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The Scottish Literary Renaissance Reborn: A re-evaluation
of the cultural directives of King James VI, as defined in his
Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie (1584)

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Abstract

In her pioneering summation of the abundance of literary discourse predicated upon the literature of the Scottish Jacobean period, Bawcutt (2002) calls particular attention to the ubiquity and continued misapplication of the concept of the ‘Castalian Band’. Helena Mennie Shire’s contention (1969), through which the appraisal of physical coterie dynamics is valued above the evaluation of the demonstrable thematic and aesthetic concerns of each distinct author, provides modern criticism with a nuanced, yet ultimately misleading, critical lexicon with which to analyse James VI’s cultural revival. Bawcutt condemns the imprudent scholarly acceptance, and the ensuing promulgation, of Shire’s ‘Castalian Band’ theoretic as nothing more than a fabrication of a scholarly fiction which culminates in a widespread fundamental misunderstanding of the literary pre-occupations of the age. In the conclusion of her article, Bawcutt attempts to instigate a critical renaissance, setting up avenues of literary-critical enquiry.

This thesis seeks to evolve recent scholarly re-evaluations of the Jacobean Renaissance period, and takes as its logical starting point a re-reading of King James VI’s *Essayes of a Prentise*, a document which has previously been considered as important primarily because of its accommodation of a poetic ‘rule book’. In recent publications, critics have been keen to re-address the ‘Castalian myth’ (as Bawcutt defines it), yet no one critic has considered a re-reading of the *Essayes of a Prentise* as a complete ‘collection’, and highlighted the clear thematic consistency which threads the works together. Within the present thesis, just such a re-reading will be undertaken, foregrounding the *Essayes* as much more than merely a simplistic poetic rule book for the members of the ‘Castalian Band’ to adhere to in the composition of verse. Rather, a close thematic reading of the collection shows it as a complex weave, a carefully contrived gathering of texts in which the author, under an explicit pretence of modesty, explores thoroughly the concepts of authority and authorship, both from a literary and political perspective. James sets out

Christian-humanist paradigms for both his reading audience and aspiring poets to embrace, with a heightened importance residing within James' translation of Du Bartas' *L'Uranie*. In order to give credence to this claim, Thomas Hudson's *History of Judith* has also been critically examined within this thesis in a comparative reading. Hudson's text, published in the same year as the *Essayes of a Prentise*, is regarded in this study as a 'sister' text to James' *Essayes*, evidencing the first and most explicit embodiment of the monarch's religio-political and cultural directives.

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Chapter 1: Introduction – Re-reading the *Reulis and Cautelis*

It has become common literary critical practice to regard the poetical treatise entrenched within James VI's *Essayes of a Prentise*, 'Ane Schort Treatise, Containing Some Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottis Poesie', as the signature piece of James VI's earliest collection of published work and as a text which subtly manipulates the literary-historical landscape into which it is born. Such a perspective is understandable given the European Renaissance fashion for poetic advice literature of this nature at the time of the *Essayes*' composition. The vogue for such advice literature in the Renaissance period found its fundamental impetus in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, or 'The Art of Poetry' (c. 18 BC):

The *Ars* provided an object of imitation, as well as a code of practice, for renaissance poets and playwrights; it continued to be the paradigm for neo-classical literature and aesthetics; and even some modernist writers of the twentieth century responded, or else owed something, to its prescriptions.¹

This ground-breaking text bestowed on the later practice and study of literature a number of important literary tenets which remain integral to critical studies today. In *Ars Poetica*, the concepts of poetic decorum, the art of rhetoric (or persuasive and emotive discourse) and the practice of metalanguage predominate. The great potential of language excites Horace's imagination, and his *Ars Poetica* is a conscious attempt to capture the vibrancy and power of poetry through the very medium he is describing. These preoccupations are reborn in various guises in the ubiquitous poetic advice manuals circulating in Europe in the sixteenth-century in an unprecedented rediscovery of the classics.

In the first instance, the appearance of Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle lingue* in the mid-sixteenth century provided Italy with its own Renaissance discourse on the potential of vernacular Italian and with ideas on how it might compete with the highly prized aureate

¹ Laird, 'The *Ars Poetica*', pg. 132, in *Horace*, Ed. Stephen Harrison (2007).

Latin and Greek. The gradual dissemination of Renaissance ideals throughout Europe, and more specifically the newfound vogue for debating poetics, eventually found particular articulation in France. Jacques Peletier du Mans' seminal French translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* (1541) and subsequently Thomas Sebillet's *Art Poétique* (1548) set precedents in France for the scope and utilisation of the French language, ideals which would be upheld later in the work of the Pléiade. Indeed, Joachim Du Bellay's epoch-defining text, *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise* (1549), was employed by this group as a linguistic manifesto to be adhered to in their own work.

Modern literary scholarship on Jacobean poetics contextualises James VI's seminal publication by placing it beside other key poetic treatises. In British terms, George Gascoigne's *Poesies* (1575) and Sir Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poetry* (written in 1581 but first published posthumously in 1595) serve as a literary landscape into which James' formative publication is generally embedded. Indeed, the 1869 edition of the *Essayes*, edited by Edward Arber, comes as part of a quartet of reprints of the distinguished philological discourse of Puttenham, James VI, Gascoigne and Sidney:

The 'Reulis and Cautelis' in Scottis Poesie bring James VI. within the succession of our early Poetical Critics; whose writings – not very numerous, but now excessively scarce – are of great value in the study of English Poetry...they show us the theories of versification, the canons of Poetic taste and style, prevailing in our country, immediately before the advent of Spenser, Shakespeare, and their fertile contemporaries...In pursuance, therefore, of what seemed an imperative duty: these Criticisms in Poesy are being gradually reproduced in this Series. To the four now published – GASCOIGNE, SIDNEY, JAMES VI., and PUTTENHAM we purpose adding...WEBBE'S *Discourse*...²

On taking up the mantle of patron of the Scottish arts, James VI, in 1584, is keen to show his appreciation of this genre and affiliate his kingdom's literature with the best and most fashionable that Europe has to offer. By incorporating a poetic advice tract into his first publication, James situates his work firmly within the vanguard of French, English and Italian models of the sixteenth century.

It is accepted that James' concise tract on poetic composition posits a cultural agenda in which he attempts to incite a renaissance in Scottish culture. In the *Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375-1707* (1997), Jack and Rozendaal foreground the importance of James VI's poetic advice manual:

In the *Reulis*, James not only voices a rallying call aimed at bringing Scottish culture into the vanguard of European Humanism – he also determines the conditions on which membership of his cultural (Castalian) band will be gained... In James' own case, these 'cautelis' worked extremely well. Soon, as Apollo-David-Maecenas, he was divine poet-king and patron. Meanwhile, his precocity in assuming to teach and practise poetics while still in his teens was safeguarded by the modesty topos under which his works were published.³

Accordingly, Jack and Rozendaal imply that the publication of the *Essayes of a Prentise*, in which a significant body of material is amassed, served predominantly as a vehicle of incubation for James' poetic treatise. Furthermore, Jack argues that the relative anonymity of this collection (relative because James' authorship of this piece would have been common knowledge for its readership), although indicating a modicum of humility on the part of the king, paradoxically provides the king with a literary identity under which he might didactically sermonise on poetics. Jack and Rozendaal's emphasis on the 'Reulis and Cautelis', implicitly, if not intentionally, depicts as irrelevant the other material in the *Essayes*. This view has been perpetuated in literary critical discourse to the detriment of texts, arguably, of equal literary importance within the *Essayes*, particularly the 'Uranie' and 'Phoenix'. Rather than reading the 'Reulis' comparatively with the aforementioned texts, Jack and Rozendaal foreground James' later work on good governance, his *Basilicon Doron*, as an appropriate accompaniment to the 'Reulis and Cautelis':

The *Reulis* should be read along with *Basilicon Doron*, a treatise on government, composed by James for his elder son, Henry. It develops his aesthetic and political views on the literary game at court.⁴

² Arber (1869), pg. 3.

³ Jack and Rozendaal (1997), pg. 461.

⁴ Jack and Rozendaal (1997) pg. 460.

In a different reading, Morna R. Fleming offers that the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’ ‘posits James’ wish to impose a new vision of poetry on a tradition that had become stale’.⁵ Fleming aligns the ‘Reulis’ with Du Bellay’s *Deffence* and highlights the trend in James’ manual towards the French model of precept and example.⁶ Lyall similarly compares James to his contemporaries, but is less complimentary in his description of James’ ‘Reulis’ than Fleming:

As a rhetorical textbook, James’ “‘Reulis and Cautelis’” are scarcely ground-breaking. Modelled, at least in part, on Gascoigne’s *Certayne notes of Instruction* (1575) and specifically invoking the authority of Du Bellay’s *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise* (1549), they provide some fairly rudimentary analysis of metrics, metaphor, and related matters; but they utterly lack the complexity and sophistication of a work such as George Puttenham’s *Art of English Poesy* (1589).⁷

Nevertheless, Lyall suggests that the lack of artistic merit in James’ poetic treatise should not detract attention from the true message of the text, its ‘determination to foster a new kind of poetry in Scots, clearly distinguished from English’.⁸

It is indeed undeniable that the relatively inexperienced king and author, James VI, in order to assert his patronage of the arts and simultaneously showcase a cultural dexterity that would mask his inexperience in penmanship, overtly experiments with a number of literary media, an obvious example being the poetic advice manual. Whilst the previous foregrounding of the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’ in critical discourse is certainly commendable, and importantly brings to our attention the significance of James VI as a skilled and informed reader of and rhetorician on European poetics, such a distinctly tapered reading of the *Essayes* (narrow in the sense that only one text in the collection is generally surveyed by critics) nevertheless suggests to modern readers that the publication be best read as an imitation of the like-minded philological discourses current in European literature at the

⁵ Fischlin and Fortier (2002), Introduction, pg. 49.

⁶ Morna R. Fleming, ‘The Amatoria of James VI: Loving by the Reulis’ in Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 126.

⁷ Lyall (2005), pg. 102.

⁸ Lyall (2005), pg. 102.

beginning of James' personal reign of Scotland. The subsequent willingness to accept this reading of the *Essayes* has resulted in an overwhelming critical negligence of a significant and accomplished body of complementary material preceding the 'Reulis and Cautelis' in James' influential collection. A closer thematic reading of the *Essayes* shows it to be an attempt to re-fashion not only the cultural landscape in Scotland and its preoccupations in the 1580s, both literary and socio-political, but also to stimulate a monarchic re-branding, laying Christian-humanist foundations in the 1580s that would eventually enable James an easier accession to the throne of England, should the much-speculated heirless death of Queen Elizabeth I become a reality.

A comprehensive re-evaluation of the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* and an excavation of the literary-critical misconceptions that threaten to overwhelm the collection are therefore long overdue. Close textual analysis of the *Essayes* in general and the 'Uranie' and 'Phoenix' more particularly casts new light on this collection, showing not only James' cultural directives but also a religio-political emphasis within his work and in his patronage. Modern literary criticism maintains that the *Essayes* is, in essence, an inspirational document for latent artists, yet when one places this text in the immediate historical context of 1584 and examines the proximate effect of this printed publication on other writers, it is evident that very few Scottish artists follow suit and publish their work, like their patron, through the medium of print.⁹ Charting publication history, the National Library of Scotland's updated online version of Aldis' records¹⁰ cites a singular text, Thomas Hudson's translation of Du Bartas' *La Judit*, as the only other 'literary'

⁹ This is not to deny, however, the rich culture of manuscript circulation which continued within Scotland at this time. Time constraints on this Masters thesis, however, do not permit further elaboration on the exact nature of manuscript circulation. Recent scholarship on the literature of the Jacobean period has shown an interest in this area. For a more detailed account of two of the most important manuscript collections of the Renaissance period, the Maitland Folio and the Maitland Quarto, see Martin and McClune's paper, 'The Maitland Folio and Quarto Manuscripts in Context' in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, Vol. 15, pp.237-263, British Library (London, 2009).

¹⁰ H.G. Aldis (1904), *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700*, the 1970 revised edition of which is updated at <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/intro.html>.

publication in this year. This accords a central significance to Hudson's text that will be elaborated upon in Chapter 3 of this thesis. If, as we have been conditioned to expect, James sought through his 'Reulis and Cautelis' to effect a Scottish cultural renaissance, then the intended nature of this renaissance has been lost to posterity. Consequently, our retrospective fabrication of the Jamesian Renaissance must be deconstructed in order to locate the true significance of James' cultural rejuvenation, and analysing all texts within the *Essayes* – rather than just the 'Reulis and Cautelis' – as well as studying its relationship with Hudson's *Judith* is the logical first step in such a process.

The king's initial foray into writing has been described as naïve in a literary sense,¹¹ yet this is misleading. Consisting, amongst other texts, of a number of sonnets, a translation, a poetry rule book and Latin verse, the *Essayes* is a complex weave.¹² It is politically rather astute and also, as will be determined later, shrewd in its literary stance. As a complete entity, the *Essayes* is a succinct poetic tour de force, a carefully constructed program of intent, representing the king's preference for a reciprocal poetics, through which God should be exalted. Furthermore, James VI's seminal publication is constructed as a space wherein the Continent is transported to the Edinburgh court, where poetic stricture and vogue are at once welcomed in the poetic 'manifesto', the 'Reulis and Cautelis', unsettled in the 'Uranie' and experimented with in the 'Phoenix'. Simultaneously, the *Essayes* becomes a sphere in which James inhabits a multitude of literary disguises, as patron, author and subject, through which to both construct and deconstruct monarchic identity. James opportunistically seizes the chance to carve out an authoritative Protestant British poetics on his accession to power in Scotland in order to solder a bond with Europe (via the literature of France, as will be explained) and also to signal to England the re-emergence of Scotland as a serious and unified cultural and political force. Arguably, in a

¹¹ See footnote 8, Lyall (2005), pg. 102.

¹² For the full catalogue of the works contained within the *Essayes* see Appendix 1, on pg. 110 of this thesis.

political climate which for the best part of a century had been dominated by religious upheaval, distrust and conspiracy, the single-most important task for James VI was to stabilise and reassure his own subjects:

The *Essayes* are, it is clear, a self-conscious projection by the seventeen-year-old king of a literary personality, one assured enough to lay down among his own verses “Some ‘Reulis and Cautelis’ to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottis Poesie”. The inclusion of this programmatic work conveys very precisely the sense that this is to be a new beginning: after the conscientiously “plain” traditions of Protestant verse which had prevailed throughout his minority, James was signalling the revival, by his patronage and by his example of a poetry worthy of a European court...the transformation of Scottish verse would be a public, and published, manifestation of the king’s superior talent.¹³

In his *Essayes of a Prentise*, James cultivates an authoritative authorial voice for himself that is considered and controlled, and employs this voice to impart creative directives — with its various political dimensions — to his patronised artists. James’ simultaneous loyalty to, and manipulation of, cultural parameters defines his early work and shows a receptive and experimental reader, writer and director of literature. His directives, evident not only in the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’ but also in every other text within the *Essayes*, at once invite literary experimentation amongst his subjects whilst concomitantly curtailing the creative avenues open to them by means of programmatic poetic – as well as, by extension, political – stricture. Lyall’s reading of the collection (above) denies an integral aspect of James’ work by implying that James’ renaissance was to be a deviation from the Protestant ‘plain style’ of Reformation literature. Instead, it will be argued below that linguistically, tonally and thematically, the *Essayes* is clearly influenced by, and evocative of, this very literature that James, supposedly, sought to distance himself from. James’ first composition is undeniably European in its outlook but is also fundamentally imbued with the tenets of Scottish Protestantism and nuanced by native Reformation literature, and its stylistic register, as well as by key continental Protestant texts. This thesis seeks to reconstruct the authorial and readerly identities that James VI, through the active encouragement of theological and literary edification, sought to bring about in his own

verse and, by extension, to cultivate in his readers. Concurrently, the origins of James' literary voice and identity, as well as the abiding Protestant impulses of his literary 'renaissance', will also be documented.

¹³ Lyall (2005), pg. 102.

**Chapter 2. ‘The Prolixite of Doubleness’:
James VI as Author/ Reader/ Subject in the ‘Phoenix’¹**

In the foreword to *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (2002), Kevin Sharpe asserts that rigorous critical re-imaginings of the literary corpus of James VI and I foreground sophisticated, royally-authored texts which are

open and multivalent, addressing ambiguity and paradox, airing contradiction, in dialogue within themselves as well as beyond themselves with other texts.²

Sharpe’s contention, despite being predicated upon the study of the entirety of James’ various literary pursuits as monarch of both Scotland and of England, is, nevertheless, an imperative consideration for the re-reading of James’ *initial* foray into literary composition. As early as 1584, humanistic tendencies for intertextual discussion and edification through literature can be found within James’ work. A close reading of the *Essayes* highlights a concerted effort on the part of the monarch to create a collection in which each text articulates with the others. James’ first collection also represents a body of work which willingly enters into a cultural dialogue with contemporaneous continental poetics. Furthermore, there are a number of texts within the *Essayes* which draw upon distinguished ‘Scottish’ humanist texts and literary traditions of the past in order to speak directly to a knowing native audience, ‘quha hes already some beginning of knowledge, with ane earnest desire to atteyne to farther’.³

With each directive, either explicitly imparted as an authorial interjection or implicitly by means of an intertextual reference, James develops his authorial conviction, and also displays an impressive discernment in reading. This chapter will re-evaluate James’ ‘Phoenix’, as a text in which models of literary Christian-humanism (both Continental and

¹ ‘The Prolixite of Doubleness’, the *Kingis Quair* in Jack and Rozendaal (1997), pg. 28, stanza 18, lines 1-2.

² Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 24.

³ Arber (1869), pg. 54.

Scottish) can be found and will, moreover, seek to establish the novice monarch in a tutelary stance, wherein he comfortably delineates tenets to which implied readers should adhere in their reading of not only the ‘Phoenix’ but also the collection as a whole.

The ‘Phoenix’, a praise poem lying literally and figuratively at the heart of the *Essayes*, evidences in microcosm the dialogical and directive nature of James’ seminal collection, yet it is often dismissed as a work of limited artistic worth by literary critical discourse, which promotes (as outlined in the previous chapter) the monarch’s literary manifesto, the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’, as the most praiseworthy recipient of attention within the *Essayes*. As a poem which reflects upon the life and death of James’ kinsman, Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox,⁴ the ‘Phoenix’ currently exists in critical consciousness as a text worthy of attention more for its weighty sentiment and thematic focus than for its literary accomplishment. Bergeron (1999) describes the ‘Phoenix’, as a ‘familiar letter’ which ‘takes us to into the king’s private space through allegory, and gives voice to James’ desire’,⁵ more specifically to desire of a ‘homoerotic’ nature. There is no question of the biographical overlap between fiction and real life — it is not difficult to locate within the ‘Phoenix’, and also in the epistolary exchanges⁶ between James VI and Esmé Stuart, textual evidence which apparently accredits Bergeron’s theory. In both the tragedy proper and the prefatory poem by which the poem is prefixed, there is a seemingly intense outpouring of sentiment, which facilitates a reading of the poem wherein the reader might

⁴ Esmé Stuart, first duke of Lennox (c. 1542-1583) was a direct descendant of the Scottish monarchy as a first cousin to Lord Darnley, King James VI’s father. Stuart’s three years at the Jacobean court were marred by dissenting claims accusing Stuart of possessing a duplicitous religio-political agenda planning to overthrow the predominant Protestant faith in Scotland and clear the way for the restoration of Queen Mary. This vehement mistrust of Esmé by the Scottish nobility would eventually lead to his demise. For a more informed account see Rosalind K. Marshall, *Oxford DNB* (online edition) entry for Esmé Stuart [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26702>, accessed 4 September 2009].

⁵ Bergeron (1999), pg. 33.

⁶ See Chapter 2 ‘Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox’ in Bergeron (1999) for more on the exchange of correspondence between the two men.

easily recognise a fitting metaphoric epitaph to Lennox and to a love forever unconsummated.

The ‘Phoenix’ achieves far more in literary terms, however, than the aforementioned critical interpretation by Bergeron implies. The exhibition of a thorough literary expertise, as well as the application of consciously contrived poetic stricture, arguably, also work to diminish the very mournful and grieving sentiments with which this poem has come to be associated. When contextualised within the *Essayes*, the ‘Phoenix’ represents an overtly humanist literary exercise through which James attempts, by means of rhetoric, to direct his reader towards definitive interpretations of events. The abiding aim of the *Essayes* is cultural re-education, and by extension rejuvenation, and in the ‘Phoenix’ James reveals himself from beneath the veil of modesty (with which he is disguised in both the *Essayes*’ title [‘prentise’] and in the preface to the reader in his translation of ‘The Uranie’) to inhabit a tutelary position. In this respect, James shows himself, and his cultural renaissance manifesto, to be in accordance with European humanist initiatives:

the Continental Renaissance...at once boldly searching, dramatically self-conscious, endlessly energetic – now seems to us almost legendary in its many stunning accomplishments. Yet persistently at the center of such activity, of such achievements, is what Krailsheimer calls “a prodigious appetite for learning”. The contagious desire of men and women to study classical texts... and the urgent desire to know and apply antique thought to their own culture — the New Learning — is apparent wherever we turn, in Quattrocento and Cinquecento Italy, in France, in Germany, the Low Countries, and Spain. Their drive to study — for personal advancement, for service to a civilization they reinvigorated and were reshaping, for its own sake — seems insatiable.⁷

Kinney’s generalization, that humanists sought, in the first instance, self-advancement and, in the second instance, cultural evolution through careful study and edification, is evidenced on a smaller scale within James’ *Essayes*, wherein a wide spectrum of texts are both included and referenced for educative purposes.

⁷ Kinney (1989), pg. 3.

The 'Phoenix' is heralded, by its author, as an original creation, 'Ane metaphoricall invention of a tragedie'. James delimits the parameters of this text, explaining that the 'Phoenix' is a 'tragedie' and in this respect the implied reader (described later in the 'Reulis', as quoted above, as someone who should possess 'already some beginning of knowledge, with ane earnest desire to atteyne to farther')⁸ is expected to be at least aware of the generic signifiers of tragedy. As defined by Aristotle in his *Poetics*,

tragedy is an imitation of an action that is admirable, complete and possesses magnitude; in language made pleasurable, each of its species separated in different parts...effecting through pity and fear the purification of such emotions.⁹

Aristotle delineates a number of qualities characteristic of 'tragic' literature. In the first instance, there should be a tragic hero, a figure of moral worth and high social standing as the poem begins but who will lose his position due to an inherent flaw, a character weakness or hubris. Following a sudden demise, there should be a recognition scene in which the protagonist realizes his misdemeanours. Finally, according to Aristotle, tragedy should conclude in catharsis whereby the spectators of the catastrophe are simultaneously taught or cleansed by witnessing it. James' implied audience, those already possessing 'some beginning' of a literary education, are expected to bring an understanding of the aforementioned Aristotelian interpretation of tragedy to their reading of the monarch's work. A knowing audience would expect the 'Phoenix' to be no less than a moralising tale in which the didactic denouement would hold greatest significance for the reader, rather than an entertaining narrative. Aristotelian theory contributes a rich intertextual layer to the 'Phoenix', just as contemporary usage of Horace's *Ars Poetica* informs the 'Reulis and Cautelis'. James synergises his new religiously infused poetics with classical literature, aligning his collection with continental Renaissance paradigms.

⁸ Arber (1869), pg. 54.

⁹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, Ed. Heath (1996), pg. 10.

James uses the title of this poem to draw particular attention to the innovative nature of the text, and in so doing he distinguishes this poem from the material preceding it in the *Essayes*, particularly from embellishments such as dedicatory sonnets and from his translation of Du Bartas' *L'Uranie*. Moreover, by stating how his text is an original creation, or 'invention', the king suggests an implied satisfaction in the poetic accomplishment of the piece. James' gratification in his tragedy is not, however, without reason. In the carefully crafted construction of the 'Phoenix', James displays self-assurance unbecoming of his years and relative inexperience, and this assumed air of confidence consequently masks the king's position as a novice author.

As one of the few 'original' (in the modern sense of the word) pieces within the collection, the 'Phoenix' allows James to be in complete control of his production, without having to contend with, as is the case in translating *L'Uranie*, meta-textual constraints or considerations. James leads his audience into the text with some skill, introducing the 'Phoenix' in five different ways. Beginning with an explicit title ('Ane Metaphorical Invention of a Tragedie Called Phoenix'), in which James determines the genre for his audience, the extended introduction continues with a subtitle, wherein the prefatory material to his 'metaphorical invention' is presented as 'a Colomne of 18 lynes seruing for a Preface to the Tragedie ensuyng'.¹⁰ What follows is a poem of eighteen lines, in which the king invokes the popular Gods of classical literature in order to aid him in the composition of his tragic narrative. The poem is rendered twice, firstly as a shape poem and secondly as an 'expansion of the former'. In the first version, the words are arranged on the page in the likeness of a funeral urn with the authorial directions of the title serving as a lid on top of a diamond-shaped body and the base that includes the lines with which the poem ends in the final abortive, yet resonant, 'deid'. The seemingly deliberate pun on death allows the reader to surmise the outcome of the tragic tale before it is underway.

Furthermore, in a continued effort to construct himself in the likeness of Apollo, James implicitly speaks self-reflexively when he writes:

...From Delphos syne
 Apollo cum with speid: Whose
 Shining light my cairs will dim in deid.¹¹

The poem is repeated once more in its entirety on the facing page, but only following a fourth intervention by James, where he makes explicit for the reader that what precedes is ‘the expansion of the former Colomne’.¹²

This prefatory poem to the ‘Phoenix’ is intelligently both an acrostic and a telestich, also known as a ‘double acrostic’. By expanding the preface from a shape poem to a more regular typography in the second version, James draws particular attention to his employment of intricate poetic devices. As both an acrostic and a telestich, the first and last letter of each line, when interpreted vertically, read ESMÉ STEWART DWIKE (duke). Traditionally employed as a mnemonic in the oral transmission of literature, the acrostic is used in this instance to make a bold political statement by praising the political exile, the Duke of Lennox. James’ *Essayes* is initially published under relative anonymity in 1584. Although he provides quite obvious clues to his own identity throughout the ‘Phoenix’, the king, once again, never makes it explicit. Yet in the second major work of the *Essayes*, James feels compelled to unmask the poetic muse of his *Phoenix* and leave the reader in no doubt as to the identity of his dedicatee. In the most overtly political poem of the *Essayes*, James displays an independence of thought, directly addressing the political dissenters responsible for Esmé Stuart’s forced exile and indeed his own incarceration at the hands of the Ruthven Raiders¹³ when he immortalises the name of Lennox in verse.

¹⁰ Arber (1869), pg. 40.

¹¹ Arber (1869), pg. 40.

¹² Arber (1869), pg. 41.

¹³ The political faction now referred to as the Ruthven Raiders (*act.* 1581–1585) arose in opposition to the interim government of Scotland headed by James Stewart, earl of Arran, and Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox. Unable to bring the country together in political and religious agreement, the Arran–Lennox

Unable to bring the Frenchman back from the dead, Stuart is reborn by the king's words, just as the fictional phoenix is made anew in the poem's conclusion.

In these eighteen prefatory lines, a number of classical figures are appealed to and asked by the author to facilitate the verbalization of pain, in order that he might begin to divest himself of an intense anguish through a shared catharsis. As outlined above, Aristotelian poetics were already alluded to in the title. In the prefatory poem, James continues utilising the Classics, in line with continental Renaissance writers, to furnish his text with a rich layer of textual significance. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is plundered to provide familiar figures on which James' allegorical poem might rest. Initially, Echo, traditionally a voiceless nymph, is asked by James to join with him in his expression of grief:

If Echo help, that both together we
 (Since cause there be) may now lament with tearis
 My murnefull yearis.¹⁴

Echo is employed here by the king as a disguise and serves as a generic literary formula, through which the king's rhetorical flair is exhibited. In a token gesture, the nymph is asked to ameliorate the king's verbal articulation of pain and to join with the king in a vigil. The unspoken nymph cannot verbally articulate anxiety for Esmé on her own, but by hearing James' wounded voice she enters into a dialogue with him through a process of mimesis. With no words to resonate, Echo must reflect the king's actions, meaning that together they will 'lament with tearis'.¹⁵ Bergeron (1991) notes that silence in the wake of death,

administration quickly found itself deeply unpopular. On 23 August 1582, King James VI was seized by the Ruthven Raiders, a group headed by William Ruthven, first earl of Gowrie. The Raiders took control of Scotland for an unprolonged period of ten months, throughout which time James remained a political captive, under house arrest in Ruthven Castle. The previous administration's leaders suffered a similar fate. James Stewart was imprisoned at Stirling, whilst Esmé departed for France, where he died in May 1583. For a more detailed account see the *Oxford DNB* entry on the Ruthven Raiders.[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69938>. Website accessed September 2009]

¹⁴ Arber (1869), pg. 41.

¹⁵ Arber (1869), pg. 41.

the cumulative power of silence – not a golden silence, as the cliché would have it, but one born of tension, disaffection, intimidation, and insensitivity,¹⁶

is something which characterises the Jacobean reign of Britain. The nervous religio-political climate in which James' reign began necessitated a reserved meditation by the king on the life of Esmé Stuart, and James appears to recognise this, the persona's silent lamentation with Echo indicating that the king's anguish will be moderated. However, James' private anguish is somewhat paradoxically projected onto a national platform through the *Essays*. Critical attention is continually placed upon the figure of the persecuted and subsequently self-sacrificing phoenix as the tragic focus of the poem, yet perhaps, in such a public display of concentrated emotion, it is the king who ought to be regarded as the tragic protagonist.

Medusa is also alluded to in the prefatory poem, articulating a heightened sense of danger:

...I request
 Eche greizlie ghest, that dwells beneth the Se
 With all yon thre, whose hairis ar snaiks full blew
 And all your crew, assist me in thir twa
 Repeit and sha my Tragedie full neir
 The chance fell heir.¹⁷

Medusa, with hair formed of snakes, is pejoratively considered in lore as a repellent creature with the capacity to turn onlookers to stone. Yet, initially, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Medusa excites jealousy in her many potential suitors. Whilst being regarded superficially by her suitors as a beautiful maiden, Medusa, nevertheless, remains morally repellent. Following a dalliance in the temple of Athena with Poseidon, King of the Sea, whereby she is impregnated, Medusa completes her fall from grace. Perseus avenges Medusa's infidelity with Poseidon by severing her head. The sudden decapitation brings on Medusa's labour and she gives birth to the winged horse Pegasus and his brother Chrysaor. Medusa's head is presented to Athena as a gift from Perseus, to be worn as

¹⁶ Bergeron (1991), pg. 1.

¹⁷ Arber (1869), pg 41, lines 6-11.

armour against evil forces. It is possible to read the muse of the ‘Phoenix’ as the king’s own Medusa, as a figure initially arousing the jealousy of the Scots nobility and whose demise is instigated by his close (and rumoured sexual) relationship with the monarch.

If it is possible to read Esmé Stuart as a Medusa figure, then it is also viable to discern James as an allegorical Poseidon, tempted by lust for Esmé. Whilst James VI can be likened to Poseidon in his dangerous relationship with Esmé, it is Athena, the companion of heroes and the goddess of heroic endeavour, to whom James — in retrospect — might ultimately be compared. It was Esmé’s desire that, on dying, his embalmed heart be presented to the king in a symbolic gesture echoing that of the donation of Medusa’s head to Athena:

In letters written to James in December 1581 and December 1582, Esmé asserted that one would find engraven on his heart the concepts of fidelity and obedience. In death, he ordered that his heart be sent to James, a clear sign of love. His heart did not belong to his widow.¹⁸

In the *Metamorphoses*, Medusa’s head adorns Athena’s shield, warding off danger. Unable to defend herself in life, Medusa’s influence is posthumous and this is mirrored in reality where the memory of James’ Medusa, borne out in the ‘Phoenix’, excites a passionate flame within the king, galvanising him to speak out in verse against dissenting political voices. The brief intertextual references to the mythological figures of Echo and Medusa are subtle enough to allow the audience to place biographical readings upon James’ allegorical preface and poem. It is important, however, to remember that James is, at all times, displaying his adeptness in rhetoric, manipulating his position as author of the text and also as the subject of it.

James’ persona speaks in the first person, and although he is accepted in critical discourse as a mouthpiece for the king, the persona is a literary representation or fiction designed to manipulate the reader:

¹⁸ Bergeron (1999), pp. 63-64.

The pronoun “I” appears first in line 3 of the poem: the “I” of the beholder, who narrates, reports events. But another side of this “I” exists: the person who has participated in the action of the poem...the poet’s role in *Phoenix* bifurcates into narrator and participant; at moments they are, of course, the same. Another person lurks around this poem: specifically, James the adolescent king, who poses as the narrator of a simple fiction about a phoenix. Within the poem, the narrator becomes more than a conduit through whom the story flows: he expresses judgment, displays emotion, and responds with action, but all within the confines of an allegory that prevents an overly intense personal expression. Indeed, the allegory creates boundaries, containing the fiction so that it does not burst forth in highly personal terms.¹⁹

Within the parameters of allegory, James’ true feelings are disguised. An understanding of the religio-political climate within his kingdom and of the way texts can be interpreted or misconstrued means that, whatever James’ true feelings for Esmé were, those feelings are in the ‘Phoenix’ significantly moderated.

Following the introductory poems, the tragedy opens confidently as the narrative persona discusses the instability of man’s fortune. James’ invocation of Dame Fortune places his text firmly in the vanguard of medieval Scottish literature, particularly in the vein of ‘dream vision’ literature such as the *Kingis Quair* (attributed to James I), and Henryson’s *Testament of Cresseid*. In the ‘Phoenix’, the persona details how Fortune, an ‘old blind Dame’,²⁰ has earned the reputation of being a harsh mistress who delights in the impoverishment of men who once enjoyed a greatly fortuitous life. The persona discusses the fundamental misunderstanding of Dame Fortune’s work by those unlearned who, struck by the seemingly illogical nature of her choice of victim, have been forced to surmise that her decisions are governed by guesswork rather than reason.²¹

The poem continues with its discussion of the effects of Fortune’s visitations, noting the various ways misfortune touches man, and we are told that, through heresy, the persona has determined the effects of Fortune’s ruthless wheel:

¹⁹ Bergeron (1999), pg. 56.

²⁰ Arber (1989), pg. 42, line 4.

²¹ Arber (1869), pg. 42, stanzas 1-2

Thus quhen I hard so many did complaine,
 Some for the losse of worldly wealth and geir,
 Some death of frends, quho can not come againe:
 Some losse of health, which vnto all is deir,
 Some losse of fame, which still with it dois beir
 Ane greif to them, who mereits it indeed:
 Yet for all thir appearis there some remeid.²²

The loss of material goods, the ‘worldly wealth and geir’, is noted as one of the effects to impact upon on those who once enjoyed riches. The death of a loved one is ranked as a second significant effect of Fortune’s unstinting wheel, whilst personal health and fame are the third and fourth commodities to fall victim to the unbiased goddess. Having presented the reader with a bleak forecast, however, the persona is quick to offer solace to those who may have suffered, and argues that, in spite of the reservations previously expressed by some concerning the apparently illogical nature of Fortune’s actions, the fluidity in the repetitive revolutions of her wheel conversely show regularity in her approach. James recognises the inevitability of the fluctuation in Fortune affecting anyone’s life on earth and pre-empts, in the third stanza, how success and failure will certainly touch upon everyone at some point in their existence:

For as to geir, lyke chance has made you want it,
 Restore you may the same againe or mair.
 For death of frends, although the same (I grant it)
 Can noght returne, yet man ar not so rair,
 Bot ye may get the lyke. For seiknes fair
 Your health may come: or to ane better place
 Ye must. For fame, good deids will mend disgrace.²³

The narrative persona suggests that just as man has gained material wealth once before, so will he one day have wealth returned to him, as the Wheel of Fortune makes its revolution. On the death of friends, the persona suggests that since emotions — love, lust, loss, fear and pain — are universal, so man, having lost friends, will find new ones with whom to share these feelings. Those enduring poor health will be restored to full health, excepting those who must pass over to ‘ane better place’, presumably heaven. The persona

²² Arber (1869), pg. 42, stanza 2.

²³ Arber (1869), pg. 42, stanza 3.

concludes that man can influence their own destiny, asserting that ‘good deids will mend disgrace’.²⁴ With theological implications, the persona argues that ‘good deids’ lead ultimately to redemption in the eyes of the gods and to the reinstatement of fame and all its laurels. As Wortham elucidates,

here, ordinary “men” are presented as both expendable and redeemable because subject to a relativistic, anti-absolutist logic of exchange that matches “like” for “like” or that happily takes similar for the same.²⁵

Fortune’s rule in ‘Phoenix’ is likewise founded on a system of exchange, wherein sacrifice will ultimately lead to reward.

Critical approaches to the ‘Phoenix’ have read the mystical bird as synonymous with Esmé Stuart and, likewise, the persona as tantamount to the king, and there is no doubt of the biographical overlap. Once more, it is crucially important, to make the distinction between the author and the persona he creates for himself, in order to fully appreciate the authorial poise of the king. The persona, a mere character in a fictional narrative, does not initially understand the irrationality of Fortune’s rule. Despite claiming to have only ever encountered Fortune’s privation through hearsay,²⁶ the persona, ironically, continues with a narrative in which Fortune has robbed him of his glorious phoenix. Disingenuous claims are found throughout James’ first collection, whether consciously or unconsciously included, and highlight the dichotomy between the public and private which is present throughout the king’s work. As Sharpe elaborates,

such contradictions, and displayed contradictions, situate royal texts in a rhetorical and Reformation culture preoccupied with representation and misrepresentation, truth and what Peter Zagorin has called “ways of lying”. Close readings and deconstructive readings of James’ writings not only enable us to observe a ruler endeavouring to overwrite challenges to authority, but a king, a thinker, a rhetorician,

²⁴ This message echoes that imparted by the heavenly muse in the ‘Uranie’ and will be elaborated upon in the subsequent chapter of this thesis.

²⁵ Simon Wortham, “‘Part of My Taill Is Yet Untolde’”: James VI and I, the *Phoenix*, and the Royal Gift’, in Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 196.

²⁶ Arber (1869), pg. 42, line 8.

a lover and man...participating in those contradictions – personal, social, religious, religious, and political.²⁷

Sharpe's assertion aligns James VI not only with Continental Renaissance paradigms of rhetoric but also with a more native Reformation literature concerned with personal, social and religio-political representation.

In the fourth stanza of the 'Phoenix' the focus of the poem moves from the distinctly metaphysical, in its discussion of the spiritual and Dame Fortune, to the metafictional, as James appropriates a key text of the Scottish Reformation period to ornament his poem. An explicit comparison is made in the fourth stanza to Sir David Lyndsay's pre-Reformation text, *The Testament and Complaint of the Papyngo*, as the narrative persona stresses (by means of the word 'Common') the concern with the nation at large, a theme ubiquitous in Lyndsay's work:

Then, fra I saw (as I already told)
 How men complaind for things whilk might amend,
 How David Lyndsay did complaine of old
 His Papingo, her death, and sudden end,
 Ane common foule, whose kinde be all is kend. (Lines 22-26)

The widespread dissemination and continued re-publication of Lyndsay's work in print²⁸ provided James VI with an accepted and recognisable Scottish literary figure he could employ as a reference point for his readers. Again, James projects himself on a similar level to his audience, as a knowledgeable reader of Scottish as well as continental literature.

The persona's mention of Lyndsay's *Papyngo* might seem, for modern readers at least, nothing more than a subsidiary reference. Yet a discerning sixteenth-century Scottish reader would have been aware of the significance of this metafictional device (wherein a

²⁷ Sharpe in Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 23.

fictional persona/character discourses at length on both reading practice and the creative process), having already witnessed it in a number of moralising texts, native or otherwise, ranging from Chaucer, Aesop and Boethius to the *Kingis Quair* and Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. The latter texts provide a Scottish poetic framework into which James' narrative can be placed, a context in which the concept of literary authority matters greatly. In the first instance, there is an obvious overlap between the 'Phoenix' and the *Papyngo* in terms of subject matter. Both texts utilise aspects of the bestiary tradition²⁹ — employing the figure of a bird, and the imagery associated with this animal — to bring to light the precarious nature of court life and also the possible repercussions for those who harbour aspirations to attain to a position of greater power. Hassig confirms that 'in a very practical sense, moral lessons were the *raison d'être* of the bestiaries'³⁰. Once more we see the young monarch's predilection for edification, manipulating a moral fable so as to alter public perception of Esmé Stuart. James' appropriation of the phoenix bird as the main focus of his poem, is a significant choice in itself:

In medieval literature and exegesis, the ancient myth of the Phoenix's self-immolation and subsequent revival was adopted as a metaphor transferred to and further developed in the bestiary Phoenix entries.³¹

The phoenix comes to represent in literature self-sacrifice of Christ and his resurrection. James bestows a greater spiritual significance, not only on his text, but also on his dedicatee, the Duke of Lennox.

Further significance is bestowed upon Lennox in the vivid description of the bird's plumage. Like the courtly papyngo, the phoenix is naturally visually stunning:

²⁸ For a more comprehensive overview of print in early modern Scotland see H.G. Aldis' standard checklist, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, Revised Edition (Edinburgh, NLS 1970) with updates online at <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/intro.html>. Website accessed September 2009.

²⁹ Bestiary is a tradition in visual and verbal art in which animals (both real and imagined) and their various attributes are used in order to highlight some spiritual significance. Highly didactic and moral in its approach, each fable shows how a character comes ultimately to a point of realisation following a transgression. For the best Scottish example of bestiary see Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis*.

³⁰ Hassig (2009), pg. xiv.

This foule, excelling *Iris* farr in hew.
 Whose body whole, with purpour was owercledd,
 Whose taill of coulour was celestiall blew,
 With skarlat pennies that through it mixed grew:
 Her craig was like the yallowe burnisht gold,
 And she her self thre hundredth year was old.³²

The colour imagery employed to define the striking appearance of the phoenix shows how the bird belongs to both the spiritual and the temporal realms. James' phoenix is closest in resemblance to that contained within the Aberdeen medieval bestiary.³³ In this interpretation, the colour of the bird is presented as a crimson colour with a tail of blue and purple. James adapts this traditional depiction, showing her body as an opulent purple hew — a colour frequently associated in literature with kings and Christ, divinity and wisdom. The bird is implicitly affiliated with the royal earthly court and a celestial monarchy, elucidated by the description of her beak as 'like the yallowe burnisht gold'. Complementing the rich purple of her bodily feathers, the phoenix's tail is of the brightest 'celestiall' blue, highlighting the bird's spiritual status. The significance of this cannot be underestimated. In James' seminal collection on the 'divine art of poetry', the religio-political Phoenix serves as a literary complement to the ethereal spiritual guide of the 'Uranie' (as will be discussed in the subsequent chapter).

The 'Phoenix' is, arguably, a text crafted with an in-depth knowledge, on the part of the author, of not only poetic advice manuals but also manuals on kingship as epitomised by Niccolo Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (written c.1512, and translated into Scots by William Fowler, in part, c.1587), Plato's *Republic* (c.380 BC), Guillaume Budé's *L'Institution du Prince* (1547) and George Buchanan's *De Jure Regni* (1579). Buchanan's text, a dialogue in which James VI's mother, Mary Queen of Scots, is targeted as a religious traitor, a conspirator in murder and an unfair tyrant, incited James VI's wrath in its affirmation that

³¹ Hassig (2009), pg. xiv.

³² Arber (1869), pg. 43, lines 36-42

³³ [<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/translat/55r.hti>. Website accessed September 2009]

the source of a monarch's power is the people. This contention sits uncomfortably with James VI's evolving understanding of the 'divine right of kings' whereby the monarch is God's earthly understudy. Buchanan's line of argument, which suggests that an unjust 'tyrant' be deposed by the people he is supposed to serve, is a contention greatly anomalous to the king's beliefs. In an unprecedented move, James prohibited the ownership and consumption of the work of George Buchanan through legislation in 1584. Although James VI moves to quell the influence of Buchanan's tract, he cannot altogether ignore the political advice genre. Seeking recognition as a Renaissance monarch, James must be seen to take heed of political science and the warnings expressed in a multitude of texts concerning just kingship. Sir David Lyndsay's *Papyngo* is a worthy early modern Scottish example of advice to princes literature³⁴ but arguably operates on a different level from Machiavelli, Plato and Buchanan's later work. Owing to James' inexperience as a monarch and, by extension, his fledgling understanding of complex political theory and its application, the king makes use of a text he comprehends better: a late medieval Scottish literary-political satire.

In the *Papyngo*, Lyndsay is inoffensive in his approach to the figure of the monarch, showing his respect for the Stewart dynasty and supporting the religious and political agenda of the ruling monarch. Lyndsay's advice to James V is pre-emptive, stressing the importance of a religious, political and cultural education:

Thus may thou be of all plesouris repleit,
 So in thyne office thou be diligent.
 Bot, be thou found sleuthfull, or negligent,
 Or injuste in thyne exicutioun,
 Thou sall nocht faill devine puneissioun;

Quharefor, sen thou hes sic capacitie
 To lerne to playe so plesandlie, and syng,
 Ryde hors, ryn speris with gret audacitie,
 Schute with hand bow, crossbow, and culveryng,

³⁴ For an in-depth discussion of this topic see Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature', unpublished DPhil Dissertation, University of Oxford (1986).

Amang the rest, schir, lerne to be ane kyng.³⁵

Buchanan argues in *De Jure Regni* that a subject has the power to depose a poor ruler, yet in James' preferred source text here, Lyndsay's *Papyngo*, the author stresses how God, and not the people, will be the ultimate judge of a monarch's actions. In Lyndsay's definition, a 'just' ruler is one who is neither negligent nor lazy nor unfair in their execution of laws. The conclusion that one must 'lerne to be ane kyng' is imperative for James VI. James might be content to fashion himself as an apprentice in the 'divine arte of poesie' but he must, through necessity, make a rapid transition from novice king to the authoritative and just leader of a kingdom. The 'Phoenix' may traditionally be read by critics as a vehicle through which James' grief is articulated, but when the superficial layers of grief which overwhelm the poem are stripped away and it is read in its literary-historical and political context, King James VI is realised as the literal embodiment of the phoenix he celebrates, rising from the political ashes of incarceration by religious-political rebels to affirm his newfound confidence in the 'divine arte' of kingship.

James inhabits a world in which the literary and political are inseparably interwoven, and throughout his reign the king continues to utilise the written word as a tool by which to defiantly consolidate his authority, both literary and lawful. As Sharpe asserts,

whatever the complexities of authorship, what clearly emerges...is James' sense of the centrality of writing to his exercise of rule.³⁶

The king displays an early awareness in the publication of his *Essayes* of the potential of literature to be manipulated and conversely to manipulate those who engage with it. He constructs himself not only as monarch, patron and author but redefines literary borders by representing himself as a collage of texts to be read by his subjects. In his seminal publication James is firstly an author, and secondly a monarch. Rickard argues that this duality presents problems for James, in that

³⁵ Hadley-Williams (2000), *Sir David Lyndsay*, lines 276-287, pg. 68.

far from providing a stable framework or fixed point of reference, the King's writings have complexity and instability in common with the texts they have been used to illuminate, and constantly escape any attempts to fix their meaning, even the attempts of the King himself.³⁷

Rickard's assertion, that James' work exhibits a 'complexity and instability' is certainly true. However, such textual 'complexity' and/or fluctuation in the *Essayes of a Prentise* is found, arguably, in the shifts of authorial stance and not, as Rickard argues, on the level of the meaning, or the actual words (as will be outlined throughout this thesis). By influencing from a central position the way a text should be interpreted, James can, at various intervals in the collection, occupy both an authorial and readerly stance. This authorial duality facilitates the king's playful experimentation with poetics and literary convention, in turn allowing him both to exploit the word for political gain and to explore the concept of identity, whether authoritative or personal. In the *Essayes*, James constantly directs the reader towards preferred interpretations, not only of texts and meanings but also of people. By means of such literary edification, James seeks to aid his reader in textual discernment. Rickard argues that a dominant authorial presence in the body of the monarch's writing is unconstructive, undermining the text by opening up tensions. Failing to reinforce his authority, James' writings conversely expose 'the contradictions of the claims that underlie kingship...generating potentially subversive readings' through the employment of 'instructive prefaces and marginalia', in combination with the texts they are prefaced to. Rickard's argument goes further when she argues that

power is not in itself enough to guarantee that subversion will be contained, but rather that authority and opposition are in constant and unpredictable struggle, even within the writings of a king.³⁸

Accordingly, Rickard claims that James' controlling authorial presence betrays a literary insecurity which moves in opposition to his desired authority, and simultaneously exposes his fallibility:

³⁶ Sharpe, 'Foreword' in Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 18.

³⁷ Rickard (2007), pg. 5.

³⁸ Rickard (2007), pg. 6.

In these terms, every time James writes he tacitly admits that he does not possess absolute authority, nor absolute truth. Paradoxically, however, he writes in the attempt to convince his subjects otherwise.³⁹

No text is, or can be, closed to re-interpretation. By including editorial interjections throughout the *Essayes*, James, as Rickard suggests, reveals himself as a writer with limited authorial control but who does attempt to prove otherwise. Yet James' authorial interventions, although directive in aim and by implication constrictive, paradoxically also willingly open up each text, and indeed the author, for further scrutiny and discussion. Rickard implicitly makes the case that such transparency and openness is an inherently dangerous facet of the literature of a monarch. Nevertheless, the dialogical nature of James' writing, as evidenced in the *Essayes*, reflects a long-standing interest, particularly on the part of the medieval and early modern Scottish monarchs, to engage in reasoned cultural discussion. The Stewart dynasty had always relied upon, rather than avoided, negotiation in the form of textual exchange in diplomatic matters, resulting in an unprecedented period of unchallenged rule of Scotland spanning the best part of two centuries. Such concerted attempts by the Scottish monarchy to cultivate a dialogical relationship with their subjects through textual exchange finds cultural articulation in 'Specula Principum' literature, such as George Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*, in which the subject openly imparts advice to the monarch on how to rule properly.

In this light, James showcases himself as not only a traditional Scottish monarch, but also a consummate humanist. For humanists,

poetics was never a matter of aesthetic enjoyment alone but always an instructive activity that made reading exploratory, an activity in which the reader, responding dialectically to the text, found closure to that text only in his own judgement or interpretation. ...Part of the joy of reading humanist fiction now, as it must have been for its earliest readers, is the infectious way it invites us to participate and the multiple meanings it allows us to discover for ourselves.⁴⁰

³⁹ Rickard (2007), pg.12.

⁴⁰ Kinney (1989), pg. 45.

In the subsequent chapter, an examination of James' translation of Du Bartas' *L'Uranie* further evidences James as a Christian-humanist, creating texts in which the instruction of the reader in a participatory poetics is the objective of the translation.

Chapter 3. A Bartasian Fraternity:

The Foundations of the Scottish Jacobean Renaissance

The paucity of proficient ‘literary’ vernacular translations in the 1500s is a marked feature of the Scottish cultural landscape in this period, yet, as J. Derrick McClure (1991) suggests, aspirant sixteenth-century Scottish translators were not without a native blueprint on which to model their efforts. Gavin Douglas’ *Eneados* (1513) is, for McClure, ‘one of the finest secular translations ever made’ (in Scotland or elsewhere) during the Renaissance. Even so, this translation proved a ‘false dawn’ for Scottish literary translation, and it would not be until the 1580s, with James VI’s cultural ‘renaissance’ that poets would realize the potential of the Scots vernacular and make a ‘vigorous and distinctive national contribution to the Übersetzungskultur’.¹ For McClure

the wholesale borrowing of themes, images, tropes and verbal echoes...by the poets of James’ reign are aspects of the deliberate effort in Scotland to transplant the continental poetic tradition as a fully-developed living organism into Scottish soil.²

Accordingly, James VI’s translation work should be viewed as a means by which his subjects are reawakened to cultural transference. Whilst English writers found literary inspiration in Italy, it is to the literature of France, and more specifically to the work of Salluste Du Bartas, that James VI turns in 1584 to furnish his cultural ‘renaissance’ with such a plethora of ‘themes, images, tropes and verbal echoes’.

In an eclectic assemblage of poetic exercises, the vernacular translation of Du Bartas’ *L’Uranie* sits comfortably alongside a poetic treatise and numerous sonnets, self-penned

¹ McClure provides a definition of this term: ‘The German word which I am using was introduced as a semi-technical term by Göttingen Centre for the Study of Literary Translation. What it implies is a literary ambience of which the production and appreciation of poetic translations is an integral part: one in which not only specific poems but themes, tropes, and verbal constructions are freely transferred from one language to another, and cross-linguistic influences are deliberately ex-changed in a mutually stimulating inter-relationship. Such a culture would be one in which, paradoxically, the divergences between one literature and another were both emphasized and transcended’. J. Derrick McClure, ‘Translation and Transcreation in the Castalian Period’, pp. 185-186 in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Volume 26, Ed. G. Ross Roy (1991).

and borrowed, in the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* (1584). James' decision to include a translation is, however, at odds with the guidance he confers to aspiring writers later in his first collection, in the poetic tract, the 'Reulis and Cautelis', wherein he contends that

sen invention is ane of the chief vertewis in a poete, it is best that ye invent your awin subject your self and not to compose of sene subjectis. Especially, translating any thing out of uther language, quhilk doing, ye not onely assay not your awin ingyne of inventioun, bot be the same meanes ye are bound as to a staik to follow that buikis phrases, quhilk ye translate.³

Read as a poetic rule-book to be adhered to by aspiring artists in the composition of verse (as virtually all literary criticism on this text has previously read it), the 'Reulis and Cautelis' makes an impassioned admonition to discourage writers from translating established literature into the vernacular. Yet James VI, in his first publication and also, interestingly, in his only act of patronage of a printed text in the same year (Hudson's *Historie of Judith*), flagrantly flouts his own poetic 'rules'. Despite cautioning against vernacular renderings of pre-existing work, the king, by enthusiastically undertaking a number of translation exercises in his own right and also (as will be outlined later) by sponsoring others in their endeavours, implicitly promotes the activity of literary translation to a central position in his cultural programme. The king's promotion of translation is a means of 'transcreation' (McClure [1991]) whereby the original text is sufficiently strengthened by native literary impulses.

Whilst encouraging Scottish poets to 'inuent [their] awin subiect', James, as patron of the arts, authoritative rule-maker and didact, necessarily must also offer himself, and his work, as exemplars of good practice for his 'pupils' to follow, for

if patronage was one of the registers by which a monarch could exercise the influence necessary to an effective deployment of power, then how much more

² McClure (1991), pg. 197.

³ Jack and Rozandaal (1997), pg. 48.

effective for the monarch to engage directly in the practice that his patronage actively supported.⁴

It was not uncommon for the Scottish monarch to be considered by their subjects as ‘first among equals’⁵ (a distinctly different stance from that which James VI’s English counterpart, Elizabeth, would have willingly occupied). James’ literary perspective in the *Essayes* reflects this tradition and displays a concerted effort on the part of the monarch to address his subjects in a manner that implied a more ‘familiar’ relationship between subject and sovereign than that which existed in England or France, for example.

James VI’s association with translation, particularly in the first two decades of his reign over Scotland, evidences more than just his aptitude in composition. It also contributes somewhat to the literary identity being constructed, both by and for the king,

as not only a great writer but also an important reader. He seems to have been acutely aware that not only the production of his own writing but also the interpretation of the writings of others might serve to reinforce his authority.⁶

James was keen to interpret and repackage in his own language pre-existing European material, as it would allow him to display his reading acumen and, consequently, increase public perception of him as a discerning monarch capable of understanding complex continental poetic and political thought. The *Essayes*, then, come to represent a subversion of the ‘Specula Principum’ tradition in Renaissance literature, wherein James, adopting a tutelary stance, holds up a mirror to his subjects, reflecting appropriate reading etiquette and compositional decorum. As part of this, Du Bartas’ *L’Uranie* is translated by James VI in his 1584 collection to exemplify his proficiency as both reader and author of texts. The narrative, in which an aspiring poet, following theological instruction, learns to read discerningly and to compose accordingly, is the embodiment of the poetic concerns which

⁴ Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 41.

⁵ This concept finds articulation in both the Declaration of Arbroath and also Republican writings such as Buchanan’s *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579).

⁶ Rickard (2007), pg. 69.

most obviously preoccupy the king in his authorial stance prior to the Union of the Crowns. Just like the enlightened Bartasian persona of *L'Uranie*, James employs his own theological instruction to better effect, with his abiding theological and political principles allowing James not only to read but also to observe and govern discerningly as a monarch.

From the inception of the idea to translate the poem to its execution in published form, the 'Uranie' is a carefully constructed piece of penmanship. Intensely aware of the dangers of misinterpretation inherent in the reading process, James VI is keen to curtail erroneous readings of all of his texts. Just as in the 'Phoenix', where readers are guided by means of instructive interventions and typographical decisions towards locating the true meaning and significance of the text, 'The Uranie', witnesses the continued exertion of James VI's reading directives. This chapter will chart the formulation and implementation of these poetic directives.

A sophisticated authorial relationship exists between the author/text and readership in the translation of *L'Uranie*, making it difficult to determine exactly James VI's authorial position. The tone of James' preface is one of overriding modesty, as the king proclaims himself to be limited in competence:

Hauing oft reuolued, and red ouer (fauourable Reader) the booke and Poems of the deuine and Illuster Poete, Salust du Bartas, I was moued by the oft reading and perusing of them, with a restles and lofty desire, to preas to attaine to the like virtue. But sen (alas) God, by nature hathe refused me the like lofty and quick ingyne, and that my dull Muse, age, and Fortune, had refused me the lyke skill and learning, I was constrained to haue refuge to the second, which was, to doe what lay in me, to set forth his praise, sen I could not merite the lyke my self.⁷

Closer inspection of this passage at once betrays his modesty. Immediately, in his preface to the 'fauourable Reader', James presents himself as a competent and astute reader, as he explains how, 'Hauing oft reuolued and red ouer' *L'Uranie*, he was moved to make a translation of it. James' avid rereading of *L'Uranie* generates within him a 'lofty desire' to

attain like virtue in his writing, and in this sentiment, James displays a competitive poetic ambition, belying his initial explicit statement of modesty. Despite maintaining his pretence at humility, the king exhibits an overriding authorial tenacity:

But knowing my self to vnskillfull and grosse, to translate any of his heauenly and learned works, I almost left it of, and was ashamed of that opinion also. Whill at the last, preferring foolehardines and a good intention, to an vtter dispaire and sleuth, I resolued vnaduysedly to assay the translating in my language of the easiest and shortest of all his difficile, and prolixed Poems: to wit, the *Vranie* or heauenlye Muse, which, albeit it be not well translated, yet hope I, ye will excuse me (fauorable Reader) sen I neither ordained it, nor auowes it for a iust translation.⁸

In this complex introduction, a range of authorial positions are briefly inhabited by the king. He wishes to be read in the first instance as humble in his ability, and explicitly adopts self-effacing vocabulary to describe himself (and his translation) as ‘vnskillfull and grosse’. James, however, in his maverick ‘foolhardiness’ and bold attempts to translate Du Bartas’ text, exhibits a confidence in his own abilities as a poet.

Rickard’s contention, however, that status alone does not guarantee poetic acclaim, is (implicitly) partly justified by the king through his detailing of editorial policies in the ‘Uranie’ for his readers to scrutinize:

For that cause, I haue put in, the French on the one side of the leif, and my blocking on the other: noight thereby to giue prooffe of my iust translating, but by the contrair, to let appeare more plainly to the foresaid reader, wherin I haue erred, to the effect, that with lesse difficulty he may escape those snares wherin I haue fallen. I must also desire you to bear with it, albeit it be replete with innumerable and intolerable faults.⁹

The list of alterations and inaccuracies continues as James specifies the various discrepancies in metre and rhyme which distinguish his translation from its source. James appears to be seeking the approval of his readership by not only acknowledging where he has erred in rendering Du Bartas in the vernacular, but by also allowing the reader to compare the original to the newly repackaged translation, and by encouraging them to ascertain for themselves where the king has gone astray. Rickard’s hypothesis, that the

⁷ Arber (1869), pg. 20.

⁸ Arber (1869), pg. 20.

⁹ Arber (1869), pg. 21.

king is not yet comfortable in his political authority or in his authorial skin to allow his translation to enter the public sphere uncensored, is thus given further accreditation. Arguably, however, by willingly inviting scrutiny, James reveals himself to be a well-versed member of a scholarly humanist ‘collective’.

In the *Essayes* as a whole, James VI self-consciously constructs himself as both a reader and a text to be read and interpreted. In the introduction to ‘Uranie’ he assumes two literary guises: the first, an overtly modest authorial persona, the other, an assured and competent writer. In a further instance of the monarch exacting poetic control, James directs his readers in the introduction towards his poetic manifesto, his ‘owne treatise of the Art of Poesie, in the hinder end of this booke’, wherein they might find the precepts of good poetic practice. James continuously manipulates the initial statement of modesty with which his introduction opens, gradually generating more confidence with every line he writes until his original diffidence has been transformed into a more assured poetic voice. By the preface’s conclusion, those ‘innumerable and intolerable faultes’ James previously claimed to be embarrassed of, and from which he attempted to distance himself, are no longer so troublesome for the monarch as he requests of the reader that they do not assay the ‘Uranie’ as a ‘just’ (in the sense of an accurate) translation, but rather that they should accept his version of Du Bartas’ text as one made with the best of intentions.

James’ various interjections are vital in the construction of his literary identity throughout his first collection (as witnessed in the previous chapter on the ‘Phoenix’). Whilst adopting the somewhat unassuming moniker of ‘prentise’ in the title of the *Essayes*, the king actively employs instructive marginalia and designates prefatory space to undermine this assumed literary guise. Wortham elaborates:

In simple terms James’ prefaces seem to offer additional material written subsequent to the primary part of the text, appended to rectify initial oversights, to elaborate on or generally augment the original version. From a practical point of view, however,

this supplementary writing would have been received by a wider readership as an integral part of the published book, appearing prior to the main body of the text although it was composed afterwards and delimiting from the outset an appropriate reading of the book's contents. This reversal and representation of chronological order — whereby what was written after appears before what came first — enables James' prefaces to inhabit and order the interpretative space normally occupied by the reader in the construction of textual meaning....James' prefaces, while seeming to furnish the recipient with an "extra"...therefore provide once more a means to exercise possessive authority over both the readership and the authored gift.¹⁰

The novice monarch-poet is, in Wortham's opinion, completely in control of the interpretative process. By paradoxically affixing an introduction with which to 'finish' his translation, James pre-empts his readers' response and implicitly displays an intuitive understanding of reading practice. The monarch approaches the composition of his first substantial collection of work, then, as, respectively, a hybrid literary figure of political power and of literary influence, as the subject of poetry, as an inexperienced writer, and as an accomplished and greatly educated reader.

The translation of Du Bartas' *L'Uranie* exhibits a further facet of James VI's literary authority: the king's dependency on other writers to confirm his literary prowess. The poetry produced around James VI in the 1580s, then,

grows out of a context in which the lines between poetry and patronage, influence and exchange, authorship and collaboration, are significantly blurred. His poetry and the related work of Du Bartas and Hudson reveal that literary 'authority' is a collaborative construction.¹¹

The concept of reciprocal poetic composition greatly interested the monarch, and as patron of the arts, as well as recipient and producer of artistic output, the monarch inhabits an integral position in Scottish culture based upon a system of literary exchange.

The 'Uranie' witnesses the continuation of the king's exploration of authorship. where the 'Phoenix' allows James to be both author and subject of his own text and to view it from a

¹⁰ Wortham in Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pp.190-191.

¹¹ Rickard (2007), pg. 52.

certain remove, this translation challenges readers to consider the means by which poetry comes into being, highlighting James' awareness of literary reciprocity as well as his dependence upon it in the forging of his public 'identity'. A close analysis of the 'Uranie', not only in poetic terms but also in thematic terms, shows how James prioritised formulating relationships with texts and the ideas promulgated within those texts over the cultivation of personal relationships with their individual author. Just as Fortune's governance in the 'Phoenix' is founded on a system of exchange, so James' literary consciousness is dominated by the realisation 'that his relationship to other poets was one of reciprocity, and, further, that the roles he and other poets could play for each other were interchangeable'.¹²

Much has been written on Jacobean coterie poetics, yet arguably, in the formative years of James' reign in Scotland the relationship between poet and patron is far more personal than the concept of a 'Castalian Band' has previously suggested. Rickard determines that 'the poet with whom James seems to have been most keen to develop a reciprocal relationship was...Du Bartas'.¹³ To this list of one should be added the name of Thomas Hudson, who is brought into the literary equation by James VI in 1584. By encouraging Hudson to embark upon the translation of Du Bartas' *La Judit* around the same time as his 'Uranie', James lays the foundations of a coterie of ideas which will be developed through his own writing and the work of other writers both north and south of the border in his lifetime. Hudson will be dealt with in Chapter 3; we will first turn to Du Bartas.

Du Bartas and James VI – A Personal and Literary Relationship

¹² Rickard (2007), pg. 46.

¹³ Rickard (2007), pg. 47.

It is a general truth that imitation is the greatest form of flattery, and, this being so, in the year 1584, the French Huguenot poet, Guillaume De Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, unwittingly found himself venerated and at the heart of James VI's Renaissance experiment. Reticence to talk of his personal circumstances in his own lifetime ensures that a definitive account of Du Bartas' life remains elusive. Enough evidence exists, however, to sketch an adequate outline of his poetic career and, more importantly, to chart his literary and personal relationship with Jacobean Scotland. Du Bartas was born in Montfort, Fezensac, near Toulouse, in 1544 to parents of the mercantile class, and subsequently attended university in Toulouse,¹⁴ where he read Law and displayed many of the hallmarks of a promising scholar. Following the death of his father, François, in 1566, Du Bartas fell heir to the recently acquired family estate, and returned home to take over responsibility of his land. Over the course of a decade, Du Bartas made frequent visitations from his base in Cologne to the Court of Navarre, where he would find inspiration for his later work in Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre:

In the prologue of sixty-eight lines, which Du Bartas later prefaced to his *Uranie*, he tells us that while in the April of his age he lost much sleep and rest seeking a poetic form to his taste...Eventually the Muse of Astrology, Urania, appeared to him and suggested that he sing God and the heavens above. Since it was Jeanne d'Albret (1528-1572)...who suggested the subject of the *Judit*, surely credit is due to her and not to Urania for his conversion of interest. The poet apparently did not like his new subject and he advised where to lay the blame if the epic did not appeal.¹⁵

Du Bartas' initial prefatory protestations were unjustified. Regardless of the Frenchman's opinion of the subject matter offered to him by Jeanne d'Albret,¹⁶ Du Bartas' nuanced interpretation of the muse Urania was to alter unequivocally the literary landscape in both his native land and, a decade later, in Scotland.

¹⁴ Holmes *et al.* (1977) posit the years 1563 and 1564 as possible start dates for Du Bartas' education in Toulouse.

¹⁵ Holmes *et al.* (1977), pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, was mother to Henry III of Navarre and a figurehead of the French Huguenot movement.

Critics¹⁷ have credited Du Bartas with introducing a Christian inflection to the conventional iconography associated with the muse of astrology, and in the century following the publication of Du Bartas' original, the godly aspect of the muse takes on a life of its own.¹⁸ Du Bartas' theology and literature are distinctly nuanced by Protestant ideology but the poet, in a precarious religious era, is not so vehemently Protestant in his work as to be inflammatory to opposing schools of religious thought in sixteenth-century France. Careful to preserve his literary and political neutrality, Du Bartas expressed his hatred of the Wars of Religion, and, moreover, 'though a sincere Protestant he was not inimical to the Catholics'.¹⁹

The remodelling of classical literature had been an imperative impulse and fundamental preoccupation of early European Renaissance writers. As the Renaissance period continued, however, Reformation polemics increased in fervour, moving religio-political concerns to the forefront of public consciousness and generating in turn a different kind of literature. Campbell determines that the great movement towards divine poetry

had developed as the answer of Christendom to the revival of learning. Beginning late in the fifteenth century, first centering about the court of Marguerite of Navarre, it was a movement conscious and militant in its opposition to the secular pagan literature which was being reintroduced into western Europe.²⁰

Campbell asserts that the site of change in European literature was France, more specifically at the court of Navarre, a place more than familiar to Salluste du Bartas. In a climate of religious uncertainty, during which the Church underwent a structural overhaul of quite epic proportions, and at a time when man necessarily sought religio-political stability in a newly de-centred world, writers looked towards the Bible to provide a fixed

¹⁷ See Campbell (1935), 'The Christian Muse' in *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 8.

¹⁸ As will be documented later in this chapter, subsequent poets appropriate the Bartasian muse in order to highlight and underscore their texts' abiding Christian morality.

¹⁹ Holmes *et al.* (1977), pg. 11.

²⁰ Campbell (1959), pg. 29.

locus of divine inspiration. Moreover, in adapting the Bible, a more ‘literary’ interest captured the imagination of

many earnest men [who] were determined to show that...[it] also offered better stories for poetic narratives than were offered in translations or adaptations of Homer and Virgil, Boccaccio and Bandello, Ovid and Musaeus, Ariosto and the compilers of the chivalric romances.²¹

Campbell suggests that translation of the Bible is a literary ‘sport’ at which writers compete to display their poetic prowess. Accordingly, those poets who successfully rework biblical tales into poetic narratives should be afforded an appropriate degree of critical acclaim. Salluste Du Bartas’ manipulation of biblical literature and Christian tropes must be regarded as resoundingly successful, if the multitude of contemporary commendations of his work can be regarded an accurate indication. King James VI and the poets of the Jamesian Renaissance provided a number of these acclamations.

In James’ preface to the ‘fauourable Reader’ of the ‘Uranie’, he bestows divine status on Du Bartas. Where the majority of the monarch’s reading under George Buchanan was prescriptive, James VI shows how he gleans enjoyment from reading Du Bartas for pleasure. The king unashamedly admits authorial envy of the Frenchman, with his ‘lofty desire’ compelling him to attempt a vernacular translation of a Du Bartas original. The ensuing translation heralds the beginning of a complex relationship, both personal and literary, between the Scottish monarch and the French poet.

James VI advocates the interaction of his poets with the work of Du Bartas in his first collection of work, and subsequently cultivated a close personal relationship with the French poet, which leads to the production of literature in the late 1580s that is mutually appreciative. In a letter to Du Bartas dating from late 1586, James cordially extends the hand of friendship, inviting the poet to make the journey to the Scottish court in the

²¹ Campbell (1959), pg. 74.

following summer, wherein he might bestow his divine artistic wisdom upon his court and subjects:

Je vous pries [*sic*] donques très affectueusement de prendre tant de peine que de venir icy au commencement de l'este prochain, et mesme en May s'il est possible. Le voyage n'est point long ; vous pouvés passer par terre, demeurer icy aussi peu de temps que vous voudrés. Non obstant les troubles je m'assure que le Roy de Navarre le trouvera bon, pour si peu de temps, car je luy ay aussi escrit pour ce mesme effect, et je m'asseure que vous viendrez le plus volentiers puis que nous avons *communes deos*.²²

James asks that Du Bartas might make the short voyage to Scotland within the space of a year, and displays an eager anticipation that the King of Navarre might accept a similar cordial request. The trivialities contained within this letter concerning arrangements for the trip interestingly reveal aspects of royal diplomacy at the Scottish court, as the visit from the King of Navarre had other, political objectives in mind. This personal correspondence is, however, more significant for the present purpose in highlighting the king's genuine admiration for Du Bartas. The king's veneration is real, and he makes a great effort to stress how his sincerity is unfeigned:

N'estimes, O Saluste, qu'en usant de ces epithetes envers vous je me veuille servir de la faulse flatterie, ains de deue et vraye louange de la vertu, la haulte louange de laquelle ne doyt estre passee en silence, habitante en personne quelquonque.²³

James VI extols the virtues of the French poet, and constructs him as an heroic leader and spiritual guide. In the closing sentiments, James VI pays particular attention to theology when he predicts that Du Bartas will be inducted into the '*communes deos*', or godly community, of the court on arrival in Scotland, facilitated by the Frenchman's shared Christian beliefs with the Scottish monarch.

²² Loosely paraphrased the letter from James VI to Du Bartas in 1586 reads: I beg of you most affectionately that you will take the trouble to come here at the beginning of next summer, even in May, if it is at all possible. The trip is not long, you can come by land, and stay here for as little time as you wish. Notwithstanding the trouble, I re-assure myself that the King of Navarre will agree to this, for such a short space of time, because I have also written to him to the same effect, and I re-assure myself that you will come most willingly, because we have *communes deos*. French letter appended in Holmes *et al.* (1977), pp. 203-204, Vols I-II.

James may have proffered hospitality on the basis of an anticipated cultural and political exchange with France, yet ‘it would seem that when Du Bartas arrived in Edinburgh, he did not come wholly as a divine messenger for, according to James Melville, he came also as the agent of the King of Navarre’.²⁴ As Holmes *et al.* concur, Du Bartas arrived on the shores of Scotland, c.25 May 1587, charged with various tasks, most notably to begin negotiations of marital union between James VI and the sister of Henry of Navarre.

Despite being unsuccessful in his attempts to fulfil the latter charge, Du Bartas delighted in his short tenure at the Scottish court, enjoying the opulence, grandeur and generosity of the king:

The Gascons enjoyed themselves greatly in Scotland, particularly with the pleasures of the chase. The poet wrote on July 16, 1587, to Josias Mercier in London that the muse Calliope had been transformed into a Diana, so busy were they with hunting deer and hares.²⁵

The poet departed Scotland with a royally bestowed knighthood, gifts of monetary value, including a gold chain, and, most importantly, the unfaltering adulation of James VI.

James’ offer of extended hospitality to the French poet was, unfortunately, declined.

Nevertheless, the young monarch was not deterred from engaging with the work of Du Bartas. Indeed, the visit of the poet to the Scottish court seems to have consolidated the textual relationship between James VI and Du Bartas, resulting in the continuation of Scoto-Bartasian translation projects for several years following his visit to Scotland.

In 1591, *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises At Vacant Houres* appeared in print, including texts written in the mid to late 1580s. Compositionally, it is a most interesting collection, in which James finally leaves behind his modest alias of the *Essayes*, ‘prentise’, and asserts a confident and authoritative air more becoming of an established king. This authorial

²³ Letter from James VI to Du Bartas in 1586. Roughly paraphrased, the letter reads: Please do not assume that by using such epithets towards yourself that I wish to suggest false flattery, as true adoration of virtue cannot be offered in silence. French letter appended in Holmes *et al.* (1977), pp.203-204.

²⁴ Campbell (1959), pg. 81.

²⁵ Holmes *et al.* (1977), pg. 21.

move by James in his 1591 publication draws further attention to the nature of James' authorship in the *Essayes*. In his 1584 collection, poetry is viewed as the divine art, yet in the title of his 1591 collection, *Poeticall Exercises At Vacant Houres*, poetry is implicitly depicted as a secondary, perhaps even a more trivial, exercise to be attempted in free time. The material contained within *Poeticall Exercises* also reflects the evolution of James' authorial identity. In the preface to 'The Uranie' James portrays himself as Du Bartas' subordinate, yet by the publication of his 1591 collection he positions himself as (at least) the Frenchman's literary equal. The first section of *Poeticall Exercises* contains James' translation of the 'Preface of the Second Week of Du Bartas', 'The Furies' and a 'Translator's Invocation'. The subsequent section is designated for James' own epic poem, the 'Lepanto'. The final part of the publication provides yet another Bartasian flourish with the inclusion of the Frenchman's interpretation, in his native vernacular, of the king's epic. As Campbell suggests, 'the whole work constitutes a most admirable record of literary reciprocity'.²⁶ In a prefatory note to his translation of the king's 'Lepanto', Du Bartas extends the literary branch of gratitude to James VI:

He! fusse-je vrayment, o Phoenix escossois,
 Ou l'ombre de ton corps, ou l'echo de ta voix,
 Si je n'avoy l'azur, l'or, et l'argent encore
 Dont ton plumage astre brillamment s'honore,
 Au moins j'auroy ta forme; et si mon rude vers
 N'exprimoit la douceur de tant d'accords divers,
 Il retiendroit quelque air de tes voix plus qu'humaines,
 Mais, pies, taisez-vous pour ouyr les Camoenes.²⁷

Du Bartas' poem exhibits an identical air of flattery as displayed in the king's preface to the 'Uranie'. Self-deprecating in his approach, Du Bartas signals his desire to emulate the poetic accomplishment of James VI. Cleverly evoking the memory of the king's 'Phoenix', the French poet expresses his wish to step out of the shadow of James' physical magnificence to echo his poetic voice. McClure argues that in returning the literary

²⁶ Campbell (1959), pg. 48.

favour, Du Bartas — who died a year before the *Poeticall Exercises* were published — shows a genuine admiration for the king, a sentiment which might perhaps be exaggerated or feigned by Scottish courtiers or aspiring poets seeking artistic benefaction. Minus the pressure of writing for patronage, Du Bartas' 'dignified compliment is surely a genuine expression of regard'.²⁷ McClure's assertion is justified through Du Bartas' invocation of Camoens' *Lusiads*²⁹ in the final line, which places the 'Lepanto' of James VI in a distinguished trajectory of European epic poetry.

Whilst respectfully acknowledging the king's competency in poetic composition, Du Bartas also exhibits an overriding gratitude towards the man who has revived his work for a new audience, James VI. Like the Scottish phoenix that the French poet glorifies in the dedication to his translation of 'Lepanto', the work of Du Bartas and its projected theodicy are imbued with new life. In order to express a heightened appreciation of the Scottish monarch, Du Bartas calls upon his theological convictions, in order to furnish his vocabulary with terms fitting for a Christian monarch. James is consequently sanctified by Du Bartas, with the king described in the penultimate line of the extract as 'plus qu'humaines'. Further, in the employment of the phoenix metaphor in which the bird dies and is reborn, James is aligned with Christ and the Resurrection. The Scottish monarch maintained throughout his early literary career that he was nothing more than a humble and obedient subject of the God-like French poet. Campbell however, in *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-century England* (1959), subverts the literary relationship between

²⁷ Du Bartas, quoted in J. Derrick McClure's 'O Phoenix Escossois': James VI as Poet', in *A Day Estivall – Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England and Poems previously unpublished*, Eds Gardner-Medwin and Williams (1990), p. 97.

²⁸ McClure (1990), pg. 97.

²⁹ Camoens' *Lusiads* (first published in 1572), a poem commemorating the pioneering voyages of discovery by the Portugese, is regarded by many as one of the greatest Renaissance epics. The *Lusiads* is considered to be predominantly concerned with the concept of nationhood, and more specifically with the potential threats to national stability, threats posed both from external enemies and also from a fundamental lack of insight and integrity from those within the country. All of these topics would have been of great interest to James VI.

James VI and Du Bartas. Du Bartas is likened to an apostle, introduced to Scotland by the God-like king James VI. This reading credits James VI for introducing Uranian iconography, replete with theological overtones, to Britain. This seemingly grandiose contention is partially justified by an exploration of the trajectory of Uranian impulses in literature during James' occupancy of the British throne and in the years immediately succeeding his death.³⁰

'The Uranie'

Just as Dame Fortune's governance in 'Phoenix' is founded on a system of exchange, so James' literary consciousness is dominated by the realisation 'that his relationship to other poets was one of reciprocity, and, further, that the roles he and other poets could play for each other were interchangeable'.³¹ As an author, James is never more overt in his collaborative approach to writing than in 1584, as he translates Du Bartas' *L'Uranie* and encourages the translation of the Frenchman's *La Judit*. British writers, such as the 'maister poet' Alexander Montgomerie, Puttenham and Gascoigne, are in the king's thoughts when he brings the *Essayes* together, subtly interweaving his textual tapestry with aspects of each writer's work. As outlined above however, no writer holds a greater place in the poetic imagination of James VI in his formative years than Guillaume Salluste Du Bartas.

In the narrative, of both the Du Bartas' original and James' translation, a retrospective account of adolescent folly is given, providing a warning against fundamentally misunderstanding poetic decorum. The poem begins with an older and somewhat

³⁰ James is preceded in his appropriation of the 'Christian Muse' by Edmund Spenser. In *Tears of the Muses* (a title taken from the work of fellow poet and friend Gabriel Harvey), Spenser shows Urania in her Bartasian guise as theologian, with her dialogue richly nuanced by biblical vocabulary. Time does not permit a thorough exploration of the relationship between James VI's *Uranie* and its English counterparts in this thesis. An adequate introduction is provided in Anne Lake Prescott's 'The Reception of Du Bartas in England', *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol 15, pp. 144-173 (1968).

³¹ Rickard (2007), p.46.

enlightened persona — a fictional representation of Du Bartas — as he describes his once ardent desire for literary repute greater than his peers:

Scarce was I yet in springtyme of my years,
When greening great for fame aboue my pears
Did make me lose my wonted chere and rest,
Essaying learned works with curious brest.
But as the *Pilgrim*, who for lack of light,
Cumd on the parting of two wayes at night,
He stayes assone, and in his mynde doeth cast,
What way to take while Moonlight yet doth last.³²

Hunger for fame and recognition in poetic composition rendered the adolescent persona devoid of inspiration other than that of curious learning, and consequently bereft of happiness. Positioned at the foot of Mount Parnassus, home of the Muses, the persona faced a juncture in his poetic career. In an embedded comparison, the persona parallels himself to a religious pilgrim, and, by implication, portrays the journey he must undertake as one in which enlightenment will be reached. In his prior pursuit of literary recognition, he existed in a state of hubris, blinded by false-confidence and naive ambition.

Consequently, moved to inaction by confusion and indecision, the younger persona ‘stayes assone, and in his mynd doeth cast/ What way to take’.³³

An intense hunger for the attainment of artistic status led the persona to experiment with genre and style, and he details how in the first instance he looked to texts of great repute from the Classical world for impetus:

I whyles essaide the *Grece* in Frenche to praise,
Whyles in that tounge I gaue a lusty glaise
For to descryue the *Troian* Kings of olde,
And them that *Thebes* and *Mycens* crowns did holde.³⁴

By elevating the vernacular to discuss epic histories and much-vaunted heroes, the persona shows how he was in touch with literary sensibilities of the age, but only partially. Whilst

³² Arber (1869), pg. 23, lines 1-8.

³³ Arber (1869), pg. 23, lines 7-8.

³⁴ Arber (1869), pg. 23, lines 13-16.

pondering the experimental literary avenues open to him, the persona indicates in passing that the history of his own country, rather than the history of Greece or Rome, might perhaps provide a more suitable subject for his native tongue. This should be an important realisation for the persona, yet he is unable to expand upon it, as it occurs at the beginning of his journey towards enlightenment

Du Bartas' *L'Uranie* exemplifies the new Renaissance preoccupation with the symbiosis of classic material with Christian poetics. Moreover, the narrative of spiritual and artistic enlightenment articulates the Renaissance conceit of the malleability of the self, incorporating humanistic philosophy from the early modern period's greatest thinkers. Echoes are found of Erasmus and Pico³⁵ in the belief that human beings, via education and a closer relationship to God, can transcend constraining earthly conceits, both physical and psychological, in order to move vertically on the chain of being.³⁶ In their subjugation of mistakes, man is subsequently reborn or re-moulded. Renaissance man thus comes to speculate on the nature of the self and learns to exert control over his own being.

As a woefully misguided youth, the persona of the 'Uranie' believed that the only way with which to win the acclaim of the Muses nine was

to set forth with flattering pen:
The praise vntrewe of Kings and noble men,
And that I might both golde and honours haue,
With courage basse I made my Muse a slaue.

³⁵ Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), *On the Dignity of Man*; Desiderius Erasmus (c.1467-1536), *Moriae encomium* (or *In Praise of Folly*) (1519).

³⁶ 'The Renaissance inherited the concept of the *scala naturae* – the ladder of Nature or Chain of Being. According to this, all things in Creation, from highest to lowest, are linked in a continuous series. In the divinely ordered universe, everything has its proper place and its proper relations to other things. The different parts of the whole are also related to each other by a system of correspondences: artistic creation corresponds to divine Creation... At the head of the Chain of Being comes God, the first Mover and Maker of all things. Everything descends from God in a hierarchical chain. Angels make up an order of being between God and man and are themselves subdivided by rank... just as angels are midway between God and man, so man is midway between angel and beast. Man is a microcosm of the greater macrocosm: like the universe, he is hierarchically composed. His higher, Rational Soul, allows him to perceive divine perfection. But in his fallen state, man cannot always govern his passions with the Rational Soul, and so he equally has much in common with the beasts. His soul aspires to the heaven, while his earthly body draws him down.' Hebron (2008), pp. 20-21.

Errant naivety encouraged the enslavement to poetic composition. In a youthful state of ignorance, secular desire caused the persona to gaze upon the female form, feasting on her appearance and virtues but failing to provide anything in exchange for the privilege. Economic necessity for literary exchange is here alluded to by the persona, and it is a concern that would readily have engaged writers seeking patronage in order to contribute to James' 'Renaissance' in the 1580s. However, by the very nature of his social position, the king does not require monetary aid in order to compose. As he embarks upon his translation of *L'Uranie*, James seeks literary, rather than economic, 'patronage'. In order to gain the literary respect he craves, James transforms himself from patriarch to subject. In translating *L'Uranie* under the title of 'apprentice' and by extension sympathising with the struggling persona in the first instance, James invites his peers to view him as their subordinate in the literary realm.

As has already been suggested, James' authorial position is elusive, yet what is demonstrable is his attempt to construct a multifarious literary identity (or perhaps identities) for himself. Du Bartas' persona is also a complex authorial figure. At times he is subordinate to the muses and at others, by retelling his story, he exerts complete control over them. In his account of youthful folly, the older and more enlightened Bartasian persona purposely scripts his younger self as the misguided Petrarchan lover. He has thus far recounted his narrative tale of youthful folly and continues by depicting himself, in terms of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, as being incapable of rational thought and action. Yet by clearly foregrounding, from a distant remove, his youthful naivety, the persona of 'The Uranie' implicitly constructs his current self as something other. Although he recognised the power of the male gaze to enslave the female, the persona was unaware that he, too, was equally a victim, enslaved by his own gaze effectively, and was therefore unable to progress further on Mount Parnassus in order to attain his ultimate goal of poetic credibility.

L'Uranie's subtly nuanced opening begs comparisons to the wistful tone of the *Canzoniere* wherein a similarly disoriented youth looks heavenwards for celestial guidance.³⁷ The scene is therefore set in James' 'The Uranie' for a spiritual appearance, signalled clearly by theological references to angels and pilgrims. At the lowest point in his confused state, the persona likens himself to a storm-tossed ship³⁸ in the midst of a great tempest:

And whyles I thought to sing the fickle boy
Of *Cypris* soft, and loues to-swete anoy,
To lofty sprits that are therewith made blynd,
To which discourse my nature and age inclynd.
But whill I was in doubt what way to go,
With wind ambitious tossed to and fro:
A holy beuty did to mee appeare.³⁹

The holy muse appears when the persona is in doubt about his literary identity and unsure of the steps he must take to fulfil his scholarly aspirations.

Unlike Petrarchan discourse, in which the female is described in terms of the 'divine', Du Bartas labels Uranie 'holy', elevating her divinity to a level not present in the Italian narrative. Nevertheless, although he seeks to transcend earthly conceits, the intelligent juxtaposition within the phrase 'holy beuty' simultaneously reminds readers that, at this point in his spiritual education, the persona is still pre-occupied with the physical:

³⁷ 'O you who hear within these scattered verses/ The sound of sighs with which I feed my heart/ In my first errant youthful days when I/ In part was not the man I am today...' Musa (1999), part 1, lines 1-4.

³⁸ Although a key Petrarchan motif, it is not unique to Petrarch's work. It can be found, closer to home, in the *Kingis Quair* (attributed to James I), which would most likely have been influenced by Boethius' application of the motif. The motif is fore-grounded in the introductory stanzas of the *Kingis Quair*: 'Though youth, of nature indegest, / Unrypit fruyte with windis variable... Ryght as the schip that sailith stereles / Upon the rokkis most to harmes hye, / For lak of it that suld bene hir supplye; / So standis thou here in this warldis rage, / And wantis that suld gyde all thy viage... Though Nature gave me suffisance in youth, / The rypenesse of resoun lakkit I / To governe with my will... Quhen stereles to travaile I begouth'. See Jack and Rozendaal, pp. 20-21, Stanzas 14-16 (1997). There are also some narrative overlaps between the *Kingis Quair* and James VI's 'Phoenix' and 'Uranie'. The *Quair* opens with a narrative persona reflecting on his past experiences in order to share with his reader the lessons learned from his various tribulations. Following a dream vision, in which the persona converses with Venus, is counselled by Minerva and then placed by Fortune on her ever-turning wheel, the persona wakes to a heavenly visitation from a turtle dove which seems to confirm that his torments have been divinely decreed. Again, see the introduction to *The Kingis Quair* in Jack and Rozendaal (1997), pg. 17. It should also be noted that the *Kingis Quair* survived in only one manuscript and would thus have enjoyed a limited readership.

The *Thunderers* daughter seeming as she weare.
 Her porte was Angellike with Angels face,
 With comely shape and tounge of heauenly grace:
 Her nynvoked mouth resembled into sound
 The daunce harmonious making heauen resound.
 Her head was honorde with a costly crown,
 Seuinfolde and round, to dyuers motions boun. ⁴⁰

It is not difficult to find allusions to the *Canzoniere* within *L'Uranie*. Petrarch's seminal work, however, is not the only intertextual point of reference to be found within Du Bartas' text, as it is further enriched and nuanced by the evocation of biblical literature and song. Each description of the physicality of the female muse Urania is here adjectively consolidated by theological terminology. Her visage is 'angellike', her voice 'of heavenly grace' and her poised movement 'harmonious'. The as-yet anonymous apparition exists in direct contrast to a persona wracked with inner turmoil. In his darkest moments, the heavenly muse provides a light by which the Bartasian persona might recognise the spiritual path to poetic accomplishment.

An unequal weighting is given to the description of the adornment of the Muse's body. Unlike in secular amatory verse, wherein the female form is idolised and coveted, the unenlightened pilgrim of the 'Uranie' desires only the material possessions of the female he beholds in his gaze. The persona is most enthused by Uranie's 'costly crown':

Seuinfolde and round, to dyuers motions boun:
 On euery folde I know not what doth glance,
 Aboue our heads into a circuler dance.
 The first it is of Lead, of Tin the nixt,
 The third of Stele, the fourth of gold vnmixt,
 The fyfth is made of pale Electre light,
 The sixt of Mercure, seuint of Siluer bright. ⁴¹

³⁹ Arber (1869), pg. 23, lines 25-31.

⁴⁰ Arber (1869), pg. 24, lines 32-38.

⁴¹ Arber (1869), pg. 24, lines 39-44.

Uranie's sacrosanct mysticism enchants the persona, yet the persona cannot fully comprehend this. Confused and in a state of youthful ignorance, he continues to focus all of his attention on her appearance:

Her corps is coured with an Asure gowne,
Where thousand fires ar sowne both vp and downe:
Whilks with an arte, but arte, confusde in order,
Dois with their beames decore thereof the border.
Heir shyness Charlewain, there the Harp giues light,
And heir the Seamans starres, and there Twinnis bright,
And heir the Ballance, there the Fishes twaine,
With thousand other fyres, that pas my braine.⁴²

In the eyes of the younger persona, the Uranian muse, owing to her power over the stars, somewhat frivolously utilises the 'thousand fires' as mere decorations on her azure robe. Yet she is, in actuality, more concerned with awakening spirituality in mankind, using the stars not as providential tools, but as radiant guides leading to spiritual enlightenment. The 'million de faux',⁴³ or thousand burnished stars, encrusted on her blue gown, are sown 'with an arte, but arte, confused in order'. Each starry embellishment gleams equally bright as the next and exists in the firmament in no prearranged order, with their nonchalant beauty an artful embodiment of *sprezzatura*.⁴⁴ James later, in his 'Reulis and Cautelis', elaborates upon this notion of *sprezzatura* when he articulates how natural and unforced poetic talent — 'inventioun' — produces the most sophisticated and weighty works.⁴⁵ The implication in James' assertion would seem to be that only those inspired by God and 'holy beauty' are able to create art in the fashion of *sprezzatura*.

⁴² Arber (1869), pg. 24, lines 45-52.

⁴³ Arber (1869), pg. 24, line 46.

⁴⁴ *Sprezzatura*, an Italian term, finds articulation in Baldesar Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (or *The Book of the Courtier*, finished 1516). *Sprezzatura* is used in literary critical discourse to denote those aspects of art which seem superficially reckless but which have been carefully considered and crafted, or as Hebron (2008) defines it, 'a difficult operation made to seem effortless', pg. 135.

⁴⁵ Arber (1869), pp. 65-66, Chapter VI.

Following a comprehensive description of the female figure, the heavenly apparition — unlike Petrarch's Laura — is finally allowed a voice, with which she introduces herself and her celestial remit:

I am said she, that learned VRANIE,
That to the Starres transports humanitie,
And maks men see and twiche with hands and ene
It that the heauenly court contemplating bene.⁴⁶

Uranie explains that she is responsible for man's ascendance to a higher spirituality and it is implied that an enlightened wisdom, stemming from learning, will pave the way for man's access to the celestial court, where poetic acclaim awaits.

All art is learned by art, this art alone
It is a heauenly gift: no flesh nor bone
Can preis the honnie we from *Pinde* distill,
Except with holy fyre his breest we fill.
From that spring flowes, that men of speciall chose,
Consumde in learning, and perfyte in prose,
For to make verse in vaine dois trauell take.
When as a prentise fairer works will make.
That made that *Homer*, who a songster bene,
Albeit a beggar, lacking master, and ene,
Exceded in his verse both new and olde,
In singing *Vliss* and *Achilles* bolde.
That made that *Naso* nocht could speak but verse,
That *Dauid* made my songs so sone reherse,
Of Pastor Poët made.⁴⁷

Uranie employs her voice to bestow wisdom upon the male figure, rather than plunge him further into uncertainty and chaos, as is the case with Laura in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.

Uranie is conferred a further spiritual significance by means of Du Bartas' titular qualification, *La Muse Chrestienne* and, as the self-proclaimed embodiment of Christian theology, she is regarded within the narrative as the source of inspiration for pious literature. At her most iconographic in literature and lore throughout the Renaissance period, however, Urania is shown as the goddess of astrology, despite being fashioned by

⁴⁶ Arber (1869), pg. 25, lines 54-57.

⁴⁷ Arber (1869), pg. 25, lines 86-100.

Du Bartas as the ‘Christian Muse’, and this facet of Urania’s nature is briefly glimpsed in the introductory pages of James’ translation. Reference to the ‘twinnis bright’, the ‘Balance’, and ‘the Fishes twaine’ evoke the astrological signs today recognised as Gemini, Libra and Pisces. References to the zodiacal signs furnish ‘The Uranie’ with yet another textual layer, transporting it heavenwards and importing a greater symbolism on the work.

James VI’s decision to translate Du Bartas’ text is an undertaking which highlights his proffered identification with the muse Urania. In ‘The Uranie’, as God’s closest servant on earth, she is a figure equipped to lead her people out of darkness to spiritual enlightenment.

Hope emerges for the persona as the muse regales him:

I quint-essence the Poets soule so well,
While he in high discours excede him sell,
Who by the eare the deafest doeth allure,
Reuiues the rocks, and stayes the floods for sure.⁴⁸

If, by affiliating himself to Uranie, James wished to cast himself in her likeness, then as patron of a new poetics in his Renaissance, the king must also be shown to ‘quint-essence the Poets soule’. As author in his own right, James cultivates a keen understanding of poetic composition through the continued publication of his own material, whilst simultaneously proving a stable locus of divine inspiration for those he sponsors.

Although she speaks encouragingly of her sisters, Uranie is nevertheless disparaging of their lack of Godly impetus:

The tone is pleasaunt of my sisters deir:
Yet though their throts make heauen and earth admire,
They yeld to me no lesse in singing well,
Then Pye to Syraine, goose to Nightingell.
Take me for guyde, lyft vp to heauen thy wing
O Salust, Gods immortal honour sing:
And bending higher *Dauids* Lute in tone,
With courage seke yon endles crowne abone.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Arber (1869), pg. 25, lines 58-61.

She praises the artful nature of the Muses' songs and shows how their artifice might have superficially won the attention of both heaven and earth, but that artifice in itself will not lead to poetic success. Uranie promotes herself as the only true spiritual guide⁵⁰ and suggests to the persona that he might use his verse to likewise sing 'Gods immortals honour'.⁵¹ Biblical psalms are offered as literature most worthy of a divine subject, as Uranie instructs the persona to bend 'higher *Dauids* Lute in tone' and 'with courage seke yon endles crowne abone'.⁵² Within the *Essayes*, James adheres to the advice imparted by Urania by including 'The CIIII Psalme, 'translated ovt of Tremellivs'', in which the Lord is asked by his devout subject to inspire both his spirit and his art.⁵³ There is, then, an apparent trajectory of Christian-humanist concerns throughout the *Essayes*, stimulated by James' humanist education and, arguably, also by his reading of Du Bartas' *L'Uranie*.

The muse continues her discussion by showing her disapproval of poets who have appropriated the name of the gods in fickle praise of unworthy men:

I no wais can, vnwet my cheekes, beholde
 My sisters made by Frenchemen macquerels olde,
 Whose mignarde writts, but faynd lamenting vaine,
 And fayned teares and shamles tales retaine.
 But weping neither can I see then spyte
 Our heauenly verse, when do nothing wryte,
 But Princes flattery that ar tyrants rather.⁵⁴

Uranie's lamentation provides a truly virtuous foil to those poems that were written with feigned sincerity by the persona's peers. Uranie's impassioned plea is made with moistened face, with her tears a means of purification for literature (in both Du Bartas'

⁴⁹ Arber (1869), pp. 25-26, lines 61-68.

⁵⁰ Arber (1869), pg. 25, line 65.

⁵¹ Arber (1869), pg. 27, line 66.

⁵² Arber (1869), pg. 27, lines 68-69.

⁵³ 'Lord inspire my spreit and pen, to praise/ Thy Name, whose greatnes farr surpassis all: Which cleithis the ouer: about the lyke a wall/The light remainis. O thow, whose charge and call/ Made Heauens lyke courtenis for to spread abreid,/ Who bowed the waters so, as serue they shall/ For cristall syllring ouer thy house to gleid.' Arber (1869), pg. 70, lines 1-8.

⁵⁴ Arber (1869), pg. 27, lines 70-76.

original and James' translation, it is French literature) but more particularly for Du Bartas' persona, who is charged with the task of beginning the regeneration by reversing the barrage of sacrilegious and iconoclastic sentiments previously fostered by writers of false idols. In his seminal collection of work, James similarly moves to eradicate any doubt as to where his religious impulses and poetic influences are to be found. He implies throughout the *Essayes* that it is to God in the first instance, and godly works in the second instance, that he will look to provide his literary 'renaissance' with its own impetus.

Superficially, the hybridity of James' *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* leaves the reader questioning the relevance of each text, from one piece to the next. Yet, as the discussion in 'The Uranie' moves towards art, it begins to articulate with the concluding piece in James' compilation, the 'Reulis and Cautelis':

All art is learned by art, this art alone
 It is a heauenly gift: no flesh nor bone
 Can preis the honnie we from *Pinde* distill,
 Except with holy fyre his breest we fill.
 From that spring flowes, that men of speciall chose,
 Consumde in learning, and perfyte in prose,
 For to make verse in vaine dois trauell take.
 When as a prentise fairer works will make.⁵⁵

In order to publish anonymously his first collection of writing, James assumes the literary pseudonym 'prentise', and there is a case to be made that the king finds his alias within the pages of Du Bartas' *L'Uranie*. In her discussion of artistic composition,⁵⁶ Uranie instructs the persona that it is often the younger and more inexperienced writer who delivers the most truthful creation. Again, parallels are easily drawn between the lesson here imparted by the heavenly muse and with James' position as a novice poet.

⁵⁵ Arber (1869), pg. 27, lines 86-94.

⁵⁶ Arber (1869), pg. 27, lines 93-94.

In a logical progression, Uranie's discussion moves from art to God. The Uranian muse asserts that since God in his omnipotence is the creator of all on earth, and since art is an imitation of nature, so true and virtuous art must be inspired by God in heaven:

So heauenly fury can
 Make man pas man, and wander in holy mist,
 Vpon the fyrie heauen to walk at list.
 Within that place the heauenly Poets sought
 Their learning, syne to vs heare downe it brought,
 With verse that ought to *Atropos* no dewe
 Dame *Naturs* trunchmen, heauens interprets trewe,
 For Poets right are lyke the pype alway,
 Who full doth sound, and empty staves to play:
 Euen to their fury lasting, lasts their tone,
 Their fury ceast, their Muse doth stay assone.⁵⁷

As 'heauens interprets trewe',⁵⁸ poets must interpret God's word in their work, as Uranie instructs the persona:

Sen verse did then in heauen first bud and blume,
 If ye be heauenly, how dar ye presume
 A verse prophane, and mocking for to sing
 Gainst him that leads of starrie heauens the ring?
 Will ye then so ingrately make your pen,
 A slaue to sinne, and serue but fleshly men?
 Shall still your brains be busied then to fill
 With dreames, o dreamers, euery booke and bill?⁵⁹

Accordingly, literature should not be used for the promotion of anyone or anything other than God. It must, instead, be gainfully employed to glorify God's word. It is worth considering to whom this directive in the 'Uranie' is aimed. As this thesis has attempted to argue, James makes clear that his cultural directives have been set forth to inspire and guide those with at least some familiarity, or the beginnings of knowledge, of poetic decorum, and not (as has been argued in previous literature) necessarily to the most technically accomplished poets. Uranie's advice must therefore be read as advice which is conferred upon aspiring artists in an attempt to instigate a wider-reaching cultural and faith-based regeneration. By translating this poem, James shows an affiliation with the

⁵⁷ Arber (1869), pg. 29, lines 118-128.

⁵⁸ Arber (1869), pg. 29, line 114.

⁵⁹ Arber (1869), pg. 29, lines 129-132.

sentiments contained within, and continues to mould himself as a monarch inextricably involved with the Protestant faith.

James' literary writing is crucially important to him as a medium through which to carve out identities for himself which might cast him positively as a man who is amiable and familiar, and not a straightforward replacement for past administrations burdened with political deceit and religious conflict. By cultivating a close affiliation with *L'Uranie* and its Christian ethos, James fashions himself as a progressive thinker, an earthly disciple of God's word and a man more than worthy of the classical pseudonym, Apollo:

James Stuart arrived in England in 1603 with a well-developed understanding of the role of a king in the religious life of his kingdom. The understanding had two prime sources: the Protestant understanding of the bible as it related to kingship, and his experience as a young king of Scotland. The Scottish reign not only affected James' own view of his role, it also developed expectations among the English, as they looked to the church and court of Scotland for a model of what they themselves might expect in 1603.⁶⁰

James' 'Protestant understanding of the bible as it related to kingship' is apparent in his numerous literary endeavours, but more particularly in those self-authored and self-patronised publications of the 1580s, with which his cultural 'renaissance' launches. James' authorial stance in the *Essayes* is (both consciously and unconsciously) craftily poised between the tutelary and the inexpert, but remains, at all times, predicated upon theological tenets. The dichotomy which plays out in the *Essayes* between master and 'prentise' is just one layer of literary reciprocity to be found within the pages of James' cultural manifesto but, when one considers the closing sentiments imparted by the Christian muse to the aspiring persona in the 'Uranie', it is perhaps the most significant:

To please the Reader is ones whole cair,
The vther for to proffite mair and mair:
But only he of *Laurell* is conding,
Who wysely can with proffit, pleasure ming...
So, wyse is he, who in his verse can haue
Skill mixt with pleasure, sports with doctrine graue.
In singing kepe this order shoven you heir,

⁶⁰ Doelman (2002), pg. 7.

Then ye your self, in teaching men shall leir
 The rule of liuing well, and happely shall
 Your songs make, as your them immortal all.⁶¹

In his literary domain, James willingly occupies the position of didact, and this is evidenced by the litany of authorial interventions posted throughout his *Essayes*. The Christian muse, Uranie, instructs the persona that man can learn to live discerningly by means of educating others. James' constructed authorial identities, wherein he acts as author, subject, and — importantly — reader, exhibit a willing embrace of Uranie's literary ethos. Whilst actively seeking to attain poetic credibility as a novice poet, James simultaneously instils a defined set of poetic objectives in the consciousness of his reader.

As a complete package then, the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* represents an influential metafictional manifesto, coloured by Christian-humanist impulses, to which aspiring poets and readers alike are encouraged to turn for inspiration and guidance. In the same year that saw the publication of the *Essayes of a Prentise*, James' cultural directives, as determined in his *Essayes*, are given a literary embodiment in Thomas Hudson's translation of Du Bartas' *La Judit*. Hudson's *The History of Judith*, has been commonly neglected in literary critical discourse, yet paradoxically so, when, 'it has elsewhere been called "one of the major works of the Castalian Renaissance"'.⁶² Hudson's text, a by-product of Jamesian directives, therefore deserves careful reconsideration, and should yield positive examples of a further facet of James' authorial identity, his literary patronage and influence.

⁶¹ Arber (1869), pg. 37.

⁶² See footnote 9 in Bawcutt, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', pg. 252, SHR 80 (2001).

Chapter 4. Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith*

In *Authorship and Identity: The Writings of James VI and I* (2007), Rickard argues that whether James

authored part-authored, or authorised a text — wrote it single-handedly, wrote it with assistance, or commissioned others to write for him — that text was still associated with his authority and could contribute to shaping public perception of him.¹

In Rickard's opinion, James VI's literary identity is shaped not only by the control he exerted over his personal single-authored publications, but also by the extension of his literary expertise and royal name to a number of collaborative pieces of poetry throughout his reign of both Scotland and England. Furthermore, Rickard draws attention to an important element significantly characterising the portfolio of James VI, namely his literary patronage of other writers. The monarch's encouragement of a number of writers in a variety of literary pursuits accordingly implies an intimate association with the ideas imparted in the final patronised products.

The dynamics of Jacobean collaborative poetics have already been partly outlined in the previous chapters of this thesis, as the critical focus moved from James VI as the author of 'original' texts (the 'Phoenix') to an examination of the nature of James' role as translator (the 'Uranie'). This chapter seeks to begin addressing the final facet of James VI's authorial identity (as outlined by Rickard above), his active participation in the act of literary composition by means of the considered sponsorship of others. Scholarship in the field of Scottish Renaissance literature has, for many years, tended to locate the importance of the period in coterie poetics, with critics debating the nature and composition of a 'Castalian Band' through which James' patronage supposedly encouraged the growth in poetic output in the years immediately predating the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Yet recent scholarship (McClune [2005] and also Fischlin and Fortier [2002]) has sought to

redress critical misreadings of the Jacobean period and to undermine an overly simplistic interpretation of the concept of courtly coterie as originally promulgated by Shire (1969) and as perpetuated by literary critics thereafter. Despite recent scholarly reinterpretations of the exact nature of poetics in this period, James VI's literary patronage of aspiring artists remains an important dimension of his cultural profile throughout his reign.

The literary and courtly fortunes of Fowler, Montgomerie and Drummond have been well documented in criticism of Scottish Renaissance literature. Alexander Montgomerie and William Fowler feature in James VI's *Essayes*, and understandably so, being prevalent figures in Scottish diplomatic matters, and poets in their own right. Nevertheless, this hierarchy of Scottish cultural figures is not explicitly foregrounded as the most important source of poetic inspiration for readers of James' collection. Although Montgomerie is considered in critical discourse as an important figure in the trajectory of Scottish Renaissance poetics, he does not enjoy the same central position in James VI's consciousness at the time of the *Essayes*' compilation. The dynamics of Scottish Renaissance poetics do not hinge, therefore, on the work of a 'Maister poet', but on an abstraction or coterie of ideas, objectives which are religiously nuanced to reflect Protestant doctrine and that are overtly concerned with the nature of creativity and apposite reading practice. As a literary figure deeply interested in the aforementioned concerns, the French Huguenot poet, Salluste Du Bartas, as shown in Chapter 3, emerges as a perfect role model for James VI in his divinely inspired literary renaissance.

Previous literary criticism (Jack [1997], Lyall [2005]) has made the connection between Du Bartas and King James VI, yet on the whole critics seem to remain unwilling to spend time unpacking the exact dynamics of an important literary and ideological fraternity based on this connection which manifests itself in the formative years of James VI's personal

¹ Rickard (2007), pg. 11.

reign. Closer examination of the poetry produced between 1584 and 1603 in Scotland shows a keen interest by many poets in the work of Salluste Du Bartas. Indeed, an ‘englished’ translation of Du Bartas’ seminal Christian epic *La Judit* is made by a courtier of the King and published by the royal printer in the same year as James VI attempts to instigate a cultural renaissance with his first publication, the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (1584). With numerous stylistic, thematic and conceptual overlaps between Hudson’s *Historie of Judith* and the *Essayes*, and as the only other printed literary (in the modern sense of the word) text in this year, it is difficult to comprehend why these two books have never, until now, been subject to a comparative critical analysis.

Thomas Hudson

Thomas Hudson’s accomplished translation of Du Bartas’ religious epic, *La Judit*, has been virtually neglected in its own right in literary criticism. Furthermore, those few commentators who have fully engaged with the text have shown in their scholarship an abiding indifference to Hudson’s poetics. Craigie (1941) determines that, whilst

Thomas Hudson’s *Historie of Judith* has usually been dismissed in a few contemptuous words, it is not wholly a contemptible piece of work. But interesting as it is in itself it gains an additional importance from the circumstances in which it was made.²

Despite focusing his attention in his introduction upon Thomas Hudson’s stylistics and his various merits and faults as a translator, Craigie pinpoints, although somewhat briefly, the contextual significance of its publication. Amongst those who have written on Thomas Hudson’s translation, the general consensus is that Hudson was neither a prolific poet nor greatly skilled in composition. Accordingly, in order to bring out the *raison d’être* of the book, Hudson’s *Judith* should not be read for the way it projects the poetic flair of the poet but rather it should be read in a New Historicist vein, as a text which reflects more

² Craigie (1941), pg. xxii.

significantly various aspects of the religio-political age in which it reaches the consciousness of the Scottish reading public.

The scarcity of biographical information on Hudson and the lack of evidence of his artistic output make the task of a thorough critical reappraisal of his work difficult. Indeed, Craigie avows that a dearth of knowledge regarding the court musician leaves one with no option but to conclude that Hudson

belonged to that large class which makes little stir in the world while it is alive and which is promptly forgotten as soon as it is dead. So lightly did he impress himself upon his contemporaries that not one of them has a reference to the man himself, though one or two make reference of his *Historie of Judith*.³

Contemporaneous evidence exists, however, which casts Thomas Hudson in a more positive light as a poet. Craigie's sketch of Hudson's time at the pre-Union court of James VI remains the best informed source for his life events, with the editors of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry holding it as the authority on the poet's biography.⁴ Despite utilising to the best of his capabilities archival evidence available, Craigie's biographical outline of Hudson is at times, understandably based on conjecture.

As no reference exists to either his birth or of his death, there is no way to ascertain the exact age of Thomas Hudson when he came to make his translation of the *Judith*; however, an educated attempt at determining these dates can, at least approximately, be made:

What age he was at the time of his first appearance in the records of the time, which was in 1567, is unknown, but he must by then have been a grown man, which would place his birth before 1550 and perhaps even before 1545. Since...he was still alive in 1595 it does not seem probable that he was born much, if any, before 1520; he may not even have been born until after 1530.⁵

³ Craigie (1941), pg. viii.

⁴ The *Oxford DNB* entry on Thomas Hudson was originally contributed by T.W. Bayne, and subsequently revised by Willy Maley. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14040>. Entry accessed 8 August 2009]

⁵ Craigie (1941), pg. xii.

If the dating of Hudson's birth is virtually impossible, it is still more difficult to determine conclusively when Thomas Hudson died. Craigie surmises that Hudson was certainly alive and a prominent figure at court in 1595 and posits this as potentially the last year in which Thomas Hudson was active in the public sphere. Consequently, general critical consensus has settled on this as a date of death for Hudson.

There is evidence, however, to suggest that Hudson might still have been alive three years prior to the Union of the Crowns. In 1600, a commonplace book of quotations collected by John Bodenham appeared under the title *Belvedere, or Garden of the Muses*. Included in this collection are a number of one- and two-line excerpts from a multitude of authors and ordered under a variety of subject headings. In collating the quotations, Bodenham does not reference the titles of the work of the authors cited but in the editor's address 'To The Reader' he provides

classified lists of the authors excerpted, and in that of the "Modern and extant Poets, that have liv'd together" occurs the name of Thomas Hudson. Little, however, was taken from him, for he is represented by only six quotations from *The Historie of Judith*, amounting in all to eleven lines.⁶

It is of little significance that Hudson's translation merits only six lines in *Belvedere*. Of greater significance for the modern critic of Thomas Hudson is Bodenham's description of the works contained within his book as being produced by "Modern and extant Poets". If this sentiment is taken literally, one must conclude that Hudson was indeed alive at the time of compilation of this collection. Yet, just as in today's literary climate, where the study of 'modern' poetry encapsulates within its remit poets who have died in the recent past, 'modern and extant' is also used in Bodenham's list to refer to a number of writers who have recently passed away. Thomas Hudson occupies a position in a list of writers, both alive and deceased, including William Shakespeare, Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser.⁷ Although it does not definitely confirm nor deny Hudson's existence in 1600,

⁶ Craigie (1941), pg. 152, Appendix B.

⁷ Bodenham, *Belvedere, or Garden of the muses* (1600), images 1-5 accessed from Early English Books Online [<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Website accessed 9 August 2009].

Bodenham's collection witnesses a seventeenth-century interest in and audience for Hudson's translation.⁸

Most critics who have studied the life of Thomas Hudson are in agreement that he was certainly not alive to witness his patron ascend the throne of England following the Union of the Crowns in 1603. However, in the most recent attempt by the *Oxford DNB* to chart the life of Hudson, Maley, somewhat optimistically, conjectures a later time of death for Hudson, considering the year 1605 as the likeliest date of death. Maley settles on this date owing to the installation of John Gib as the new Master of the Chapel Royal in February of the same year, succeeding Hudson.

In literary critical scholarship derived from Helena Shire (1969), Hudson is accepted as an Englishman, with evidence in a number of documents specifically charting his nationality. Where reference is made to the Hudson family in Latin documents of the *Exchequer Rolls*, the Hudson brothers, four brothers who lived and worked at the Scottish court of King James VI as musicians in the first instance, are described as 'anglis, histrionibus dictis violaris'.⁹ Irving¹⁰ sees this as conclusive evidence of Thomas Hudson's English roots, whilst a mortgage contract held within the *Register of Deeds*, wherein a 'Thomas Hudson, violar' is referenced, provisionally places the family in the north of England, at York. As further evidence that Hudson was other than a Scotsman, Craigie (1941) calls upon a textual reference, a commendatory sonnet written by King James VI in praise of his musician. It names Hudson as a 'straunger':

Since ye immortal sisters nine has left
All other countries lying farre or neare:
To follow him who from them all you reft,
And now hes caused your residence be here

⁸ In the same year of publication as Bodenham's *Belvedere*, Robert Allott's *England's Parnassus* appeared in print. Allot's collection exhibits a similar interest, more generally in religious poetry and more particularly in the work of Hudson, with *The Historie of Judith* providing 54 of the 2350 extracts. The inclusion of Hudson in this collection similarly exhibits a keen interest or enjoyment in the *Judith*.

⁹ Craigie (1941), pp. x-xi.

¹⁰ Irving (1861), pg. 463 .

Who though a straunger yet he loved so dere
 This Realme and me, so as he spoiled his awne,
 And all the brookes & banks, & fountains clere
 That be therein of you as he hath shawne
 In this his worke...¹¹

James' sonnet verifies Hudson's presence at court as a foreigner, yet it also displays the warm friendship between the men and further highlights James VI's willingness to extend a cordial hand to his cross-border neighbours.

If the specifics of Hudson's biography are elusive, the details of the poet-musician's time at the Scottish court of James VI are much easier to define. The *Register of the Privy Seal* and the *Register of Deeds* provide valuable (if minimal) information on Thomas Hudson, while the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* definitely place him within the Jacobean court as the recipient of an annual wage between 1579 and 1595.¹² Throughout his time in Scotland, Hudson enjoyed an enduring relationship with the Scottish monarchy originating during the king's infancy. Indeed, the relationship between the Hudsons and the Scottish monarchy can be seen to extend further back, evidenced by Burlinson when he states that

the Hudsons...appear to have been present in Scotland in 1565 at the wedding of Mary, queen of Scots, and Lord Darnley.¹³

Thomas Hudson is referred to on a list of court personnel made in 1567 for James VI's guardian, the Earl of Mar. On this list, he is mentioned, along with his brothers, as a violar and court musician. Such a position of significance at court indicates a comfortable existence for the Hudson brothers. The individual status of Thomas Hudson at James VI's court was further validated by having his position salaried, and Craigie (1941) speculates how, as the recipient of the greatest wage amongst the brethren, Thomas might have been regarded, in his own lifetime, as the most prolific violar. In June 1586, marking the

¹¹ Craigie (1941), pg. 6.

¹² See Craigie (1941), pg vi-xxi, for detailed references to the *Register of the Privy Seal*, *Register of Deeds* and the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*.

¹³ Christopher Burlinson, 'Hudson, Robert (d. 1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept. 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14038>]

pinnacle of Hudson's career, the violar was appointed master of the Chapel Royal, providing legitimisation for Craigie's assertion:

Thairfore his heines with avise foirsaid and of Mr Robert Douglas provest of Lincluden collector generall of the surplus of the thirds benefices within this realms makand constituand and ordinand Thomas Hudsoun musiciane maister of his maiesties chapel royall and commissioner for his hienes in that pairt during all the days of his lifetime with power to him to search and try the auld fundatioun of the said chapel royal.¹⁴

Literary-critical posterity consequently remembers Hudson as a musician of relative finesse. So it is, therefore, greatly anomalous that the first major publication of the Jacobean literary Renaissance should come from a man not particularly renowned, in either his lifetime or in today's literary-critical consciousness, as a man of letters. In 1584, Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith* was the first (and significantly only) text from the pen of a poet other than James VI to be both patronised and printed by the royal printing press in the fledgling year of the king's cultural regeneration. Rickard's earlier definition of James VI's authorial identity, wherein the king's literary self is predicated upon collaborative poetics, provides an excellent starting point from which to bring into focus Hudson's hugely significant, yet largely overlooked, text, and how it fitted into the Jacobean literary project.

The Historie of Judith

Extant documentation evidencing Hudson's biography reveal the year 1584 as the beginning of his rise to 'literary' prominence in Jacobean Scotland, a promotion at least partly no doubt the result of Hudson's translation of Du Bartas' *La Judit* at the behest of his patron, King James VI. Careful reconsideration of both James' *Essayes of a Prentise* and Hudson's *Judith* increasingly highlights the influence and significance of Salluste Du Bartas in the Scottish cultural consciousness over a period of at least three years, at the end

¹⁴ Craigie (1941), pg. 140.

of which time the French poet, and locus of inspiration for James VI, spent a relatively prolonged period¹⁵ in the company of the young monarch at the court in Scotland.¹⁶ In a period when Petrarchan discourse greatly occupies his English poetic counterparts, James VI readily turns to the work of Salluste Du Bartas as a source for his poetic inspiration. James explicitly aligns his writing with the nuanced Protestantism of Du Bartas in his translation of *L'Uranie* (rather than with aspects of the latter's poetics), and encourages other Scottish writers to do the same. In so doing, James begins to mould himself through literature as a godly monarch. Furthermore, his role as patron of the arts and monarch of a kingdom also places him, in authorial terms, as a god-like entity with the power to inspire, shape, approve and disapprove any poetic composition taking place in his realm. In contrast, as a mere musician and subject at the Scottish court, it is impossible for Thomas Hudson to speak with the same authority. Seemingly aware of this, Hudson plays upon his specific status as subject in the dedication to King James VI which opens his translation. In this dedication, Hudson replicates the authorial stance of Du Bartas, as set out in the French original, but adapts and extends the text in specific places to include more Scottish concerns. Hudson explains how his patron, the king, offered *La Judit* as a text with which the musician might experiment in order to hone his literary proficiency. James VI's encouragement of Hudson operates on the same authorial level as the support given to Du Bartas by Princess Jeanne, Queen of Navarre:

*Beloued Reader, it is about fourtene years past since I was commanded by the late Illustrate and most vertuous Princesses Iean, Queene of Navarre, to reduce the Historie of Judith, in forme of a Poeme Epique.*¹⁷

¹⁵ Evidence now points to Du Bartas being in Scotland c. 25 May 1587 to September 1587.

¹⁶ Du Bartas' popularity was not confined to the north, as in 1587 he also proceeded to spend time in Elizabethan England. Archibald Douglas, friend to Thomas Hudson, was integral in the negotiations which resulted in Du Bartas spending time in England. For evidence of Douglas' involvement, see *British History Online*, 'Cecil Papers: June 1587', *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 3: 1583-1589* (1889), pp. 252-59. Of particular interest is the letter addressed by T. Hudson to Archibald Douglas, 1 May 1587 and also the letter dated 7 May 1587, addressed by Sir Francis Walsingham to Archibald Douglas. [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=111502&str>. Website accessed August 2009.]

¹⁷ Craigie (1941), pg. 8.

Although deliberately setting up parallels between his own translation and the French original, Hudson ensures that his work has its own distinction. In the admonition to *La Judit*, Du Bartas is overt in where he believes authorial responsibility is to be found:

And if the effect hath not answered to my desire, I beseech thee to laye the fault upon her who proposed to me so meane a Theame of subject, and not on mee who could not honestly disobeye.¹⁸

The Queen of Navarre is explicitly foregrounded by Du Bartas as both his poetic muse and as a potential threat to the quality of his translation. The French poet argues that his abiding desire to satisfy his patron led to the production of *La Judit*, in a show of poetic obedience. Du Bartas qualifies his assertion, however, by stating how the enforced subject matter of *La Judit* might ultimately lead to his failure. Hudson is less antagonistic in his approach, asking that any praise for his translation be dedicated towards the king, the person responsible for recommending *La Judit*, and that any faults be attributed to the translator, Hudson himself:

If I have done well, let the praise redound to your Maiest. whose censure I have vnderlyen. If otherwise, let my default of skill, bee imputed to my selfe, or at least my good entention allowed, whereby others may have occasion to do better.¹⁹

Hudson is, however, reluctant to claim complete responsibility for his work. He relinquishes responsibility for any incongruous elements in his translation by stressing the discomfort he felt in undertaking the task initially, explicitly making James VI accountable for suggesting the undertaking. Moreover, Hudson sets forth his text as a ‘work in progress’, extending editorial rights to his translation to his royal patron:

I suppose your Maiest. shall find litl of my Authors meaning pretermitted. Wherefore if thus much be done by me, who am of an other profession, and of so simple literature, I leave it to be considered by your Maiest. what such as ar consummat in letters & knows the wieghtie words, the pithie sentences, the polished tearmes, and full efficacie of the English tounge would have done. Receive then Sir, of your owne Servant, this little worke at your owne commandement enterprised, corrected by your Maiest. owne hand, and dedicated to your own highnesse.²⁰

¹⁸ Craigie (1941), pg 8, lines 10-14.

¹⁹ Craigie (1941), pg. 5, lines 55-59.

²⁰ Craigie (1941), pg. 4-5, lines 46-55.

His ‘little worke’, at the king’s ‘commandement enterprised’ is completely given over to his patron to amend in any way he sees fit. Hudson, unlike Du Bartas, prevents himself from advocating that the reader lay blame upon his sovereign should they disagree with any editorial decision. The translator’s caution to his readers provides further definition to the concept of dialogical poetics in the Jamesian Renaissance. The entire project of translating Du Bartas’ *La Judit* is an interdependent one from inception to completion. Indeed, Hudson’s admission that the very idea to translate the French religious epic occurred during a discussion with James VI over dinner suggests in itself a comfortable interchange of ideas concerning poetics at the Scottish court. Hudson responds to the king’s initial suggestion of utilising Du Bartas as poetic inspiration by translating *La Judit*, and then, when ‘complete’, Hudson presents his text to James, welcoming editorial intervention.

The literary ‘conversation’ in 1584 is, however, not confined merely to two contributors in the shape of James VI and Thomas Hudson. By providing the source material and poetic influence and, as discussed in the previous chapter, by later translating the king’s *Lepanto*, Salluste Du Bartas is also implicated in a fictional dialogue. More locally, a number of Scottish writers express an interest in engaging with cultural directives infused by the work of Du Bartas, and they enter the conversation in 1584 by providing dedicatory sonnets to preface the *Essayes* and, to a lesser extent, the *Judith*. As well as King James VI’s dedicatory sonnet for Hudson’s *Judith*, there is also a second dedicatory sonnet prefacing Hudson’s translation of *La Judit* by William Fowler.²¹ Here, Fowler provides a sonnet of praise, not only of the translator but of King James VI and, importantly, of Du Bartas:

²¹ Thomas Hudson returns the literary favour by providing a dedicatory sonnet for William Fowler’s translation of Petrarch’s *Trionfi* (circulating in manuscript form in 1587). James VI also shows his support of that translation by providing a sonnet of his own. Despite explicitly and straightforwardly engaging with a Catholic Petrarchan source in the *Triumphs*, Fowler, interestingly, gathers a grouping of poets to provide dedicatory sonnets who are guided by Protestant values, reflecting James VI’s *Essayes* wherein a number of sonnets can be found exhibiting a pre-occupation with a Christianity infused by Protestant doctrine. Finally, and perhaps most enlightening for this discussion, a significant mention is

The *Muses* nyne haue not reueald to me
 What sacred seedes are in their gardens sowne
 Nor how their *Salust* gains the *Laurer* tre
 Which throw thy toyle in *Brittain* ground is grown
 But sith they se thy trauell treuly showne
 In vertuous skoole th'expyring tyme to spend
 So haue they to his hienes made it knowne
 Whose Princely power may dewly the defend
 Then yow that on the *Holy mount* depend
 In christall ayr and drinks the cleared spring
 Of *Poetrie* I do yow recommend
 To the protection of this godly King
 Who for his verteus and his gifts deuyne
 Is only *Monarck* of the *Muses* nyne.

Fowler's dedication implicitly promulgates the message that those who enjoy the endeavours of Hudson in his translation, and 'on the *Holy mount* depend' themselves, should write in praise of the king and in the shadow of Du Bartas. This is, however, not the place to undertake a comprehensive study of the extent of Du Bartas' influence in Scotland throughout the reign of James VI, or to chart the influence in England of the translation work undertaken by James VI and Thomas Hudson and, more particularly, to examine the continuation of James VI's coterie of ideas amongst an English poetic community.

A re-examination of Thomas Hudson's translation of Du Bartas, *The Historie of Judith*, is rewarding in that it provides further evidence of how James VI actively encouraged a direct connection between reading and writing whilst at the Scottish court. Based upon the deuterocanonical *Book of Judith*, Du Bartas' epic narrative *La Judit*, renders one particular episode in Jewish lore in the form of an epic. This a-historical biblical parable of the Apocrypha takes as its focus a moment in which the Jewish nation, under attack from the King of Assyria, is eventually brought to salvation by the hand of a child of Israel, Judith.²² Having witnessed the unlawful siege of her city, Bethulia, Judith enacts God's

made to Du Bartas in the sonnet entitled 'E.D. in praise of Mr Wm. Foular her friend'. In this context, Du Bartas is compared to Virgil, Ovid, Ronsard and Petrarch, elucidating once again the abiding importance of the work of Salluste Du Bartas in the late 1580s in Scotland.

²² 'In the sixteenth century another major shift took place in Germany. In his 'Preface to the Book of Judith' (1534) Martin Luther expressed strong doubts about the authenticity of the tale and relegated it to the Apocrypha. He argued that the story was not so much a moral *exemplum* as, rather, an allegorical literary

word by slaying Holophernes, leader of the Assyrian army, thus restoring her country to its own people. In the fulfilment of her divine quest, Judith is projected as a justified sinner, and is sanctified for her strict adherence to God's law.

While overtly utilising the biblical *Book of Judith* as a source for *La Judit*, Du Bartas had been at pains to stress the uniqueness of his epic narrative, promising to 'imitate Homer in his Iliades, and Virgill in his Aeneidos, and others who have left to us workes of such like matter', rather than strictly adhering to the biblical version from whence the story is drawn. In his dedication to the 'most high and mightie Prince, James the Sixt, King of Scotland', Hudson likewise invokes the memory of both Homer and Virgil in an intertextual nod to the classics:

It pleased your Highnesse (not only to esteeme the pereles stile of the Greke HOMER, and the Latin VIRGIL to be inimitable to vs, whose tounge is barbarous and corrupted:) But also to alledge partly throw delite your Maiest. tooke in the Hautie stile of thos most famous Writers, and partly to sounde the opinion of others, that also the loftie Phrase, the graue inditement, the facound termes of the French Salust.²³

In a similar fashion to Du Bartas, Hudson signals moments of poetic deviation from his source, but argues that none of the meaning of the original will be 'pretermitted'.

There are marked differences between Du Bartas' text and Hudson's rendering. Through the evolution of literary tastes, the once admired linguistic extravagancy of Du Bartas are now considered, in the twenty-first century, curious, yet in his own lifetime his heavily embellished poetics pleased because it seemed to reflect the abundance of energy and spirit which flavoured Renaissance culture and philosophy.²⁴ In comparison to the embellished

composition ('geistlich schön Geticht'). Theodore Ziolkowski, 'Re-Visions, Fictionalizations, and Postfigurations: The Myth of Judith in the Twentieth Century' in *Modern Language Review* Vol. 104, pg.315 (April 2009).

²³ Craigie (1941), pg. 3, lines 9-15.

²⁴ Craigie (1941), pg. xxvii.

lines of Du Bartas, Hudson's is a more stripped back composition.²⁵ Tonally, in both 'The Argument of the Whole of the Historie of Judith' and in the 'Summary' of each book, Hudson's translation is reminiscent of the biblical:

After that the Children of Izrel were deliuered from captiuitie & returned to their land, the cittie of IERVSALEM reedified, the Temple builded, and prepared to the seruice of the Lorde, the multitude of people being scattedred in sundry townes & places of the land, where they liued in peaceable rest.²⁶

While highlighting for the reader a number of deviations from his source, Hudson is simultaneously conscious of not wanting to give away all of his editorial decisions. When reading both the 'Uranie' and the *Judith* in conjunction, differences in James VI's and Hudson's approaches to translation are revealed. James VI's translation of *L'Uranie* is unquestionably useful in providing a comparative model for Hudson's *Judith*. Where James VI includes a French version of *L'Uranie* on the left hand page of the publication for readers to compare, Hudson refrains from providing his source. Spatial constraints aside, it may be plausible to hypothesise that Hudson's decision to omit the French original is an attempt not to draw too much attention to the various differences from his source. Where James uses Du Bartas as his literary authority and allows readers to compare for themselves the translation and primary text, Hudson looks towards James to provide his authority and editorial corrections, evidencing once again James' literary authority as both a writer and editor in a dialogical relationship with his fellow artists.

In 1584, Thomas Hudson is undeniably central to the cultural regeneration in Scotland. James VI specifically asks that Hudson makes an 'englishing' of *La Judit* in order to make it accessible to a British readership and, in so doing, implicitly plays down the utility of the Scots vernacular. This adds to the body of evidence, outlined above, that shows how James VI's cultural directives are driven by the prioritisation of ideas over aesthetics and language. This is also witnessed in Hudson's decision as a translator to scale down the

²⁵ See Craigie (1941), pg. lxxvi and pg. xxxii for a more detailed analysis.

excessively embellished language of Du Bartas in favour of a more utilitarian rendering. Hudson's decision to strip away the layers of flowery language can also be viewed as arguably more appropriate to his subject matter, as the language is at once accessible and also reflects the plain style favoured in mainstream Scottish Protestant discourse. Hudson's considered approach to language in his translation reflects the message imparted by his patron, James VI, in the 'Reulis and Cautelis', with regards poetic decorum. In his poetic tract, James urges that aspiring poets pay close attention to their subject matter and subsequently marry the said subject with an appropriate style of language:

Ze man lykewayis tak heid, [that] ze, waill zour wordis according to the purpose:
As, in ane heich and lernit purpose, to vse heich, pithie, and lernit wordis.
Gif zour purpose be of loue, To vse commoun language, with some passionate
wordis.
Gif zour purpose be of tragicall materis, To vse lamentable wordis, with some heich,
as rauishit in admiratioun.
Gif zour purpose be of landwart effairis, To vse corruptit and vplandis wordis.²⁷

In James' definition of decorum, poets are encouraged to abandon the tendency to needlessly over-embellish their work. Hudson adheres to this formula in his translation of *La Judit*, allowing the biblical text to speak for itself. Hudson's editorial choice of plain-style, as opposed to Du Bartas' embellished overtones, moves *The Historie of Judith* closer to its apocryphal antecedent and at the same time aligns it with the predominant religious sentiment in post-Reformation Scotland and its concomitant cultural sensibilities and forms of expression. Furthermore, James VI's *Essayes*, in agreement with the principal religious impulses in Scotland in the 1580s, constructs a body of texts replete with literary figures infused with a moderate Protestantism.²⁸

²⁶ Craigie (1941), pg. 10, lines 1-8.

²⁷ Arber (1869), pg. 63, Chapter III.

²⁸ Dedicatory sonnets are provided for the collection by William Fowler, Robert and Thomas Hudson, all figures with a keen pre-occupation with Protestantism. N.B. William Fowler is often thought of as having inhabited the role of the double spy in British diplomatic matters and may, thus, have had Catholic leanings.

The poem begins *in medias res*, as the epic nature of the tale is laid before the reader. A clear dichotomy is set out, establishing a valiant heroine, Judith, and her struggle to overcome a male infidel, immediately setting up a contrast between good and evil within the narrative. Du Bartas clearly wished his epic to be read in the same light as Virgil and Homer, as, in the ‘Proposition and somme’ which opens Hudson’s translation, Judith is immediately raised upon an heroic pedestal:

I Sing the vertues of a valiant Dame,
Who in defence of *Iacob* overcame:
Th’ *Assyrian* Prince, and slew that Pagan stout,
Who had beset *Bethulia* walles about.²⁹

Having provided the most concise synopsis of the narrative in the opening lines, a dedication follows. In the French original, Du Bartas is very particular in the dedication of *La Judit* to his patron, King Henry of Navarre:

Fille de Grand HENRY, et compagne pudique
D’un autre grand HENRY, o MARGUERITE unique,
Qui decore la France...³⁰

Du Bartas also makes reference to Henry’s wife, Queen Marguerite of Navarre. In his ‘englishing’, Hudson is less specific, choosing not to name his patron and poetic inspiration but to allude to James VI as the god-like recipient of a Christian text:

*And since in vulgar verse I prease to sing,
This godly Poeme to a Christian King,
To him who God in goodnesse hath erect
For princely Piller, to his owne elect:
For lawfull Lord, to raigne with treuth and right:
For love some Laurer, to the verteous wight:
Him (I beseech) this trauel to defend,
That to his pleasure I the same may end.*³¹

Hudson implicitly constructs King James VI as a god-like presence on earth, simultaneously bestowing a greater importance upon his monarch and upon his own royally patronised translation.

²⁹ Craigie (1941), pg. 14, lines 1-4.

³⁰ Holmes *et al.* (1977), p.5.

³¹ Craigie (1941), pg. 14, lines 13-20.

Although Judith is alluded to as a spiritual heroine in the early stages of the text, she is only given a proper introduction in the final stages of the ‘Thirde Booke’, at a time when severe drought blights Bethulia:

Their Lords...
 Made them beleue the thing did them beguile:
 To wit, they gaue men hope that they might keep
 sufficient watr’ in wels, and ceasterns deepe:
 Through all the towne, the people to relieue,
 That thirst should not the soldiers greatly grieue.
 The maiestrats in deed had great regard...
 When wels grew drye, the commons ran in rage
 & sought out euerie sink their thirst t’asswage:
 And drank with longsom draught the pools in haste,
 to quench their thirst with ilcontented taste:
 which poysond ayre, enfect their purest breath:
 whereby the drinker drank his present death.
 O wretched folke, who felt so hard a strife,
 Drink, or not drink, both ways must lose their life.
 For he that drank, and he that did refraine,
 Had of their enmies both an equall paine.
 For Why?³²

The Bethulians are faced with a dilemma where neither option will generate a positive outcome. Judith, with eyes ‘like fountains two’, is immediately distinct from her fellow Bethulians, having the reserve and ability to generate tears in a time when people are dying from a shortage of water and when mothers cannot generate milk to feed their newborn babies. The weeping female, Judith, finds sustenance in the Bible, feeding her mind with inspirational tales of triumph in the face of adversity.

As instanced above, in the *Essayes of a Prentise*, James VI makes a number of educated intertextual references to prolific writers, namely Du Bartas, Virgil, Homer and Sir David Lyndsay, in order to allow both his audience and himself to explore the relationship between author, text and reader. In *The Historie of Judith* the same technique is used. In the composition of *La Judit*, Du Bartas takes his poetic cue from the epic literature of

³² Craigie (1941), pg. 49, lines 261-7 and 271-81.

Homer and Virgil but his thematic inspiration from the Bible, and thus moulds a discussion throughout the text that is predominantly focussed upon the importance of the accurate interpretation of scripture. Judith is exalted as an exemplar of the shrewd and discerning reader, who, having complete control of her emotions, procures the greatest degree of solace and inspiration from the Bible:

A holy garden was where she might finde,
 the medcynne meete for her molested minde...
 The more she red, the more she wonder had
 Of *Ahuds* act, and hote desire her lad
 t'ensue his vertue: yet her feeble kinde
 Empeached oft the purpose of her minde
 Proposing oft the horroure of the deed,
 The feare of death, the danger to succede,
 With haszard of her name, and more than that,
 Though she likewise, the peoples freedome gat:
 yet for a man, this act more seemly weare,
 than for a wife to handle sword or speare.³³

Her avid consumption of biblical literature allows Judith to act purposefully in the name of the deity, safe in the knowledge that God's word both authorises and justifies her grave deed. Judith is, however, more than just a zealous reader of the Bible. The Bartasian Judith (as distinct from the Apocryphal figure) is constructed as the perfect humanist reader, expanding her mind with every story she engages with. Throughout, literature is employed by Judith to develop her mind into something far stronger, and in this respect it is clear to see an articulation with the message promulgated by James VI to an implied reader of the *Essayes*, namely to learn to read correctly and consider the various intricacies of poetic composition and, more particularly, to recognise God's image reflected in the text.

Despite cultivating a close affiliation to God through her reading, Judith can only be described as partially transcendental. Her prayers and devout faith serve to 'raise her spreete/Above the skye',³⁴ whilst her womanly physicality binds her to the earth. On first

³³ Craigie (1941), pg. 53, lines 419-437.

³⁴ Craigie (1941), pg. 53, lines 17-18.

encountering Judith, the reader is informed that she is ‘feeble’, mentally weak and indecisive, and these characteristics are wholly attributed to her femininity.³⁵

Gender politics are foregrounded throughout *Judith*, signalled firstly in the eponymous title³⁶ of *La Judit* and *The Historie of Judith*, and, secondly, in the ‘Proposition and somme’ which opens the ‘First Booke’. The Bible is replete with evidence of male heroism, and it is suggested that Judith’s femininity may work to her detriment, as ‘for a man, this act more seemly weare, than for a wife to handle sword or speare’. Despite such protestation that Judith is all too ‘feminine’, in Du Bartas’ original and, thus, in Hudson’s translation, she is painted time and again in the light of the Renaissance man, displaying a characteristically European Renaissance flair for reasoned debate and decision-making. Nevertheless, although possessing a degree of rationality at this stage, Judith is not yet strong enough to function of her own accord; rather, her undertaking is fated by God. Nature, intervening on Judith’s behalf, generates a gusty breeze to interrupt the heroine’s reading practice:

While *Judith* thus with *Judith* did debate,
 a puft of winde blew downe that leafe by fate:
 Discovering vp the storie of *Iaell* how
 she droue a naile into *Sisaras* brow,
 And slew that Pagan sleeping on her bed
 Who from the *Hebrewes* furious hoste was fled.
 In teaching vs albeit a tyrant flee,
 yet can he not auoyde the lords decree.³⁷

³⁵ In this respect, the introduction to Judith in both *La Judit* and Hudson’s *Judith* is in significant contrast to the Apocryphal introduction to the heroine: ‘At that time Judith heard about these things: she was the daughter of Merari the son of Ox, son of Joseph...son of Ahitub, son of Elijah, son of Hilkiah, son of Eliab, son of Nathanael, son of Salamiel, son of Sarsadai, son of Israel./ Her husband Manasseh, who belonged to her tribe and family had died during the barley harvest.../ Judith had lived at home as a widow for three years and four months./ She was beautiful in appearance, and had a lovely face; and her husband Manasseh had left her gold and silver, and men and women slaves, and cattle, and fields; and she maintained this estate./ No one spoke ill of her, for she feared God with great devotion.’ Lumpkin, pg 353 (2009).

³⁶ Joshua Sylvester later (1604) entitles his translation *Bethulia’s Rescue*, drawing attention to the nature of the religious struggle rather than to the figure of Judith.

³⁷ Craigie (1941), pg. 54, lines 437-440.

As the wind subsides, the pages of the Bible settle once more, but this time the leaves separate on the story of Jael. Having upset Judith's personal reading habits, nature has, paradoxically, forced the Bethulian to become more focussed in her reading of the Bible, as she is directed towards passages of spiritual significance. For a confused Judith, this biblical narrative, detailing how a spirited Jael successfully deceived and overcame the tyrant Sisaras to deliver the Hebrew people to freedom, provides an unqualified role-model of female integrity and will-power from which Judith may draw the strength to overcome the Assyrian tyrant, Holophernes. In compelling Judith's attention towards the story of Jael, God has willed that she read it, learn from the lesson imparted and act upon her learning. In a similar vein, having encouraged Thomas Hudson to undertake the translation of *La Judit*, King James VI has assumed a quasi-divine authorial role. Confronted by a text of sacred import, Hudson must appositely interpret what he reads and successfully impersonate its spirit. The reading of Jael's narrative provides the impetus needed for Judith to undertake God's word, and with an assured spirit she avows to avenge the misfortune of her people:

This last example now such courage lent,
to feeble *Judith* that she now was bent:
with wreakfull blade to sley & to deuorse
the *Heathen* soule from such a sinfull corse.³⁸

Consequently, when the 'Thirde Booke' of *Judith* concludes, the dutiful daughter of Israel pledges to slay the tyrannical leader of the Assyrian army, Holophernes.

Thus far, Judith has been portrayed as an overwhelmingly devout female, just as the Apocryphal narrative renders her. Du Bartas, in the 'Livre Qautriesme', further develops the character of Judith, and more specifically focuses upon her sensuality. Hudson follows suit in his transcreation, and within the first lines of the 'Fourth Booke' there are numerous references to the female body, whilst Judith is, for the first time, given a voice with which

³⁸ Craigie (1941), pg. 54, lines 445-448.

to appeal to her God. Her eyes continue to weep for the injustice inflicted upon her people as she, 'prostrate on her knees', holds 'up her guiltless hands' and prays with her faithful tongue:

O God (quod she) who armed with a speare
 Dan *Symeon*, who reuengde his sister deare:
 Lend me the blade in hand, that I may kill
 this *Tyrant* that exceedes all *Sichems* ill.
 Who not contents to soile the sacred bed
 of wedlocke chaste, but more with mischiefe led.³⁹

The reader is well aware of Judith's chastity before reaching this point in the narrative where it is elaborated upon. Initially, Judith views Holophernes as a pagan and as a tyrant, and her intense hatred of him is predicated upon these facets. Yet, in the 'Fourth Booke', Holophernes' adulterous nature and attempts at seduction cause Judith the most immediate offence. The attempt to control Judith's body by Holophernes presents a microcosm of the wider religio-political tyranny inflicted upon the Bethulian race by the same tyrant, so that both acts should be regarded as one and the same offence. Holophernes' desire to possess Judith's body, as a result of secular lust, is again reminiscent of the desiring protagonist of the *Canzoniere*, yet, once more, Du Bartas manipulates Holophernes in order to differentiate his persona from models found in Petrarchist imitations.

When the European vogue for Petrarchist amatory verse finally arrived on the shores of Britain, it reached particular prominence in England with Wyatt, Spenser and Sidney, yet in James VI's formative years in control of Scottish culture in the 1580s, he tentatively avoided the genre, and specifically warned of the inherent dangers of love poetry in his poetic tract, the 'Reulis and Cautelis'. Herman⁴⁰ argues that James worked in opposition to the poetic vogue because direct engagement with Petrarchan conceits would associate the king with the submissive lover figure, and, by association, disempower him to a degree. Whilst never directly undertaking a Scottish version of Petrarch's work, James did,

³⁹ Craigie (1941), pg. 57, lines 5-10.

however, patronise a number of Petrarchan (in these instances Petrarchan humanist rather than amatory) projects, including William Fowler's translation of the *Trionfi*.

Du Bartas was likewise keen to distance himself from the amatory work of Petrarch, and as a general rule manipulated Petrarchan conceits to meet the demands of his spirituality.

This is witnessed in *L'Uranie* as Du Bartas creates a female who is intent on enlightening the aimless persona through religion and who agitates against amatory pursuits. *La Judit* also challenges the Petrarchan construction of womanhood head on by creating an anti-Petrarchist icon of chastity and obedience who utilises the language of Petrarchism (as evolved by imitators of the *Canzoniere*) to seduce, ironically, the patriarchal figure. The appropriation and subsequent manipulation of Petrarchan conceits allow Du Bartas to expose the inherent dangers of amatory discourse and create an accomplished piece of anti-Petrarchist literature. Sometime before the pagan tyrant meets his end by the sword, he is disempowered by Judith's deceitful employment of impassioned language. The Bartasian Holophernes is one who serves the role of the subjugated Petrarchan lover, blinded by his own lust and motivated by greed and, especially, not mindful of the God-given faculty of reason and self-control.

Holophernes' actions throughout the Bartasian adaptation are antithetical to Judith's devout practice, with each character serving as a foil for the other. Where Judith converses with God through prayer and consults the Bible for spiritual guidance, the tyrant employs the guidance of a eunuch, Bagos, as a confidant. Holophernes utilises the ineffectual fawning of Bagos as a moral compass by which to make decisions. Bagos' encouragement of the tyrant's whims convinces Holophernes that his own actions are just:

Pursue your loue my Lord, and make no let,
to take the fish that els is in your net...
Alas how many such are in our tymes

⁴⁰ Herman (2001), pg. 1499.

In princes Courts that high to honour clymes,
 More for their handling such an enterprise,
 Then for being valiant learnde or wise?
 Sometimes the Courts of Kings were verteous skooles
 now find we nought in Court but curious fooles.
 O you whose noble harts cannot accord,
 to be the sclaues to an infamous lord:
 And knows not how to mixe with perlous art,
 the deadly poyson with the Amorus dart.⁴¹

Unlike Judith, Holophernes, in extreme opposition, proves himself as an unenlightened and ungodly entity, not possessing the ability to control his appetite. For Holophernes, Judith's chastity renders her body as nothing more than an unconquered battleground which must be won:

So lust him led: th'vndaunted *Theban* knight,
 with wieghtie mace had neuer him affright:
 But now a womans looke his hart enfeares,
 And in his brest the curelesse wound he beares.⁴²

Du Bartas' Holophernes is intended as a pastiche of Petrarchism. This is evident in his longest monologue, wherein the tyrant recognises and discusses the change which has occurred in his demeanour following the first meeting with Judith:

Or' Cupidon l'ueille, et ses chaudes alarmes
 Lui font metre en oubli les judaiques armes.
 Jadis il commandoit a maint prince et maint roi :
 Et ores a soi-mEsmé il ne peut doner loi.
 Helas ! Helas ! Dit-il, faut-il donc que je vive,
 O change malheureus ! captife de ma cative ?
 Mais est-ce vivre, helas ! Quand le cors abatu
 Et quand l'ame abrutie ont perdu leur vertu ?⁴³

In Petrarch's seminal amatory text, an intense outpouring of emotion characterises the vocabulary of the persona and, in the same manner, Holophernes' language in Hudson's *Judith* is infused with Petrarchan conceits:

Why haue not I a hart of *Chrystall* cleare,
Transparent through to let my paine appeare?
 that there she might of all my torments reed,

⁴¹ Craigie (1941), pg. 74, lines 129-142.

⁴² Craigie (1941), pg. 72, lines 31-34.

⁴³ Holmes *et al.* (1977), pg 92, lines 37a-44a. Hudson renders this as 'Alas (quod he) what life is this I have/ Becoming captive to my captive slave?/ (unhappie chance) what life is this I say?/ My virtue gone, my forces falls away.' Craigie (1941), pg. 72, lines 41-44.

Which loue withholdes within my hart in dreed?⁴⁴

Holophernes' problem is not with Judith's inability to translate his feeling to love but with his own heart's inarticulacy and inaccessibility as a text to be read, by himself in the first instance but also by Judith. Judith, as a foil to Holophernes, is far easier to read, regularly scripting herself in the vein of literary figures of both classical and biblical literature.

Judith is a distinctly complex character. Although Holophernes should be read as a debased Petrarchan lover, Judith is given long passages of monologue in which she utilises the vocabulary of the subjugated female icon with the intent of tricking the tyrant into feelings of lust. Already, having been allowed a voice through which to articulate her thoughts and her abiding religiosity, Judith is constructed as an anti-type for Laura in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, a figure who is never allowed a voice and therefore remains objectified:

Grant gracious *God* that his bewitched wit
 May with my crisped haire be captiue knit.
 Grant that my sweet regards may gall his hart
 with darts of loue to cause his endles smart.
 Grant that these gifts of thine my beutie small
 May bind his furious rage, and make him thrall:
 grant that my artificiall tong may moue
 His subtill craft & snare his hart in loue:
 But chiefly lord grant that this hand of mine
 may be the *Pagans* scourge & whole ruine.⁴⁵

Conforming to the many conventions of epic, Judith is seen to protect herself with the — in this case cosmetic — weapons of war. Judith is crucially aware that she will need more than the usual armoury of combat to defeat Holophernes. Where Judith's femininity has previously been regarded as a hindrance, her gender and physicality are here utilised as yet more weapons in the armoury as she attempts to carry out successfully God's word:

While thus she ment (vnseene) away to slide,
 Her pearles and Iewels causde her to be spide.
 the musk and ciuet Amber as she past

⁴⁴ Craigie (1941), pg. 73, lines 87-90.

⁴⁵ Craigie (1941), pp. 57-58, lines 21-30.

Long after her a sweete perfume did cast.
 A *Carbuncle* on her Christall brow she pight,
 whose firie gleames expeld the shadie night.
 Vpon her head a siluer crisp shee pind,
 Lose wauing on her shoulders with the wind.
 Gold, band her golden haire: her yvrie neck,
 the Rubies rich, and Saphirs blew did deck.
 And at her eare, a Pearle of greater vallewe
 ther hong...
 And through her collet shewde her snowie brest,
 Her vtmost robe was coulour blew Coelest,
 Benetted all with twist of perfite golde,
 Beseeming well her comely corps t'enfolde.⁴⁶

Judith's weapon is her femininity and just as the warrior hero of an epic adorns his body with armour for battle, so Judith similarly prepares her body for her encounter with Holophernes. In short, the renderings of this passage in Thomas Hudson's translation and Du Bartas' original are deliberately more sensual than in the Apocryphal *Book of Judith*. Judith's preparation of her body is a greatly spiritual process in the Apocryphal narrative, witnessing the consecration of Judith's body through cleansing and anointing.⁴⁷ Moreover, there is a more practical emphasis within the biblical narrative upon the factors required for the sustenance of the body, or what the body needs, rather than upon who needs or desires the body.⁴⁸ Judith occupies a central position in this text, yet, conversely, she is not allowed to articulate her own story verbally, in the spoken word or in the written. She must, therefore, find alternative means through which to depict her true feelings. Judith's body becomes a canvas or second parchment through which to project a version of herself. In order to fulfil God's plan, her meeting with Holophernes must take the form of a performance, during which she will employ her body to deceive the tyrant. Judith scripts herself as a pastiche of those victorious female icons of biblical literature, whom she so

⁴⁶ Craigie (1941), pg. 58, lines 45-60.

⁴⁷ 'And she removed the sackcloth which she had been wearing, and took off her widow's garments, and bathed her body with water, and anointed herself with precious ointment, and combed her hair and put on a tiara, and arrayed herself in the gayest apparel, which she used to wear while her husband Manasseh was living.' Lumpkin (2009), pg. 365

⁴⁸ 'And she gave her maid a bottle of wine and a flask of oil, and filled a bag with parched grain and a cake of dried fruit and fine bread; and she wrapped up all her vessels and gave them to her to carry.' Lumpkin (2009), pg. 356.

admires, in order to create a fiction for Holophernes to read and to interpret. As well as crafting herself as a female seductress, she remains a worthy Christian role model exactly because of the powerful control she exerts over her own body and the particular skill with which she manipulates her sensuality to good effect.

In the Bartasian rendering by Hudson, Judith attempts to avoid the male gaze as she leaves camp under the cloak of night. Her scent, however, betrays her actions, in turn capturing the attention of the vigilant watchmen. The watchmen are both literally and figuratively held at a distance, occupying a position physically removed from proceedings and also exhibiting disaffection for Judith's captivating beauty.⁴⁹ Rather, the watchmen choose to focus upon the moral concern at hand:

Achior then who watched at the gate,
And saw this Lady passing out so late,
To *Carmis* spak, who warded eke that night
what is she this? where goes this gallant wight
so trim in such a tyme: hath she no pittie
of this most wretched persecuted Cittie?⁵⁰

Holophernes' paganism encourages his lustful feelings, yet the abiding religiosity of the onlooking men ensures that they are moved to engage in a discussion of Judith's life and of her virtue rather than of her bodily attributes. The sight of Judith's body compels Achior to narrative rather than lust, as he begins to detail Judith's biography. The trajectory of the poem has witnessed the general history of the Jewish people, but here the poem moves to the particular, with a discussion of Judith's childhood and adolescence, helping the reader to understand Judith's overwhelming disdain for Holophernes.

One might find it difficult to recognise King James VI immediately as a 'Judith' figure, but, upon learning of Judith's formative years in this passage, parallels can be drawn between the fictional heroine's religious education and the tutelage bestowed upon an

⁴⁹ Craigie (1941), pg. 59, lines 71-72.

adolescent James VI at the hands of his mentor, George Buchanan (1506-1582). Studying and tutoring in Paris in his formative years, Buchanan, a prolific humanist and classically trained scholar, sympathised with the reformist sensibilities of men like Erasmus, who advocated an overhaul of the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church. On his return to Scotland in the 1560s, following a prolonged spell of self-imposed religio-political exile in both France and Italy, Buchanan made his religious conversion to Protestantism. In the wake of Lord Darnley's murder, Buchanan made his opposition to Mary, Queen of Scots, known in both his political affiliations and also, more harmfully, in his literature.

Buchanan's outspoken views on Mary, Queen of Scots, most obviously in his *De Jure Regni* (wherein is defended a type of constitutional monarchy whose king could be legitimately deposed should he be found to exert poor governance), unquestionably contributed to anti-Marian sentiment in Scotland and offered legitimisation for Mary's earlier deposition. The relationship between the young James VI and Buchanan was therefore understandably intemperate, culminating in 1584, two years after the death of Buchanan, in the lawful prohibition, by James VI, of the ownership and reproduction of Buchanan's work. Nevertheless, Buchanan's political, religious and humanist fervour was embodied in his tutelage of the king and the Christian-humanist instruction imparted to the monarch. Such a programmatic education undoubtedly, both consciously and unconsciously, nuanced the early writing of James VI.

Merari, Judith's father, controls Judith's reading, just as Buchanan exerts authority over James' reading practices. In yet another example of directed reading, Merari persuades her to acknowledge the Bible as the only completely inerrant text in existence and one by which she should aspire to live and learn:

So wise *Merari* all his studie stilde,
to facion well the maners of this childe,
that in his age he might of her retire,

⁵⁰ Craigie (1941), pg. 59, lines 67-72.

Both honour & confort to his harts desire:
 For looke how soone her childish tounge could chat
 as children do, of this thing or of that.
 He taught her not to read inuentions vaine,
 As fathers dayly do that are prophaine:
 But in the holy scriptures made her reade...⁵¹

As the recipient of a prescriptive humanist education provided by a prolific scholarly and religious figure, James VI would have fully understood, perhaps sympathised with, the authoritative nature of Judith's directed programme of reading, as outlined by her father. Moreover, this passage is granted a greater significance when one considers the nature of James' *Essayes of a Prentise*, and the cultural directives contained within its pages. At every turn in the *Essayes*, James exerts an uncompromising authorial control of his work, determining on behalf of the reader not only what is to be read, but also the order and manner in which it should be interpreted. Merari's instruction to Judith, that she avoid reading 'inventions vaine' in favour of Scripture, can also be found within James VI's 'Reulis and Cautelis', but somewhat refracted, as the king argues that poets should focus upon the composition of 'invention' founded on Christian doctrine, rather than upon interpreting the less spiritually-inclined work of others.⁵² The importance of this last assertion lies in the fact that James actively and assertively operates as an authorial entity by providing reading and writing directives in order that his work is appositely interpreted. Judith, as an avid and discerning reader of texts, and as a reader who willingly welcomes any direction which might facilitate her comprehension, is the epitome of James VI's perfect implied reader.

Judith is thus constructed in the likeness of a Renaissance Christian-humanist reader, but there is yet another facet to her characterisation. The Bartasian Judith is an archetypal female of the European age of Reformations. Having proven herself as chaste, faithful and politically active in her reaction to Holophernes' tyranny, Judith engages in various leisure

⁵¹ Craigie (1941), pp. 60-61, lines 99-107.

pursuits particularly typical of a sixteenth-century European self-educating female. Whilst her Bethulian counterparts are seen to entertain men through dance, Judith opts for more reserved activities with which to lengthen her days:

This prudent Dame delyted not in daunce,
Nor sitting vp nor did her selfe aduaunce:
In publicke place, where playes & banquets beene
In euerie house to see, & to be seene.
But rather vnderstanding such a trade,
Had bene the wrak of many-a modest mayd:
who following wandring *Dina* wanton dame,
Haue oftyme put their noble house to shame:
she kept at home her fathers habitation,
Both day and night in godly conuersation.⁵³

One such activity during the Renaissance was needlework, an adequate outlet through which women, largely unaccustomed to voicing their religio-political ideals whether in public or in literature, could express themselves.⁵⁴ Just as Du Bartas uses the medium of literature to depict biblical stories and illustrates his faith in the written word, Judith represents her understanding of scripture pictorially,⁵⁵ sewing rich tapestries of the stories she has consumed:

Sometyme she broyded on the canuas gall,
Some bird or beast, or Aegle or Eliphant tall.
While subtely with siluer nedle fine
she works on cloth some historie deuine.⁵⁶

⁵² Arber (1869), pg. 65.

⁵³ Craigie (1941), pg. 60-61, lines 133-142.

⁵⁴ See Margaret Swain (1973), *The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots*.

⁵⁵ In a case of 'life imitating art', the figure of Judith is transported from the pages of the Apocrypha to the canvases of many painters in the Renaissance. Moreover, Judith also enters into public consciousness through the multitude of representations of the heroine in popular literature of the age. Each new Renaissance rendering of Judith was, according to Ziolkowski, predominantly focussed upon the concept of femininity and sexuality as opposed to the religio-political concerns of the Apocryphal original: 'In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Judith came into her own – not only in paintings by Botticelli, Giorgione, Michelangelo, Timoretto, Veronese, Caravaggio, Vasari, and other masters, but also in a variety of popular media. Tales of violence achieved a new popularity during these years, although the authors and painters showed little interest in the historical context of the violent acts. With the figure of Judith, for the first time a woman took an active role in the erotic battle between the sexes. It is symptomatic that Artemisia Gentileschi apparently took satisfaction in depicting with surgical precision the actual decapitation, whereas earlier male painters had focused principally on the moments before or after the act. In the words accompanying the 1995 exhibition 'Die Galerie der Starken Frauen' in the Kunstmuseum Dusseldorf, the 'femme forte' had become a 'femme fatale'. Ziolkowski, pg. 315 (2009).

⁵⁶ Craigie (1941), pg. 61, lines 153-156.

Later, on encountering Holophernes for the final time, Judith's attention falls upon the glorious tapestries which hang in the tyrant's quarters, and she allows herself to read in the tapestries stories of glory and conquest:

Then went she to his tent where she espide,
 the gorgious tappestries on euerie side,
 Of *Persian Kings*, of *Meds*, and *Syrian stories*,
 How *Ninus* first (prict forth with great vainglories)
 Subdewde the East Then next in order came
 (disguised in kinde) his wife Quene *Semirame*:
 who tooke the Scepter and with tourrets hye
 great Babylon erected to the skye,
 Lo, how a Prince with fingers white and fine
 In womans weede the tender twist doth twine,
 who bare a Rock in sted of Royall mace,
 And for a man with woman changeth grace
 In gesturs all...⁵⁷

Like Uranie before her, this heroine does not undertake poetic composition but digests it and reproduces what she has learned in various ways. Judith has not been encouraged to employ literature through which to convey her learning, nevertheless she has been encouraged to become an interpreter. Her spiritual journey witnesses the evolution of her creative impulses so that she may read and channel her interpretive skills through alternative media. Likewise, in the translation projects of both James VI and Thomas Hudson, pre-existing texts are interpreted with a keen zeal, and lead to a form of invention whereby each author adapts source material and embeds it within an entirely different cultural structure, consequently imbuing the source material with a significance which speaks directly to a new audience.

Achior's narrative of Judith's personal history continues as he details how Judith employs yet another art-form to facilitate her celebration of God. Having employed her silver needle carefully to sew interpretive tapestries of reputed biblical tales, Judith takes up her lute, and in melodious cadence sings prayers to the celestial heaven:

(Her trauell done) her lute she then assayes,

⁵⁷ Craigie (1941), pg. 76, lines 199-211.

and vnto *God* she sings immortall prayes.
 not folowing those that plyes their thriftless paine
 In wanton vearse and wasteful ditties vaine,
 Thereby t'entrapt great men with luring lookes.⁵⁸

Achior's dialogue reminds us of the deeply Protestant conceit of the centrality and importance of the Bible in everyday life, and implicitly reminds the reader of the fundamental impetus in Thomas Hudson's initial engagement with Du Bartas' *La Judit* — that he should fulfil his patron's wishes to translate a deeply Christian work into accessible English.⁵⁹

Whilst exalting the literature of the Bible, Achior suggests in his monologue that the reading of secular lyrics is ultimately fruitless, as 'wanton' literature leads mankind astray:

...vnto *God* she sings immortall prayes.
 not following those that plyes their thriftless paine
 In wanton vearse and wastefull ditties vaine,
 Thereby t'entrapt great men with luring lookes
 But as the greedy fisher layes his hookes
 Alongst the coste to catch some mightie fish
 More for his gaine, then holesome for the dish.
 Of him that byes, euen so these sisters braue,
 Haue louers mo, then honest maydens haue.
 But none are brunt with their impudent flame,
 Saue fooles & light lunatikes voyde of shame.⁶⁰

Achior continues, asserting that the reading of digressive lyrics inspires women to toy with men, ensnaring them, in what might be described as an amatory 'sport', with 'luring lookes'. Secular adoration, like the worship of the female form, is refuted in favour of a spiritual love through which the sanctity of the marriage bed is cherished:

Of vertue only, perfite loue doth growe,
 whose first beginning though it be more slow,
 then that of lust and quicknes not so fast.

⁵⁸ Craigie (1941), pg 61, lines 173-177.

⁵⁹ 'It pleased your Highnesse (not onely to esteeme the pereles stile of Greke HOMER, and the Latin VIRGIL to be inimitable to vs, whose tounge is barbarous and corrupted:) But also to alledge partly throw delite your Maiest. tooke in the Hautie stile of those most famous Writers, and partly to sounde the opinion of others, that also the loftie Phrase, the graue inditement, the facound termes of the French Salust (for the like resemblaunce) could not be followed, nor sufficiently expressed in our rude and impollished english language.' Craigie (1941), pg 4.

⁶⁰ Craigie (1941), pp. 61-62, lines 173-184.

Yet sure it is, and longer thyme doth last.
 The straw enkindles soone, & slakes againe:
 But yron is slow, and long will hote remaine...
 Vnminded euer for to wed, but rather
 to spend her dayes with her beloued father
 till at the last her parents with great care,
 withstood her will, and for her did prepare.
Manassess, one who was of noble race
 Both rich and faire aswell of sprite as face:
 Her marriage then was not a slight contract
 Of secret billes, but by willing act...
 Then see how loue so holily begunne,
 Betweene these two, so holy a race they runne,
 this chaste young-man & his most chastest wife,
 as if their bodies twaine had but one life.⁶¹

This concept is implicitly derived from the text's more imminent focus: the various ways in which the female body can be employed.

Judith's personal history is divided into three parts, her maidenhood, the years spent as a dutiful wife, and finally her widowhood. This tri-partite structure of Achior's narrative hints at the didactic intent of the text as a whole, in a consciously developed literary ploy. At each stage in her life history, Judith is dependent upon the influence of the male, with a male figure inhabiting her consciousness as well as detailing her social status and sexual identity at every turn. Her very reason for living is to serve each one —Merari, Manasses and God — dutifully. Judith's stance on marriage and chastity reflects Du Bartas' own.

As Holmes *et al.* assert,

Du Bartas' ideal of marriage is a virtuous one, but on woman herself he pins little faith. Virtue, and not lasciviousness, should be the reason for marriage. Married love is commanded by God but it should be chaste, moderate, and never displayed in public. It is a means of suppressing unlawful lust.⁶²

This sentiment is located within the 'Fourth Booke' of *Judith* in Achior's discussion of Manasses and Judith's marital love, rendered thus by Hudson:

Of virtue only, perfite love doth growe,
 Whose first beginning though it be more slow,
 Then that of lust and quicknes not so fast:

⁶¹ Craigie (1941), pp. 62-63, lines 185-115.

⁶² Holmes *et al.* (1977), pg. 144.

Yet sure it is, and longer tyme doth last.⁶³

The reader of *Judith* is specifically warned of the inherent dangers of lust. Despite the speed with which lust takes control, the effects are superficial, burning out as quickly as it starts. Instead, perfect love, born of chastity and virtue (like the love of God), is long-lasting. Following Biblical instruction, Judith's love evolves from the familial love of her father, Merari, to the spiritual love of the Father. As her capacity to love virtuously develops, Judith is betrothed to Manasses and the two are brought together in union by 'willing act, before her friends':

Then see how loue so holily begunne,
 Betweene these two, so holy a race they runne,
 this chaste young-man & his most chastest wife,
 as if their bodies twaine had but one life.
 what th'one did will, the other wild no lesse,
 As by one mouth, their wills they do expresse.⁶⁴

The premature death of Manasses ensures, however, that Judith's marital bliss is shortlived. Neither the riches bequeathed to Judith on the death of her husband nor the passing of time can console her in her enduring grief. Attired in the colour of mourning, Judith weeps for Manasses and vows to remain chaste. Manasses' death provides an opportunity in which Judith's chastity and will-power are thoroughly tested and, moreover, gives Judith reason to evidence her theological instruction by remaining faithful to the memory of Manasses, a fellow discerning reader of the Bible. The watchman's concise account of Judith's life ends with a renewed emphasis upon her dedicated religiosity:

Thus *Judith* chast within her house abode,
 And seldome was she sene to come abrode,
 Vnlesse it weare to see some wofull wife,
 whose childe or husband was bereft of life,
 Or for to visit some in sicknesse rage,
 their longsome paine and dollours to asswage:
 Or for to go to Church as God allowes
 to pray and offer, & to performe her vowes.⁶⁵

⁶³ Craigie (1941), pg. 62, lines 185-188.

⁶⁴ Craigie (1941), pp. 62-63, lines 213-218.

⁶⁵ Craigie (1941), pg. 65, lines 303-310.

Judith's vow to undertake nothing but the work of God in the future provides further justification for her decision to put an end to the tyranny inflicted on Bethulia by Holophernes' army.

In the conclusion of his narrative, Achior admits to his companion that, although he knows nothing of Judith's reason for leaving camp that evening, he has no reason to believe that she is doing anything untoward:

Thus haue I shortly told you brother deare,
the state of her, on whome our citie heare
haue fixed all their eyes: but I can nought
tell wher she goes, much les whats in her thought.
But if we may of passed things collect
the things to come: then may we well aspect
Great good of her, for that euen in her face
Is signe of ioy, and great presage of grace
Or some good hap.⁶⁶

Judith's saintly demeanour and virtue in her youth has led Achior to determine that she will always act in a way conducive to God's work. This is significant not only for the outcome of the story, but also for the vigilant reader of the *Judith*, keen to procure a sense of the new Scottish Jacobean poetics. James VI, on taking full control of his kingdom, seeks to fashion himself as an enlightened and godlike monarch, aware of past national fortunes and misfortunes. Achior's sentiment, that one must look to the past to witness the future, is a directive that the young Scottish monarch would have readily subscribed to. As the monarch responsible for reinstating monarchical authority following many years of religio-political instability, it is imperative that James VI reads the history of Scotland and other nations and learns from the mistakes of past monarchs.

Hudson's *Judith* moves seamlessly, at times confusingly so, between passages of dialogue and narrative, the movements from one to the other not clearly highlighted by textual signifiers. The focus leaves Achior on the watchtower as quickly as it settled upon him,

returning to Judith as she continues her journey to meet Holophernes. Having allowed herself to become an agent of God, Judith significantly alters her demeanour.

Procrastination marked Judith's character in previous Books, yet now, having begun her pilgrimage, she moves on with conviction 'unafrayde'.⁶⁷

As Judith arrives at the camp of the Assyrian oppressors, the visual predominates. A long descriptive passage follows, in which her body, rather than its various manufactured embellishments, is described:

Her wavring haire disparpling flew apart
 In seemly shed, the rest with reckles art
 with many-a curling ring decord her face...
 Two bending bowes of *Heben* coupled right
 two lucent starres that were of heavnly light.
 two greaty sparks where *Cupid* chastly hydes,
 His subtill shafts that from his quiuer glydes.
 Tweene these two sunnes and front of equall sise,
 A comely figure formally did rise
 With draught vnleuell to her lip descend...
 ...Her pitted cheekes aperde to be depaint,
 with mixed rose & lillies sweete and faint:
 Her dulcet mouth with precious breath repleate...
 ...her *Corall* lips discovered as it were
 two ranks of *Orient* pearle with smyling chere.
 Her yvrie neck and brest of *Alabastre*,
 Made Heathen men of her, more *Idolastre*.
 Vpon her hand no wrinkled knot was seene,
 But as each nail of mother of pearle had beene.⁶⁸

The soldiers of the Assyrian army are not tempted by the jewels and garments with which she has adorned her body. Instead, they are allured by her embellished countenance. Her hair is shed 'with a reackless art', as golden ringlets decorate her face. Moreover, her cheeks 'aperde to be depaint,/ with mixed rose & lilies sweete and faint'. The flower symbolism is also important for its connotations with the Virgin Mary, aligning Judith with yet another religious heroine. This passage is arguably one of the most aesthetically

⁶⁶ Craigie (1941), pg. 65, lines 311-319.

⁶⁷ Craigie (1941), pg. 65, line 322.

⁶⁸ Craigie (1941), pg. 66, lines 339-360.

pleasing in the poem, both for the men who gaze upon Judith and also for the reader of Hudson's poetics. At a time when Judith must be at her most alluring, it is not coincidental that Hudson's text takes a more aesthetically pleasing turn. However, both in James' 'Uranie' and in the 'Reulis and Cautelis',⁶⁹ the reader is warned of the complexities of amorous poetry due to the beguiling nature of its subject matter and its attendant discourse. Hudson exemplifies this principle in the 'Fourth Booke' of *Judith*, by illustrating how language might be utilised manipulatively to capitalise upon man's inherent capacity to lust and desire. The reader is, then, correctly — if wrongly — captivated, possibly also 'tempted', by the description of Judith's wondrous beauty.

At the outset of Judith's narrative, she is prone to displays of overwhelming emotion, as she grieves not only for her people but also, as is later determined from Achior's sweeping history, on account of the memory of her deceased husband:

He that the number of the leaves could cast,
that in *Nouember* falls by winter blast,
He that could tell the drops of raine or slete,
that *Hyad Orion* or *Pleiades* wete
sheds on the ground, that man might only tell,
what teares from Iudiths eyes incessant fell.⁷⁰

Judith is explicit in her emotion, weeping uncontrollably and with no apparent reason, or indeed inclination, to desist. Yet, as Judith rediscovers the Bible and revisits the theological tutelage of her adolescence, her ability to constrain emotions is increasingly strengthened. The incessant tears she once cried have almost ceased, so that she now

⁶⁹ 'As in speciall, gif ze speik of loue, be warre ze descryue zour *Loues* makdome, or her fairness. And siclyke that ze descryue not the morning, and rising of the Sunne, in the Preface of zour verse: for thir thingis are sa oft and dyverslie written upon be Pöetis already, that gif ze do the lyke, it will appeare, ze bot imitate, and that it cummis not of zour awin *Inventioun*, quhilk is ane of the chief properties of ane Poete. Thairfore gif zour subiect be to prayse zour *Loue*, ze sall rather prayse hir vther qualiteis, nor her fairness, or hir shaip: or ellis ze sall speik some lytill thing of it, and syne say, that zour wittis are sa small, and zour vtterance sa barren, that ze can not discryue any part of hir worthelie: remitting always to the Reider, to iudge of hir, in respect sho matches, or rather excellis *Venus*, or any woman, quhome to its sall please zow to compaire her.' Arber (1869), pg. 65.

⁷⁰ Craigie (1941), pg. 64, lines 275.

exudes ‘many-a trickling teare’.⁷¹ Judith’s grief is but a distant memory as she gravitates inexorably towards Holophernes, unafraid of the potential dangers awaiting her. She is no longer the feeble Judith of the ‘Thirde Booke’, but can be described as inherently possessing the essential qualities (later) defined by the neo-Stoics⁷²:

O Prince (quoth she with an assured face)
 Most strong and wise & most in heauens grace,
 that drawes his sword, with steele upon his brest
 with helme on head, and launce and yron rest:
 Since that my feeble Sex and tender youth,
 Cannot longtime endure, the cruell drouth,
 the wakrife trauels, frayes, and haszards great,
 That day and night, our Burgesses doth threat:
 Yet neuerthelesse this is not whole the cause
 that from your Camp: but most grudging grieffe
 Which burnes my zealous hart without reliefe.⁷³

The utilisation of various media to present her interpretation of God’s word has already been elucidated. On this occasion, Judith employs a more performative medium, drama, in order to show her understanding of scripture. She has already embellished her body with man-made garments and false jewels, and is now ready for the ‘ultimate’ act, the word. Judith continues the masquerade by embellishing her language. Holophernes is addressed by Judith in a seductive manner when she explains why she has come:

O Iewell of the world (quoth he) ô Dame,
 For gracious spech and beutie worthie fame,
 Now welcome here, would God it might you please
 Longtime with vs to dwell in rest and ease,
 For if your faith and trouth concurrant be,
 to this your talke, which greatly preaseth me:
 I will from this time forth with you accord,
 To serue your onely *Hebrewes* God & Lord,
 And will my seruice whole to you enrowle:
 Not of my Scepter onely, but my soule.
 I will your name and honour ay defend

⁷¹ Craigie (1869), pg. 59, line 37.

⁷² Hudson’s translation of Du Bartas’ *La Judit* coincides with the publication, in 1584, of Justus Lipsius’ practical psychology manual, *De Constantia (On Constancy)*, a text which set out for the first time the principles of neo-Stoicism. *De Constantia* successfully synthesises important tenets of Stoicism and Christianity to form a guide on how to live wisely. Neo-Stoics recognise how states of extreme emotion, such as fervent sexual desire, fear or intense grief, are the result of ill-informed judgement. Furthermore, neo-Stoics maintain that polarised feelings are successfully negated by the enlightened man who, governed by constancy, would never succumb to the intensity of his passions.

⁷³ Craigie (1941), pg. 67, lines 380-392.

From *Hebrew* bounds vnto the world his end.⁷⁴

Holophernes wholeheartedly succumbs to the feigned language of Judith, and promises to give himself over to the ‘Hebrewes God & Lord’ if it would please Judith. Nevertheless, Holophernes’ words are hollow, as he still esteems iconoclasm over the true worship of God, evidenced by the tyrant’s dedication of not only his body but also his soul to Judith. Moreover, the Assyrian tyrant is the epitome of a poor and negligent leader. Holophernes displays a willingness to surrender readily his ‘Scepter’ for Judith, and this is further consolidated in the ‘Sommarie of the V. Book’ where he, *‘being surprised with the sweete language, and excellent beutie of the chaste Iudith becommeth altogether negligent of his charge & government.’*⁷⁵

Having listened intently to the tyrant’s plea, Judith silently withdraws from Holophernes’ pavilion. Before she can pray to God with any meaning or eloquence, however, Judith disrobes her body of the layers of material and cosmetic disguise with which she has deceived. In so doing, she simultaneously cleanses her soul in preparation for her conversation with God:

This sayd: with silence as the moone arose,
The widow her withdrew, and forth she goes
Vnto a valley close on euerie part,
where as she washt her corse & clenst her harte:
And with her weeping eyes the place beraid,
And to God of *Izak* thus she praide.⁷⁶

Judith’s actions, whereby she cleanses her body before conversing with God, invoke the memory of another text of great religious import, Psalm 51. Within this key penitential psalm, David asks for forgiveness that he might be cleansed of his sin, and the overlap with Judith’s prayer in the Fourth Booke’ can not be coincidental:

Have mercy upon me, o God,

⁷⁴ Craigie (1941), pg. 68, lines 425-436.

⁷⁵ Craigie (1941), pg. 70, lines 1-3.

⁷⁶ Craigie (1941), pg. 68, lines 437-442.

According to thy loving-kindness:
 According unto the multitude of thy tender mercies
 Blot out my transgressions.
 Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity,
 And cleanse me from my sin.
 For I acknowledge my transgressions:
 And my sin is ever before me...
 ...Create in me a clean heart, O God;
 And renew a right spirit within me.⁷⁷

Judith pleads for God's continued spiritual protection of her people and herself, both willing to donate their 'goods and blood' to the cause of defending God's word. Frustrated at the deity's seeming lack of presence in Bethulia, she attempts, through prayer, to reawaken his interest in their plight, and asks that he might break his slumber and ascend his heavenly throne. Judith's unflinching faith allows her to prophesise an end to the misfortune of her people:

O thou, the euerliuing *God*, and Guide
 of all our race, I know thou wilt prouide
 For our reliefe against this furious boste,
 And iustly kill the Captaine of this hoste.
 I know, that thou wilt help my onely hand,
 to be the wrak, of all this heathen band.⁷⁸

Judith's self-determination and belief in God's abiding power provides the final impetus she needs to complete her task. Whilst the intoxicated tyrant lies in a deep sleep, Judith severs his head. With the decisive exercise of Judith's sword, the oppression of the Bethulians comes to its end.

Thomas Hudson's *The Historie of Judith* is concerned with the practices of reading and interpretation. On numerous occasions, Judith displays her interpretative skills by decorating both tapestries and her body and by performing Petrarchist language. Moreover, *Judith* begins and ends in song with the proclamation of Judith's name, and the motif of worship through song is continued throughout the body of the text in the evocation and singing of psalms. Other characters, too, are involved in various creative

⁷⁷ *Authorised King James Bible*, pg. 516 (Collins).

pursuits, either actively scripting themselves (Judith) or narrating the lives of others (Achior), or existing within the text as characters inscribed by a range of discourses (Holophernes). It is, therefore, somewhat anomalous that *The Historie of Judith*, a text influenced by a multitude of discourses ranging from the epic and biblical to the Italian Petrarchan and French reformist, has itself been virtually unread in Scottish literary criticism. In Hudson's literary arena, biblical theology and classical literature are fused with contemporary literary and philosophical impulses.

Hudson's completed translation is, thus, an intertextual work in which emphasis is placed upon the metafictional, and more particularly upon the process of literary composition and on the nature of reading discerningly. Du Bartas' pre-occupation with these values would, unquestionably, have appealed to Thomas Hudson and his patron, King James VI, as they worked to rejuvenate and direct Scottish reading and culture. Critical re-evaluations of the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* and Hudson's *Historie of Judith* reveal a complementary relationship between both, where an intimate awareness of one repays a qualitative reading of the other. It is arguably here, in the Scottish poetics of 1584 (rather than in any 'Castalian Band' poetics, as argued in previous literary scholarship), that the Jacobean Scottish Renaissance finds its first, and most enduring, articulation.

⁷⁸ Craigie (1941), pg. 69, lines 461-466.

Chapter 5. Conclusion: ‘Since thought is free, thinke what thou will’:

James VI as Cultural ‘Director’

Bawcutt’s pioneering critical study (2001), wherein is instigated an excavation of the scholarly fictions which surround James VI’s patronage of the arts, was the starting point for this thesis. Seeking to evolve Bawcutt’s scholarship, and conduct a re-examination of the exact dynamics of the literature produced, this thesis, necessarily, considered, as the logical first step in the formulation of new critical perspectives, a rigorous re-reading of the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, a collection hitherto too readily accepted as a vehicle of incubation for the poetic manifesto of the ‘Castalian Band’, the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’.

In the paper, “‘The Fountain and Very Being of Truth’: James VI, Poetic Invention, and National Identity’, Carolyn Ives and David Parkinson determine that

no text can ever remain completely closed: it is open to ingestion, interpretation, digestion, and purgation — as well as revision, misinterpretation, and destruction.¹

Bawcutt’s censure of a great deal of critical discourse on Scottish Jacobean literature repeatedly admits a fundamental disdain for one particular reading trend — misinterpretation. To the detriment of a wide-ranging corpus of literature, Shire’s ‘Castalian Band’ theory (1969), as well as the wealth of ‘Castalian’ terminology consequently emanating from her conjecture, have continuously been applied and misapplied to the artistic community surrounding King James VI at his Edinburgh court and also, importantly, to the literature produced by poets throughout his reign. Bawcutt concludes that such inherently mistaken interpretations cast a

rosy and flattering light on the court of James VI, and the ‘band’ itself is something interpreted as ‘the native equivalent’ of the French Pléiade. The myth has grown over the years, and conjectures have proliferated recently: one is told, for instance, that ‘it is *likely*’ that the houses of Edinburgh merchants were a ‘natural venue for the

¹ Ives and Parkinson in Fischlin and Fortier (2002), pg. 118.

poets of the castalian band', that the magnificence of Queen Anne's entry to Edinburgh in 1590 '*doubtless* reflected' their influence, and that 'it is easy to *sense* the confidence and pleasure which James derived from his Castalian Band'. All this, as the italicised words indicate, is wholly speculative. Obsession with the 'Castalian' chimera has led some writers to use the epithet increasingly vaguely, merely as a fine-sounding chronological label for the court poetry of James VI's reign. Its chief effect has been to deflect both critics and historians from examining the full complexity of James' relations with the poets at his court; that is a story, rich, crowded, and often entertaining, which still remains to be written.²

In highlighting the ubiquity of flawed 'Castalian' interpretations in literary discourse, and by suggesting how the truth, 'a story, rich, crowded, and often entertaining', still remains to be inscribed, Bawcutt opens up avenues of enquiry for the future study of Scottish Jacobean literature.

As 'no text remains completely closed', the *Essayes*, containing the critically accepted poetic manifesto of the 'Castalian Band', have, therefore, been re-read in order to exhume the most likely literary and contextual intention behind the collection. This thesis has re-interpreted, within the given limitations of a Masters thesis, the *Essayes of a Prentise* by means of thorough 'purgation' and 'revision', with the result that an abstraction, a coterie of ideas, predicated upon basic tenets of Christian humanism, comes into sharp focus as the locus of importance within James' first collection. Having established scholarly and Christian edification as the abiding impulse driving James VI's seminal publication, a contemporaneous text, Hudson's *History of Judith*, was consequently illuminated as a manifest embodiment of the edifying directives formulated by the monarch in his *Essayes*, and, as such, deserving of thorough critical analysis.

Literary-critical discourse has previously approached the *Essayes of a Prentise* as a multifarious collection in which each text is distinct from the next. Yet a glance at the

² Bawcutt, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', *Scottish Historical Review* 80:2, pp. 258-259 (2001).

‘Catalogue of the workis heirin contained’³ proves otherwise. Following a number of dedicatory sonnets by fellow poets in praise of their king, and further, an epigram and an acrosticon, James includes ‘Ane Quadrain of Alexandrin Verse’ and a sequence of twelve sonnets, both of his own original composition. Conforming to the literary conventions of Renaissance literature, James begins his *Essayes* in a somewhat general manner as he invokes the gods of classical literature in these sonnets. The sonnet sequence concludes with a plea for literary and spiritual patronage:

In short, you all forenamed gods I pray
 For to concur with one accord and will,
 That all my works may perfyte be alway.
 Which if ye doe, then sweare I for to fill
 My works immortall with your praises still:
 I shall your names eternall euer sing,
 I shall tread downe the grasse on *Parnass* hill
 By making with your names from all obliuion bring.
 I lofty Vrigill shall to life restoir,
 My subiects all shalbe of heauenly thing,
 How to delate the gods immortals gloir.
 Essay me once, and if ye find me swerue,
 Then thinke, I do not graces such deserue.⁴

James’ assurance to the Gods, that he will ‘tread downe the grasse on *Parnass* hill’, is a literary foreshadowing of the journey made by the narrative persona in the first substantial poem of the *Essayes*, the translation of Du Bartas’ *L’Uranie* which immediately follows.

With ‘The Vranie or heauenly Muse translated’, the evolution of James’ first publication as a work not only of literary but also of religious import continues. The heavenly muse, Uranie, instructs an insecure and unenlightened persona to write poetry of spiritual worth, and to extol the virtues of God within verse, in order to gain critical acclaim from the muses on Mount Parnassus. As the logical progression of his *Essayes*, James next includes the ‘Phoenix’, a poem in which the self-immolation of the phoenix purposefully represents

³ Arber (1869), pg. 8. See also Appendix 1 of this thesis

⁴ Arber (1869), sonnet 12, pg. 18.

the self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and, with the addition of this text, James appears to be abiding by the guidance recently conferred by Uranie.

The collection becomes more focussed with each text, moving from the general with the invocation of the Gods to the particular, the worship of God through the adherence to his word, as evidenced by the ‘Uranie’. The ‘Phoenix’, the most obviously self-referential poem within the *Essayes of a Prentise*, moves the readers’ attention towards God’s closest servant on earth, the king himself. The ‘Paraphrasticall translation out of the Poët Lucane’ which follows the ‘Phoenix’ works to cement the status of the monarch as inextricably connected to God:

So euen siclike: Though subiects do coniure
 For to rebell against their Prince and King:
 By leauing him although they hope to smure
 That grace, wherewith God maks him for to ring,
 Though by his gifts he shaw him selfe bening,
 To help their need, and make them thereby gaine:
 Yet lack of them no harme to him doth bring,
 When they to rewe their folie shalbe faine.⁵

Posted as a warning to rebellious subjects, the poem also instances how the relationship between subject and monarch should be founded on gift and exchange. God’s grace is given to the king, who in turn bestows his divinity upon his subjects. In return, subjects must display loyalty to their king.

The final texts within the collection seek to reinforce the Christian-humanist impulses established within both the ‘Uranie’ and the ‘Phoenix’ and, having already implied his affinity to God and his godly remit, James incorporates the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’ in order to exemplify how best to create poetry replete with a spiritual dimension. Within James’ 1584 publication, the ‘Reulis and Cautelis’ is the most obvious work of literary edification

⁵ Arber (1869), pg. 52.

and the one to which the modern critic, perhaps mistakenly, continually returns in order to illuminate the Jacobean Renaissance period.

As a complete entity, the *Essayes* is a succinct poetic tour de force, a carefully constructed program of intent, representing the king's preference for a reciprocal poetics, through which God should be exalted. Furthermore, James VI's seminal publication is constructed as a space wherein the Continent is transported to the Edinburgh court, where poetic stricture and vogue are at once welcomed in the 'manifesto', the 'Reulis and Cautelis', unsettled in the 'Uranie' and experimented with in the 'Phoenix'. Simultaneously, the *Essayes* becomes a sphere in which James inhabits a multitude of literary disguises, as patron, author and subject, through which to both construct and deconstruct monarchic identity. The inherent complexity of James' authorial stance has been alluded to throughout this thesis, and, as Rickard affirms,

James himself was not...unaware of these difficulties. By printing some works anonymously he admitted that for a king to represent *himself* was not always the most effective way for him to be defended and promoted. His employment of the trope of humility in some of his works may be not only conventional but indicative of his awareness of the limitations of language. His works repeatedly show that he was painfully aware of the difficulty of reader response.⁶

This painful recognition of the difficulties inherent in reader response ensures that James displays a careful purpose within his composition throughout. The control which he exerts is determined by a humanistic predilection for instilling discernment in reading. At times, as evidenced by the 'Phoenix', James' reading directives to his audience are explicit, and although, as has been argued, these confirm the monarch as being himself widely read and as adequately proficient in the application of continental poetic theory, the explicit directives do not, in themselves, show the monarch as possessing an obvious flair for poetic (in the modern sense of the word) composition. James' literary forte — the ability

⁶ Rickard (2007), pg. 205.

to direct his readership towards definitive interpretations — is subtly crafted throughout the collection, as evidenced by the structure of the collection and in its subject matter.

The muse, Uranie, exists within the *Essayes* as a transient figure and thus represents a pivotal moment of transition in which the old makes way for the new. This is an imperative leitmotif within the *Essayes* and it is not coincidental that James, following dedicatory sonnets and the invocation of the God, sets forth with the Uranian muse. By placing a poem focussed upon a transient muse as the opening to his first collection, James purposely directs his readers towards an interpretation of the *Essayes* which reads the collection (as a whole) as a moment of departure from the old reformation poetics to the new, wherein Classical literature is synergised with a post-reformation Christianity.

In an echo of Bawcutt's assertion (outlined above), Stevenson and Davidson are correct in their questioning of Anglo-centric literary criticism which has continuously peddled the 'Castalian myth':

to advance James VI's 'Castalian band' as the Scottish equivalent of the English renaissance canon of Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney and Shakespeare is a recipe for making Scottish culture look provincial and awkward.⁷

The 'Castalian' myth has served nothing more than to contain a wide corpus of Jacobean literature, Hudson's *Judith* being an important case in point. To read James' 'Reulis' as merely a poor man's imitation of Gascoigne or Puttenham, or to fabricate a narrative in which the 'Reulis' stands as a manifesto for an elite poetry 'club' within the Scottish court is to deny the inherent experimentalism of the literature of the time. Rather, the literary experimentalism exhibited in the *Essayes*

exists in a complex interrelationship with other contemporary writing, within which questions of authority, authorship, influence, attribution, collaboration, and patronage are significantly complicated.⁸

⁷ Stevenson and Davidson, 'Ficino in Aberdeen: The Continuing Problem of the Scottish Renaissance', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* (Spring 2009) [<http://northernrenaissance.org/articles/Ficino-in-Aberdeen-The-Continuing-Problem-of-the-Scottish-Renaissance>].
Jane-Stevenson-and-Peter-Davidson]

The chapters within this thesis hope to have deepened literary-critical understanding of that ‘complex interrelationship’ in significant ways.

The subsequent PhD will expand upon the lines of enquiry opened up within this thesis in order to illuminate the experimental aspects and the politico-religious nature of Scottish poetics more thoroughly. It will incorporate writers who take up the challenge of the metapoetical re-orientation of Scottish culture from the years following the publication of the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* in 1584. Combining textual analysis with New Historicist lines of enquiry, the poetic endeavours of Sir William Alexander will be held up as a case study in which a genuinely ‘alternative’ Renaissance plays out.

Furthermore, by exemplifying how Alexander operates demonstrably at the centre of a new coterie of ideas, a coterie of ideas which has been delineated within the confines of this thesis, the PhD will elucidate the ambitiously innovative qualities characterising the new-found (and quintessentially Jamesian) literary opportunism of Scottish Renaissance writing. Moreover, the PhD thesis will have a developed focus on Scotland in the wake of the Union of the Crowns in 1603, showing how writers organically advance the Christian-humanist edification of the *Essayes* to form a sophisticated corpus of work which is neither insecure nor suffering fatally from the absence of a figurehead. This malleable body of literature will also be shown to continue cultural exchanges with the continent. In this context, the literature of William Lithgow will be used as another case study. Lithgow sets new precedents in his literature as he transports his country (particularly Scottish Protestant sensibilities) to the Continent through travel writing. Lithgow’s utilisation of this genre is certainly apt, allowing the writer to explore the concept of dislocated identity in a decentred cultural climate. Simultaneously, Lithgow appropriates literature as a tool by which to simultaneously challenge and complement the godly principles of his faith.

⁸ Rickard (2007), pg. 206.

Lithgow embodies a resourcefulness specific to his literary epoch, enabling him to engage creatively with transcontinental poetics.

In considering these aspects of the later work of the Scottish Renaissance period, the PhD thesis will reinforce and build upon the findings of this present Masters thesis. By applying to a range of literature the directives of James VI as defined by the monarch in the original model for cultural rejuvenation, the *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, this 1584 collection will be proven to have been a skilled assimilation of multifarious influences, a body of work in which native as well as Continental poetical and political thought are simultaneously embraced and contended. James' first collection of work thus demarcates the beginning of a new poetics in Scotland. Yet it also, arguably, more pioneering than even the previous assertion suggests, instigated a new and wider-reaching British Protestant poetics.

APPENDIX 1

THE CATALOGVE OF THE
workis heirin conteined.¹

The twelf Sonnets of Inuocations to the Goddis.

The Vranie or heauenly Muse Translated.

The Metaphoricall Inuentioun of a Tragedie, callit Phœnix.

A paraphrasticall translatioun out of the Poëte Lucane.

A treatise of the airt of Scottis Poësie.

The C I I I I. Psalme of Dauid, translated out of Tremellius.

A Poeme of Tyme.

¹ This is a catalogue provided by James VI himself at the start of his work. It is not, however, an exhaustive list, as it omits important literary insertions, such as the glossary of difficult words (largely mythological terminology), and the dedicatory material which prefaces the collection.

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