill 1927: 202.
320. RD 1/18, fol. 153^v, a document badly stained by damp. The legal description was already given in MacQueen 1970: xliv. Harie Stewart and Jean Ross were contracted to marry on 29 July 1580 (*Peerage* VII, 253). Much circumstantial detail about Harie Stewart can be found in Stewart (1934-39).
321. *DNB* LIV, 286.
322. *Peerage* VII, 253.

323. Dr Jamie Reid-Baxter, private communication.

324. Stewart 1979: xiv-xvi (including the 'law and order' quote on p. xvi); *Peerage* VIII, 387-9. *Oxford DNB* XLVIII, 901-2. On the Wedderburns and the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, see MacDonald (2005a), notably 230 and 232. The attribution of *The Complaynt of Scotland* to Wedderburn is now generally accepted: see Stewart 1979: viii-x. The 'Weddirburne' poems in the Bannatyne MS are on fols 260^{r-v}, 279^{r-v}, and (between two Alexander Scott poems) 287^v-288^v.

325. Information on Harie Stewart in this paragraph and the next is derived from *Peerage* V, 298; VII, 253; VIII, 390. *CSP Scot.* V, 329. Juhala 2000: 322. Stevenson 1891: 2, 8. Stewart (1912-14); Stewart (1934-39). On James VI's relation with Esmé Stuart (on whom see *DNB* LV, 77-79) and its literary expression, see Lyall 2000: 59-62.

326. Zulager 1991: 242. *CSP Scot.* XII, 79-87, 100, 120, 125. Meikle 1914-40: III, cxlvi. On Alison Sandelandis, see *Peerage* VIII, 386; Bawcutt 2000a: 25. On Ormiston's literary connections, see Mapstone 1990: 124-5, 135-6. Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston and Sir Thomas Cockburn of Ormiston were successive Justice Clerks in the period 1591-1599 (Juhala 2000: 337). Brunton and Haig 1832: 216. Cockburn-Hood 1888: 142.

327. Mapstone 1990: 124-5, 134-6. MacDonald 2001a: 136.

328. *Bann. MS*, I, clxi. *RSS* VII.828. *Peerage* VIII, 387.

329. Warner 1893: xvi, xxxi-xxxiii, xxxiv. Sandelandis, Lord Torphichen, is here referred to as Lord St John, because of his former position as head of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland.

330. For the genealogical information on the Sempills and Montgomerys in this paragraph, see Stevenson 1910: 251, 260-1, and the genealogical tree between pp. 248 and 249. *Peerage* VII, 250, 253, 548-50. *Oxford DNB* XLIX, 739, 742-3. Wilson 1889: 58-60.

331. On Hamilton's role in this, see van Heijnsbergen 2004: especially 199-202.

332. Lyall 2005: 159, 187, which also notes the links between the Sempill and Montgomery families generally.

333. On Skelmorlie Aisle, see Glendinning 1996: 35; Howard 1995: 203; Grant 2002: 73. On its decorative paintings, see Bath 2003: 128-45.

334. Parkinson 2000: I, 124. Grant 2002: 71.

335. Grant 2002: 73-4, 85, 87n.

336. Parkinson 2000: I, 100.

337. Lyall 2005: 157, in grouping some of these occasional poems, notes that most of them date from the early 1590s.

338. Parkinson 2000: I, 112. For a more detailed analysis of this line, see below.

339. Kinghorn and Law 1987: 66-7.

340. Buthlay 1977: 217.

341. *Oxford DNB* XLIX, 739, 742-3. James Sempill's elegy can be found in Scott 1970: 233-6, where it is immediately followed by his son Francis's famous song of 'Maggie Lauder'.

342. On this matter, see van Heijnsbergen 2005b: 334-8.

-
343. Fleming 1889-90: II, 529; Munro 1999: I, 215.
344. NAS GD 279/113 (Comrie Papers), NAS on-line public catalogue, <<http://nas.gov.uk/>>, accessed 16 June 2006. This document is no longer held in the NAS but in Perth and Kinross Council Archives in Perth. The on-line catalogue misleadingly identifies Scott younger as 'Alexander Scott, the poet'. The latter words do not appear in the document; the identification goes back to the above-mentioned hypothesis, now no longer credited, that the son was the poet.
345. Donaldson 1949: 86. Kirk 1995: 560. RSS V.2675. Munro 1999: I, 31; II, 349, 350, 357. Elliott ([2001]), accessed 9 August 2008.
346. RSS VIII.2713.
347. Durkan and Ross 1961: 175; Rogers 1882: lvi, lxxv.
348. RSS VIII.180. NAS CH 4/1/2, 'Register of Presentation to Benefices', II, fol. 54^v. It is worth noting that in the fourteen years Alexander Scott, younger, seems to have held this prebend, he is never styled 'prebendary of Quiltoun' or 'prebendary of Coynton' in the surviving records.
349. RSS VIII, p. xi. Easson 1941: 47. On Chapel Royal prebends as bursaries see Munro 1999: I, 35, 49; II, 351-6 and 358. For the Bannatynes' use of such funds, see van Heijnsbergen 1994: 216n, and Chapter 2 above, at note 114.
350. *Oxford DNB*; the birthdate suggested for Grahame in the *Oxford DNB* (c.1570) may need revising. In 1587 the king presented Grahame to the same prebend 'for all the dayes of his lyf tyme'.
351. 'Presentations to Benefices under Privy Seal', NAS typescript, pp. 71, 73.
352. Lindsay 1849: I, 319-20, 325, 385, 441; *Peerage* III, 509; Godfrey 1949: 17-8, 41-2, and genealogical chart facing p. 100. Their house was also used to accommodate ambassadors and their entourage, as happened in June 1585: Juhala 2008: 353.
353. http://www.rps.ac.uk/frameset.php?id=id6149&type=ms&filename=jamesvi_ms, accessed 27 May 2009; this is NAS PA2/14, fols 55r-v.
354. On this Christian Lindsay's position within the Byres branch of the family, see van Heijnsbergen 2002: 88-9.
355. van Heijnsbergen 2002 (p.88 for the quote and biographical information).
356. Treasurer's Accounts, NAS E21/65, fol. 62r. James contributed £200 to their wedding in a gesture that is very reminiscent of how Mary Queen of Scots at her court in the 1560s had also sought to propagate her servants' and subjects' allegiances to her.
357. For Thomas Lindsay, see *ER* XXII, 42, 129, 205, 263, 350. For Christian Lindsay, see NAS PS 1/58, fol. 53^v; van Heijnsbergen 2002: 88-9.
358. Labanoff 1844: IV, 436, 468.
359. Robert 1972: 1223, at 'panetier'.
360. *Peerage* V, 391-2
361. Sharpe 1815: 10. *DOST* IV, 390. That the mouth, and appetite in general, is connected to intimate or, rather, intense relationships in which power and trust are played out on a national scale is also shown, ironically, by

Knox, who famously referred to the Countess of Mar as 'a sweat morsall for the devillis mouth': Laing 1846-64: II, 380.

362.Juhala 2000: 296.

363.CSP Scot. XIII, nos. 641 and 665, quoted in Juhala 2000: 66-7. 'Enviably access': Juhala 2000: 304.

364.Brown 1986: 116.

365.Perry (1999), corrected by Bawcutt (2009); the latter publication includes a facsimile of the page that has Erskine's name or signature.

366.Peerage V, 84-6.

368.NAS CS 6/26, fol. 16^r; NAS B 22/1/7, fols 190^v-91^v; NAS GD 212, Box 1, no. 8, pp. 1-5. This is probably the same man as 'Alexander Scot, baker' who receives a livery in 1534, together with several songsters and one or two names that can be connected to poetry, namely George Steill and William Stewart: *TA* VI, 205. The reference in Inglis (1991: 86) to Alexander Scott being a prebendary of St Giles' in 1541/2 does not quote a source, but, as the other details on this page clearly suggest, is no doubt simply based on Marwick 1871: 110, which records how on 1 March 1541/2 the 'prebendrie' of Grotill in St Giles' is set in feu by Richard Lawson, the prebendary, to Alexander Scott, son to Walter Scott; in other words, Scott is not the prebendary himself. That Marwick (1871) and not some otherwise unknown source lies behind this is also suggested by its being the source of Inglis's next biographical reference as well, to Alexander Scott as singer and organist at St Giles' in 1555/6 (Marwick 1871: 236).

369.Laing 1859: 4-5, 236-7, 253-4. Marwick 1871: 110 (1 March 1542). Lees 1889: 6-7, 334.

370.*TA* IX, 10; *RSS* III.1966.

371.Wilson 1891: II, 65.

372.ECA, abstracts of the protocol book of Alexander King, I, fols 143-4 (26 March 1550). The dispute seems to originate in the division of William Tod's property soon after his death, as indicated by this document. The charters relating to the legal dispute, which comes to a head near the end of the century, are NLS Ch. 5961, 5963-69 and 5972. In no. 5965, Robeson claims to have been infefted in the two booths through a legal transaction with John Arbuthnot, son of Alexander Arbuthnot, who had acquired this right in 1580.

373.Watson 1929: 426. It is worth noting that a man of the same name is part of the royal household in 1577-78, *nota bene* as organist. He is named in one breath with the Hudson brothers, James's foremost court musicians: *TA* VIII, 176, 250. One of these was Robert Hudson, the man to whom Montgomery addressed the sonnet, discussed above, in which Montgomery aligns himself with 'old Scott' and Robert Sempill as daffing poets.

374.NLS Ch 5961 (19 July 1597): 'et ibid_ prouidns luuenis alex^r Scot quoddam preceptum sasine capelle regie post retornatum pergamenon scriptum et alba terra involutum more cancellarie'. NAS B 22/1/19, fol. 33 (July 1558), also grants lands to one Alexander Scott, son of late John Scott, b/Ed, that were once part of a precept of sasine of the Chapel Royal, but from the description it seems this involves a different property, formerly granted to John Scott by one John Lawson (I owe the latter reference to Joyce Sanderson). There might be a connection between sir Richard Lawson (see note 368 above) and John Lawson that links these two sasines, but further evidence is as yet lacking.

375.NAS RD 1/14, fol. 43 (13 March 1574).

376.*RSS* VI.1242. Munro 1999: II, 352. Parkinson 2000: I, 99; II, 56. Another William Drummond had been granted the Chapel Royal prebend of Ayr *quarto* on 26 December 1535, on future resignation of the ubiquitous Robert Danielston (Munro 1999: II, 340). There may be connections between these Drummonds and the six men, all

Drummonds, who were trumpeters at the court of James V (Thomas 1997: 43).

377. Parkinson 2000: I, 102; II, 85-6. Meikle I, 325.

378. RSS II.1619, and pp. 772-3; VI.2465. RMS IV.2170. ER XVII, 172-3. On the Bannatynes and their links to the clerks and scribes of the Exchequer, Privy Seal and other departments of national government, see Chapter 2 above.

379. RSS II, p. 773; Thomas (1999: 83) quotes the misogynist verses, but not their framing prose.

380. RSS VIII.256. NAS CH4/1/2, 'Register of Presentation to Benefices', II, fol. 58^v.

381. CSP Scot. VI.89 and VI.90 (pp. 101 and 104).

382. NAS RD 1/20⁽¹⁾, part 2, fols 442^v-443^r. The largest part of the top half of this document is gone, but the most important details have been preserved.

383. Munro (forthcoming): at notes 54 and 68.

384. Makey 1969-71: 159, 161.

385. Ross 1898-99: 389, 397, 402-3. Bath 2003: 190, 193-5 (the caption at the top of p. 194 identifies the sibyl depicted here as the Sibylla Delphica, but it is actually the Sibylla Libica).

386. NAS RD 1/21, 250^v-251^v.

387. NLS Ch. B 1876.

388. The fact that John Scott is here referred to as 'naturall sone' of the musician provides further proof – if needed – that this is indeed the John Scott, natural son of Alexander Scott, who was legitimated in 1549.

389. Parkinson 2000: I, 112. Punctuation and modernisation are mine. On the Hudson family, and in particular on Thomas Hudson, translator of *The Historie of Judith* by Guillaume Salluste du Bartas, see Craigie (1941), and entries on Robert and Thomas Hudson in *Oxford DNB* XXVIII, 586-7 and 591.

390. On the dating and the courtly tensions registered by this poem, see van Heijnsbergen (2002). MacQueen (1970: xlv-vi) reads the poem differently, largely because he dates the Hudson poem as 'in or about the year 1584'.

391. Entry on 'gander', 1b and 2a: *OED* VI, 352. The heading of this entry notes the alliterative strength of the pairing of 'goose' and 'gander' through the ages, frequently occurring in combinations that denote the behaviour of simpletons.

392. See Parkinson 2000: I, 27 ('Love beirs nane bot fools at feid [feud] / And they get ay a good goosheid [goose's head] / in recompense of all thair pane'; see II, 41) and I, 135 ('these good Geese whom sik a God [Cupid] begylis'). Polwarth's references occur on I, 167 (l. 65) and I, 170 (l. 60). Other contemporary references to such usage include the doting old lover in *Philotus*, who is also called a 'gus-heid' (l. 926, in Jack & Rozendaal 1997: 418). David Lindsay also links the goose ironically to 'eloquence, and toung rethorically': *The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo*, l. 1105, in Hadley Williams 2000: 95.

393. van Heijnsbergen 2002: 78, 83. *DOST* (II, 750) glosses this particular occurrence of 'guyding' as meaning 'self-guidance, conduct, behaviour, management of one's own affairs.'

394. On the Hudson sonnet, the 'Admonition', and the underlying coterie tensions, see MacQueen 1970: xlv-xlvi; Parkinson 2000: II, 13-14; van Heijnsbergen (2002).

-
395. Parkinson 2000: I, 98; II, 80. Even though the dangerous ballad-mongering of William Scott would be an ideal example of the 'ill guyding' that Montgomery mentions, the reference to 'old Scot' is unlikely to refer to this executed notary, since Montgomery's sonnet seems to refer to poets who are not yet dead.
396. *Bann. MS*, I, cxlv.
397. van Heijnsbergen 2002: 88-89.
398. van Heijnsbergen 2002: 83-4. In *Philotus*, 'daffing' is also used to refer to the amorous foolishness of old men (l. 830, Jack and Rozendaal 1997: 415). As noted above, this is an affliction popularly described in terms of 'goose' and 'gander' and in *Philotus*, l. 926, as 'goose-headedness'.
399. Dennistoun 1830: 24.
400. Thomson 1842-49: III, 482. *RSS* VII.2031 (p. 334). *APS* III, 175-6. *TA* XIII, 275 (which names a third person who was initially also apprehended, one [*blank*] Feldy, luttar', who is not subsequently mentioned) and 284. Hewitt 1982: 70-1. Thomson 1825: 177. Dennistoun 1830: 24. Dickson and Edmond 1890: 271; Mann 2000: 164-65. On the labelling of contemporary poetry as both 'inventioun' and a 'lie', see van Heijnsbergen (2002).
401. Cranstoun 1891-93: II, 329. Ironically, in Sempill's poem these lines are preceded by a sympathetic reference to the Regent Morton, the very man who had caused the hanging of the two men responsible for their poetic troubles in Stirling in 1579. As to further references to Sempill's verse as a source of political trouble, *CSP Scot.* V, 671, records how on 20 March 1581, Randolph writes: 'Robert Sempill is put into prison for the making of a ballad. Robert Lekpreuik for the printing thereof is fled, but not found'; and in June 1582, a private letter recorded how 'Robert Sempell the poyet is tane out of Edinburgh by fyve or sex men of weir to Dalkeyth (Agnew 1887: I, 247).
402. Pitcairn 1833: I, part i, 206*. 'Leasing-making' is a forensic term, referring to 'the crime of uttering falsehood against the king and his counsellors to the people, or against the people to the king or government' (Jamieson 1912: 323); 'the spreading of calumny against the Crown likely to cause sedition or disaffection' (*CSD*, 364; see also *DOST* III, 695).
403. Foggie 2003: 289.
404. Mackay 1899-1911: II, 141. *APS* II, 488-89.
405. *RPC* I, 500.
406. Pitcairn 1842: 135.
407. Parkinson (2000: II, 7-8), has additional examples of such invective use of poetry in the public domain.
408. van Heijnsbergen 2005a: 167-8.
410. *NLS Adv. MS* 82.2.5; *RSS* VIII.1614.
412. *NLS Ch. B*.1877 (25 Aug 1582). For other business transactions of Patrick Murray of Newrrow with the Murrays of Tullibardine, see also *NAS RD* 1/12, fol. 243^r (February 1563); *NAS RD* 1/14, fol. 333^r (October 1575). Murray of Newrrow also had regular dealings with the Countess of Mar, Annabella Murray, the widow of John Lord Erskine.
413. *NAS CC*8/8/31, fol. 242^v-243^v (signed in Maderty; Patrick Murray died on 24 August 1590).
414. *Peerage* III, 398-9; Craigie 1955-58: I, xc-xci, 284; Murray's translation was reprinted in the same year, and then again in the famous *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (Amsterdam, 1637).

415. *Oxford DNB* III, 58-9.

416. NAS CC8/8/22, fol. 273^{r-v}. I owe this reference to Joyce Sanderson.

417. Apart from Margaret Carkettill's testament, see NAS RD1/28, fol. 347; *RSS* V.976; *RMS* IV.2692. I owe these references to Joyce Sanderson.

418. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 189-90.

419. NAS B 22/8/12, 29 October 1611 (this volume has no folio numbers). I owe this reference to Joyce Sanderson. Hart's printing shop: Watson 1923: 30, 39. Edinburgh 1984: 22, 25.

420. Sanderson 1984: 31, 36. This Margaret Aitkin, daughter-in-law of William Stewart, poet, cannot be the same as the above-mentioned Margaret Aitkin, daughter of Mr Edward Aitkin. The latter must have been born after 24 June 1578, on which date Mr Edward Aitkin's first wife, Margaret Lauder, daughter of Robert Lauder of the Bass, died. This rules out Margaret Aitkin, daughter of Edward Aitkin, as the poet William Stewart's daughter-in-law, who gave birth to their first child c.1550 (Joyce Sanderson, private communication); that Aitkin was married to Margaret, daughter of Robert Lauder of the Bass, is shown by NAS RD 1/13, fol. 92^v (12 March 1574), a reference I owe to Joyce Sanderson. This was also claimed by Smith 1898: 182.

421. NLS, MS 19312; for more information, see Chapter 2.

422. *Bann. MS (fac.)*, p. 59. Robinson 1980. MacDonald 2003: 76-7.

423. Smith 1898: 178-84, 239, 241, 274. *Peerage* II, 68. Craigie 1920: v-vi. For the connection of the Dean of Restalrig to the musician, see Shire 1969: 161.

424. These appear on fols 39^v ('Iohn Findlay' and 'the leaird of wairidstoun'; on the latter, see below) 40^r; 46^v, largely cut away; 63^v; 66^v; the last four all seem to have just variations on (parts of) 'Iohn Fin[d]lay') and 84^v (on which see below).

425. These appear on fols 133^r, 228^r, 235^v.

426. 'Barbare foulesius', fol. 84^v, 'Iacobus Foulis 1623', fol. 211^r, and signatures of James, Alexander and George (twice) Foulis, on the verso side of the last folio, fol. 375. The latter are all names of Jonet Bannatyne's sons by George Foulis, while Barbara is most likely Barbara Lauder, the wife of George Foulis' brother, James Foulis of Colinton (Hallen 1894: lxxiii; *Peerage* VII, 216-20; by this time, Scottish women had begun to take their husbands' surnames as their own) – though there is a Barbara, *née* Foulis, in the family at the very end of the century. James Foulis date of birth was 15 March 1605 (Hallen 1894: p. l).

427. *DOST* VIII, 529; *Bann. MS (fac.)*, pp. xvi and 59. *Bann. MS.*, I, p. xxii.

428. Child 1857-59: III, 107-12 and 316-23. On this murder, which caused a major scandal, see Roughead 1913: 16-40 ('The Doom of Lady Wariston'), and Brown 1992a: 111.

429. Sheppard 1941: 431, 435. Brown (1992a: 111) provides a few biographical details of the laird of Wariston, linking him to Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. The latter was Wariston's kinsman: his parents were Mr Francis Bothwell, Provost of Edinburgh, and Katherine Bellenden, sister of the poet John Bellenden and of Wariston's wife, Margaret (Ballantyne n.d.: 2; *Peerage* II, 62). This bishop was another Protestant who was distrusted because of his closeness to the Stewart court – he solemnised the marriage between Queen Mary and the Earl of Bothwell – and his extensive library indeed included Renaissance Italian literature (Petrarch, Boccaccio, Bandello, Castiglione) as well as the usual classical texts and Protestant theology (Shaw 1983: 160-61; his library is listed in Cameron 1931-32: 396-413). Such cultured connections make Kincaid of Wariston a not unlikely (per)user of the Bannatyne MS.

-
430. *Peerage* II, 65; *Peerage* III, 96; van Heijnsbergen 1994: 185.
431. *Peerage* IV, 365; she may have been one of Hamilton's many illegitimate children. Robertson 1823-25: 380-82. Hamilton 1933: 13.
432. *RMS* IV.611.
433. *TA* XII, 268. *RMS* IV.1980.
434. *RPC* III, 752.
435. *RPC* XIV, 135-7: 13 Jan 1586.
436. NAS CH2/121/1, Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh 1586-1603, fol. 98^v. I am most grateful to Dr Alan R. MacDonald for this colourful reference. The issue of Scots travelling to Spain was a key concern for the Presbytery: on 14 April 1591 it is minuted that the kirk of Edinburgh has asked the advice of the Presbytery 'concerning traffagueries to Spane' (fol. 140^r).
437. *CSP Spanish* IV, 280.
438. *CSP Spanish* IV, 471. Hunter was already under suspicion in April 1587 (p. 62).
439. *CSP Scot.* X, 256 (20 March 1590).
440. *CSP Scot.* X, 544.
441. Possibly connected to these happenings is a very brief, mysterious memorandum in *CSP Scot.* XII, 111, tentatively dated '?1596' that reads: "Georg Cuningham in the west port of Edenburgh. His name shalbe Maister Alexander Scott. My name shalbe Rychard Combs in London." ? In handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil. Endorsed: "Alexander Scott Maclane". It is hard to tell from this whether 'Alexander Scott' is used as a fictitious name or not.
442. *Oxford DNB* XLIX, 206-7. Howard 1996: 25-8. Stevenson 1988: 29-30.
443. *Oxford DNB* XLIX, 206.
444. Stevenson 1988: 28.
445. *CSP Scot.* X, 620.
446. Stevenson 1988: 28.
447. Lyall 2005: 163, 168-9, 171-4.
448. MacKechnie 2000: 154-65 provides a most useful and accessible modern summary of the careers of the three Masters of Work mentioned in this paragraph.
449. *Oxford DNB* XLIX, 206-7.
450. Stevenson 1988: 26-7, and Plate I; Howard 1991: 282-3.
451. Parkinson 2000: I, 1999.
452. MacKechnie 2000: 158-9.

-
453. Donaldson 1987: 4, 14. Lindsay 1908: xci. *DNB* XXII: 212-14.
454. Nowosiłski 1965: 517, 654, 658. Durkan and Ross 1961: 141. Durkan and Pringle 1979-80: 19.
455. Angus 1914: no. 46. NAS GD 172/99/1 and GD 172/99/2.
457. Ross 1962: 216. The NLS catalogue of manuscripts reads, as the full title of this book, *Novae Distinctiones Ordinis Cisterciensis* (NLS Adv. MS 18.4.1).
458. Robertson 1846: 12. Ross 1962: 223-4; Cowan 1982: 31; Inglis 1991: 26, 63, 64, 69; Inglis (note 65 on p. 32) points out that the identification of this monk in previous scholarship as 'Dean Thomas Brown' is most likely incorrect: Thomas Brown was the town treasurer who had to pay for the repair work.
459. Cowan 1982: 12, outlining the professional services of the musician-poet John Fethy to Dundee, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, draws attention to the fact that Scottish town councils in this era were very keen to promote the quality of musical staff in their local churches. If it was indeed the poet-musician Alexander Scott who looked after the organ in Ayr, this would fit contemporary cultural patterns as well as what we know of his later professional career.
460. Irving 1829: II, 604. Leask 1910: xx-xxi (no. 37). W.B.R.W. (1897-98). Durkan 2002: 121-6.
461. Testament registered 28 June 1587: NAS CC 8/8/17.
462. NAS RD 1/22, fol. 134. NAS CC 8/8/62, testament of Bessie Scott, daughter to umquhile Alexander Scott of Orchardfield (22 October 1645).
463. McQuaid 1949: 67.
464. Rogers, 1872: 1.
465. NAS RD 1/19, fol. 381.
466. Wood 1887: 218-9. Fraser 1889: I, 15. One wonders whether the statement by Wood regarding 'their son John' is not a mistake for Scotstarvet, whose tutor was William Scott of Ardross; but the poesy is supposed to be in 'the Scots Poets', which must be the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1637) in which Scotstarvet features prominently – but which also indeed includes a *Hodæporicon* (II, 470-79), a work evidently by another John Scott.
467. ECA, abstracts of the protocol book of Alexander Guthrie, elder, vol. II, 23 July 1561. Parkinson 2000: I, 98.
468. Douglas 1798: 222. NAS Index to Calendar of Charters, RH 6/3406 (7 June 1596).
469. Douglas 1798: 572.
470. NAS CC 8/8/62, testament of Bessie Scott, daughter to umquhile Alexander Scott of Orchardfield (22 October 1645).
471. NAS RD 1/3, fol. 151.
472. Douglas 1798: 222. For the special standing that this 'orateur' enjoyed with his monarch, see *RSS* II, pp. 727-8.
473. *RSS* I.1064, 2207. Duncan 1834: 136. Laing 1861: lxxii.
474. Laing 1861: *passim*, notably p. xxvii. Marwick 1911: 17, 23.

-
475. Murray 1962: 25-6.
476. *TA* V, 280. Finlay 2000: 105.
477. Harvey and Macleod 1930: entries 469, 515, 521, 524.
478. *TA* V, 329; *TA* VII, *passim*; *TA* VIII, 117, 135, 162.
479. van Heijnsbergen 1994: 186-7. *TA* V, 448; *TA* VI, 63.
480. NLS Adv. MS 20.1.6, fol. 75^r.
481. NAS RH 6/1096; cf. RH 6/1075^a and RH 6/1078^a.
482. For example, in 1528: Harvey and Macleod: entry 443; in 1531: Fraser 1872: 291. For earlier examples, see below.
483. Easson 1947: 4-7.
484. Easson 1947: 100-1.
485. Easson 1947: 65. MacDonald 1996: 196.
486. Entry on Gavin Dunbar in *Oxford DNB*; NAS GD 124/10/8, 2 September 1523. The act is not recorded in *APS*, but can be found in Paton (1904: 13-4). Scott is still Dunbar's deputy in the early 1530s (Fraser 1872: 291). See also Harvey and Macleod 1930: entry 469. There is a 'sir Alexander Scott, chaplain', in 1518 who cannot be the same as the later Provost of Corstorphine because they are occasionally named as separate individuals in one and the same document (see e.g. Marwick 1869: 174, 176). This may be an early appearance of the later parson of Westray.
487. Dalryell 1828: 52. See also Laing 1863.
488. Paton 1904: 11.
489. Easson 1947: 6-7.
490. Hadley Williams 2000: viii.
491. Murray 1974: 130. 'Scott of Thirlestane' pedigree, NLS Acc. 10740; Scott 1923: 43. Fraser 1878: 561-2. Macfarlane 1985: 64, 116. Murray 1974: 130. Scott is also said to have been Director of Chancery (Chalmers 1887-94: V, 424; Douglas 1813: I, 247).
492. Neilson 1914: 184-5.
493. NAS RH 6/1352. Cowper 1991-92: I, 10. On the Scotts of Buccleuch, see the entry starting in *Peerage* II, 225.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The chapters above demonstrate the many ways in which the facts of Scott's life impinge upon, or are contiguous with, men and women who played the important role of cultural intermediary of one kind or another, in both Scott's own era and in that of subsequent generations. What emerges uncovers the complexity of contemporary Scottish culture, its literary or lettered productions, and the interrelatedness of its agents. The evidence for such complexity and activity only appears thin when one selects information that confirms, and conforms to, more traditional critical paradigms generated from outside contemporary Scottish culture itself; from within, that evidence is almost overwhelming, even only because of its largely uncharted nature and bulk. As a foray into that uncharted territory, the cultural map of the social, familial, and literary connections as outlined by the collective biography of the *milieux* in which the Bannatyne MS was received and in which Scott operated is valuable particularly because it allows the surviving literary corpus to delineate its own native and contemporary contours, be they foreign or not.

Gathered from many sources, the material included in this thesis reveals a more coherently operating literary and cultural dynamic than has hitherto been mapped on this scale for this period in Scottish culture. It also reveals that the major cultural intermediaries in this dynamic – merchants, (lower) clergy, lairds, legal professionals – hail from, and address, social strata that in more traditional, often Anglo-centred and court-focused critical perspectives were not normally considered main cultural agents. The material in this thesis clearly shows that the overwhelming part of literature produced or even circulated in this period is created outside, and circulated outwith, what would traditionally be considered 'court' circles, i.e. those of a more

exclusively aristocratic nature. If it may be termed courtly, it is so more in the sense of being written towards that court rather than (from) within it. We should pay more attention to these alternative Scottish cultural agents, foregrounded through an emphasis on documentary and material evidence in tandem with concepts from the history of ideas rather than those informed more exclusively by religious or political ideologies (be these Protestant or Catholic, English or Scottish) or any literary-theoretical dogma. This will allow us to note a gradual laicisation of Scottish culture along its own historical trajectory, which in its turn also puts the next historical period (immediately post-1603) in sharper, more nuanced relief.

Studying how the Bannatyne MS could operate as a manuscript anthology within such a revised cultural context led to an understanding of how the nature of Edinburgh's close-knit urban community may have obviated the need for its printing. In a situation in which a manuscript is shared by members of an extended family or a coterie, as seems applicable to the Bannatyne MS, that manuscript is effectively published, albeit on a smaller scale and away from the 'market place' of printing. With such an example of 'manuscript publication', this revised perspective on mid-sixteenth-century Scottish literature fits well with new ideas in book history. Moreover, the Edinburgh readership of the Bannatyne MS, in its particular demographic situation, incorporated high and low as well as oral and literate material, a cultural interface that can bring together insights derived from book history, music, literary and urban studies, in a model of interpretation that accommodates the quite unique variety of material contained in the Bannatyne MS. Situated in its urban-lairdly context, the various literary discourses could readily affect and inflect one another in a way that is perhaps unique in Britain, at least in terms of available evidence. Likewise, the potential of lyric for coded courtly messages (as in, for example, 'Depairte depairte depairte' or in 'Luve preysis but comparesone', as discussed in

Chapter 3) in such an urban manuscript reminds us that the boundaries between the court and what lay outside it were very porous. Finally, the cultural context as sketched in the present thesis also leads one to expect a different subjectivity in its uses of lyric, a more rhetorical, masked one, reflecting the interests of a readership that, based on the available evidence, indeed saw poetry as ‘a faculty or skill, a person’s acquaintance with learning’, often associated in the first instance with moral discernment and self-examination. That readership was therefore, to a degree still not sufficiently recognised in our scholarship, interested in how fictional identity was created rather than in the more purely subjective features of that identity itself. In other words, the interest of readers of the Bannatyne MS in the psychological make-up of lyrical personae is likely to have been predominantly ethical before it was affective.¹

A cultural profile of both Scott and his *milieu* can thus be derived by using the extant pieces of the puzzle to de- or reconstruct the rhetoric of, and within, his verse, its influences and intentions, in the same way that critical-theoretical, formalist, stylistic or linguistic lines of inquiry can help to open up his verse to us. Until relatively recently, however, this kind of approach to the culture of sixteenth-century Scotland was – often routinely or self-evidently – ignored in favour of more purely aesthetical, nationalist and religious readings. As a result, many of the figures which we have glimpsed through the mists of time in the chapters above have been allowed to remain shrouded in obscurity for too long. This is in most cases a reflection of the level of attention which they have been given rather than of their importance as cultural intermediaries. In the study of other contemporary cultures, figures such as these have more recently been historicised and contextualised – i.e. they have been *made* interesting – as the critical approach has moved away from a literary history based on the prioritisation of the aesthetic and the study of ‘great men’ within an established ‘grand narrative’.²

The chapters in this thesis have tried to do something similar for early modern Scottish literature. The full-bodied and historicised cultural profile they seek to establish will allow us to ascertain with more precision whether, or in which ways, Scott's verse is a retreat from character towards notions of rhetorically produced selfhood, or, on the other hand, to assess whether such a rhetorical reading underestimates 'the self-exposing tendencies of self-speaking rhetoric throughout the Early Modern period'.³ That very question is a key focus for subsequent research, a detailed assessment of the poems by Alexander Scott themselves. What *can* be derived from this thesis, though, is an anticipation that, even if Scott's work does instance features of 'the privileged moment of *individualization* in the history of ideas' in the modern West, i.e. of the emergence of the self-referential lyrical author-persona in literature, it is of a kind that has more of wit and less of will, to put it in sixteenth-century terms (i.e. more of rhetoric and language and less of subjectivity), than has been traditionally attributed to his writing.⁴

Through portals of historicisation as provided by the present thesis, we can thus increasingly represent Scott's work in response to its own era rather than to any later historical periods which quarried earlier verse for reflections of their own qualities. Chapters 2 and 3 combined thus prepare a view of his work that differs substantially from the more usual picture of him as an almost exclusively amatory poet. These chapters instead foreground (more forcefully) other features in his writing, such as that of Scott discussing aspects of a Scots poetics in verse dialogue, as in his 'anser to hairtis' ('Considder hairt my trew intent'), in which he deconstructs the over-elaborate conventional courtly language in another Bannatyne MS poem into a much leaner lyrical discourse, anticipating some of the modes of Ayton and metaphysical verse.⁵ Likewise, the chapters in this thesis allow a much sharper delineation of

the nature and intentions of Scott's social and politico-religious writing, in particular those of his 'New Yeir Gift'. In a similar vein, a better knowledge of the most likely audience for the Bannatyne MS may help tease out otherwise hidden instances of coterie irony that bring out the rationale of some of Scott's poems as existing on a more informal and public level (as in 'Luve preysis but comparesone'), or emphasize the ludic and parodic aspects of some of his amatory lines side by side with more sublimatory ones. Amatory verse could be convivial and performative as well as confidential or confessional.

Placing Alexander Scott and contemporary Scottish literary culture in a historical and historicised context, therefore, leads us closer to reading his lyrics as not just expressing feeling but also *reflecting* on that feeling, as this would have been what was expected by an educated audience – such as that of the Bannatyne MS clearly was – of the genre of literary lyric.⁶ Such historicised insights allow us to begin to note features of Scott's verse that show how he shared with his readers an intellectual awareness that allowed the use of lyric in a speculative rather than merely subjective or self-expressive way – a level of readers' competence that sits well with what we learned above about literature and the pursuit of learning in contemporary Scotland. This allows us to see that a sizeable number of his lyrics and those of his contemporaries are ultimately concerned with, and engaged by, language, often 'using the world to talk about language, rather than using language to talk about the world ... anticipating with playful levity a subsequent generalised anguish about the effective links between words and things'.⁷ If we view Scott's verse through such a focus on language, we see his intellectual awareness (even if perhaps only at an intuitive level) of how language creates identity rather than – or at least as well as – vice versa. In other words, we begin to appreciate that his verse, as stated above, is engaged not only with identity or a self, but with how that identity or self is

formed. For example, more often than not Scott's amatory verse is not so much love poetry but poetry about love.

In this context, it should therefore finally be proposed that what both the Bannatyne MS and Alexander Scott represent, judging from their mixtures of the sacred and the profane and of the ethical and the urbane, is the search for a voice of lyrical authority from within their own cultural heritage and condition, one that links the emphases of Renaissance discourses with late medieval and more traditionally Christian ones. These seem to find common ground in the growing belief that 'to know thyself' – i.e. to evolve a language that combines experiential 'trewth' with universal wisdom, and individual expression with reflection *on* that expression – equals knowing God. This implies a quest in literary format for a form of lay redemption, operating increasingly outwith more traditional, scripted lines of inquiry yet not leading to exclusively secular or courtly answers. Once historicised, as through the present thesis, it is here that a late-medieval humanist-Renaissance Scottish culture and the genre of lyric as it circulated in mid-sixteenth-century Edinburgh promise to meet most powerfully.

Integrating the findings of the previous two paragraphs, the thesis thus gives rise to the proposition that what may in mid-sixteenth-century Scottish lyric seem to be autobiographical or affective is actually ontological, what may appear to be self-expression is rhetorical, with the quasi-autobiographical 'I' an effective means of persuasion to involve the reader rather than a primarily affective and autobiographically propelled voice.⁸ In subsequent generations, however, that rhetorical 'means of persuasion' became the message itself; the more immediately accessible autocitational voice in many readers' (as distinct from poets') minds gradually overshadowed any impersonal, universalising one. Scott's more rhetorical dimension thus represents a richness that we lost mainly because we forgot how to recognise it.

Within this overall development, Scott's cultural-historical position is that of a lyricist writing in a transitional era which is coming to terms with the growing awareness that contemporary poetics is beginning to require a composite 'I', one that has to 'transcend the limitations of individuality' to gain something of universal experience but that, paradoxically, at the same time increasingly foregrounds a subjective, more solipsistic eye (or 'I') as 'necessary to perceive and to fix the matter of experience'. In this most confessional of ages, vernacular lyric thus finds itself pressed into service, with increasing urgency, by individuals seeking to investigate in increasingly autonomous ways their 'personal relationship with divinity'. By exposing the cultural context in which Scott and his poems operated, the present thesis may help in discussing how Scott's verse fits into this lyrical evolution, i.e. whether Scott's (and contemporary Scottish) lyrics are interested in the poet 'himself *qua* himself' or '*qua* an example of the generally human capacity for cognizing the supramundane – which can be cognized only by what is most personal in man'.⁹

Away from lyric, this issue of human access to the divine also explains the continued interest in, and practice of, the medieval literary device of the dream vision in Scottish literature of the sixteenth century. The latter is a continuation of the Chaucerian inquiry into the value of earthly experience, one that started in Scotland with the *Kingis Quair* and was continued in texts such as Gavin Douglas's *Palis of Honoure* (printed in Scotland c.1540 and 1579). Such transcendental truths can be 'imagined' in an individual dreamer's vision, wondering whether that vision is 'of my forethought impressioun / Or ... from the hevin a visioun'.¹⁰

The fictional persona of the modern writer is a development of both these lyrical and narrative lines of poetic inquiry. But where contemporary English lyric (or, rather, our retrospective view of it) became focused mainly on amatory, courtly lyric, the present thesis

shows that, in Scott anyway, self-referential inquiries into the ‘truth’ of life are likely to have been premised on an attempt to ‘ground’ such experience in less exclusively worldly or courtly registers. For too long, however, the former have been the prioritised, almost *de facto*, settings for the critical appreciation of the British (mid)-sixteenth-century lyric.

The cultural map sketched in this thesis seeks to offer a useful and usable starting-point for a programme of future interdisciplinary research, allowing literary studies to articulate with critical insights from the study of visual art, music, the history of ideas, political and religious history, cultural studies, urban studies, architecture, and other areas of research. Moreover, from it – or against it, modifying it, indeed in any form of dialogue with it – other maps or templates can be made on the basis of which readings of texts and other cultural events can be heard to speak more purposefully to, and within, their texts’ and events’ own contexts. Part of this process will inevitably involve completing or improving what is said in the chapters above, or correcting mistakes in them. But go, little quair, no longer ‘aucht thou be aferit of the licht’.¹¹

Notes to 'Chapter 4'

1. Hattaway, as quoted at note 1, Chapter 3. I have tried to describe this ethical poetics in van Heijnsbergen (2007), and van Heijnsbergen (2004) has more material on how Scottish writing and reading evolved such a poetics through an engagement with education and learning – and thus literature – on an international scale. The best evidence for such a reading of the contemporary Scottish lyric, however, may be the fact that the next 'phase' of Scottish lyric, during James VI's reign, answers to exactly such a description. This is argued in exemplary fashion by McClune (2005), which surveys this Scottish tradition of a 'symbiotic relationship between the ability to "read" or to "interpret" accurately, be it reading a literary text or reading oneself, and moral acuity' (p. 135) and of 'the Scottish fixation with reading as a metaphor for moral judgement' (p. 139). This is followed by an analysis of how this explains the uses that Scottish literature makes of the sonnet under James VI (especially pp. 137-59), on which see also McClune (2007).
2. Thus, English authors such as Barnaby Googe, George Turberville and Richard Edwards, whose social status was not unlike that of Scott, and who in the past would probably have been ranked below Scott in terms of literary importance, have been the subject of recent monograph studies and modern editions.
3. Hillman 1997: 15.
4. Foucault 1981: 141.
5. *Bann. MS (fac.)*, fol. 235^v, in response to the anonymous 'Haif hairt in hairt ye hairt of haitis haill' (fol. 228^r).
6. This notion is derived from Edwin Muir who, unusually for a book on modern Scottish literature, uses two Bannatyne MS lyrics to make its point, one of them in fact by Alexander Scott (though its authorship is shared with Thomas Wyatt): 'In these two poems we have passion and passionate reflection on passion' (Muir 1982: 35, and *passim*).
7. Whyte 1996: 50. This endnote and the previous one both involve a modern Scottish poet reflecting on another Scottish poet's work. The fact that this perhaps slightly metapoetic emphasis seems to lead us to the heart of the sixteenth-century lyric attests to Scott's lyrical quality as well as to the nature of that quality, its engagement with 'the effective links between words and things'. Further research might inquire whether there is anything particularly Scottish or pre-modern about such emphases, and how they position Scott's verse in relation to concepts such as 'Petrarchan' or 'metaphysical' poetry.
8. Spitzer 1946: 416; on the 'I' as 'above all a rhetorical figure' in Scottish late medieval lyric, see Hasler 1989.
9. Spitzer 1946: 416-7.
10. *Kingis Quair*, ll. 1224-5 (i.e. stanza 175), quoted from McDiarmid 1973: 113.
11. From the last line of Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* (Bawcutt 1998: I, 192).

Appendix: List of names in George Bannatyne's 'memoriall buik' (MB)

The original MB has now disappeared: A.W. Cornelius Hallen, the editor of *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, 1671-1707*, inspected it for that SHS publication (Edinburgh, 1894). The then owner, James Foulis, an eminent physician in Edinburgh, died in 1901. I have checked wills and family documents and, helped by information provided by the then Keeper of Manuscripts of the National Library of Scotland, Mr Ian Cunningham, and by Mr John Ballantyne, I was able to contact the last living direct descendant of James Foulis, Mrs Ursula Kiernan. She kindly sent me the relevant family papers, but the original was not among them, although Mrs Kiernan assured me that at one time it had been. She may have confused it with something that did appear from these papers, namely a notebook owned in 1852 by John Foulis in which Andrew Grieve, Writer to the Signet, had in 1839 copied out genealogical notices from an original MS in the possession of Sir James Foulis, Baronet. The notebook begins with the same list of Bannatyne godparents as printed in Sir Walter Scott's *Memorials of George Bannatyne* (1829), but does not include the legal documents that the *Memorials* print alongside it. A comparison between the two shows that, at least in terms of genealogical notices, Scott's 1829 edition does not seem to have omitted any material. The 1852 notebook does, however, include the prominent references to the Bellendens that Ritchie in his edition of the Bannatyne Manuscript (1934) prints as opening the MB but that, surprisingly, Scott's *Memorials* omits. This suggests, first of all, that Grieve indeed had access to the original and did not just rely on Scott's *Memorials*; and, secondly, that Ritchie also had access to the originals, although he does not say so. Instead, he simply says he reproduces Sir Walter Scott's 'Memoir' from the *Memorials* (pp. xxxix-xl). Unfortunately, Ritchie does not say where he was able to obtain the additional information about the Bellendens.

The MB is treated by Hallen, the editor of *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis*, as part of one and the same collection of account books that he used as a source of information for his edition of the Foulis accounts (pp. xli-xlii), which might suggest that the MB travelled not in its own right but as part of the collection of Foulis account books. In that respect, George A. Fothergill's remark that 'the famous *Account Book* ..., I believe, has finally found its way, by gift, to the Advocates' Library' suggests that the MB might be in

the National Library of Scotland, but on inquiry its then Keeper of Manuscripts reported that there was no trace of the MB in this collection.¹ I have deposited the 1852 notebook owned by John Foulis and all other family papers that Mrs Ursula Kiernan sent me in 1999 in the NLS.

In the list of names from the MB listed below, some of the names have been modernised; the information about godparents that appears in square brackets is confirmed through other sources, and is therefore additional to the printed extracts of the MB as printed in *Memorials of George Bannatyne* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 25-42, and in *Bann. MS.*, I, pp. cxlii-cxlviii.

The dates given are modernised. Bannatyne lived beyond 1600, the year in which Scotland officially changed to the new dating system, with the new year subsequently starting in January. Nevertheless, it appears from Bannatyne's marginal inscriptions that he entered the names and further details of births in his 'Memoriall Buik' *before* 1600, and not subsequently, in retrospect (thus, he enters births in the main body of the text but deaths of these same people, occurring in the 1590s, in the margin: see *Bann. MS.* I, p. cxlii). Moreover, when he records Queen Elizabeth's death as '24 March 1602', he adds in the margin 'According to thair calculaōn. 1603', so he was clearly conscious of the two different systems of dating.

List of names from the 'Memoriall Buik'

Sir Lewis Bellenden, Justice Clerk

Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull, knight

Mr Thomas Bellenden, tutor of Kinneuchar [= Kilconquhar]

Godfathers of James Bannatyne, George Bannatyne's father:

Mr James Kincragy, dean of Aberdeen (3 May 1512)

John Lichtoun (3 May 1512)

Godparents of George Bannatyne's brothers and sisters:

Mr Laurence Taillefeir [= Telfer], treasurer of Dunkeld (14 December 1539)

Mr Henry Balnaves of Halhill (14 December 1539)
 [Isobel] Windeyettis, spouse of John Fisher (14 December 1539)
 Mr Thomas Bellenden (31 August 1540)
 Mr Simon Preston (31 August 1540)
 Agnes Cockburn (31 August 1540)
 Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield (30 September 1541)
 Jonet Purves, spouse of Mr Thomas Marjoribankis (30 September 1541)
 Elizabeth Young, spouse of David Tod (30 September 1541)
 George Taillefeir [= Telfer], elder (1542)
 Agnes Liddardaill (1542)
 Dame Paterson (1542)
 John Paterson, son of Thomas Paterson (5 August 1544)
 Jonet Fisher (5 August 1544)
 Jonet Ireland (5 August 1544)
 George Taillefeir [= Telfer] (22 December 1545)
 William Fisher (22 December 1545)
 Mavis Fisher (22 December 1545)
 James Corsby [also found as Crosbie] (8 December 1546)
 James Bassintyne [= Bassindene] (8 December 1546)
 Agnes Bannatyne (8 December 1546)
 John Young [of Harperdean²], writer (27 June 1547)
 Christian Ireland, relict of umquhile Thomas Rynd (27 June 1547)
 Margaret [no surname reported] (27 June 1547)
 Sir George Clapperton, provost of Trinity College (12 December 1548)
 Marion Scott, relict of George Henderson of Fordell (12 December 1548)
 Isobel Rynd, spouse of Sir Neill Laing (12 December 1548)
 Sir Robert Danielston [= Denniston], parson of Dysart (1 November 1551)
 Agnes Blackstock (1 November 1551)
 Marion Ireland (1 November 1551)
 John Carkettill of Finglen (2 February 1554)
 Catherine Windeyettis (2 February 1554)

Jonet Rynd, spouse of John Young [of Harperdean], writer (2 February 1554)
Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull, Justice Clerk (28 April 1555)
Mr Arthur Taillefeir [= Telfer], parson of Crythmond [also found as Creichtmont] (28 April 1555)
[Helen] Swinton, spouse of Mr Robert Heriot (28 April 1555)
Patrick Hepburn of Waughton (3 July 1556)
Alexander Guthrie, burgess of Edinburgh (3 July 1556)
[Margaret] Barton, spouse of Thomas Thomson, apothecary (3 July 1556)
Sir William Makdowell (3 December 1557)
Katherine Henderson, spouse of Thomas Henderson (3 December 1557)
Margaret Taillefeir [= Telfer] (3 December 1557)
Mr Henry Foulis of Colinton (15 May 1559)
Catherine Ireland (15 May 1559)
Christian Abercrombie, daughter to Mr John Abercrombie (15 May 1559)
Robert Scott, writer (24 December 1560)
John McNeill, writer (24 December 1560)
Catherine Murray, spouse of Nicoll Ramsay (24 December 1560)
Henry Nisbet (14 January 1562)
James Millar, writer (14 January 1562)
Elizabeth Danielston [= Denniston], spouse of Sir Neill Laing, Keeper of the Signet (14 January 1562)
Mr William Scott of Balwearie (1 May 1563)
Mr James McGill, Clerk Register (1 May 1563)
Margaret Lundy, Lady Waughton (1 May 1563)
Robert Paterson (22 June 1564)
Isobel Bannatyne (22 June 1564)
Jonet Bannatyne (22 June 1564)
Robert Henderson, 'chirurgian' (20 February 1566)
Margaret Taillefeir [Telfer] (20 February 1566)

George Bannatyne also recorded the spouses of his brothers and sisters:

Robert Paterson, merchant, first husband of Barbara Bannatyne
James Nicoll, merchant, second husband of Barbara Bannatyne
Thomas Aikenhead, bailie, husband of Marion Bannatyne
James Bannatyne, younger, first husband of Catherine Bannatyne
William Stewart, writer, second husband of Catherine Bannatyne
Henry Nisbet, married to Jonet Bannatyne
Margaret Hay, daughter to Alexander Hay, Clerk Register, first wife of James Bannatyne
Marion Blyth, wife of Robert Bannatyne
Sarah Johnston, wife of Patrick Bannatyne
Helen Rutherford³, second wife of James Bannatyne
[Marion Gilbert, daughter of Michael Gilbert, goldsmith, wife of Mr Thomas Bannatyne of Newtyle⁴]

In addition to his own brothers and sisters, godparents to George Bannatyne's own children were:

Jonet Millar, 'my aunt'

Katherine Dick, wife of William Bissett, 'chirurgiane'

George Bannatyne's wife, Isobel Mauchan, had first been married to William Nisbett, bailie

Notes to 'Appendix'

1. Fothergill 1909-10: 80.

2. Society of Writers to H. M. Signet 1983: 351.

3 She was the sister of Mr Robert Rutherford, minister of Corstorphine in 1609: NAS RD 1.174, fol. 6.

4. NAS RD 11/38, fol. 798, and van Heijnsbergen 1994: 198.

Bibliography

There is no separate section for manuscripts; details about shelfmarks are provided in the actual endnotes themselves. Helena Mennie Shire's papers in Aberdeen University Library could not at the time of consultation be referenced because they were not yet catalogued or even given a name when I checked them.

In the alphabetical sequence, all surnames beginning with the Scottish prefix 'Mac' or 'Mc' have been listed at the beginning of the entries starting with 'M', whether they were followed by a capital (as in 'MacDonald') or not (as in 'Macpherson').

For abbreviations of frequently used books and journals, as used in the text, footnotes, and bibliography below, see the section 'Conventions, abbreviations, and short titles' (pp. vii-viii).

I. Printed primary sources, source collections, dictionaries and other reference works

ADAM, Robert (ed.) (1899) *Edinburgh Records. The Burgh Accounts*, 2 vols (Glasgow)

AGNEW, Robert Vans (ed.) (1887) *Correspondence of Sir Patrick Waus of Barnbarroch, Knight*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

ALDIS, H.G. (1970) *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh)

AMOURS, F.J. (ed.) (1897) *Scottish Alliterative Poems* (STS)

ANDERSON, James Maitland (ed.) (1926) *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (SHS)

ANDERSON, John (ed.) (1899) *Calendar of the Laing Charters, 854-1837* (Edinburgh)

ANDERSON, William (1859-63) *The Scottish Nation, or, the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, 9 vols (Edinburgh and London)

ANDERSON, W.L. (ed.) *The James Carmichaell Collection of Proverbs in Scots* (Edinburgh)

ANGUS, William (ed.) (1914) *Protocol Book of Mr Gilbert Grote, 1552-1573* (SRS)

APTED, Michael R., and HANNABUSS, Susan (eds) (1978) *Painters in Scotland 1301-1700. A Biographical Dictionary* (SRS)

ATKINSON, David W. (ed.) (1989) *Selected Sermons of Zachary Boyd* (STS)

BAIN, Joseph (ed.) (1830) *The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun* (Maitland Club)

BALNAVES, Henry (1584) *The Confession of Faith* <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>

BARRY, John C. (ed.) (1967) *William Hay's Lectures on Marriage* (Stair Society)

BATHO, Edith C., et al. (eds) (1938-41) *The Chronicles of Scotland, compiled by Hector Boece*, 2 vols (STS)

BAWCUTT, Priscilla, and RIDDY, Felicity (eds) (1987) *Longer Scottish Poems. Volume One: 1375-1650* (Edinburgh)

BAWCUTT, Priscilla (ed.) (1998) *The Poems of William Dunbar*, 2 vols (Glasgow)

BLACK, George F. (1946) *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York)

CAMERON, Annie I. (ed.) (1927) *The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine* (SHS)

CAMERON, Annie I. (ed.) (1931-32) *The Warrender Papers*, 2 vols (SHS)

CHAMBERS, Robert (1875) *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, revised edn, 3 vols (Glasgow)

CHERRY, T.A.F. (1963-66) 'The Library of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, 1560-65', *Bibliothek* 4: 13-25

CHILD, Francis James (ed.) (1857-59) *English and Scottish Ballads*, 8 vols (Boston)

COCKBURN, Patrick (1555) *In Dominicam orationem* (St Andrews)

CODY, E.G., and MURISON, William (eds) (1888-95) *The historie of Scotland wrytten first in Latin by the most reuerend and worthy Jhone Leslie Bishop of Rosse and translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple*, 2 vols (STS)

COLDWELL, David F.C. (ed.) (1957-64) *Virgil's Aeneid, translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas*, 4 vols (STS)

COULTON, G.G. (ed.) (1935) *Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine by Robertus Richardinus* (SHS)

COURT OF SESSION (corporate author) (1790) *The Acts of Sederunt of the Lords of Council and Session* (Edinburgh)

CRAIGIE, James (ed.) (1941) *Thomas Hudson's Historie of Judith* (STS)

- CRAIGIE, James (ed.) (1955-58) *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, 2 vols (STS)
- CRAIGIE, W.A. (ed.) (1901-3) *Livy's History of Rome. The First Five Books*, trans. John Bellenden, 2 vols (STS)
- CRAIGIE, W.A. (ed.) (1919-27) *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, 2 vols (STS)
- CRAIGIE, W.A. (ed.) (1920) *The Maitland Quarto Manuscript* (STS)
- CRANSTOUN, James (ed.) (1887) *The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie* (STS)
- CRANSTOUN, James (ed.) (1891-93) *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, 2 vols (STS)
- CRANSTOUN, James (ed.) (1896) *The Poems of Alexander Scott* (STS)
- CRAWFORD, Thomas (1976) *Love, Labour and Lust: The Eighteenth-Century Scottish Lyric* (Cheadle)
- CROCKETT, Thomas (ed.) (1913) *The Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis. Vol. II: Text* (STS) [Vol. I never published]
- CRUM, Margaret (ed.) (1969) *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, 2 vols (Oxford)
- DALYELL, John Graham (ed.) (1806) *Richard Bannatyne. Journal of the Transactions in Scotland, during the contest between the adherents of Queen Mary, and those of her son, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573* (Edinburgh)
- DAVIDSON, Peter (ed.) (1997-99) *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols (Oxford)
- DAVIDSON, Thomas (ed.) (attributed to) (1662) *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* (Aberdeen; revised editions 1666 and 1682)
- DAWSON, Jane E.A. (ed.) (1997) *Campbell Letters 1559-1583* (SHS)
- DENNISTOUN, James (ed.) (1830) *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. By David Moysie. MDLXXVII-MDCIII* (Bannatyne Club)
- DICKINSON, Gladys (ed.) (1942) *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse* (SHS)
- DICKINSON, W.C. (ed.) (1949) *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

- DONALD, Alexander Karley (ed.) (1902) *The Poems of Alexander Scott* (EETS)
- DONALDSON, Gordon (ed.) (1949) *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572* (SHS)
- DONALDSON, Gordon, and MORPETH, Robert S. (1973) *Who's Who in Scottish History* (Oxford)
- DOUGLAS, Robert (1798) *The Baronage of Scotland* (Edinburgh)
- DOUGLAS, Robert (1813) *The Peerage of Scotland*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Edinburgh)
- DRUMMOND, William, of Hawthornden (1619) 'Notes of Conversations with Ben Jonson made by William Drummond of Hawthornden', in *Ben Jonson. Discoveries 1641. Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. G.B. Harrison (London and New York, 1923) 1-28
- DUNCAN, A.G.M. (ed.) (1982) *Students' Glossary of Scottish Legal Terms by the late Andrew Dewar Gibb*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh)
- DUNCAN, William J. (ed.) (1834) *Miscellaneous Papers, principally illustrative of events in the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (Maitland Club)
- DURKAN, John (ed.) (1985) *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528-1534* (SRS)
- DURKAN, John, and ROSS, Anthony (eds) (1961) *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow)
- DURKAN, John, and PRINGLE, R.V. (1979-80) 'St Andrews Additions to Durkan and Ross: some unrecorded Scottish pre-Reformation ownership inscriptions in St Andrews University Library', *Bibliotheca* 9: 13-20
- EASSON, D.E., and MacDONALD, Angus (eds) (1938) *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (SHS)
- EDINBURGH (corporate author) (1984) *The Streets of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh)
- ELLIOTT, Kenneth, and SHIRE, Helena Mennie (eds) (1975) *Music of Scotland 1500-1700 (Musica Britannica XV)*, 3rd edn (London; 1st edn 1957)
- FLEMING, David Hay (ed.) (1889-90) *Register of the Minister[s] Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews*, 2 vols (SHS)
- FOX, Denton (ed.) (1981) *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Oxford)
- FOX, Denton (ed.) (1987) *Robert Henryson. The Poems* (Oxford)

- FRASER, William (ed.) (1872) *Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth AD 1147-1535* (Grampian Club)
- FRASER, William (ed.) (1878) *The Scotts of Buccleuch*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)
- FRASER, William (ed.) (1883) *The Chiefs of Grant*, 3 vols (Edinburgh)
- FRASER, William (ed.) (1885) *The Douglas Book*, 4 vols (Edinburgh)
- FRASER, William (ed.) (1889) *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)
- FULLARTON, John (ed.) (1829) *Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. The History of the House of Seyton to the Year MDLIX* (Maitland Club)
- GEDDIE, William (1912) *Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets* (STS)
- GIANNINI, M.C. (2005) 'Lomellini, Benedetto', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti ... *et al.* (Rome, 1960-...), LXV, 559-61
- GRANT, F.J. (ed.) (1944) *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943* (SRS)
- GRAY, M.M. (1935) *Scottish Poetry from Barbour to James VI* (London)
- GULLANS, Charles B. (ed.) (1963) *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton* (STS)
- HADLEY WILLIAMS, Janet (ed.) (2000) *Sir David Lyndsay. Selected Poems* (Glasgow)
- HALL, FitzEdward, and FURNIVALL, F.J. (eds) (1870) *The Extant Poetical Works of William Lauder* (EETS)
- HALLEN, A.W. Cornelius (ed.) (1894) *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston 1671-1707* (SHS)
- HAMER, Douglas (ed.) (1931-36) *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, 4 vols (STS)
- HANNAY, R.K. (ed.) (1913) *Rentale Sancti Andree* (SHS)
- HARVEY, Charles C.H. and MACLEOD, John (eds) (1930) *Calendar of Writs Preserved at Yester House, 1166-1625* (SRS)
- HARVEY WOOD, Harriet (ed.) (1977-91) *James Watson's Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Poems*, 2 vols (STS)
- HAWS, Charles H. (ed.) (1972) *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574*

(SRS)

HAY, D. (ed.) (1954) *The Letters of James V* (Edinburgh)

HERFORD, C.H., and SIMPSON, Percy (eds) (1925) *Ben Jonson. Vol. 1: The Man and His Work* (Oxford)

HORN, B.L.H. (1966) 'List of References to the Pre-Reformation Altarages in the Parish Church of Haddington', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* 10: 55-91

HOWATSON, M.C. (ed.) (1989) *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, 2nd edn (Oxford and New York)

IJSEWIJN, J., and THOMSON, D.F.S. (1975) 'The Latin Poems of Jacobus Follisius or James Foullis of Edinburgh', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24: 102-52.

INNES, Cosmo (ed.) (1867) *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, 1492-1503* (Edinburgh)

IRVING, David (ed.) (1829) *Thomae Dempsteri historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum: sive, de scriptoribus Scotis*, 2 vols (Bannatyne Club)

JACK, R.D.S. (ed.) (1978) *A Choice of Scottish Verse, 1560-1660* (London)

JACK, R.D.S., and Rozendaal, P.A.T. (eds) (1997) *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375-1707* (Edinburgh)

JAMIESON, John (1912) *Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language, abridged by J. Johnstone and revised and enlarged by Dr Longmuir, with supplement to which is prefixed an introduction by W.M. Metcalfe* (Paisley)

KASTNER, L.E. (ed.) (1913) *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, 2 vols (STS)

KASTNER, L.E., and CHARLTON, H.B. (eds) (1921-29) *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, 2 vols (STS)

KINGHORN, Alexander M., et al. (eds) (1953-74) *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, 6 vols (STS)

KINSLEY, James (ed.) (1979) *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Oxford)

KIRK, James (ed.) (1995) *The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices. Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation* (Oxford)

KNOX, John (1556) *The copie of a letter sent to the Ladye Mary dowagire* (?Wesel)

KUIPERS, Cornelis Henricus (ed.) (1964) *Quentin Kennedy (1520-1564): Two Eucharistic Tracts. A Critical Edition* (Nijmegen)

LABANOFF, Prince Alexandre [A.I. Lobanov-Rostovski] (ed.) (1844) *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, reine d'Écosse*, 7 vols (London)

LAING, David (ed.) (1821) *Poems by Alexander Scott Written in the Year MDLXVIII* (Edinburgh)

LAING, David (ed.) (1825) *Various Pieces of Fugitive Scottish Poetry; principally of the seventeenth century* (Edinburgh)

LAING, David *et al.* (eds) (1827-55) *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 3 vols (Bannatyne Club)

LAING, David (ed.) (1834) *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh)

LAING, David (ed.) (1842) *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London)

LAING, David (ed.) (1846-1864) *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols (Wodrow Society)

LAING, David (ed.) (1855) *The Bannatyne Miscellany III* (Bannatyne Club)

LAING, David (ed.) (1858) *Original Letters of Mr John Colville 1582-1603* (Bannatyne Club)

LAING, David (ed.) (1859) *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh* (Bannatyne Club)

LAING, David (ed.) (1861) *Registrum domus de Soltre, necnon ecclesie collegiate S. Trinitatis prope Edinburgh, etc. Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other Collegiate Churches in Mid-Lothian* (Bannatyne Club)

LAING, David (ed.) (1895) *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border*, 2 vols, revised by W. Carew Hazlitt (London)

LANGHORNE, John (1763) *Genius and Valour. A Scotch Pastoral* (London)

LAW, T.G. (ed.) (1884) *The Catechism of John Hamilton* (Oxford)

LAWSON, John P., and LYON, C.J. (eds) (1844-50) *History of the affairs of church and state in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation to the year 1568. By the Right Rev. Robert Keith*, 3 vols (Spottiswoode Society)

LEASK, William K. (ed.) (1910) *Musa Latina Aberdonensis. Vol. III: poetae minores* (New Spalding Club)

LINDSAY, Lord [Alexander William Crawford Lindsay] (1849) *Lives of the Lindsays; or, a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres*, 3 vols (London)

LINDSAY, William A. *et al.* (eds) (1908) *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray* (SHS)

LONSDALE, Roger (ed.) (2006) *Samuel Johnson. The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; With Critical Observations on Their Works*, 4 vols (Oxford)

LYALL, Roderick (ed.) (1989) *Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (Edinburgh)

McCULLOCH, Margery Palmer (ed.) (2004) *Modernism and Nationalism: Literature and Society in Scotland 1918-1939. Source Documents for the Scottish Renaissance* (Glasgow)

MacDIARMID, Hugh (1993) *Scottish Eccentrics*, ed. Alan Riach (Manchester; orig. 1936)

McDIARMID, Matthew P. (1973) *The Kingis Quair of James Stewart* (London)

MacDONALD, Robert H. (ed.) (1976) *William Drummond of Hawthornden. Poems and Prose* (Edinburgh and London)

MACKAY, Æ.J.G. (ed.) (1899-1911) *The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland ... Written and Collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*, 3 vols (STS)

MACKEAN, William (ed.) (1887) *Poems of Alexander Scott, modernised* (Paisley and London)

[MACKENZIE, J. Henry (Lord MacKenzie) *et al.*] (1836) *Excerpta e libris domicilii Jacobi Quinti regis Scotorum MDXXV-MDXXXIII* (Bannatyne Club)

MACNEILL, W.A. (1964) 'Scottish Entries in the *Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis* 1519-1635', *SHR* 43: 66-86

MACPHAIL, J.R.N. (ed.) (1924) *Papers from the Collection of Sir William Fraser* (SHS)

McROBERTS, David (1953) (ed.) *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow)

MAIDMENT, J. (ed.) (1834-37) *Analecta Scotica*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

MARTIN, Burns (ed.) (1931) *Bibliography of Allan Ramsay* (Glasgow)

MARWICK, James D. (ed.) (1869) *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1528* (Scottish Burgh Records Society)

MARWICK, James D. (ed.) (1871) *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1528-1557* (Scottish Burgh Records Society)

MARWICK, James D. (ed.) (1875) *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1557-1571* (Scottish Burgh Records Society)

MARWICK, James D. (ed.) (1882) *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1573-1589* (Scottish Burgh Records Society)

MARWICK, James D. (ed.) (1892) *Index to the Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh A.D. 1403-1589, and a Glossary of Peculiar Words* (Scottish Burgh Records Society)

MARWICK, James D. (ed.) (1911) *The History of the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity, and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, 1460-1661* (Scottish Burgh Records Society)

MEIKLE, Henry W. *et al.* (eds) (1914-40) *The Works of William Fowler*, 3 vols (STS)

MILL, Anna Jean (1927) *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh and London)

MITCHELL, A.F. (ed.) (1897) *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis'* (STS)

MURRAY, Chris (ed.) (1999) *Encyclopedia of Literary Critics and Criticisms*, 2 vols (London and Chicago)

MURRAY, James A.H. (ed.) (1875) *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune* (EETS)

MYNORS, R.A.B., and THOMSON, D.F.S. (trans.) (1975) *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 142-297, 1501-1514*, annotated by Wallace K. Ferguson (Toronto and Buffalo, NY)

NEILSON, George (1914) 'Scotstarvet's "Trew Relation of the Principall Affaires Concerning the State", with introductory note by George Neilson', *SHR* 11: 164-91

OMOND, George W.T. (1883-1914) *The Lord Advocates of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

PARKINSON, David (ed.) (2000) *Alexander Montgomerie. Poems*, 2 vols (STS)

PATON, George A, and MURDOCH, James Barclay (eds) (1873-96) *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, 4 vols (Hunterian Club)

PATON, Henry (ed.) (1904-30) *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*, 2 vols (London)

PATON, Henry (ed.) (1914-25) *Report on the Laing Manuscripts preserved in the University of Edinburgh*, 2 vols (London)

PATRICK, David (ed.) (1907) *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559* (SHS)

PHILIPS, Ambrose (1714) Essay (untitled) in *The Guardian* 16 (30 March 1713), in *The Guardian*, 2 vols (London), I, 92-8

PINKERTON, John (1786) *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 2 vols (London)

PITCAIRN, Robert (ed.) (1833) *Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624*, 3 vols (Maitland Club)

PITCAIRN, Robert (ed.) (1842) *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill* (Wodrow Society)

POLLEN, John Hungerford (ed.) (1901) *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during Her Reign in Scotland, 1561-1567* (SHS)

POPE, Alexander (1714) Essay (untitled) in *The Guardian* 40 (27 April 1713), in *The Guardian*, 2 vols (London), I, 233-42

RAMSAY, Allan (ed.) (1724a) *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh)

RAMSAY, Allan (ed.) (1724b) *The Ever Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems wrote by the Ingenious before 1600*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

REBHOLZ, R.A. (ed.) (1978) *Sir Thomas Wyatt. The Complete Poems* (Harmondsworth)

REID, David (ed.) (1996) *David Hume of Godscroft's The History of the House of Douglas*, 2 vols (STS)

REID, David (ed.) (2005) *David Hume of Godscroft's The History of the House of Angus*, 2 vols (STS)

RINGLER Jr, William A. (ed.) (1992) *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript 1501-1558*, ed. Michael Rudick and Susan J. Ringler (London and New York)

ROBB, David S. (ed.) (1998) 'Alexander Scott. Gift to the Queen: A Play for Radio', *Scotlands* 5.2: 15-33

ROBERT, Paul (ed.) (1972) *Dictionnaire alphabétique & analogique de la langue*

française (Paris)

ROBERTSON, Joseph (ed.) (1846) *Liber collegii nostre Domine. Registrum ecclesie B.V. Marie et S. Anne infra muros civitatis Glasguensis, MDXLIX* (Maitland Club)

ROBERTSON, Joseph (ed.) (1863) *Inventaires de la Royne d'escosse* (Bannatyne Club)

ROGERS, Charles (ed.) (1872) *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen from 1550 to 1650 by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet* (Edinburgh)

ROGERS, Charles (ed.) (1873) *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI* (Grampian Club)

ROHMANN, Chris (2002) *The Dictionary of Important Ideas and Thinkers* (London)

ROLLINS, Hyder Edward (ed.) (1965) *Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587)*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass.)

ROXBURGHE MUNIMENTS (n.d.) 'Roxburghe Muniments. With Appendix: Calendar of Bellenden Papers', National Register of Archives Scotland (NRAS) 1100 (microfiche)

RUBINSTEIN, Jill (ed.) (1999) *James Hogg. Anecdotes of Scott* (Edinburgh)

SCOTT, Alexander (ed.) (1952) *The Poems of Alexander Scott* (Edinburgh)

SCOTT, Keith S.M. (1923) *The Scotts 1118-1923* (London)

SCOTT, Tom (ed.) (1970) *The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse* (Harmondsworth)

SCOTT, Walter (1829) 'Memoir of George Bannatyne', in *Memorials of George Bannatyne MDXLV-MDCVIII* (Bannatyne Club) 1-24

SHARMAN, Julian (ed.) (1889) 'The Library of Mary Queen of Scots' (London)

SHARPE, C.K. (ed.) (1815) *Extracts from the Household Book of Lady Marie Stewart, daughter of Esme Duke of Lenox, and Countess of Mar* (Edinburgh)

SHARRATT, P., and WALSH, P.G. (eds) (1983) *George Buchanan. Tragedies* (Edinburgh)

SHEARER, I.H. (ed.) (1951) *Selected Cases from Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis, from 27th May 1532 ... to 5 July 1533* (Stair Society)

SIBBALD, James (ed.) (1802) *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, 4 vols (Edinburgh)

SMITH, Alexander (ed.) (1882) *The Poems of Alexander Scott* (Glasgow) [published

anonymously]

SMITH, J. (ed.) (1905) *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and Their Altar in St Giles Church with Extracts from the Original Records, 1494-1558* (Edinburgh)

SOCIETY OF WRITERS TO H. M. SIGNET (1936), *The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet* (Edinburgh)

SOCIETY OF WRITERS TO H. M. SIGNET (1983), *Register of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet* (Edinburgh)

SPOTTISWOOD, John (1850) *The History of the Church of Scotland*, 3 vols (Bannatyne Club)

STEUART, A. Francis (ed.) (1929) *Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill 1535-1617* (London)

STEVENSON, George (ed.) (1910) *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie and Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447* (STS)

STEWART, A.M. (ed.) (1979) *The Complaynt of Scotland (c.1550)* (STS)

STODART, Robert R. (1881) *Scottish Arms*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

STUART, John (ed.) (1844) *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen. Volume I: 1398-1570* (Spalding Club)

TEULET, J.B. Alexandre T. (ed.) (1852-60) *Papiers d'état, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Écosse au XVI^e siècle*, 3 vols (Bannatyne Club)

THOMSON, Thomas (ed.) (1823) *Vitae Dvnkeldensis ecclesiae episcoporum* (Bannatyne Club)

THOMSON, Thomas (ed.) (1825) *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext* (Bannatyne Club)

THOMSON, Thomas (ed.) (1830) *The History of Scotland, from the death of King James I, in the year MCCCCXXXVI to the year MDLXI. By John Lesley, Bishop of Ross* (Bannatyne Club)

THOMSON, Thomas (ed.) (1833) *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents* (Bannatyne Club)

THOMSON, Thomas (ed.) (1842-49) *The History of the Kirk of Scotland by Mr David Calderwood*, 8 vols (Wodrow Society)

UTLEY, Francis Lee (ed.) (1970) *The Crooked Rib. An Analytical Index to the Argument*

about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568 (New York; originally 1944)

WALKER, Sir Patrick (ed.) (1822) *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland* (Edinburgh)

WARNER, George F. (1893) 'The Library of James VI., 1573-83, from a manuscript in the hand of Peter Young, his tutor', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* I, pp. xi-lxxv and 586-95

WATSON, Charles B. Boog (ed.) (1923) 'Notes on the Names of the Closes and Wynds of Old Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 12: 1-156 + (index) i-vii

WATSON, Charles B. Boog (ed.) (1929) *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406-1700* (SRS)

WATSON, James (1706-11) *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems Both Ancient and Modern*, 3 vols (Edinburgh)

WATT, D.E.R. (ed.) (1969) *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanæ medii ævi ad annum 1638* (SRS)

WATT, D.E.R., and MURRAY, A.L. (eds) (2003) *Fasti ecclesiae Scoticanæ medii ævi ad annum 1638* (SRS)

WATT, D.E.R., and SHEAD, N.F. (eds) (2001) *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (SRS)

WOOD, Harriet Harvey (1977-91) (ed.) *James Watson's Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Poems*, 2 vols (STS)

WOOD, Marguerite (ed.) (1937) *Court Book of the Regality of Broughton and the Burgh of the Canongate, 1569-1573* (SRS)

WOOD, Marguerite (ed.) (1925) *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland 1548-1557* (SHS)

WOOD, Marguerite (ed.) (1941) *Protocol Book of John Foular, vol I: 1503-1513* (SRS)

WOOD, Marguerite (ed.) (1944-1953) *Protocol Book of John Foular, vols II and III: 1514-1528* (SRS)

YOUNG, James (ed.) (1862) *The Countess of Mar's Arcadia or Sanctuary Containing Morning and Evening Meditations for the Whole Week, by Mr James Caldwell* (Edinburgh)

YOUNG, Margaret D. (ed.) (1992-93) *The Parliaments of Scotland. Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

II. Secondary Criticism

ADAMS, James W.L. (1955) 'The Renaissance Poets: (2) Latin', in Kinsley, 68-98

AITKEN, James M. (1939) *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition* (Edinburgh and London)

ALLAN, David (2000) *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland. Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton)

ANDERSON, Peter D. (1982) *Robert Stewart Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533-1593* (Edinburgh)

ANGLO, Sydney (1990) 'Humanism and the Court Arts', in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, ed. Anthony Goodman and Angus McKay (Harlow and New York) 66-98

ANTON, A.E. (1958) 'Handfasting in Scotland', *SHR* 37: 89-102

ATKINSON, David W. (1981) 'Zachary Boyd: A Reassessment', in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)*, eds Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy (Stirling and Glasgow) 438-56

AXTON, Marie (1970) 'Robert Dudley and the Inner Temple Revels', *The Historical Journal* 13: 365-78

BAIRD, William (1898) *Annals of Duddingston and Portobello* (Edinburgh)

BAKER-SMITH, Dominic (1984) 'Florens Wilson and His Circle: Émigrés in Lyons, 1539-1543', *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France*, eds Grahame Castor and Terence Cave (Oxford) 83-97

BAKER-SMITH, Dominic (1996) 'Florens Wilson: A Distant Prospect', in Hadley Williams, 1-14

BALLANTYNE, John (n.d.) 'Mr Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoull (c.1490-1547)' (unpublished typescript in NAS)

BANNERMAN, Edith I. (1929) *Les Influences Françaises en Écosse au temps de Marie Stuart* (Besançon)

BARROW, G.W.S. (ed) (1974) *The Scottish Tradition* (Edinburgh).

BARRY, John C. (1951) 'William Hay of Aberdeen. A Sixteenth Century Scottish Theologian and Canonist', *IR* 2: 82-99

- BARRY, Peter (2002) *Beginning Theory. An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*, 2nd edn (Manchester)
- BARTLEY, Mary Margaret (1981) 'A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Royal Entries of Mary Stuart, James VI, and Anne of Denmark, 1558-1603' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Michigan)
- BATH, Michael (1995) 'Alexander Seton's Painted Gallery', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven and London) 79-108
- BATH, Michael (2003) *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh)
- BAUDOUIN-MATUSZEK, M.-N. (1990) 'Mary Stewart's Arrival in France in 1548', *SHR* 69: 90-5
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (1991a) 'The Earliest Texts of Dunbar', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge) 183-98
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (1991b) 'A First-Line Index of Early Scottish Verse', *SSL* 26: 254-70
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (1992) *Dunbar the Makar* (Oxford)
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (2000a) '"My bright buke": Women and Their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, eds Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al.* (Turnhout) 17-34
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (2000b) 'New Texts of William Dunbar, Alexander Scott and Other Scottish Poets', *SSR* 1: 9-25
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (2001a) 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*: Its Scottish Owners and Inscriptions', *Medium Aevum* 70: 80-94
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (2001b) 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', *SHR* 80: 251-9
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (2005) 'Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Mapstone (2005a), 189-210, also published that same year, with minor variations, as 'Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in *English Manuscript Studies* 12: 46-73
- BAWCUTT, Priscilla (2009) 'The Authorship of James VI and I's *Amatoria*: the Manuscript Evidence', *English Manuscript Studies* 15: 219-36
- BEATTIE, William (1948-55) 'Fragments of "The Palyce of Honour" of Gawin Douglas printed by Thomas Davidson at Edinburgh c.1540', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 3: 31-46

- BEATTIE, William (1974) 'Some Early Scottish Books', in Barrow, 107-20
- BENNETT, Edith (1938) 'A New Version of a Scottish Poem', *Modern Language Review* 33 (1938), 403
- BERGERON, David M. (1971) *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London)
- BERGERON, David M. (1992) 'Charles I's Edinburgh Pageant (1633)', *Renaissance Studies* 6: 171-84
- BLACK, Henry Campbell (1979) *Black's Law Dictionary. Definitions of the terms and phrases of American and English jurisprudence, ancient and modern*, 5th edn (St Paul, Minn.)
- BLAKE, William (1989) *William Maitland of Lethington, 1528-1573* (New York)
- BRIGGS, Katherine (1967) *The Fairies in Tradition and Literature* (London and New York)
- BROADIE, Alexander (1985) *The Circle of John Mair: Logic and Logicians in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Oxford)
- BROADIE, Alexander (1990a) 'Philosophy in Renaissance Scotland: Loss and Gain', in MacQueen, 75-96
- BROADIE, Alexander (1990b) *The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy* (Edinburgh)
- BROWN, P. Hume (1913) 'A Forgotten Scholar of the Sixteenth Century', *SHR* 10: 122-37
- BROWN, Howard Mayer (1963) *Music in the French Secular Theatre, 1400-1550* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- BROWN, Keith M. (1986) *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625* (Edinburgh)
- BROWN, Keith M. (1992a) 'The Laird, his Daughter, her Husband and the Minister: Unravelling a Popular Ballad', in *People and Power in Scotland*, ed. Roger Mason and Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh) 104-25
- BROWN, Keith M. (1992b) 'The Nobility of Jacobean Scotland 1567-1625', in *Scotland Revisited*, ed. Jenny Wormald, 61-72
- BROWN, Keith M. (2000) *Noble Society in Scotland. Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh)
- BRUNTON, G., and HAIG, D. (1832) *An Historical Account of the Senators of the College*

of Justice (Edinburgh)

BURCKHARDT, Jacob (1958) *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 2 vols, with an introduction by Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus (New York)

BURKE, Peter (1990) 'Introduction', in Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.C.G. Middlemore, with notes by Peter Murray (Harmondsworth) 1-16

BURLEIGH, J.H.S. (1953) 'The Scottish Reforming Councils 1549 to 1559', *RSCHS* 11: 189-211

BURNS, J.H. (1956) 'The Political Ideas of the Scottish Reformation', *AUR* 36: 251-68

BURNS, J.H. (1962) 'The Political Background of the Reformation, 1513-1625', in McRoberts, 1-38

BURTON, John Hill (1897) *The History of Scotland*, new edn, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1897)

BUTHLAY, Kenneth (1977) 'Habbie Simson', in *Bards and Makars*, eds A.J. Aitken *et al.*, (Glasgow) 214-20

CAIE, Graham, *et al.* (eds) (2001) *The European Sun* (East Linton)

CAIRNS, John W., FERGUS, T.D., and MacQUEEN, Hector L. (1990) 'Legal Humanism and the History of Scots Law: John Skene and Thomas Craig', in MacQueen, 48-74

CAIRNS, John W. (1994) 'The Law, the Advocates and the Universities in Late Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *SHR* 73: 171-90

CAMERON, Euan (1980) 'Archibald Hay's "Elegantiae". Writings of a Scots Humanist at the College de Montaigu in the Time of Bude and Beda', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris) 277-301

CAMERON, James K. (1984) 'Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation 1528-1552', *RSCHS* 22: 1-12

CAMERON, James K. (1988) 'A Trilingual College for Scotland. The Founding of St Mary's College', *St Mary's College Bulletin* 31: 9-19.

CAMERON, James K. (1990) 'Humanism and Religious Life', in MacQueen, 161-77

CAMERON, Jamie (1998) *James V. The Personal Rule, 1528-1542* (East Linton)

CAMPBELL, Ian (1995) 'A Romanesque Revival and the Early Renaissance in Scotland', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54: 302-25

- CAMPBELL, Ian (1997) 'James IV and Edinburgh's First Triumphal Arches', in *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, ed. Deborah Mays (East Linton) 26-33
- CARPENTER, Sarah (1997) 'The Sixteenth-Century Court Audience. Performers and Spectators', *Medieval English Theatre* 19: 3-14
- CARPENTER, Sarah (2003) 'Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots', *SHR* 82: 194-225
- CARPENTER, Sarah, and RUNNALLS, Graham (2000), 'The Entertainments at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the French Dauphin François, 1558: Paris and Edinburgh', *Medieval English Theatre* 22: 145-61
- CARRUTHERS, Gerard Charles (2001) 'The Invention of Scottish Literature during the Long Eighteenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Glasgow)
- CHALMERS, George (1818) *The Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 2 vols (London)
- CHALMERS, George (1822) *The Life of Mary, Queen of Scots*, 2nd corrected and enlarged edn, 3 vols (Edinburgh)
- CHALMERS, George (1887-94) *Caledonia: or, a historical and topographical account of North Britain*, 7 vols (new edn, Paisley)
- CHALMERS, John Inglis (1860-62) 'Notice of Sir Peter Young of Seaton; and Copies of His Letters to the Laird of Barnbarroch Relative to Their Embassies to Denmark in the Reign of James VI', *PSAS* 4: 420-7
- CHAMBERS, Robert (1980) *Traditions of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh and London; orig. 1824)
- CLANCY, Thomas Owen and PITTOCK, Murray (eds) (2007) *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume I: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh)
- COCKBURN, James Hutchison (1958-61) 'Parochial Clergy of the Medieval Diocese of Dunblane', *Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* 8: 110-22 and 146-53
- COCKBURN, James Hutchison (1959) *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church* (Edinburgh and London)
- COCKBURN-HOOD, Thomas H. (1888) *The House of Cockburn of that Ilk* (Edinburgh)
- COHEN, J.M. (trans.) (1955) 'Introduction', in *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel by François Rabelais* (Harmondsworth)
- CONNAT, M. (1950) 'Documents inédits du minutier central', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme*

COWAN, Ian B. (1982) *The Scottish Reformation. Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (London)

COWAN, Ian B., and SHAW, Duncan (eds) (1983) *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh)

COWPER, A.S. (1991-92) *Historic Corstorphine and Roundabout*, 4 vols (Edinburgh)

COOPER, Kathryn Lavinia (2003) 'Cantus, Songs and Fancies: Context, Influence and Importance' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Glasgow)

CRAIG, Cairns (2007a) 'The Study of Scottish Literature', in Clancy and Pittock, 16-31

CRAIG, Cairns (2007b) 'The Criticism of Scottish Literature: Tradition, Decline and Renovation', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume III: Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)*, eds Ian Brown et al. (Edinburgh) 42-52

CRAIG, David (1961) *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, 1660-1830* (London)

CRAWFORD, Thomas (1970) Review (untitled) of Shire (1969), *AUR* 43: 216-8

CRAWFORD, Thomas (1979) *Society and the Lyric. A Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh)

CUMMINGS, Robert (1987), 'Drummond's *Forth Feasting*: A Panegyric for King James in Scotland', *The Seventeenth Century* 2: 1-18

CUNNINGHAM, Allan (1825) *The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern*, 4 vols (London)

CUTHBERT, Alexander (2006), 'Humanism and Reformation: The Confluence of European Thought in the Regicentric Poetry of David Lyndsay' (unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Glasgow)

DAEMEN-DE GELDER, Katrien Alice Liliane (2001) 'Recitations of Nationhood. The Making of Scottish Literature and the Early Modern Canon (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

DAICHES, David (1956) *Literary Essays* (Edinburgh and London)

DAICHES, David (1980) *Literature and Gentility in Scotland* (Edinburgh)

DALYELL, John Graham (1828) *A Brief Analysis of the Chartularies of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth: Chapel Royal of Stirling: Preceptory of St Anthony of Leith* (Edinburgh)

DAVIDSON, Peter (1995) 'The Entry of Mary Stewart into Edinburgh, 1561, and Other Ambiguities', *Renaissance Studies* 9: 416-29

DAVIS, Natalie Zemon (1983) 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 33: 69-88

DAVIS, Virginia (1990) 'Medieval English Clergy Database', *History and Computing* 2: 75-87

DENNISON, E. Patricia *et al.* (eds) (2002) *Aberdeen Before 1800: A New History* (East Linton)

DENNISON, E. Patricia, and LYNCH, Michael (2005) 'Crown, Capital and Metropolis. Edinburgh and Canongate: The Rise of a Capital and an Urban Court', *Journal of Urban History* 32: 22-43

DIBDIN, James C. (1888) *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (Edinburgh)

DICKSON, Robert, and EDMOND, John Philip (1890) *Annals of Scottish Printing* (Cambridge)

DILWORTH, Mark (1983), 'Archbishop Hamilton's Papers in the Scottish Catholic Archives', *IR* 34: 3-8

DILWORTH, Mark (1994), in MacDonald *et al.* 1994: 164-82

DOBSON, William T. (1887) *History of the Bassandyne Bible* (Edinburgh and London)

DONALDSON, Gordon (1972-75) 'Stewart Builders. The Descendants of James V', *The Stewarts* 14: 116-22

DONALDSON, Gordon (1979) 'Queen Mary and her Scottish Contemporaries', *Scotia* 3: 3-17

DONALDSON, Gordon (1983) *All the Queen's Men. Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London)

DONALDSON, Gordon (1987) *Reformed by Bishops* (Edinburgh)

DONALDSON, Robert (1994) '"M. Alex: Boyde." The Authorship of "Fra Banc to Banc"', in MacDonald *et al.*, 344-66

DONAWERTH, Jane (2000) 'Women's Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange', in *Women, Writing and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. Mary E. Burke *et al.* (New York) 3-18

DOWDEN, John (1912) *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow)

DUFF, E. Gordon (1907) 'Some Early Scottish Book-Binders and Collectors', *SHR* 4: 430-42

DUNNIGAN, Sarah M. (1997) 'Scottish Women Writers c.1560-c.1650', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh) 15-43

DUNNIGAN, Sarah M. (2002) *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (Basingstoke)

DUNNIGAN, Sarah M. (2003) 'Undoing the Double Tress: Scotland, Early Modern Women's Writing, and the Location of Critical Desires', *Feminist Studies* 29: 298-319
<<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/stable/i359157>>

DURKAN, John (1950) 'Robert Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh', *IR* 1: 48-66

DURKAN, John (1951) 'Scots College, Paris', *IR* 2: 112-3

DURKAN, John (1953) 'The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland', *IR* 4: 5-24

DURKAN, John (1962a) 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', in McRoberts, 145-68

DURKAN, John (1962b) 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in McRoberts, 274-331

DURKAN, John (1971-74) 'Henry Scrimgeour, Renaissance Bookman', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 5: 1-31

DURKAN, John (1979) 'Chaplains in Late Medieval Scotland', *RSCHS* 20: 91-103

DURKAN, John (1979-80) 'Early Humanism and King's College', *AUR* 48: 259-79

DURKAN, John (1981) 'Giovanni Ferrerio: Religious Humanism in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in *Studies in Church History. Vol. XVII: Religion and Humanism*, ed. K. Robbins (Oxford) 181-94

DURKAN, John (1982-83a) 'Contract between Clerk and Lekpreuk for Printing the Book of Common Order, 1564', *The Bibliothek* 11: 129-35

DURKAN, John (1982-83b) 'The Trompet of Honour (Edinburgh? 1537)', *The Bibliothek* 11: 1-2

DURKAN, John (1983a) 'The Royal Lectureships under Mary of Lorraine', *SHR* 62: 73-8

DURKAN, John (1983b) Review of Lynch (1981), *IR*, 34: 88-90

DURKAN, John (1986) 'Native Influences on George Buchanan', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. I.D. McFarlane (Binghamton, NY) 31-42

DURKAN, John (1988) 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', in Lynch, 71-104, also published in *IR* 38: 71-104

DURKAN, John (2002) 'A Post-Reformation Miscellany', *IR* 53:108-26

DURKAN, John, and WATT, W.S. (1979) 'Adam Mure's *Laudes Gulielmi Elphinstoni*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 28: 199-233

EASSON, D.E. (1941) 'The Collegiate Churches of Scotland. Part II - Their Significance', *RSCHS* 7: 30-47

EASSON, D.E. (1947) *Gavin Dunbar. Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of Glasgow* (Edinburgh and London)

EBIN, Lois (1982-83) 'Dunbar's "Fresch Anamalit Termes Celicall" and the Art of the Occasional Poet', *Chaucer Review* 17: 292-9

EBIN, Lois A. (1988) *Illuminator, Makar, Vates. Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln, Nebr., and London)

EDINGTON, Carol (1991) 'Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: Political and Religious Culture in Renaissance Scotland' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of St Andrews)

EDINGTON, Carol (1993) "'To speik of Preistis be sure it is na bourds': Discussing the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation Scotland', in *The Reformation of the Parishes. The ministry and the Reformation in town and country*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Manchester and New York) 22-42

EDINGTON, Carol (1995) *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (Amherst, Mass.)

EDWARDS, A.S.G. (1971-73) 'Bellenden's *Proheme of the history and chroniklis of Scotland*: a note', *Bibliothek* 6: 89-90

EDWARDS, G. Patrick (1986) 'Aberdeen and Its Classical Tradition', *AUR* 51:410-26

ELIOT, T.S. (1934) *Selected Essays*, 2nd edn (Glasgow)

ELLIOTT, Kenneth (1961) 'Scottish Music of the Early Reformed Church', *Transactions of*

the Scottish Ecclesiological Society 15, part ii: 18-32

ELLIOTT, Kenneth (1964) "'Church Music at Dunkell'", *Music and Letters* 45: 228-32

ELLIOTT, Kenneth [2001] 'Angus, John', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*.
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00946>>

EWAN, Elizabeth, and NUGENT, Janay (eds) (2008) *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot)

EWART, Gordon. (1996) 'Inchaffray Abbey, Perth and Kinross: Excavation and Research, 1987', *PSAS* 126: 469-516

FERGUSON, Sir James (1949) *Lowland Lairds* (London)

FERGUSON, Sir James (1963) *The White Hind and Other Discoveries* (London)

FERNIE, Ewan, and WRAY, Ramona (2005) 'General Introduction', in *Reconceiving the Renaissance. A Critical Reader*, ed. Ewan Fernie et al. (Oxford) 1-12

FINLAY, John (1999) 'Robert Galbraith and the Role of Queen's Advocate', *Juridical Review* 111: 277-90

FINLAY, John (2000) *Men of Law in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (East Linton)

FINLAYSON, Charles P. (1980) *Clement Littill and his Library* (Edinburgh)

FINNIE, Elaine (1985) 'The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics and the Church in the Reformation Period', *IR* 36: 3-28

FLEMING, Arnold (1952) *The Medieval Scots Scholar in France* (Glasgow)

FLEMING, David Hay (1897) *Mary Queen of Scots* (London)

FLEMING, David Hay (1898) *Mary Queen of Scots*, 2nd edn (London)

FLEMING, David Hay (1910) *The Reformation in Scotland. Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London)

FORTE, A.D.M. (1991) 'Some Aspects of the Law of Marriage in Scotland: 1500-1700', in *Marriage and Property. Women and Marital Customs in History*, 3rd edn, ed. Elizabeth M. Craik (Aberdeen) 104-18

FOGGIE, Janet (2003) *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland. The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden and Boston)

- FOTHERGILL, George A. (1909-1910) 'George Foulis (1569-1633) and the Carved Stones of Ravelston', *PSAS* 44: 76-89
- FOUCAULT, Michel (1981) 'What Is an Author?', in *Textual Strategies. Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, NY) 141-60
- FOX, Denton (1972) Review (untitled) of MacQueen (1970), *Notes and Queries* 217: 32-6
- FRADENBURG, Louise Olga (1991) *City, Marriage, Tournament. Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, Wis.)
- FRASER, Antonia (1970) *Mary Queen of Scots* (St Albans and London)
- FRIEDMAN, Donald M. (1968) 'Wyatt and the Ambiguities of Fancy', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 67: 32-48
- FURGOL, Edward M. (1987) 'The Scottish Itinerary of Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-8 and 1561-8', *PSAS* 117: 219-31 and microfiche 1:C1-D6
- GEDDIE, J. (1908) 'Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh. The Dean Group', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 1: 86-92
- GILES, Pamela (2004) 'Scottish Literary Women' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Saskatchewan)
- GILLIES, William (1978) 'The Gaelic Poems of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (I)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13, part i: 18-45
- GILLIES, William (1981) 'The Gaelic Poems of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (II)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13, part ii: 263-88
- GILLIES, William (1983) 'The Gaelic Poems of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (III)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14, part i: 59-82
- GILMORE, Myron P. (1975) 'Italian Reactions to Erasmian Humanism', in *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, eds Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady (Leiden) 61-115
- GIUSTINIANI, Vito R. (1985) 'Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of "Humanism"', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46: 167-95
- GLENDINNING, Miles, et al. (1996) *A History of Scottish Architecture. From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh)
- GODFREY, Ernest H. (1949) *The Lindesays of Loughry, County Tyrone. A Genealogical History* (London)

- GOODARE, Julian, and LYNCH, Michael (eds) (2000) *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton)
- GOODARE, Julian, and MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (eds) (2008) *Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Leiden and Boston)
- GRANT, Teresa (2002) "Devotional Meditation". The Painted Ceiling at Skelmorlie Aisle', *Church Monuments* 17: 68-88
- GRAY, Douglas (1998) 'The Royal Entry in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in *The Rose and the Thistle. Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton) 10-37
- GRAY, Douglas (2001) "'Hale, Sterne Superne" and its Literary Background', in Mapstone, 198-210
- GRAY, Hanna H. (1963) 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46: 497-514
- GRAY-BUCHANAN, A.W. (1909) 'Heriots of Trabroun', *SHR* 6: 330
- GREENBLATT, Stephen (1988) *Shakespearean Negotiations. The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford)
- GRIBBEN, Crawford, and MULLAN, David George (eds) (2009) *Literature and the Scottish Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, Va.)
- GUENÉE, Bernard, and LEHOUX, Françoise (1968) *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris)
- GULLANS, Charles B. (1971) Review (untitled) of Shire (1969), *Renaissance Quarterly* 25: 97-100
- GUTHRIE, Charles J. (1911) 'The History of Divorce in Scotland', *SHR* 8:39-52
- HADLEY WILLIAMS, Janet (ed.) (1996) *Stewart Style 1513-1542. Essays on the Court of James V* (East Linton)
- HAILES, Lord [David Dalrymple] (1770) *Ancient Scottish Poems* (Edinburgh)
- HALLORAN, Brian M. (1997) *The Scots College 1603-1792* (Edinburgh)
- HAMER, Douglas (1932) 'The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin', *The Library*, 4th series, 12: 420-8

- HAMILTON, George (1933) *A History of the House of Hamilton* (Edinburgh)
- HANKINS, James (ed.) (2000) *Renaissance Civic Humanism. Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge)
- HANNAY, Robert Kerr (1990) *The College of Justice* (Stair Society)
- HANNAY, Rosemary (1980) 'The 16th [sic] Century Scottish Moral and Religious Lyric' (unpublished M.Litt thesis, University of Glasgow)
- HANSON, Elizabeth (1998) *Discovering the Subject in Renaissance England* (Cambridge)
- HARDISON Jr, O.B. (1962), *The Enduring Moment. A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill, NC)
- HARKER, C. Marie (2002) 'John Knox, *The First Blast*, and the Monstrous Regiment of Gender', in van Heijnsbergen and Royan, 35-51
- HARRISON, John (1919) *The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood and of the Palace of Holyrood House* (Edinburgh and London)
- HARVEY, Howard Graham (1941) *The Theatre of the Basoche. The contribution of the Law Societies to French mediaeval comedy* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HASLER, Antony (1989) 'William Dunbar: The Elusive Subject', in McClure and Spiller, 194-208
- HATTAWAY, Michael (2005) *Renaissance and Reformations. An Introduction to Early Modern English Literature* (Malden, Mass.)
- HAWS, Charles H. (1972-74) 'The Diocese of St Andrews at the Reformation', *RSCHS*, 18: 115-32
- HAY, George (1974) 'The Architecture of Scottish Collegiate Churches', in Barrow, 56-70
- HAZLETT, W. Ian P. (2002a) 'Prophecy and Politics. The exchanges between John Knox and Mary, Queen of Scots, on religious freedom of conscience', in *Histoire et herméneutique. Mélanges pour Gottfried Hammann*, ed. Martin Rose (Geneva) 185-96
- HAZLETT, W. Ian P. (2002b) 'Marie, reine des Écossais, et la liberté de conscience: la mise au monde d'une idée mort-née', in *De Michel de l'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes. Politique et religion face aux Églises*, ed. Thierry Wanegffelen ([Clermont-Ferrand]) 33-49
- van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (1992) 'The Love Lyrics of Alexander Scott', in *The Language and Literature of Early Scotland*, ed. G. Ross Roy, a special issue of *SSL* 26

(1992), 366-79.

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (1994) 'The Interaction between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context', in MacDonald *et al.*, 183-225

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (1995) 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as Cultural Intermediary between Court and Capital', in *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and A.A. MacDonald (Leiden) 299-313

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (1996) 'The Sixteenth Century Scottish Love Lyric', in *Sacred and Profane: Secular and Devotional Interplay in Early Modern British Literature*, ed. Helen Wilcox *et al.* (Amsterdam) 45-61

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (1998) *A Humanist Poetics: Sixteenth Century Scots Poetry* (Amherst, Mass.)

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2001) 'Dunbar, Scott, and the Making of Poetry', in Mapstone, 108-33

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2002) 'Masks of Revelation and "the female" tongues of men': Montgomerie, Christian Lyndsay, and the Writing Game at the Scottish Renaissance Court', in van Heijnsbergen and Royan (2002a) 69-89

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2004) 'Paradigms Lost: Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in *Schooling and Society: The Ordering and Re-Ordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*, eds Alasdair A. MacDonald and M.W. Twomey (Leuven and Paris) 199-213

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2005a) 'Amphibious Music: Literature, Music and Dry Land in Early Modern Verse', in *Notis musycall. Essays on Music and Scottish Culture in Honour of Kenneth Elliott*, eds Gordon Munro *et al.* (Glasgow) 165-80

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2005b) 'Modes of Self-Representation in Older Scots Texts', in Mapstone, 314-45

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2007) 'Early Modern Literature', in *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation. Volume 2: Early Modern Scotland, c.1500-1707*, eds Bob Harris and Alan MacDonald (Dundee) 225-42

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo (2008) 'Advice to a Princess: The Literary Articulation of a Religious, Political and Cultural Programme for Mary Queen of Scots, 1562', in Goodare and MacDonald, 99-123

van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo, and ROYAN, Nicola (ed.) (2002a) *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton)

- van HEIJNSBERGEN, Theo, and ROYAN, Nicola (2002b) 'Introduction', in van Heijnsbergen and Royan (2002a), pp. ix-xxx
- HENDERSON, T.F. (1900) *Scottish Vernacular Literature: A Succinct History*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh)
- HENDERSON, T.F. (1932) 'Sir David Lyndsay and the Later Scottish "Makaris"', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. III: Renascence and Reformation*, ed. A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (Cambridge) 115-37
- HERKLESS, J., and HANNAY, R.K. (1907-15) *Archbishops of St Andrews*, 5 vols (Edinburgh)
- HERMAN, Peter C. (ed.) (2002) *Reading Monarch's Writing: The Poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I* (Tempe, Ariz.)
- HEWAT, Kirkwood (1907) 'George Buchanan and Crossraguel Abbey', in Millar, 86-90
- HEWITT, George R. (1982) *Scotland under Morton 1572-80* (Edinburgh)
- HILLMAN, Richard (1997) *Self-Speaking in Medieval and Early Modern English Drama. Subjectivity, Discourse and the Stage* (Basingstoke)
- HILLYARD, Brian (1994) '"Durkan & Ross" and beyond', in MacDonald *et al.*, 367-84
- HOLLANDER, Melissa (2008) 'The Name of the Father: Baptism and the Social Construction of Fatherhood in Early Modern Edinburgh', in Ewan and Nugent, 63-72
- HOLTHAUSEN, F. (1903) 'Kennedy-Studien', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 110: 359-87
- HOOPER, Robert (1962) *Right Reason in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HORN, D.B. (1966) 'The Origins of the University of Edinburgh', *Edinburgh University Journal* 22: 213-25, 297-312
- HOUWEN, L.A.J.R., *et al.* (eds) (2000) *A Palace in the Wild. Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven)
- HOWARD, Deborah (1991) 'Scottish Master Masons of the Renaissance', in *Les Chantiers de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris) 279-87
- HOWARD, Deborah (1996) *Scottish Architecture. Reformation to Restoration 1560-1660* (Edinburgh)
- HUGHES, Joan, and RAMSON, William S. (1982) *Poetry of the Stewart Court*

(Canberra)

HULLEY, Clarence Charles (1944) 'Marie de Guise' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Washington)

INGLIS, Jim (1991) *The Organ in Scotland before 1700* (Schagen, Holland)

IRVING, David (1804) *The Lives of the Scottish Poets*, 2 vols (Edinburgh)

IRVING, David (1861) *The History of Scottish Poetry*, ed. John Aitken Carlyle (Edinburgh)

JACK, R.D.S. (1979) 'Mary and the Poetic Vision', *Scotia* 3: 34-48

JACK, R.D.S. (ed.) (1989) *The History of Scottish Literature. Vol 1: Origins to 1660 (Mediaeval and Renaissance)*, new edn (Edinburgh)

JACK, R.D.S. (2001) 'Renaissance and Reformation (1460-1660): Language and Literature', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. Michael Lynch (Oxford) 124-7

JANSEN JAECH, Sharon L. (1985) 'The "Prophesies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng": Henry VIII and a Sixteenth-Century Political Prophecy', *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 16: 291-300

JENKINS, Glynn Edwin (1988) 'Latin Polyphony in Scotland, 1500-1560 (With Studies in Analytical Techniques)', 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter)

JOHNSON, David (1972) *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London)

JUHALA, Amy (2000) 'The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh)

JUHALA, Amy L. (2008) 'An Advantageous Alliance: Edinburgh and the Court of James VI', in Goodare and MacDonald, 337-63.

KANTOROWICZ, Ernst H. (1957) *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ)

KELLAR, Clare (1999) "'To Enrich with Gospel Truth the Neighbour Realm": Religious Reform in England and Scotland, 1534-61' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford)

KELLAR, Clare (2003) *Scotland, England, and the Reformation 1534-61* (Oxford)

- KENNETH, Rev. Brother (1950) 'Sir David Lindsay, Reformer', *IR* 1: 79-92
- KERRIGAN, John (2008) *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford)
- KINGHORN, Alexander M., and LAW, Alexander (1987) 'Allan Ramsay and Literary Life in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', in *The History of Scottish Literature. Volume 2: 1660-1800*, ed. Andrew Hook (Aberdeen) 65-79
- KINSLEY, James (ed.) (1955) *Scottish Poetry. A Critical Survey* (London)
- KIPLING, Gordon (1998) *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford)
- KIRK, James (1982) 'Clement Little's Edinburgh', in *Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980: A Collection of Historical Essays*, eds Jean R. Guild and Alexander Law (Edinburgh) 1-42
- KIRK, James (1994) '"Melvillian" Reform in the Scottish Universities', in MacDonald *et al.*, 276-300
- KLEIN, Lisa M. (1997) 'Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework', *Renaissance Quarterly* 50: 459-93
- KNECHT, R.J. (1995) 'Popular Theatre and the Court in Sixteenth-Century France', *Renaissance Studies* 9: 364-73
- KRATZMANN, Gregory (1989) 'Sixteenth-Century Secular Poetry', in Jack, 105-24
- LAING, David (1860-62) 'Additional Notices of Sir Peter Young', *PSAS* 4: 427-9
- LAING, David (1863) 'Historical Notices of the Provostry of Kirkheugh, St Andrews', *PSAS* 4: 76-86
- LANG, A. (1905) 'The Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573', *SHR* 2: 345-55
- LAW, Alexander (1967-70) 'The First Edition of the Tea-Table Miscellany', *Bibliothek* 5: 198-203
- LEE Jr, Maurice (1959) *John Maitland of Thirlestane and the Foundation of the Stewart Despotism in Scotland* (Princeton, New Jersey)
- LEE Jr, Maurice (1969) 'Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington: A Christian Laird in the Age of Reformation', in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Jerold E. Seigel (Princeton, NJ) 117-32

- LEE Jr, Maurice (1986) 'James VI and the Aristocracy Revisited', *Scotia* 10: 26-32
- LEE Jr, Maurice (1989) 'The Daughter of Debate: Mary Queen of Scots after 400 Years', *SHR* 68: 70-9
- LEES, J. Cameron (1889) *St Giles', Edinburgh* (Edinburgh and London)
- LENEMAN, Leah (1998) *Alienated Affections. The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684-1830* (Edinburgh)
- LEWIS, C.S. (1954) *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford)
- LINDSAY, Maurice (1992) *History of Scottish Literature*, revised edition (London; first edn 1977)
- LOCKHART, B.R.W. (2003) *Jinglin' Geordie's Legacy: A History of George Heriot's Hospital and School* (East Linton)
- LOCKWOOD, Lewis (ed.) (1975) *Palestrina. Pope Marcellus Mass* (New York)
- LOVE, Harold (2002) 'Oral and Scribal Texts in Early Modern England', in *The Cambridge History of the Book. Vol. IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge) 97-121
- LOUGHLIN, Mark (1991) 'The Career of Maitland of Lethington c.1526-1573' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh)
- LOUGHLIN, Mark (1994) 'The Dialogue of the Twa Wyfeis', in MacDonald *et al*, 226-45
- LYALL, Roderick J. 'Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland', *SLJ* 3 (1976), 5-29
- LYALL, Roderick J. (1992) 'Formalist Historicism and Older Scots Poetry', *Études Écossaises* 1: 39-48
- LYALL, Roderick J. (1995) 'The Construction of a Rhetorical Voice in Sixteenth Century Scottish Letters', *Prose Studies* 19: 127-35
- LYALL, Roderick J. (2000) 'James VI and the Sixteenth-Century Cultural Crisis', in Goodare and Lynch, 55-70
- LYALL, Roderick J. (2005) *Alexander Montgomerie. Poetry, Politics, and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, Ariz.)
- LYNCH, Michael (1975) 'The Two Edinburgh Town Councils of 1559-1560', *SHR* 54: 117-39

LYNCH, Michael (1978) 'The "faithful brethren" of Edinburgh: The Acceptable Face of Protestantism', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 51: 194-9

LYNCH, Michael (1981) *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh)

LYNCH, Michael (1982) 'The Origins of Edinburgh's "Toun College": A Revision Article', *IR* 33: 3-14

LYNCH, Michael (1987) 'The Reformation in Edinburgh: The Growth and Growing Pains of Urban Protestantism', in *Disciplines of Faith. Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy*, eds Jim Obelkevich *et al.* (London and New York) 283-94

LYNCH, Michael (ed.) (1988) *Mary Stewart. Queen in Three Kingdoms* (London and New York)

LYNCH, Michael (1990) 'Queen Mary's Triumph: The Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *SHR* 69: 1-21

LYNCH, Michael (1991) *Scotland. A New History* (London)

LYNCH, Michael (1992) *Scotland. A New History*, 2nd edn (London)

LYNCH, Michael (1994) 'Response: Old Games and New', *SHR* 73: 47-63

LYNCH, Michael (1998) 'John Knox: Minister of Edinburgh and Commissioner of the Kirk' in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Aldershot) 242-67

LYNCH, Michael (2000) 'Court Ceremony and Ritual during the Personal Reign of James VI', in Goodare and Lynch, 71-92

LYNCH, Michael (2001) 'The Great Hall in the Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI', in *Stirling Castle. The Restoration of the Great Hall*, ed. Richard Fawcett (Walmgate) 15-22

LYNCH, Michael *et al.* (2002) 'The Faith of the People', in Dennison, 289-308

McCLUNE, Katherine (2005) 'The Poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis (?1540-?1607) (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford)

McCLUNE, Katherine (2007) 'The Scottish Sonnet, James VI, and John Stewart of Baldynneis', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. Nicola Royan (Amsterdam and New York) 165-80

McCLURE, J. Derrick, and SPILLER, Michael R.G. (eds) (1989) *Bryght Lanternis:*

McDIARMID, Matthew P. (1950) 'John Stewart of Baldynneis', *SHR* 29: 52-63

McDIARMID, Matthew P. (1986) 'Scottish Love Poetry before 1600', in *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. Horst W. Drescher and Dietrich Strauss (Frankfurt am Main) 443-50

MacDONALD Alasdair A. (1972) 'The Poetry of Sir Richard Maitland, *The Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* 13: 7-19

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1983) 'Poetry, Politics and Reformation Censorship in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *English Studies* 64: 410-21

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1984) 'Catholic Devotion into Protestant Lyric: The Case of the *Contemplacioun of Synnaris*', *IR*, 35: 58-87

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1985) Review (untitled) of Hughes and Ramson (1982), *English Studies* 66: 462-5

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1986) 'The Bannatyne Manuscript – A Marian Anthology', *IR* 37: 36-47

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1989) 'Religious Poetry in Middle Scots', in Jack, 91-104

MacDONALD Alasdair A. (1991) 'Mary Stewart's Entry to Edinburgh: An Ambiguous Triumph', *IR* 42: 101-10

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1992) 'Censorship and the Reformation', *File. A Literary Journal* 1: 8-16

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1993) 'The printed book that never was: George Bannatyne's poetic anthology (1568)', in *Boeken in de Late Middeleeuwen*, eds Jos M.M. Hermans and Klaas van der Hoek (Groningen) 101-10

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (1996) 'William Stewart and the Court Poetry of the Reign of James V', in Hadley Williams, 179-200

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2000) 'The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal Folly or Venerable Shrine?', in Houwen *et al.*, 27-59

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2001a) 'Sir Richard Maitland and William Dunbar', in Mapstone, 134-49

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2001b) 'Scottish Poetry of the Reign of Mary Stewart', in

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2002) Review (untitled) of Kipling (1998), *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 101: 573-5

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2003) 'The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse', in *Cultural Repertoires. Structure, Function and Dynamics*, eds Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout (Leuven) 59-86

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2005a) 'On First Looking into the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (1565)', in *Mapstone*, 230-42

MacDONALD, Alasdair A. (2005b) 'Lyrics in Middle Scots' in *Compendium to Middle English Lyric*, ed. Thomas Duncan (Cambridge) 242-61

MacDONALD Alasdair A. *et al.* (eds) (1994) *The Renaissance in Scotland* (Leiden)

MacDONALD, A.R. (1997) 'The Triumph of Protestantism: The Burgh Council of Edinburgh and the Entry of Mary Queen of Scots, 2 September 1561', *IR* 48: 73-82

McFARLANE, I.D. (1981) *Buchanan* (London)

MACFARLANE, Leslie J. (1985) *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen)

MACFARLANE, Leslie J. (1994) 'William Elphinstone's Library Revisited', in *MacDonald et al.* 66-81

McGANN, Jerome J. (1991) *The Textual Condition* (Oxford and Princeton, NJ)

McGINLEY, Kevin J. (2005) "'That Every Man May Knaw": Reformation and Rhetoric in the Works of Sir David Lyndsay', *Literature Compass* 2, part i:**-** [1-15]
<<http://www.blackwell-compass.com>>

McGOWAN, Margaret (ed.) ([1973]) *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550* (Amsterdam)

McGRATH, Elizabeth (1990) 'Local Heroes: The Scottish Humanist Parnassus for Charles I', in *England and the Continental Renaissance*, eds E. Chaney and P. Mack (Woodbridge) 257-70

MacGREGOR, John (1912) 'Notes on Murray of Woodend or Newraw', *The Genealogist* new series 28: 17-23

MacGREGOR, Martin (2007) 'Creation and Compilation: *The Book of the Dean of Lismore* and Literary Culture in Late Medieval Gaelic Scotland', in Clancy and Pittock, 209-18

- McKEAN, Charles (1991) 'Finnart's Platt', (Edinburgh), *Architectural Heritage*. 2, *Scottish Architects Abroad*, ed. Deborah Howard (= *The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* 18) 3-17
- McKEAN, Charles (1995) 'Craignethan: The Castle of the Bastard of Arran', *PSAS* 125: 1069-90
- McKEAN, Charles (1999) 'Sir James Hamilton of Finnart: a Renaissance Courtier-Architect', *Architectural History* 42: 141-72
- McKEAN, Charles (1999-2000) 'The Scottish Château', *ROSC* 12: 3-21
- MACKECHNIE, Aonghus (2000) 'James VI's Architects and Their Architecture', in Goodare and Lynch, 154-69
- McKECHNIE, William S. (1907) 'Thomas Maitland', *SHR* 4: 274-93
- MACKENZIE, D.F. (1999) *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge)
- MACKENZIE, David J. (1900) 'Florentius Volusenus', in *idem*, *By-Ways among Books* (Wick) 1-33
- MACKENZIE, Agnes Mure (1955) 'The Renaissance Poets: (1) Scots and English', in Kinsley, 33-67
- MACKENZIE, Agnes Mure (1933) *An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714* (London)
- McKERLIE, E. Marianne H. (1931) *Mary of Guise-Lorraine, Queen of Scotland* (London)
- MACKINNON, DOLLY (2008) "'I have now a book of songs of her writing": Scottish Families, Orality, Literacy and the Transmission of Musical Culture c.1500-c.1800', in EWAN and NUGENT, 35-48
- MACLEAN, Catherine Macdonald (1915) *Alexander Scott, Montgomerie, and Drummond of Hawthornden as Lyric Poets* (Cambridge)
- MACLEAN, Catherine Macdonald (1927) *Dorothy and William Wordsworth* (Cambridge)
- MACLEAN, Catherine Macdonald (1943) *Born under Saturn. A Biography of William Hazlitt* (London)
- McLUCAS, Anne Dhu (2007) 'Forbes' *Cantus, Songs and Fancies Revisited* and 'Appendix III: Contents of *Songs and Fancies*', in *Defining Strains. The Musical Life of*

Scots in the Seventeenth Century (Oxford) 269-97 and 333-47

McNEILL, Peter G.B. (1960) 'Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich', *Juridical Review* 5: 1-28

McNEILL, Peter G.B. (ed.) (1962-63) *The Practicks of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich*, 2 vols (Stair Society)

McQUAID, John (1949) 'Musicians of the Scottish Reformation' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh)

McQUAID, John (1952) 'Music and the Administration after 1560', *IR* 3: 14-21

MacQUEEN, James (1989) 'Scottish Latin Poetry', in Jack, 213-26

MacQUEEN, John (1967) 'Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 3: 201-22

MacQUEEN, John (1968) 'Alexander Scott and Scottish Court Poetry of the Middle Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 54: 93-116

MacQUEEN, John (ed.) (1970) *Ballattis of Luve. The Scottish Courtly Love Lyric 1400-1570* (Edinburgh)

MacQUEEN, John (1972) 'National Spirit and Native Culture', in *The Scottish Nation*, ed. Gordon Menzies (London) 60-73

MacQUEEN, John (1983) 'The Biography of Alexander Scott and the Authorship of "Lo, Quhat it is to Luf"', in *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*, ed. J.D. McClure (Aberdeen) 50-8

MacQUEEN, John (ed.) (1990) *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh)

McROBERTS, David ([1956]) *The Fetternear Banner* (Glasgow)

McROBERTS, David (1957) 'The Medieval Scottish Liturgy Illustrated by Surviving Documents', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 15, part i: 24-40

McROBERTS, David (ed.) (1962) *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow)

MAHONEY, Matthew (1962) 'The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513-1565', in McRoberts (1962) 39-84

MAKEY, W.H. (1969-71) 'The Elders of Stow, Liberton, Canongate and St Cuthberts in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *RSCHS* 17: 155-67

- MANN, Alastair (2000) *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Linton)
- MAPSTONE, Sally Louise (1986) 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature 1450-1500' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford)
- MAPSTONE, Sally (1990) 'The Thre Prestis of Peblis in the Sixteenth Century', in *A Day Estivall*, eds Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen) 124-42
- MAPSTONE, Sally (1999) 'Invective as Poetic: The Cultural Contexts of Polwarth and Montgomerie's Flying', *SLJ* 26: 18-40
- MAPSTONE, Sally (ed.) (2001) *William Dunbar, 'The Nobill Poyet'* (East Linton)
- MAPSTONE, Sally (ed.) (2005a) *Older Scots Literature* (Edinburgh)
- MAPSTONE, Sally (2005b) 'Introduction: Older Scots and the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Mapstone (2005a), 413-23
- MAPSTONE, Sally (2005c) 'Scotland's Stories', in Wormald, 304-34
- MAROTTI, Arthur F (1993) 'Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts. Papers of the English Renaissance Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY) 209-21
- MARSHALL, George W. (1883) 'Murrays of Dollerie, near Crieff, Perthshire, oldest cadets of the family of Ochertyre', *The Genealogist* [original series] 7: 15-9
- MARSHALL, Rosalind K. (2006) *Queen Mary's Women. Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh)
- MASON, R. (1990) Review (untitled) of Jack (1989), *SHR* 69: 101-2
- MASON, Roger (1998a) *Kingship and the Commonweal. Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton)
- MASON, Roger A. (1998b) 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland', in Mason 1998a: 165-86
- MASON, Roger (2000) 'Laicisation and the Law: The Reception of Humanism in Early Renaissance Scotland', in Houwen *et al.*, 1-25
- MASON, Roger (2005) 'Renaissance and Reformation: The Sixteenth Century', in Wormald, 107-42
- MATTHEWS, Steven (2001) 'The Breakdown of Periodization?', *CCUE News* 14: 8-9

- MAXWELL, A. (1891) *Old Dundee, Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social, prior to the Reformation* (Edinburgh)
- MAUSS, Marcel (1990) *The Gift: Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls (London)
- MAYNARD, Judson Dana (1961) 'An Anonymous Scottish Treatise ... BLL Add MS 4911, 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Indiana University)
- MEEK, Donald E. (1989) and (1996) 'The Scots-Gaelic Scribes of Medieval Perthshire: An Overview of the Orthography and Contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in McClure and Spiller (1989) 387-404; reprinted, with small modifications, in Hadley Williams (1996) 254-72
- MENZIES, Walter (1929) 'Robert Galbraith, 148-- 1543', *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin* 7: 204-13
- MENZIES, Walter B. (1933) 'Robert Wedderburn, Notary and Poet. 1546-1611', in *Miscellany Volume* (STS) 179-87
- MERRIMAN, M.H. (1988) 'Mary, Queen of France', in Lynch, 30-52
- MILL, Anna Jean (1930) 'The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis"', *Modern Language Review* 25: 425-42
- MILLAR, D.A. (ed.) (1907) *George Buchanan. A Memorial 1506-1906* (St Andrews and London)
- MILLAR, J.H. (1903) *A Literary History of Scotland* (London)
- MORANSKI, Karen R. (2004) 'The Son Who Rules "all Bretaine to the sey": *The Whole Prophet Margins. The Medieval Vatic Impulse and Social Stability*, eds E.L. Ridsen *et al.* (New York) 167-84 and 214-17
- MOSS, Ann (2003) *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* (Oxford)
- MUIR, Edwin (1982) *Scott and Scotland. The Predicament of the Scottish Writer* (Edinburgh; orig. 1936)
- MUNRO, Gordon James (1999) 'Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500-1700', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Glasgow University)
- MUNRO, Gordon (forthcoming) '"Sang Schwylls" and "Music Schools": Music Education in Scotland, 1560-1650', in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Indiana UP)

- MURRAY, Athol L. (1962) 'The Exchequer and Crown Revenue of Scotland 1437-1542' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Edinburgh University)
- MURRAY, Athol L. (1974) 'The Lord Clerk Register', *SHR* 53: 124-56
- NEBEKER, Eric (2009) 'Broadside ballads, miscellanies, and the lyric in print', *English Literary History* 76: 989-1013
- NORMAN, Joanne (2001) 'William Dunbar's Rhetoric of Power', in Caie *et al.*, 191-201
- NOWOSILSKI, L.N. (1965) 'Robert Reid and His Time', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Pontifical University of Studies on St Thomas Aquinas, Rome)
- O'BRIEN, John (1995) *Anacreon Redivivus. A study of anacreontic translation in mid-sixteenth-century France* (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
- OLLIVANT, Simon (1982) *The Court of the Official in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Stair Society)
- PABST, Loraine Beatrice (1951) 'The Regency of Mary of Guise' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
- PARKINSON, David (2002) 'Dreams in the Clear Light of Day: Older Scots Poetry in Modern Scotland', in van Heijnsbergen and Royan, 138-50
- PARKINSON, David J. (2003) "'The Legend of the Bischof of St. Androis Lyfe" and the Survival of Scottish Poetry', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 9: 1-24
- PATON, G. Campbell H. (ed.) (1958) *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History* (Stair Society)
- PAUL, James Balfour, 'Social Life in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century', *SHR* 17: 296-309
- PAYNE, Robert O. (1984) 'Late-Medieval Images and Self-Images of the Poet: Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Henryson, Dunbar', in *Vernacular Poetics in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lois Ebin (Kalamazoo, Mich.) 249-61
- PELTONEN, Markku (1995) *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge)
- PERCIVAL, S.M. (1962) 'Some Sixteenth-Century French Artists Having Connections with Scotland: The Quesnel Family and Jehan Decourt' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Edinburgh University)

PERRY, Curtis (1999) 'Royal Authorship and Problems of Manuscript Attribution in the Poems of King James VI and I', *Notes and Queries* 244: 243-46

PETTIT, Tom, and SØNDERGAARD, Leif (eds) (1994) *Custom, Culture and Community in the Later Middle Ages* (Odense)

PHILLIPS, James Emerson (1964) *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles)

PITTOCK, Murray (2002) 'Contrasting Cultures: Town and Country', in Dennison *et al.*, 347-73

POCOCK, J.G.A. (1975) *The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.)

POST, Gaines, *et al.* (1955) 'The Medieval Heritage of a Humanistic Ideal: "Scientia donum Dei est, unde vendi non potest"', *Traditio* 11: 195-234

PURVES, John (1940) in Meikle 1914-40: III, pp. lxxx-cl

RAPPORT, M.G. (2002) 'A Community Apart? The Closure of the Scots College in Paris during the French Revolution, 1789-1794', *IR* 53: 79-107

REID, Stephen J. 'Orthodox Reform in Pre-Reformation Scotland: The Foundation of St Mary's College, St Andrews, 1525-1555' (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of St Andrews, 2005)

REID, W. Stanford (1947) 'The Middle Class Factor in the Scottish Reformation', *Church History* 16: 137-153

REID, W. Stanford (1962) *Skipper from Leith. The History of Robert Barton of Over Barnton* (Philadelphia, Pa.)

REID-BAXTER, Jamie (2000) 'Politics, Passion and Poetry in the Circle of James VI: John Burel and his Surviving Works', in Houwen *et al.*, 199-248

REID-BAXTER, Jamie (2001) 'Renaissance and Reformation (1460-1660): Music', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. Michael Lynch (Oxford) 130-3

RICHERS, Anne (1997) 'The Teeth of an Ivory-Comb: Travellers' Observations of Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1548-1830', *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, ed. Deborah Mays (East Linton) 34-44

RINGROSE, Christopher (2001) 'Editorial', *CCUE NEWS* 14 (2001), 2

RITSON, Joseph (1794) *Scottish Song*, 2 vols (London)

RITCHIE, Pamela E. (1999) 'Dynasticism and Diplomacy: The Political Career of Marie de Guise in Scotland, 1548-1560' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of St Andrews)

RITCHIE, Pamela (2002) *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548-1560. A Political Career* (East Linton)

ROBB, David (2007) *Auld Campaigner: A Life of Alexander Scott* (Edinburgh)

ROBERTSON, George (1823-25) *A Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire*, 3 vols (Edinburgh)

ROBINSON, Peter (1980) 'Scotland's High Living', *The Scottish Review. Arts and Environment* 18: 10-15

ROGERS, Charles (1874) *Three Scottish Reformers* (English Reprint Society)

ROGERS, Charles (1882) *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Edinburgh)

ROOT, Margaret E. (1974) *Inchmahome Priory* (Department of the Environment: Ancient Monuments of Scotland Pamphlet Guides)

ROSS, Anthony (1962) 'Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland', in McRoberts, 185-244

ROSS, Anthony (1963) 'More About the Archbishop of Athens', *IR* 14: 30-37

ROSS, Thomas (1898-99) 'Notice of Six Paintings on Wood, representing the Sibyls, recently found at Wester Livilands, Stirling', *PSAS* 33: 387-403

ROSS, Thomas (1912-13) 'The Magdalene Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 4: 96-101

ROSS, Thomas, and BROWN, G. Baldwin (1916) 'The Magdalen Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 8, 1-79

ROUGHEAD, William (1913) *Twelve Scots Trials* (Edinburgh)

RUBLE, Baron Alphonse de (1891) *La première jeunesse de Marie Stuart* (Paris)

RYRIE, Alec (2004) 'Reform without Frontiers in the Last Years of Catholic Scotland', *EHR* 119: 27-56

SANDERSON, Joyce (1984) 'Two Stewarts of the Sixteenth Century. Mr William Stewart, Poet, and William Stewart, Elder, Depute Clerk of Edinburgh', *The Stewarts* 17: 25-46

- SANDERSON, Joyce (1986) 'Robert Stewart of Atholl, Son of the Wolf of Badenoch', *The Stewarts* 17: 136-48
- SANDERSON, Joyce (1987) 'A Recently-Discovered Poem in Scots Vernacular: "Completions of Men in Verse"', *Scottish Studies* 28: 49-68
- SANDERSON, Margaret H.B. (1973) 'The Feuars of Kirk Lands', *SHR* 52: 117-36
- SANDERSON, Margaret H.B. (1974) '"Kin, Freindis and Servandis". The Men who Worked with Archbishop David Beaton', *IR* 25: 31-48
- SANDERSON, Margaret H.B. (1983) 'The Edinburgh Merchants in Society, 1570-1603: the Evidence of Their Testaments', in Cowan and Shaw, 183-99
- SANDERSON, Margaret H.B. (1986) *Cardinal of Scotland. David Beaton, c. 1494-1546* (Edinburgh)
- SANDERSON, Margaret H.B. (1987) *Mary Stewart's People. Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (Edinburgh)
- SANDERSON, Margaret H.B. (2002) *A Kindly Place? Living in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton)
- SCHLÜTER, Kurt (1970) 'Die Lyrik im Zeitalter des Klassizismus', in *Epochen der englischen Lyrik*, ed. Karl Heinz Göller (Düsseldorf) 129-51
- SCOTT, Mary Jane Wittstock (1975) 'Robert Ayton: Scottish Metaphysical', *SLJ* 2: 5-16
- SETON, John Bruce (1919-20) 'The Distaff Side: A Study in Matrimonial Adventure in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *SHR* 17: 272-86
- SETON, Monsignor (1899) *An Old Family, or, the Setons of Scotland and America* (New York)
- SHAW, Duncan (1975) 'John Knox and Mary, Queen of Scots', in *John Knox. A Quatercentenary Reappraisal*, ed. Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh) 51-72
- SHAW, Duncan (1983) 'Adam Bothwell: A Conserver of the Renaissance in Scotland', in Cowan and Shaw, 141-69
- SHEPPARD, E.A. (1941) 'John Bellenden', in *The Chronicles of Scotland, compiled by Hector Boece*, ed. E.C. Batho and H.W. Husbands (STS), II, 411-61
- SHIRE, Helena M. (1959) 'Musical Servitors to Queen Mary Stuart', *Music and Letters* 40: 15-8

- SHIRE, Helena M. (1962) *The Thrissil, the Rois and the Flour-de-Lys* (Cambridge)
- SHIRE, Helena M. (1969) *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge)
- SHIRE, Helena M. (1972) Review (untitled) of MacQueen (1970), *Medium Aevum* 41: 180-4
- SHRANK, Cathy (2009) “‘Manuscript, Authenticity and ‘evident proofs’ against the Scottish Queen”, *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700. Vol. 15: Tudor Manuscripts 1485-1603*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards (London) 198-218
- SIMPSON, James (1997) “‘Dysemol daies and fatal houres’: Lydgate’s *Destruction of Thebes* and Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale*”, in *The Long Fifteenth Century*, eds Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford) 15-33
- SKELTON, John (1887-88) *Maitland of Lethington and the Scotland of Mary Stuart*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London)
- SKINNER, Quentin (1969) ‘Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas’, *History and Theory* 8: 3-53
- SMITH, David Baird (1914-15) ‘Sir Thomas Craig, Feudalist’, *SHR*, 12: 271-302
- SMITH, David Baird (1933) ‘Archibald Craufurd, Lord of Session’, *Juridical Review* 45: 166-78
- SMITH, J. Guthrie (1896) *Strathendrick and Its Inhabitants from Early Times* (Glasgow)
- SMITH, Jean Stewart (1898) *The Grange of St Giles, the Bass, and Other Baronial Homes of the Dick-Lauder Family* (Edinburgh)
- SNODDY, T.G. (1968) *Sir John Scot, Lord Scotstarvit: His Life and Times* (Edinburgh)
- SOKOL, B.J., and SOKOL, Mary (2000) *Shakespeare’s Legal Language* (London and New Brunswick, NJ)
- SPEIRS, John (1962) *The Scots Literary Tradition* (London; first edn 1940)
- SPITZER, Leo (1946) ‘Note on the Poetic and the Empirical “I” in Medieval Authors’, *Traditio* 4: 414-22
- STELL, Evelyn (1999) ‘Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603-1707’ (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Glasgow University)

- STENHOUSE, William (1853) *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland. Additional Notes and Illustrations*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh and London)
- STEPHEN, William (1921) *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Aberdeen)
- STEVENSON, D. (1891) 'Stewarts of Rosyth and Craigyhall', *The Scottish Antiquary, or Northern Notes and Queries* 5: 1-9
- STEVENSON, David (1988) *The Origins of Freemasonry. Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge)
- STEVENSON, David (1997) *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding. The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh)
- STEWART, A.M. (1969-70) 'Robert Wedderburn's Feu-Charter', *AUR* 43: 403-7, with illustrations facing pp. 401 and 402
- STEWART, Alasdair M. (1981) 'Die Europäische Wissensgemeinschaft um 1550 im Spiegel von Wedderburns *The Complaynt of Scotland*', in *Geschichtlichkeit und Neuanfang im sprachlichen Kunstwerk*, eds Peter Erlebach et al. (Tübingen) 91-103
- STEWART, Alasdair M. (1996) 'The Final Folios of Adam Abell's "Roit or Quheill of Tyme"', in Hadley Williams, 227-53
- STEWART, Robert (1912-14) 'James VI and the Stewarts', *The Stewarts* 3: 193-232
- STEWART, W. Burton (1934-39) 'Sir Henry Stewart of Craigiehall. His Estate and Family', *The Stewarts* 7: 50-84
- STRICKLAND, Agnes (1850-59) *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and Princesses of England*, 8 vols (Edinburgh and London)
- STRONG, Roy (1984) *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge)
- SUTHERLAND, N.M. (1984) 'The Cardinal of Lorraine and the *Colloque* of Poissy, 1561: A Reassessment', in *idem, Princes, Politics and Religion 1547-1589* (London) 113-37
- SWINTON, Archibald Campbell (1883) *The Swintons of that Ilk and their Cadets* (Edinburgh)
- THOMAS, Andrea (1997) 'Renaissance Culture at the Court of James V, 1528-1542' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Edinburgh University)
- THOMAS, Andrea (1999) "'Dragons baith and dowis ay in double forme": Women at the Court of James V', in *Women in Scotland c.1100- c.1750*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and

Maureen M. Meikle (East Linton) 83-94

Times Literary Supplement (1953) Review (untitled) of Scott (1952) 27 February: 135

TODD, Margo (2000) 'Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community: The Persistence of Popular Festivities in Early Modern Scotland', *Journal of British Studies* 39: 123-56

TURNER, Victor (1972) 'The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal', *History of Religions* 12: 191-230

TURNER, Victor (1974) *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca and London)

TURNER, Victor (1995) *The Ritual Process. Structures and Anti-Structure* (New York; first published 1969)

TWYXCROSS, Meg (1996) 'Some Approaches to Dramatic Festivity, especially Processions', in *Festive Drama*, ed. Meg Twycross (Cambridge) 1-33

TYTLER, Patrick Fraser (1828-43) *History of Scotland*, 9 vols (Edinburgh)

TYTLER, Patrick Fraser (1877) *History of Scotland*, new edn, 4 vols (London and Edinburgh)

VAN SCOY, Herbert, and WEBER, Bernard C. (1952) 'The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin', *SHR* 31: 41-8

VERWEIJ, Sebastiaan Johan (2008) "'The inlegebill scribbling of my imprompt pen": The Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany Manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c.1580-c.1630' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow)

VICKERS, Brian (ed.) (1999) *English Renaissance Literary Criticism* (Oxford)

W.B.R.W. (1897-98), two short entries in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, First Series, 11 (September 1897) 42-3, and First Series 12 (October 1898) 51-2

WATSON, Roderick (1984) *The Literature of Scotland* (Basingstoke)

WATT, Hugh (1935) 'Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation', *RSCHS* 5: 23-39

WATT, Lauchlan Maclean (1912) *Scottish Life and Poetry* (London)

WEIR, J.L. (1940) 'David Laing's Edition of Alexander Scott (1821)', *Notes and Queries* 179: 4-6

WHITE, Allan James (1985) 'Religion, Politics and Society in Aberdeen, 1543-1593'

(unpublished Ph.D thesis, Aberdeen University)

WHITE, Allan (2002) 'The Menzies Era: Sixteenth-Century Politics', in Dennison *et al.*, 224-37

WHYTE, Christopher (1995) 'Introduction' to *Gendering the Nation. Studies in Modern Scottish Literature*, ed. Christopher Whyte (Edinburgh) pp. ix-xx

WHYTE, Christopher (1996) 'Postmodernism, Gender and Belief in Recent Scottish Fiction', *SLJ* 23: 50-64

WICKHAM, Glynne (1980) *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660. Volume I: 1300-1576*, reprint, with corrections (London and New York)

WILLIAMSON, Eila (1998) 'Scottish Benefices and Clergy During the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the Registra Supplicationum', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Glasgow University)

WILSON, Daniel (1891) *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 2 vols (2nd edn, Edinburgh and London)

WILSON, Robert Dobie (1889) 'The Skelmorlie Aisle and Monuments at Largs', *Archaeological and Historical Collections of Ayrshire and Galloway* 6: 58-76

WINNING, Thomas (1962) 'Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in McRoberts, 332-58

WITTIG, Kurt (1958) *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh and London)

WOOD, Marguerite (1931) *Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296-1932* (Edinburgh)

WOOD, Walter (1887) *The East Neuk of Fife*, 2nd enlarged edn (Edinburgh)

WOODS, Isobel (1984) 'The Carvor Choirbook', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Princeton University)

WOODS, Isobel (1988) 'Towards a Biography of Robert Carver', *Music Review* 48/49: 83-101

WORMALD, Jenny (1983) "'Princes" and the Regions in the Scottish Reformation', in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland, 1408-1929*, ed. Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh) 65-84

WORMALD, Jenny (2001) *Mary Queen of Scots. Politics, Passion and a Kingdom Lost*, revised edition (London and New York)

WORMALD, Jenny (ed.) (2005) *Scotland. A History* (Oxford)

ZENZINGER, Peter (1977) *My Muse is British. Allan Ramsay und die Neubelebung der schottischen Dichtkunst im 18. Jahrhundert* (Grossen-Linden)

ZULAGER, Ried R. (1991) 'A Study of the Middle-Rank Administrators in the Government of King James VI of Scotland, 1580-1603' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Aberdeen University)

