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THE CLERICAL HUMANIST AND THE LANGUAGE OF SERVICE
NEO-LATIN EPHEMERA AND THE JACOBAN COURT
IN THE HAWTHORNDEN MANUSCRIPTS OF WILLIAM FOWLER

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*Turpe est difficile habere nugas,
et stultus labor est ineptiarum.*
(Martial, *Epigrams*, II, 86)

ABSTRACT

The research detailed in this thesis explores the largely uncharted territory represented by the Hawthornden manuscripts (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MSS 2063-67) of William Fowler, Scottish courtier in Edinburgh and London and attached to the court of Queen Anna of Denmark between 1590 and 1612. The research has focused on material evidence of scribal culture, with the aim of clarifying issues of localization of specific texts and typologies of texts in relation to their social, literary and more broadly cultural background. Based on the fragmentary evidence in the Hawthornden manuscript, this project engages in the exploration of one of the “cultural places of the European Renaissance”, focusing on the early Stuart courtly establishment in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The aim is, on the one hand, to close a series of scholarly gaps in the field of manuscript-based studies of the Scottish Jacobean Renaissance, and on the other, to increase our knowledge of British Jacobean cultural life in the broader sense of the word.

Words: *ca.* 100.000

SOMMARIO

La ricerca presentata in questa tesi si concentra sugli “Hawthornden manuscripts” (Edinburgo, National Library of Scotland, MSS 2063-67). I manoscritti contengono le carte dello scozzese William Fowler, poeta petrarchesco e cortigiano a Edinburgo e Londra, impiegato come segretario della consorte di Giacomo VI, dal 1590 al 1612. La ricerca si è concentrata sul reperimento di dati riguardanti la cultura manoscritta contemporanea, con l'obiettivo di chiarire questioni di localizzazione della produzione fowleriana d'occasione all'interno del suo contesto sociale, letterario e più generalmente culturale. Sulla base delle testimonianze frammentarie raccolte negli “Hawthornden manuscripts”, questo progetto vuole esplorare uno dei “luoghi culturali del Rinascimento Europeo”. Si concentra in particolare sulla corte del sovrano a Londra nella prima decade del Seicento, con l'obiettivo finale di comprendere più a fondo alcuni aspetti specifici della congerie culturale Britannica, nonché di raccogliere testimonianze materiali che ci permettano di comprendere più a fondo la produzione manoscritta scozzese del cosiddetto “rinascimento giacobita”.

Parole: *ca.* 100.000

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CELM: Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700, available at: <<http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/>>

CSP James: Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series: James I, 1611-18. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

CSP Scot: Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603 Preserved in the Public Record Office, British Library and Elsewhere. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House.

CSP Venice: Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

DBI: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Treccani, online version available at: <<http://www.treccani.it/biografico/index.html>>

DSL (DOST): Dictionary of the Scottish Language / Dictionar o the Scots Leid (including the *Dictionary of the Old Scottish Tongue*), online version available at: <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>>

Enc. Brit.: Encyclopaedia Britannica, online version available at: <<https://www.britannica.com/>>

ESTC: English Short Title Catalogue, online version available at: <http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc>

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online version available at: <www.oxforddnb.com>

OED: Oxford English Dictionary, online version available at <www.oed.com>

Oxford Classical Dictionary: Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (eds.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Salisbury Papers: Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

STS: Scottish Text Society, for a list of publications, see their website: <<https://www.scottishtextsociety.org/>>

USTC: Universal Short Title Catalogue, online version, available at: <www.ustc.ac.uk>

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS: semi-diplomatic. Contractions and abbreviations are expanded between (round brackets) and editorial conjecture is signalled by [square brackets]. A lacuna in the original text is indicated by [...], while unreadable elements and unsatisfactory readings are indicated by † or by a series of such symbols (if the illegible words are multiple). Capitalization in the original has been reproduced and editorial punctuation has not been provided. The layout of verse and micro-texts on the page has been reproduced, while line-breaks in longer prose texts are signalled by a dash (/). Italic script has been rendered with *italics*. When rubrics are present, they are indicated in **bold**.

NOTE ON TRANSLATION: all translations from foreign and classical languages are mine, unless otherwise specified. Translations are intended for reading purposes only, and do not attempt to reproduce the original's wording (in the case of prose) and/or metrical and prosodic features in poetry texts.

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS A SOCIAL HISTORY OF SCOTTISH RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS

*“Ther may be better things in there then I know of:
for the writ is fashious to read.”¹*

The early modern period, in Britain as in Europe, has often been described as a transitional age or an “inter-period”, poised as it is between the long end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern age.² Signs of an ideological shift at the end of the Middle Ages (such as the rise of a humanist-driven return to the classics) are unmistakable, as are the corresponding manifestations of a shift towards what the modern times (such as the rise of a broadly defined “scientific” frame of mind) in the second half of the seventeenth century. Thus, from the point of view of the history of ideas, the beginning of the seventeenth century appears to be somewhat uncomfortably nestled between these two historical watersheds (from Mediaeval to Renaissance and from Renaissance to Modern), and showing features of different and sometimes opposed worldviews. Such a transitional mental space is best understood in terms of narratives of negotiation and conflict between opposing issues at a variety of levels (between manuscript and print, public and private, amateur and professional, *etc.*) which intersect at this time.³ This broadly cultural situation is reflected in the narrower landscape of literary production, which was still informed by ideas of unity (of personal and public, of matter and form, *etc.*) that are ultimately the long lasting legacy of the Mediaeval period.

From the point of view of the conceptualization of literature, the Renaissance and early modern period was still a time in which authority and words were closely connected, a fact that is often announced explicitly in the contemporary official production, with its deep concern for matters of persuasion, publicity and propaganda. An ideological attitude grounded in the idea that words have power over public perceptions that was ultimately the legacy of sixteenth-century civic humanism is also apparent in the contemporary widespread custom of having salaried writers-in-residence on the part of royal as well as noble households. A similar attitude is also

¹ Annotation in Sir William Drummond’s hand, Drummond of Hawthornden’s son, pasted on the frontispiece of the first of Fowler’s volumes, Hw 2063 f. iiii.

² Quoted from Jean E. Howard, “The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies”, *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986), pp. 13-43, p. 15.

³ See the introduction to the volume by Andrew Murphy (ed.), *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. 1-29, p. 3.

reflected in the contemporary concern for control of the written word and consequently in the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century fixation with state censorship, at least from the point of view of official proclamations.⁴ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, these and similar forces were still active, and language and literature were still officially acknowledged as actively participating in the creation, portrayal and maintaining of authority. As far as Renaissance and early modern writers and their audiences were concerned, literature and writing had an important stake in the fashioning and self-fashioning of social and especially political authority. At a European level, the early modern period represents the historical high point of centralized court culture, with its almost obsessive focus on the portrayal and self-portrayal of monarchs and of the people closely connected to them. This statement acquires more importance in the case of literary monarchs such as Elizabeth I and James VI and I. Specifically, James was a published literary author and had received a rigorous humanist education at the hands of George Buchanan, making him likely the most erudite, and certainly the most literarily productive, of British monarchs. With a publication history to rival some of the major authors of the time (at least in terms of quantity) and ranging from poetry to political and religious prose, James VI was personally aware of the power of words (his own as well as others') to project the desired image of authority.⁵ This state of things intersects with a social environment where patronage, the system of protection and advancement based on the personal affiliation to a network of powerful individuals, was the glue that held society together at different levels, from local guilds to the royal household. For an early modern writer, concerns of publicity, publication and patronage were still inescapably linked, and literary matters had practical and far-ranging consequences on people's lives and careers.⁶

⁴ On state censorship in the Jacobean period, see Cyndia S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. See also the articles by Mark Bland, "'Invisible Dangers': Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 90 (1996), pp. 151-193, and Janet Clare, "'Greater Themes for Insurrection's Arguing': Political Censorship of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage", *The Review of English Studies* 38 (1987), pp. 169-183.

⁵ For an appraisal of James VI as an author, and the relationship of his literary *persona* to the monarch, see the work of Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority, The Writings of James VI and I*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007, pp. 1-31 and *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 1-20.

⁶ For a brief overview on the issues of patronage, language and authority in the Renaissance, see Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: the Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 1-52. See also the introduction to Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds.), *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 1-20; and the Preface to the volume by Arthur F. Kinney and Dan S. Collins (eds.), *Renaissance Historicism: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987, pp. vii-xv.

Given these premises, it is no surprise that modern scholars in the past twenty years have been increasingly looking at Renaissance and early modern texts under the lens of New Historicism, a critical mind-set that advocates that literary texts be understood in their larger historical, and specifically social and political, context. Renaissance texts specifically can be read in a political and social sense precisely *because* most of them they were written with such issues in mind. As such, Renaissance literature has represented for some time the ideal place to investigate the interrelations between literature and its social and political context. This is particularly true in the case of literary works directly connected with the court, or to one of the major political players of the times. In this sense, such writings have provided a remarkably fertile ground for explorations of the interplay between literature and the practical concerns it chose to address, in a period where the two were so closely linked as to be often inseparable. This critical stance is based on the acknowledgement that books represent social facts in themselves, and that the texts they contain can be read as material evidence of the social, historical and political reasons that inform the history of their production and transmission.⁷ This viewpoint is commonly referred to as either the “anthropology” or the “sociology” of the book, and has at its base a willingness to understand literature as a social phenomenon, immersed in the historical context and tied to the personal and social circumstances of both the author and the circles that functioned as the audience for literary products.⁸

This is particularly significant when the concept of scribal publication is taken into consideration, *i.e.*, the fact that printed publishing was only one of the multiple modes of publication accessible to authors in the Renaissance period. In a time when printing had not yet become synonymous with writing for an audience, older forms of publication (in the sense of “going public” and making a text available outside a restricted number of readers) were still routinely practiced. These included publication via presentation manuscripts, which were produced as personal copies for specific patrons, as well as scribal publication in general and using manuscript copies in general as a means to circulate a text.⁹ In this sense, publication choices (scribal vs print, presentation manuscripts vs loose sheets, *etc.*) can also be read with

⁷ Jason Scott-Warren, “Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010), pp. 363-381, p. 365.

⁸ The term has been first used by McKenzie in a series of lectures dating back to 1985. The main concepts have been explored in his book, Donald Francis McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

⁹ The seminal work on scribal publication is Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983. On humanist publication strategies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see also David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books. Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print 1475-1525*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

an eye to the social and political *milieus* to which they appealed and which conversely informed an author's choice of means. This stance has the merit of being less restrictive and more in tune with contemporary publication practices, which did not always see print and manuscript as opposed or even separated. It also accounts for a series of contemporary situations and phenomena that are otherwise difficult to categorize and understand, such as the presence of multiple scribal copies of the same text, with external features tailored to different kinds of prospective audiences. The sociology and anthropology of literature also deserve praise for broadly putting textual and material (and specifically codicological and palaeographical) evidence back in the spotlight of literary criticism, especially with the rise in studies based on the concept of "New Bibliography".¹⁰ This has been especially evident in the relatively recent rise of histories of writing and reading practices, which have translated into a widespread scholarly interest for the use of books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in a preference for the format of the scholarly case study. As pointed out by many, the external features of a piece of writing can offer precious cues as to the people it was written for, and the uses it was put to, which can yield important information to scholars of literary criticism.¹¹ In recent times, scholars have been devoting an increasing amount of attention to material evidence of transmission and circulation in early modern books, manuscript as well as printed, as opposed to focusing on the contents of the literary texts under consideration.¹² Importantly, these kinds of investigation are growingly concerned with those parts of a literary text (marginal notes, ownership marks and more in general what Scott-Warren appropriately calls "early modern graffiti") that used to fall outside of the realm of literature proper, as it was previously and rather narrowly defined.¹³

As for the types of books examined, this critical attitude towards the material uses of books is also responsible for a rise in the scholarly concern for miscellaneous compilations, and especially poetic miscellanies, *i.e.* collections of poetry by several authors, appearing first in manuscript and, somewhat later, in print. Besides being a good measure of contemporary literary taste (and as such containing information on the popularity of specific poets or literary

¹⁰ As New Historicism applied to bibliographical studies has come to be known.

¹¹ Mary Hobbs, "Early Seventeenth-century Verse Miscellanies and their Value for Textual Editors", *English Manuscript Studies* 1 (1989), pp.182-210, pp. 189-191.

¹² Much has been written on reading and the Renaissance, starting from the seminal piece by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy", *Past & Present* 129 (1990), pp. 30-78. For a general introduction to the history of reading during the humanism and Renaissance, see the relevant chapters in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.

¹³ Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book".

pieces that is often surprising for modern scholars), literary miscellanies, with their texts from multiple sources and with the different hands they often display, can be investigated with an eye to the circles of production and circulation that they encode. In this light, books (especially in manuscript form) have been studied from the point of view of the communities of creation and consumption their contents represent, *i.e.* the bibliographic connections of a specific manuscript with other printed books and manuscripts, and the historical links with the people that read and used them. Such studies have often argued for the necessity of looking at miscellanies in their larger context, and not only, as it has often been the case, with the aim of extracting textual items to be edited from the point of view of traditional literary and author-centred studies.¹⁴ Finally, a sociological attitude towards Renaissance writing has also brought on a sustained scholarly interest in the para-textual section of books. Renaissance and early modern printed works are particularly plentiful in this respect, with extensive para-textual sections including commendatory material from peers and dedicatory letters to actual or prospective patrons as well as authorial prefaces. As such, para-textual sections represent a liminal space in themselves, where information on the social, historical and political background of a text tends to cluster and to intersect with specifically literary concerns.¹⁵ As with miscellanies, para-textual sections can encode information about the *milieu* for which a work was intended, and help clarify issues of origin and prospective audience, which can have significant repercussions on text-based literary criticism. In a few cases, a similar degree of attention has been extended to the realm of commonplace books, both in manuscript and printed form. The practice of commonplacing has been recognized as an integral part of intellectual life in the Renaissance period, widely employed by both professional and amateur writers, with some scholars going as far as suggesting the existence of a “commonplacing mind set” in early

¹⁴ See the convincing case for the edition of miscellany material made in Hobbs, “Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies”. This has given rise to many studies focusing on miscellaneous manuscripts, see, among others, the essays contained in Richard Beadle and Colin Burrow (eds.), *Manuscript Miscellanies, c. 1450-1700*. London: British Library, 2011, as well as Ernest W. Sullivan, “The Renaissance Manuscript Verse Miscellany: Private Party, Private Text” in W. Speed Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*. Binghampton: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993, pp. 289-98, Harold Love and Arthur F. Marotti, “Manuscript Transmission and Circulation”, in D. Loewenstein and J. Mueller (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 55-80, and Arthur F. Marotti, “Malleable and Fixed Texts: Manuscript and Printed Miscellanies and the Transmission of Lyric Poetry in the English Renaissance” in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, pp. 159-174. For an example of the social and network aspect of manuscript studies, see for instance Helen Hackett, “Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler’s Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012), pp. 1094-1124.

¹⁵ See for instance the essays contained in the volume edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. For the concept of paratexts as threshold spaces, see the book by Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

modern intellectual life.¹⁶ Surely, commonplacing was a very widespread custom, and its practice was systematised by the humanist writers throughout the sixteenth century; at the beginning of the seventeenth century, commonplacing was firmly established as a practical formula for the organization of information and for the easy retrieval of knowledge.

The attention devoted by many to para-textual material and a sociological stance towards the history of literature have also promoted scholarly interest in the realm of occasional literature, a close cousin to the kind of text that is found in para-textual sections of sixteenth and seventeenth century books. Occasional and topical literature has often been overlooked in the past, thanks to a long-standing bias against topicality as opposed to the idea of universal “poetic feeling”.¹⁷ Because of these misconceptions, occasional verse has often been deemed too compromised with the practicalities of everyday life and as such not representative of “genuine” literature, and consequently dismissed by past scholars as worthless, at least until relatively recently. This, despite the fact that a sizeable quantity of material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not seem to fit our definition of what has been generally considered “literature proper”.¹⁸ In reality, and beyond all concerns regarding the literary value of a piece (which is traditionally difficult to evaluate or quantify), topical texts, directly reflecting the circumstances of their composition and closely tied to the pressing issues of *milieu*, audience and circulation, can offer unparalleled access to the societal realities of their time. Thus, they are especially useful for the kind of “new histories of the book” that have societal analysis as their end-goal. As a result, an increasing number of scholars have been looking into ephemeral and occasional forms of literature, both manuscript (such as separates, newsletters, and commonplace books) and printed (such as pamphlets, libels and almanacs).¹⁹

¹⁶ A similar stance is behind the research detailed in Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, and later in her book *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 (see specifically pp. 162-179). An article by Lucia Dacome, “Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004), pp. 603-625, suggests similar practices had a long after-life. See also

¹⁷ Tricia A. McElroy, “Imagining the ‘Scottis Natioun’: Populism and Propaganda in Scottish Satirical Broad-sides”, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 49 (2007), pp. 319-339, pp. 319-20.

¹⁸ Leah S. Marcus, “Afterword: Confessions of a Reformed Uneditor”, in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, pp. 211-216.

¹⁹ A few studies suggest the direction of the current scholarly mindset. Earle Havens, “‘Of Common Places, or Memorial Books’: An Anonymous Manuscript on Commonplace Books and the Art of Memory in Seventeenth-Century England”, *The Yale University Library Gazette* 76 (2002), pp. 136-153; Fred Schurink, “Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010), pp. 453-469; Adam Fox, “Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England”, *Past & Present* 145 (1994), pp. 47-83; Jonathan Gibson (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*. New York: Routledge, 2017, James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Concerning the scope of this research, these shifts in the scholarly perception of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century literature have brought on a deeper understanding of the early Stuart literary environment as polycentric and polymorphic. The evidence collected by new bibliographical and manuscript studies have contributed to highlight the complexity of the Jacobean environment in terms of both participants and modes, emphasising the aspects of contemporary social mobility and cultural networking.

For what concerns the Scottish scholarly discourse, studies in the Jacobean period, from the literary as well as the historical point of view, frequently seem to be located on one of two sides of an internal struggle. The first approach, often seen in specifically Scottish studies, sees the detailed investigation of Jacobean court culture as limited to the court in Edinburgh during the first two decades of James VI's reign, roughly from 1580 to the turn of the seventeenth century. This tendency has undoubtedly benefited the discipline by producing in-depth studies of the Edinburgh cultural *milieu*, which have served as the basis for the latest explorations of the cultural networks on which the so-called "Jacobean Renaissance" in 1580s Edinburgh was grounded.²⁰ However, such studies generally do not address James' English reign, and this programmatically, since the historical conditions are admittedly different after 1603 and the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. Many have evidenced how, after 1603, the linguistic preference of Scottish writers seems to shift towards Anglicization of their works, arguably with a view of attracting a larger English-speaking audience. Moreover, historians almost unanimously have deemed the first decade of the seventeenth century a period of decadence for Scottish literary culture and the period after the Union of the Crowns, which saw many Scottish nationals moving south to settle in England as a moment of disaggregation of Scottish national identity.²¹ The question of Anglicization is a complex one. While it might be true that writers tended to drift away from their national modes of expression after 1603, it is also true that such a deeply entrenched nationalistic bias in the field of Scottish studies (paralleled by a similar attitude on the part of English scholars) has contributed to the exclusion

²⁰ Examples of older studies can be found in the production of Ronald D. Jack (whose output is so far-ranging that it is not possible to do justice to it in the space of a single footnote), Emile Kastner, Helena Shire (especially her *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) and Sarah Dunnigan (*Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI*. New York: Palgrave, 2002). Recent voices include scholars such as Sebastiaan Verweij, Theo van Heijnsbergen, Elizabeth Elliott and Alessandra Petrina. All these works represent the critical building blocks of this research.

²¹ For a comprehensive overview of the period, see the chapter by Sarah Dunnigan, "Reformation and Renaissance" in Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 41-55, here quoted from p. 51.

of a good number of Scottish authors from both the Scottish and English canons of writers.²² Moreover, the idea of a Scottish diaspora itself might need re-conceptualizing, since as some scholars have pointed out, not all of Scotland fell prey to a relocating frenzy after the Union of the Crowns, contrarily to what is often assumed.²³ All this in a period (the first decade of James' English reign, when the Unionist drive was stronger) during which the Scottish and English contributions to the current cultural state of Great Britain were both significant and relatively plentiful.

On the other hand, studies on the Stuart period after 1603 are often the exclusive domain of scholars of English literature, who often fail to consider James VI as a Scottish monarch with no less than twenty years of experience in the role before his accession to the English throne. From a cultural point of view, these kinds of studies often seem to forget the literary and more generally intellectual sophistication of the Jacobean establishment in Edinburgh, which had been at least partially the direct result of James' own cultural policies. The cultural *milieu* of the Edinburgh court, with its focus on poetry and the arts, unavoidably ended up informing the Jacobean court in London as well.²⁴ Finally, the reign of James I in England is often examined in light of subsequent events. In this sense, the Jacobean reign in England (1603 to 1625) is often seen as a prelude to the Caroline age. Regarding the latter, scholars have mostly investigated these years with the aim of discovering the underlying causes of the revolutionary crisis that culminated in the English Civil War (1642 to 1651).²⁵ Therefore, the first decade of James' reign in England has been often slighted in the past, notwithstanding the fact that it is in this period that many of the cultural prerequisites for the Caroline age are put in place.²⁶

²² See for instance David Stevenson, "From Midden Fecht to Civil War: Drummond of Hawthornden's *Polemo-Middinia*", *Scottish Literary Review* 5 (2013), pp. 41-60; Robert Cummings, "Drummond's *Forth Feasting*: A Panegyric for King James in Scotland", *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987), pp. 1-18, both pointing out the "Englishness" of Scottish poets after 1603. See also Katrien Daemen-de Gelder, "Recitations of Nationhood. Sir Robert Ayton (1570 – 1638) and the Canon of Early Modern Scottish Literature", *English Studies* 4 (2006), pp. 426-41; and Ronald D. S. Jack (gen. ed.) and Craig Cairns (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988, I, p. 221.

²³ For an attempt to re-evaluate the extent of Scotland's distress after 1603, see Jenny Wormald, "The Happier Marriage Partner. The Impact of the Union of the Crowns on Scotland", in Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (eds.), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2006, pp. 69-87.

²⁴ Michael Bath also recently pointed at the "Anglo-centric bias" that dates Stuart culture after 1603 (see his article: "'Rare Shewes and Singular Inventions': The Stirling Baptism of Prince Henry", *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 4 (2012), freely available online on the Journal's website: < <https://www.northernrenaissance.org/> > [retrieved 23 September 2017].

²⁵ A problem with the periodization of the seventeenth century, often artificially "fragmented" into three different periods (pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary) is acknowledged in the article by Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England", *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006), pp. 270-292.

²⁶ See the introductory chapter in Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, pp. 1-13, which makes a similar point.

Moreover, most studies of court culture understandably focused on James himself and his own establishment as the main political (cultural and social) mover of the times. In doing so, the role played by other “cultural places” in shaping early Stuart court culture, for instance the ambiance of the court of James’ consort, Queen Anna, and that of the noble households in the realm, has often been conveniently downplayed. The result is an image of the Jacobean court as of a much more centralized, much more homogeneous and less eclectic establishment than it appears to have been. On the other side of the border, histories of Scotland similarly tend to move seamlessly from the mediaeval times, to Reformation and Revolution.²⁷ This situation, with the creation of hard barriers between Scotland and England, and between the sixteenth (Elizabethan and Jacobean) and the seventeenth (Stuart and Caroline) centuries, has been mainly the result of the prevalence of a nationalistic bias on both sides of the border. This has several unwanted effects, especially when dealing with issues of British history and identity, which in turn brings on a separation, and often an opposition, between Scottish and English, and a focus on nationalistic concerns. Moreover, separating what is “genuinely Scottish” from what is “genuinely English” risks leaving out many poets of the early Jacobean generation, who lived during the watershed that separates the different British nations from a united Great Britain, and the sixteenth from the seventeenth centuries. These writers lived in a period of transition between English/Scottish and British, and as such often defy simplistic pigeonholing and nationalistic-based categorizations.

As has been pointed out by many in recent times, Scottish culture in the Jacobean period is best seen as part of European culture, with which it shared many common traits. Due to strong political, dynastic and cultural ties to foreign European nations, France in particular, Scottish Renaissance literature is best understood as an integral component of a network of European literatures, all operating inside the larger context of European Renaissance, a supra-national environment which includes both Continental and Northern cultural phenomena.²⁸ The European placing of Scottish literature has significant consequences for our understanding of early Stuart literature as well, for the reasons mentioned above. On a more general European level, the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries represent an encounter of contrary forces in history. On one side, the period witnessed the need for stronger national identities in

²⁷ See for instance chapters Two to Four in Thomas C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560 – 1830*. London: Fontana Press, 2001, dedicated to “Reformation” and “Revolution”.

²⁸ As indicated in Alasdair MacDonald, “The Scottish Renaissance: A Rough Beast Slouching to be Born?”, *European Journal of English Studies* 18 (2014), pp. 11-20, p. 20. See also Christopher Upton, “National Internationalism: Scottish Literature and the European Audience in the Seventeenth Century”, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991), pp. 218-225.

opposition to the idea of an “other”; simultaneously, Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century experienced the creation of what is commonly referred to as the “Republic of Letters”, a supra-national and inter-national intellectual community based on loose cultural ties. The creation of such an informal community of learning had the use of a common learned language (*i.e.* Latin) as its foundational element, which has been termed the “sub-text and inter-text of European literatures”.²⁹ Professional intellectuals such as Fowler, who managed to craft a career out of being literate, often fulfilled practical and administrative functions as well, for instance as secretaries and clerks or as tutors and teachers. The majority of people in this class of “clerical labourers” are often identified with members of the contemporary *curia media*, the mid- and low-tier intellectuals generally tasked with the practical running of a courtly establishment and of similar establishment in the many noble households of the period, as well as in cities and ecclesiastical establishments. Their education had been grounded on humanist principles and on the thorough digestion of classical and modern European works through the method of commonplacing. They were polyglots, well-travelled men whose main asset in life was their education and erudition, and who in their choice to serve one of the noble households in the realm (or the court, or one of the many universities) embodied humanist principles in their devotion to *vita activa*. Taken together, this heterogeneous group represents the backbone of European cultural agency in the age of humanist learning, the relevance and cohesion of which continued well into the seventeenth century and later into the age of learning.

A multi-lingual environment and the contemporary widespread familiarity with European languages are also factors that encouraged inter-linguistic communication and the sense of a shared culture between European intellectuals. As pointed out by Auerbach, the intellectual world of the period was a cosmopolitan one, based on a thickly woven network of national literatures and on the systematic practice of heteroglossia and multilingualism.³⁰ This is evident in the para-textual section of early seventeenth century works, which often contain commendatory and dedicatory verse in more than one language (classic as well as modern) by people coming from different parts of Europe. Contemporary Scottish intellectuals seem to have acknowledged this fact and, if it is true that the removal of the court meant that opportunities for advancement became more limited at home, it is also true that the Scottish international bias in education gave many local writers a chance at seeking advancement

²⁹ Moss, *Latin Language Turn*, p. 269.

³⁰ Erich Auerbach, Marie Said and Edward Said (transl.), “Philology and Weltliteratur”, *Centennial Review* 13 (1969), pp. 1-17.

elsewhere in Europe, which was fully exploited.³¹ As pointed out in a recent quantitative survey, Scottish intellectuals seem to have been heavily involved with contemporary European culture especially around the time of James' accession, and possibly as a mean to gain international support for the Jacobean unionist project.³² In fact, the actively European vocation of Scotland as a country, as opposed to the markedly insular stance taken by England, might have contributed to the tensions between Scottish and English subjects and between opposed supra-national and nationalistic interests following the Union of the Crowns.³³ From the point of view of language use, Scottish literature, with its "linguistic, geographical and social complexity", is indeed in a rather privileged position to explore concepts of shifting national identities and cultural hybridity.³⁴ As scholars have long acknowledged, Latin, Scots and French (not to mention Gaelic, which however falls outside of the scope of this study) all played their part in the contemporary economy of intellectual communication in Scotland, a fact that further testifies to the international tendency of Scottish education and culture in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In all this, the more than sizeable bulk of Latin Scottish production (literary as well as scientific) has been largely ignored until very recently.³⁵ Moreover, recent scholars have been pointing out the cultural complexity of seventeenth century Britain as a whole, against what has often been described as a cultural monolith mostly defined in terms of its inherent Protestantism and insularity.³⁶ Overall, it seems that Scottish studies have much to offer to the study of the European Renaissance in general and specifically to the field of British literary studies. From this point of view a fuller appreciation of Scottish

³¹ See Jane Stevenson, "Women Latin Poets in Britain in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *The Seventeenth Century* 16 (2001), pp. 1-36, who argues fewer opportunities in Scotland after 1603 brought on a veritable diaspora of Scots abroad, to England and the Continent.

³² See the survey contained in Steven J. Reid, "A Latin Renaissance in Reformation Scotland? Print Trends in Scottish Latin Literature, c. 1480–1700", *Scottish Historical Review* 95 (2016), pp. 1-29, p. 7. See also as an example, John Durkan, "Andrew Leech, Scottish Latinist", *The Bibliothek: A Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics* 4 (1963), pp. 23-33.

³³ Wormald, "The Impact of the Union", p. 70.

³⁴ Ian Brown, "Hybridity and Cultural Gravity: Crossing Boundaries in Scottish Cultures" *Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature* 22 (2013), pp. 23-50, p. 24. On the role of both Latin and Gaelic in Scottish literature, see also Alasdair MacDonald, "The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse", in Gillis J. Dorleijns, and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics*. Leuven: Peeters, 2003, pp. 59-86.

³⁵ Several important works have recently been produced in this field; see for instance the book-long studies by Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 and Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. See also Roderick J. Lyall, "'A New Made Channoun'? Redefining the Canonical in Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature", *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991), pp. 1-18; and Upton, "National Internationalism".

³⁶ See for instance the article by Roderick J. Lyall, "London or the World? The Paradox of Culture in (post-) Jacobean Scotland", in *The Accession of James I*, pp. 88-100, who argues that the accession of James represents a turning point in British history (pp. 89-90).

writings, particularly in the short period straddling the Elizabethan succession, could help scholars to paint a more satisfying picture of early modern British culture. Moreover, a cultural landscape which also includes James' Scoto-British subjects could undoubtedly help determine the exact nature of the cultural and social challenges the newly United Kingdom was facing in the decades leading up to the crisis of 1642. This becomes especially relevant when the first decade of the Jacobean English reign is taken into account, when the issue of "Britishness" was at the centre of a politically and culturally charged debate.

As far as authorial studies are concerned, the study of the works of William Fowler, Petrarchist poet at the Edinburgh court and foreign secretary to Queen Anna of Denmark in Edinburgh and London, has suffered from similar limitations.³⁷ Fowler was a prominent member of what critics generally refer to as James' "Castalian band of poets", a group of writers with close artistic and personal ties that revolved around the court and specifically around the person of the literarily minded young King in his Edinburgh years.³⁸ The group as a whole has been identified as an important catalyst in the process that gave rise to the Scottish Jacobean Renaissance, and the production of Castalian authors has received a good degree of critical attention. Given his important role among the Castalian poets, Fowler's *oeuvre* has been investigated in detail for what concerns the first part of his career, from the start of James' Scottish reign in 1583 to the Union of the Crowns. The most comprehensive edition of Fowler's work is undoubtedly the one curated by Henry Meikle, James Craigie and John Purves for the Scottish Text Society and published between 1914 and 1940.³⁹ The texts that have been edited include Fowler's major works in print and manuscript, such as his sonnet sequence, *The Tarantula of Love*, and his translation of Petrarch's *Triumphs*, and a sizeable selection of material found scattered in the Hawthornden manuscripts. The volumes' editors have done invaluable work in transcribing and editing a large part of Fowler's production for the scholarly reader, which was not available in print before. However, their achievement in defining the range of Fowler's works has had the unwanted effect of restricting the scholarly canon to those items that are edited there, which are the only ones on which critical considerations have been

³⁷ The choice made here, to address Queen Anne of Denmark consistently as "Anna" is based on the fact that this is how she spelt her own name during her lifetime; concerning this, see the convincing argument made in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 173, based on contemporary sources.

³⁸ Major discussions of the "Castalian poets" are the book-length studies by Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, and Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*. A sobering view on the subject is offered in Priscilla Bawcutt, "James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Scottish Myth", *Scottish Historical Review*, 80 (2001), pp. 251-59.

³⁹ Henry Meikle, James Craigie and John Purves (eds.), *The Works of William Fowler, Secretary to Queen Anne, Wife of James VI*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1914-40. This is also the edition used as the basis of this thesis. When no other source is cited for material on Fowler or his texts, this edition is assumed.

made. As a result, most of the critical work on Fowler's texts has focused on material that is featured in the Scottish Text Society's edition.

While recent research has had the huge merit of opening up new perspectives concerning Fowler's works, especially for what concerns the literary and social networks that helped shaping the first part of his career, it has also contributed to a rather narrow view of Fowler's as exclusively Scottish and more precisely "Castalian" works. The scholarly assumption has been that Fowler's professional writing career ended with the publication of his last work, the description of the *Baptism of Prince Henry* in 1594, which represents the last of his texts to have undergone critical scrutiny. However, as this study will show, there is substantial material evidence suggesting that Fowler's writing did not meet an abrupt end in the mid-1590s. Judging from the Hawthornden manuscripts, it appears as though Fowler did not completely abandon his poetic activities following 1603, when he too moved south and settled in London with the rest of the Queen's court. On the contrary, the massive amount of material contained in Hawthornden rather points to a shift in modes after the move of the Scottish court to London, from longer pieces to short verse, and content, and from Petrarchist-oriented verse in Scots to topical literature mostly written in neo-Latin.

The last five volumes of the Hawthornden manuscripts, amounting to *ca.* 800 leaves in total and on which this study is focused, contain what is left of Fowler's papers. To the total bulk of Hawthornden, we can subtract the last two volumes of the collection, containing respectively mostly legal documents and Fowler's law-notes, which do not offer much information that is potentially relevant from a literary point of view. We can also subtract about one hundred and fifty leaves in the first three volumes that have been edited for the Scottish Text Society along with Fowler's major works, and which represent most of the literary texts that can be found in a fair copy in the Hawthornden manuscripts.⁴⁰ This leaves modern scholars with just about five hundred pages of unedited material, mostly documenting the last ten years of Fowler's career. The sheer size of Hawthornden is enough evidence that the current assumption, that Fowler did not write any more literary texts during the last decade of his career is, simply put, a wrong one. Furthermore, and given Fowler's precedents as a sometimes-opportunistic burgess humanist and poet-courtier, it is logical to think that this mass of writing did not only represent a somewhat time-consuming, paper-wasting pastime, as has been suggested by previous

⁴⁰ See the detailed partial inventories provided in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xliii-xlviii, and Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of the Prince*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 101-111.

editors.⁴¹ Finally, a preliminary survey of the textual fragments scattered about the Hawthornden manuscripts offers evidence that some kind of a shift in poetic language, parallel to the shift in taste detected by many scholars in the period that straddles Elizabethan and Jacobean England, underpinned Fowler's verse in this period as well. Scottish writers, in particular, seem to have been aware of such a shift in taste after moving into England and to have tried to adapt themselves to their changed environment, with varying degrees of success.⁴² As far as Fowler is concerned, such a shift might be connected to a change in his social environment. Thanks to modern scholarship, we now possess a sizeable quantity of information on Fowler's social circles in Edinburgh during the first part of his career. Based on this information, we can confidently say that Fowler habitually made use of his social and intellectual connections to further both his literary career and his social ascent. However, we do not have the same kind of information regarding the period after 1603 and the move to London, and we know very little about Fowler's activities after that point besides the fact that he was not as successful as a writer or as a courtier. The unedited material in Hawthornden suggests that the strategies that Fowler employed in London were very similar to the ones that had guaranteed his social ascent and literary success in the Edinburgh of two decades before. These involved the production of literature for a variety of powerful actual and prospective patrons, the circulation of manuscript copies among a circle of acquaintances, and the maintaining of multiple familial and professional networks. As of now, we do not know much about Fowler and his later environment, and nothing at all about his literary production or his social networks in London, among which this material supposedly moved and which, as pointed out by others, must have been completely different from his earlier ones.⁴³

Although the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries represent the golden age of Scottish manuscript culture, research on Scottish manuscript material in this period is still noticeably lagging behind its English cousin. Of the many Scottish manuscripts from this period that lie buried in libraries all over the United Kingdom, only a small part has been transcribed or even critically considered at all.⁴⁴ The reason for this *impasse* are multiple, from a general neglect

⁴¹ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxv.

⁴² Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560-1625*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 78-79, p. 109, who in turn is building on the intuition expressed by Michael G. Spiller, "The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet at the Union of the Crowns", in Sally Mapstone and Juliette Woods (eds.), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998, pp. 101-115.

⁴³ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁴ See for instance the list of miscellanies provided by Priscilla Bawcutt in her article: "Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century", *English Manuscript Studies*, 12 (2005), pp. 46-73.

of Scottish production in the larger field of British literary studies, to the preference on the part of manuscript scholars to focus on material coming from the Middle Ages, rather than the early modern period. However, things have been changing in this respect, for what concerns both the scholarly attention devoted to Scottish literature, and the relatively recent development of early modern manuscript studies as a separate scholarly field. New technologies and recent developments in manuscript studies, such as the attention devoted to miscellaneous manuscripts in later years and to the specific problems they present, coupled with technological advancements, such as the presence of extensive databases of codicological information (for instance online collections of watermarks on paper, and databases of digitized printed material) have made evidence-based research on Renaissance and early modern manuscripts and printed books more feasible than it traditionally has been. This, coupled with advancements in our knowledge of the Renaissance and early modern period from the point of view of hard philology (for instance the many publications dealing specifically with the thorny subject that is early modern palaeography) has made it possible to investigate such material in more depth. Finally, the presence of sizeable indexed databases of literary material have had the result of making the study of fragmentary manuscript material (such as commonplace books and miscellanies) not only easier, but possible at all in the many cases where extensive reading and first-hand indexing of huge quantities of material would otherwise have been necessary. As things stand today, such progress has had the huge merit of making the traditionally difficult *milieu* of early modern manuscripts (with their miscellaneous contents and mixed hands that are traditionally difficult to decipher, categorize and attribute) more accessible to modern scholars in a philological sense.

THE OBJECT OF THIS STUDY

From a codicological point of view, the Hawthornden manuscripts represent an intermediate object. The booklets and singletons bearing sonnets, by Fowler and other hands, could easily classify the manuscript as a heterogeneous poetic miscellany; at the same time a series of bifolia scattered in the first two volumes resembles a section of a commonplace book, albeit with a rather narrow focus on Ovid's *Tristia*. Most pages are remindful of a copybook, where Fowler or his son Ludovic could have collected fair copies of shorter pieces, or even of a waste-book devoted to rough drafts.⁴⁵ This hybrid nature is a consequence of the later history

⁴⁵ For the distinction between the three, see Peter Beal, "'Notions in Garrison': The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book", in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, pp. 131-147, pp. 132-133.

of conservation of the manuscripts, which saw different types of material bound together in the same volume.⁴⁶ This study mostly takes into consideration the occasional and topical material that can be found in the manuscript and has not been the subject of critical consideration before. This material is mostly in the state of a quick draft or even, as described by Fowler's first editors, "scribblings". The research focuses on a disjointed body of several occurrences of what here is defined as "micro-texts". The definition of the Hawthornden items as micro-texts as a subset of the wider category of literary ephemera, is both useful and necessary for the specific purposes of this study.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, the category of "literary ephemera" is slightly too wide, including both material such as mottoes and *imprese* (which are found in heaps in Hawthornden) as well as more complex texts in prose and poetry, commendatory printed material and propaganda (which are either not present in Hawthornden, or represent a minority of objects). Moreover, the broad category of ephemera often takes into account the content of the piece, thus involuntarily reinforcing the opposition between "topical" vs "literary". Instead, referring to the items in Hawthornden as "micro-texts" allows this study to focus primarily on the material conditions of the items themselves, without taking into consideration issues of content and thereby avoiding creating more divisions within the *corpus*. From the point of view of Fowler's production of ephemera, many of these categories are not represented in his manuscripts; on the contrary, the material collected in the Hawthornden manuscripts is often of a very specific kind. Finally, the micro-texts in Hawthornden have often been termed "scribblings", but if this term is appropriate for the many drafts for mottoes, and quick notes for anagrams, it appears reductive to use it to describe the finished state of emblem and motto items, or the multi-lingual pages written by Fowler for the people at court. Referring to the Hawthornden texts simply as "scribblings" risks narrowing the focus to those texts that are in the state of a draft, or otherwise incomplete and unfinished. As this study will show, the Hawthornden micro-texts often represent more complex, articulated literary pieces, some of which are in a stage that can be considered very close to the finished product. For the limited scope of this discussion, "micro-texts" in Hawthornden are defined as texts of an extremely

⁴⁶ See Chapter Two of this thesis for a detailed codicological description and an updated history of conservation.

⁴⁷ "Deriving from the Greek *ephe meros* ('subject to what the day may bring' or 'lasting only a day'), the generic term 'ephemera' denotes artefacts, especially printed or manuscript ones, that have only a brief or short-lived usefulness before they are discarded, as opposed to more ambitious literary or other productions that may be expected to have a long-lasting if not permanent interest. Often ostensibly trivial, ephemera are, however, valued by many people as curiosities and as items that have historical and educational significance as witnessing to the tastes, habits, preoccupations, of particular people and societies at particular times" (quoted from Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: 1450 to 2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, s.v.)

short length (a few words to a couple of lines at most), often dealing with topical subjects (mostly events or people connected to the court in London) and displaying the intention of being regarded as literary products of some kind. In most cases, the Hawthornden micro-texts represent either anagrams or mottoes for *imprese*, sometimes coupled with a few lines of verse, while some of them represent composite items made up of several such items; as for their purpose, they were likely mostly composed by Fowler to flatter the high and powerful people at the London court. The task of analysing them in full as cultural, and more specifically literary, objects requires stretching the boundaries of what is intended with both “literature” and “text”. In the last two decades, studies on respectively occasional and topical literature and on marginalia and manuscript “graffiti” have stretched the boundaries of both these concepts, and slowly allowed such an approach to take place.

Most of the items in Hawthornden can be connected to people who were active in the orbit of Queen Anna’s and King James’ London establishments, which again suggests that their purpose was something more than mere recreation. The environment is the same as some of the most widely studied literary figures of the day, from Shakespeare to Ben Jonson, to Samuel Daniel and John Donne, who all spent their careers in close contact with Queen Anna’s establishment, at various levels. The connections with such “literary Juggernauts” are undoubtedly tantalizing, and the fact that Hawthornden does not bear many traces of them (there is only a few mentions of John Florio, and none at all of other contemporary major writers) suggests that the courtly environment itself might be substantially more varied than is generally thought, at least judging from the kind of literature that was circulated. This means that there might be entire swathes of the courtly establishment (especially the second and third tier of royal secretaries and clerks, the army of literate secretaries, diplomats and office-holders) that have received less than their due attention from literary scholars. The tendency to dismiss such material as is found in Hawthornden, when it does exist, has also been reversed in recent years, and some of these clerical professionals are receiving an increasing amount of scholarly attention.⁴⁸ Given its highly topical status, the textual material in Hawthornden can be used to gain information on a very specific social and historical environment, and on a significant moment in cultural history, namely the Jacobean court in London in the first decade

⁴⁸ For instance Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979, and M. B. Young, *Servility and Service: The Life and Work of Sir John Coke*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1986. See also a series of articles, for instance on the people connected with the Society of Antiquaries, such as Brett F. Parker, “Recasting England: The Varieties of Antiquarian Responses to the Proposed Union of Crowns, 1603-1607”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43 (2013), pp. 393-417.

of Stuart reign, roughly from 1603 to 1612. The period has recently become the focus of specific scholarly attention, and as a result, has been investigated more fully in recent times, especially in relation to the “British problem”. This development has its roots in the work of many Revisionist historians, who refuted the teleological assumptions behind much Whiggish historiography of the seventeenth century, encouraging a more sustained engagement with primary and contemporary archival sources, and particularly with manuscript material.⁴⁹ In doing so, Revisionist historians have engaged with similar texts (heterogeneous manuscripts) and similar people (the intermediate ranks of court administration) as this study does. Such scholars have considered the period between 1603 and roughly 1620, acknowledging how the issue that brought about the Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century can be seen as having “long-term origins in the Early Jacobean period”.⁵⁰ In more recent times, post-Revisionist historiography has gone back to consider the problem of ideology, although with a much more comprehensive and evidence-based approach.

This attitude underwent a fertile collaboration with the New Historical turn in literary studies, and with what Kevin Sharpe calls “the linguistic turn in histories of political thought”, heralded by scholars such as John Pocock and Quentin Skinner and fostering a new approach to early modern British history that also considers literature.⁵¹ This “cultural turn” in early modern studies has allowed both historiography and literary criticism to open up their respective *corpora* to include information on several previously neglected cultural facts, such as “ritual and display, elite and popular, games and pastimes as significations of societal relations and control mechanisms”.⁵² Moreover, this approach agrees with a renewed interest in manuscript sources (literary as well as not), and especially in contemporary collections of personal papers very similar in nature to the kind of material that is present in Hawthornden, and stemming from a similar social environment (the higher and middling ranks of the Jacobean clerical establishment).⁵³ From the point of view of literary studies, this broader, less selective approach fostered a continued interest in the display practices of the court from an artistic point of view. Recent studies have been focusing in particular on what seems to many to be the defining art

⁴⁹ For a brief overview of the critical mindset, see Thomas Cogswell, “Coping with Revisionism in Early Stuart History”, *The Journal of Modern History* 62 (1990), pp. 538-551.

⁵⁰ Cogswell, “Coping with Revisionism”, p. 549.

⁵¹ See Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 12-16.

⁵² Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, pp. 17-18.

⁵³ See the book, by Young, *Servility and Service*, quoted above.

form of the Jacobean court, the *masque*, as well as on visual arts and public and private displays, and on the ephemeral genre of the politically charged libel.⁵⁴

While being conscious of the importance of a wide gaze and a comprehensive approach when discussing cultural facts and environments, the focus of this study is firmly on the material features of the text (handwriting, paper, physical evidence of transmission, *etc.*) with the general purpose of acquiring material evidence of contemporary literary practices. As such, this study is best seen in the light of the study of scribal culture in the early seventeenth century. As pointed out by some, these kinds of studies used to be rare, especially in the *milieu* of Scottish literary studies. As of now, more and more investigations of this kind are in the process of collecting a wide range of information on the production, consumption and circulation of Scottish literature, and on the networks of people who were involved in the workings of literature at all levels. Information on almost all the issues that have been briefly presented here, and especially on the creation and circulation of ephemeral and topical literary material in manuscript form, is encoded in the Hawthornden manuscripts at various levels. Moreover, Hawthornden contains evidence of the everyday life of a clerical office holder attached to the Jacobean court, and indirect information concerning the difficulties faced by those Scots who chose to settle in London after the Union of the Crowns. From a strictly literary point of view, the presence of a sizeable quantity of material in neo-Latin testifies to a shift between Latin as the language of erudition and Latin as the language of play at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ As noticed by others before, Fowler's manuscripts are one of the very few direct witnesses we have at our disposal regarding the professional, intellectual and social life of a Jacobean courtier.⁵⁶ In more general terms, the fact that Fowler, previously considered an exclusively Scottish vernacular author, wrote mostly in Latin during the last decade of his career is a symptom of the changed political climate that drove many other Scottish authors to publication in Latin around 1603. More specifically, the fact that he selected the Latin language for a specific kind of items, mostly represented by micro-textual, occasional, and complimentary pieces, is a sign of a bigger cultural shift that informed taste on a European level, from Humanism to Baroque.

⁵⁴ See the work of Alastair Bellany and specifically his book *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

⁵⁵ See *History of Scottish Literature, Origins to 1660*, I, pp. 219-220.

⁵⁶ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 109-110.

Around the same time that Fowler moved to England, an epoch-making change in cultural perceptions had wrenched Latin away from the hands of humanist erudition, and flung it into the field of courtly amateurs and professional flatterers. With humanistic efforts at education having reached their peak, Latin became the language of elegance and compliment and the province of the now plentiful *literati* at the amateur level, as the library of Fowler's nephew Drummond of Hawthornden, with its many copies of contemporary neo-Latin poetry, testifies.

The format of this research is that of a case study, considering a single author; however, the direct object, the Hawthornden manuscripts, is by its own nature multiplicitous and multifarious. With its five volumes (and fifteen in total) and the variety of material it contains (poetry, ephemera, letters, drafts, prose, commonplace annotations, *etc.*) the Hawthornden manuscripts represent an incredibly varied literary environment, which still encodes information on many of the cultural tendencies specific to the period in which it was produced. The sheer mass of papers collected in the Hawthornden volumes, moreover, constitute a more than sizeable *corpus*, from which information on literary practices can be extracted. This research, like the ones that preceded and informed it, aims at “shifting the attention back to the material context” of literature, taking into account a manuscript that, although it has been used as a basis for an authoritative edition, has undoubtedly been under-investigated from the point of view of the material evidence it can provide.⁵⁷ However, the intention is to move away from author-centred studies and authorial philology, and towards the anthropology or sociology of the (manuscript) book. Ideally, the presence of so much material evidence in Hawthornden regarding several types of texts and scribal practices will allow this research to “branch out” from the manuscript itself and briefly touch on the wider cultural *milieu*. The hope is that the information collectively acquired by similar case studies can help our understanding of early seventeenth-century intellectual life as a whole, and contribute to clarify the workings of scribal and publication practices that underscored intellectual development in the transition from the Renaissance to the Modern period.⁵⁸

Overall, this research is poised to take a further step in addressing all three of the major blind spots in the field of early modern Scottish literature, namely: the neglect of Scoto-British

⁵⁷ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 3. See also how a similar shift is predicted by Steven W. May, “English Manuscript Studies in 2049”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 40 (2009), pp. 261-263. See also Stephen Orgel, “Margins of Truth”, in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, pp. 91-107.

⁵⁸ Similar studies on miscellaneous compilations and hybrid manuscripts do exist, although they are not plentiful; an example of this is Laura Nuvoloni, “The Harleian Medical Manuscript”, *Electronic British Library Journal* 2008, pp. 1-20.

literature after 1603 and of literature not written in Scots or dealing specifically with Scottish themes; the neglect of both the biography and the production related to Fowler's last decade and following his move to London; and finally the dearth of information on, and material evidence coming from, early modern Scottish manuscripts. Fowler's manuscripts offer an incredibly varied array of texts, and constitute an invaluable source of information on the everyday dealings of a Jacobean writer-courtier and clerical employee.⁵⁹ One of the collateral effects of this research is to have amassed a sizeable quantity of material evidence and micro-evidence on various topics, mainly focusing on scribal culture (modes of circulation, techniques of production, circumstances of use *etc.*) between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This research, once made available to a larger scholarly audience, could and should ideally be used by others as a repository of practical documentation on the workings of early Jacobean manuscript culture in general. Starting from the Hawthornden manuscripts, this study sets out to investigate the reasons and modes behind Fowler's later production, and the social and intellectual setting that constituted the breeding ground for his literary efforts, focusing on the first decade of the Stuart reign. As such, this research represents another case study, to be read ideally alongside other case studies similarly focusing on a small slice of the contemporary manuscript environment. When read together, the material evidence contained in such enquiries offers a tool for furthering our knowledge of the early Jacobean reign in general, and specifically of the manuscript culture which played such an important part in contemporary society.

⁵⁹ An opinion already expressed in Sebastian Verweij, "The Manuscripts of William Fowler: a Revaluation of *The Tarantula of Love*, *A Sonnet Sequence* and *Of Death*", *Scottish Studies Review*, 8 (2007), pp. 9-23.

With his former Petrarchist poetry, neo-Platonic tendencies (exemplified by his studies of the art of memory and his passion for emblems) and commonplacing habits, Fowler is a representative of the last generation of humanist-educated early modern intellectuals. He is also one of the first professional intellectuals in Scotland to come from a burgess background, another sign of historical alteration, the one that would in due time bring the burgess classes to vie with aristocracy for social pre-eminence. Like many of his contemporaries, uncertain between their own vernacular and Latin as the best means of expression, and poised in their writings between the intellectual aspirations of humanism in the sixteenth century and the amateurish *nonchalance* of the court wits in the early seventeenth, Fowler is a man of transition. As many others in the period, he embodies the contradictions of the Jacobean era (not lastly between a Scottish and a British identity) and the conflicting demands imposed on contemporary intellectuals (the need to please and at the same time to instruct, to be traditionally derivative and to surprise their audience with new associations). Unlike so many of his contemporaries, Secretary Fowler has the merit of having left a substantial amount of written evidence of his work, making him, if not the most representative man of his generation, surely one of the more approachable for the modern scholar.

papers of secretarie Fowler,
all his owne hand writt presented as they
are by my father so they may be better things
in them then I know: for they write in fashion
to read, he was a great maker of Anagrams
and secretarie to Queen Ann, King James
the sixth Queen
Nov 1703

These papers are ~~written~~^{all}
of John Fowles hand-writ
1662 10 h apud
And secretarie fowles writ
1673

Plate 1: Hw 2063, f. iiii. Frontispiece of the first section of Fowler's volumes in Hawthornden.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION: CHANGING COURTS

EDINBURGH, 1580-1603

The reign of James VI began with the abdication of his mother Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1567. The thirteen-month old King of Scots was crowned in a Protestant ceremony at Stirling Castle in July of the same year, featuring a sermon preached by John Knox, one of his mother's harsher critics. James' personal reign, however, only began after the coerced resignation of the last of a series of relatives who had ruled as regents during his minority. The last of such regents was James Douglas, Earl of Morton, who was sent to the scaffold in 1578.⁶⁰ After decades of political, religious and social instability, the arrival of a Protestant (male) Stewart monarch on the throne seemed to usher in a new era of peace and stability for Scotland. However, the first five years or so of James' reign were troubled by internal dissent; the situation stabilized progressively as the King became older and more assured, although James had to cope with factional strife for the rest of his reign.

In 1579, the thirteen-year-old James, not a minor any more under Scottish law, made his official entry in the Scottish capital, having spent his youth in Stirling Castle as a ward of the powerful Earl of Mar. In Stirling, the young King grew up with those same people who became his closest advisors in the years to come. Some of them, such as the Catholic Earl of Huntly, would remain close to the King despite religious and political differences.⁶¹ James also remained attached to Mar and his family in his adult years, so much so that he entrusted them the custody of young Prince Henry shortly after his birth in 1594, sparking a feud that would see the Prince's mother, Queen Anna, opposed to Mar for about a decade. The process of enlarging James' household to meet the needs of an adult King had been taking place across the years 1578-80, and culminated in the formal creation of the court by his Privy Council in October 1580. This new establishment included most of James' Stewart relations and Stirling classmates, and a few newer additions.⁶² For a short period beginning with his arrival in

⁶⁰ Opinions on the date of the beginning of James' reign, however, differ a little between different historians. While Lyall chooses James' entry in Edinburgh in 1579 (Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland*. Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005, p. 63), Mackie for instance prefers to take 1578 and Morton's resignation as a starting point (Mackie, *A History of Scotland*. London: Penguin, 1964, p. 168).

⁶¹ On James' Stirling classmates and Stewart relations, see: Amy L. Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603*. Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000, pp. 93-108.

⁶² On the composition of the early Jacobean court, see Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, pp. 28-48.

Scotland in 1579 and ending with his death in 1583, Esmé Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, the French-educated cousin of the King, was the single most influential person at court.⁶³ Aged 37 (more than twice the King's age) Stuart made quite an impression on his young relative: he was speedily made Duke of Lennox in 1580 (the only Duke in Scotland) and Earl of Arran in 1581; moreover, he was granted the double office of Lord Chamberlain and First Gentleman of the Bedchamber.⁶⁴ His royal appointments granted Lennox great power at court and “the most intimate access to the King”; contemporary accounts describe “my lord of Obeny” as being “chiefest about his Majestie” and “in great familiarities and quyet purpois” with the King.⁶⁵ Lennox used his influence over his young cousin to reinforce the characteristically French ambiance already established by previous Scottish sovereigns and in particular by Queen Mary (who was Dowager Queen of France) and by her mother Mary of Guise. This was possibly done with at least some thought to political (French, and Catholic) ends in mind.⁶⁶ As mentioned above, the first few years of James’ reign were a turbulent period, culminating in the so-called “Ruthven Raid” in 1583, when Scottish noblemen tried to gain physical control of the young monarch. On the 22 August 1582, a group of Presbyterian nobles led by William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, kidnapped the King, who spent about a year in captivity and only returned to Edinburgh the following year, in 1583, in an attempt to counter what they saw as improper Catholic and French interference in Scottish affairs.⁶⁷ Probably in an attempt to ease the situation, the courtly establishment after 1583 features a balanced presence of both Catholics and Protestant nobles.⁶⁸

⁶³ Stewart was instrumental in the fall of Regent Morton, who ended his life on the scaffold in 1581 (Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, pp. 167-168); see also *ODNB*, s.v.

⁶⁴ Stewart “landed at Leith on 8 September 1579” (Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, p. 63). On the powerful impression that Stewart made on his young cousin, see also James Craigie (ed.), *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1955, I, pp. xxi, xxvii.

⁶⁵ The duties included assisting the King in dressing and undressing, and sleeping in the King's bedchamber (Amy L. Juhala, “Shifts and Continuities in the Scottish Royal Court, 1580-1603”, in David Parkinson (ed.), *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change 1567-1603*. Leuven: Peeters, 2013, pp. 1-26, pp. 5-6). The quotations are from James Melville, *Memoirs of his Own Life*, as quoted by Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, p. 98.

⁶⁶ On Stuart’s influence over James during this initial period, see Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 80, Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, p. 167, and Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*. London: Hale, 1977, p. 94.

⁶⁷ The influence of the Catholic Duke of Lennox, who was linked by some to the *longa manus* of Mary’s relatives, the Guises (see Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, p. 98, quoting James Melville, *Memoirs of his Own Life*) extended well beyond the cultural sphere, securing appointments and obtaining preferment for his *protégés*. See also Juhala, “Shifts and Continuities”, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 93.

The Ruthven Raid was followed by Lennox's flight at the close of the year, and by his death in France shortly after on 26 May 1583.⁶⁹ The year has been seen by many as marking of the beginning of a new phase in James' reign.⁷⁰ He had Esmé Stewart's 9-year-old son Ludovic sent from France in the same year of 1583, and bestowed on the boy his father's appointment as Lord Chamberlain and the dukedom of Lennox.⁷¹ The immediate aftermath of the Ruthven Raid has also been interpreted by many as marking the beginning of the so-called "Jacobean Renaissance" at the Scottish court. In the early months of 1584, the King published his first book of poetry, the miscellaneous compilation entitled *The Essayes of a Prentise*, prominently featuring a long allegorical poem entitled "The Phoenix" mourning the death of Lennox.⁷² The influence of Lennox (and of the French court culture he had contributed to import) at court during the early years of James' reign could have been at the roots of James' interest in literature in this early stage of his reign. The King's poetic works were possibly a consequence of the Ruthven captivity, and certainly the result of the presence at court of a group of poets and musicians who would greatly influence Scottish court culture in the years to come. After James' return from the Ruthven captivity, the Edinburgh court started displaying a marked literary focus; starting from his return, the King gathered around himself a group of poets and musician, which soon developed into the court coterie commonly known as "the Castalian band of poets".⁷³

The most prominent poet in the group was undoubtedly Alexander Montgomerie, a key-figure in Scottish Renaissance literature, who contributed verses to the King's entertainments as early as 1580 and whose presence at court is attested from at least 1579. Montgomerie, who James referred to as his "master poete", could already have been a client of Lennox since his arrival in Scotland in 1579.⁷⁴ The success enjoyed by Montgomerie at this early junction was apparently at the expense of an older colleague, Patrick Hume of Polwarth, whom

⁶⁹ On Stewart's death, see Juhala, "Shifts and Continuities", p. 6; and Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, p. 170 (who, however, reports the year as 1585).

⁷⁰ What Shire calls the "third phase" of James' reign, from 1583 to 1590 (*Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 68).

⁷¹ The young Duke of Lennox also had his father's other titles and posts, though he was only nine years old; on the prominent role he played at court in the Scottish court, see Juhala, "Shifts and Continuities", p. 6.

⁷² James VI and I, *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Diuine Art of Poesie*. Imprinted at Edinbrugh [sic]: by Thomas Vautroullier, 1584, ESTC: S109108.

⁷³ The seminal work on the subject is still Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*; see also Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*. Bawcutt expressed strong doubts on the picture painted by Shire in her article Bawcutt, "The Castalian Band: A Modern Myth".

⁷⁴ On the relation between Stewart and Montgomerie, see Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 67; and Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, p. 87.

Montgomerie defeated in the famous “Flyting” between the two poets.⁷⁵ Polwarth could have been the true initiator of a new season in “Scottis Poesie”. His occasional poem “The Promine” (on the first hunt of James VI, on 12 June 1579) is a sign of a changed cultural climate and of “the reconstruction of the [Scottish] court itself as a cultural force” around the emerging figure of James.⁷⁶ In the first years of his reign, the same centripetal forces had made Renaissance courts of Europe “the major cultural apparatus of the sixteenth century”, exhibiting that concentration of power and cultural dominance in the person of the monarch that is generally associated with the period, finally reached Scotland as well.⁷⁷ The coming of age of James as a Reformed King of Scots, following a civil war and multiple regencies, seemed to usher in a new period of political stability, with the Edinburgh court ideally situated to take the cultural lead.

The courtly group of poets included two English musicians, the brothers Thomas and Robert Hudson, whose family was connected to James’ entourage from an early date. The Hudson brothers were part of a family of English musicians in service to the young King. Their name appears first in 1567, when they are listed among the members of the child King’s entourage in occasion of his coronation.⁷⁸ They could have arrived in Scotland under the protection of Henry Darnley, English husband to Mary, Queen of Scots and James’ father, since a family of five English musicians (four brothers, Thomas and Robert, plus James and William, and their father) is mentioned in relation to the wedding celebrations in 1565.⁷⁹ Their status at court was initially firmly situated in the *curia minor*, among holders of minor court offices, but they can be seen steadily rising in social standing starting from the early 1580s, probably also as a result of the literary collaboration with the court group. John Stewart of Baldynneis is also generally considered among the people connected to the courtly “band”, although there is little evidence that he ever resided at court, and recent work has pointed out how there is little ground for assuming he even interacted personally with members of the group. Like Montgomerie, and

⁷⁵ “The Flyting of Montgomerie and Polwarth” (ca. 1583) is edited in David J. Parkinson (ed.), *Alexander Montgomerie: Poems*, Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2000, I, pp. 139-175.

⁷⁶ For biographical details on Polwarth, see *ODNB*, s.v. See also Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, p. 79 (quoted from p. 67), and Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 79-80.

⁷⁷ A useful introduction to the role of the court in sixteenth-century Europe and its influence on poetry is Waller, *English Poetry of the Sixteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 2014, pp. 14-31 (quoted from pp. 14-15). See also Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie*, p. 75, and Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 79.

⁷⁸ Thomas Hudson, *The Historie of Iudith in Forme of a Poeme. Penned in French, by the Noble Poet, G. SaluSt Lord of Bartas. Englished by Tho. Hudson*. Imprinted at Edinburgh: By Thomas Vautroullier, 1584, *ESTC*: S110849. For a modern edition, see James Craigie (ed.), *Thomas Hudson's Historie of Judith*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1941. The most complete account of the life and work of the Hudson brothers is the one included in Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 71-75.

⁷⁹ According to Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 71.

many of James' courtiers, Baldynneis was a distant relation to the King, since he was the son of James V's mistress Elizabeth Betoun, who was married off to John Stewart, fourth Lord Innermeith. His uncertain origins could have contributed to his being somewhat excluded from direct preference at court.⁸⁰ Baldynneis' presentation manuscript to James has been recently re-interpreted as a "sampler", a proof of his abilities as a poet intended to advertise his poetic abilities to the literary-minded young King and his coterie of poets, probably with the end-goal of obtaining access to the King's entourage or some other kind of preferment.⁸¹ Baldynneis' manuscript contains a miscellaneous collection that is seemingly geared to appeal to the current taste at court, with sonnets in the Scottish pattern similar to those written by other "Castalians" (with interlaced quatrain: *abab bcbcb cdcd ee*), and poetry derived from French models.⁸² It is mainly on the grounds of his production in the *Rapsodies* manuscript that current literary criticism has chosen provisionally to include Baldynneis in the discussion of Castalian poetry.

In accordance with the preferred classicist mode that they had derived from the French poets of the *Pleaide*, the Castalians' poetry is stylistically oriented towards elegance, smoothness, and musicality.⁸³ The pervasive classicist atmosphere in their poems is achieved through a continual use of mythological imagery and classical allusions, as a result of the persisting erudite tradition of Scottish humanists. This influence is evident *in primis* in James' own literary and scholarly upbringing under the tutorship of George Buchanan. The latter was an example of that pan-European, polyglot population of intellectuals, whose knowledge was rooted in the study of the classics and which represented a powerful cultural force at the end of the sixteenth century, in Scotland as well as on the Continent. His Latin works were enormously popular through the whole of Europe and, as witnessed by the many quotations of his poetry in the Hawthornden manuscripts, were read extensively by people such as Fowler. As in the rest of Europe, where Latin was still the *lingua franca*, "many of the poets who addressed the King from his own circle", Crawford informs us, "wrote in Latin", and Latin poetry had still a

⁸⁰ Matthew McDiarmid, "John Stewart of Baldynneis", *Scottish Historical Review*, 107 (1950), pp. 52-63, p. 53.

⁸¹ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 19.6.2. See Michael G. Spiller, "A Stewart Sampler: The *Rapsodies* of John Stewart of Baldynneis", in Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Royan (eds.), *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI: a Festschrift for Roderick J. Lyall*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010, pp. 62-79, p. 66.

⁸² For details on Baldynneis' life, see *ODNB*, s.v. A critical edition of his major poems is Donna Hedde, *John Stewart of Baldynneis' Roland Furious. A Scots Poem in its European Context*. Leiden: Brill, 2008. For a revisionist approach to Baldynneis' work and historical figure, see Katherine McClune, "Poetry and the In-Crowd: the Case of John Stewart of Baldynneis" in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland*.

⁸³ On the *Pleaide*, see Michel Simonin (ed.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises - Le XVI^e siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 2001, s.v.

respectable following in Scotland.⁸⁴ The focus on musicality, and the many examples of Castalian poems that can be found accompanied by a musical setting, probably derive from the presence in the extended court circle of music professionals such as the Hudsons, and from a close link between the court and Edinburgh singing schools. In this too, the cultural climate of the court in Edinburgh resonated with Europe at large, echoing the contemporary fertile association between lyric poetry (Petrarchist in particular) and music leading in Italy to the tradition of the court madrigal, which would have a lasting influence on both the English and the Scottish courts.⁸⁵

The members of the group can be seen to collaborate closely, at least judging from the European poets they choose as models for their own production (mainly French Petrarchist authors), and to have developed close personal relationships. There has been some debate as to how close the members of the coterie really were, and how much collaborative writing was actually used as a mode of production. The personal role of young King James (who was barely eighteen years old when the *Essayes* hit the press) in guiding the coterie's activities has also been recently downsized. Moreover, Shire's reconstruction of a courtly "writing game", in which members of the "band" were supposedly engaged, has been discredited by more recent scholars.⁸⁶ What is certain is that the poetry from the Edinburgh court around the mid-1580s displays significant stylistic and thematic similarities, which are indicative of a shared cultural outlook. Finally, modern scholars have pointed out how the literary activities of the Jacobean Renaissance were not confined to the inner circle at court. Other poets in contact with the Castalians at the time of their poetic apogee around 1585, but not active at court, include Robert Sempill and Alexander Hume (a religious poet and a brother to Patrick Hume of Polwarth), and even a woman, Christian Lindesay, who is referenced in a sonnet by Montgomerie. In addition to these, a series of poems displaying a strong similarity with the contemporary courtly production is included in the Maitland Folio and Quarto manuscripts.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ As testified by the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (published in Amsterdam in 1637) an anthology of Scottish neo-Latin poetry edited by the Fife laird Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit. On the European dimension of Scottish culture in the Renaissance, and the role of Latin, see Roderick J. Lyall, "'A New Maid Channoun'?", p. 5; and Upton, "National Internationalism", pp. 223-25. The "Castalian ghost" Alexander Boyd (Bawcutt, "The Castalian Band: A Modern Myth", p. 251) was mostly a neo-Latin poet.

⁸⁵ For music at the Jacobean court, see Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*. See also Lindsay (*History of Scottish Literature*, p. 94), who identifies musicality as "one of the main requirements of the Castalian manner".

⁸⁶ Compare the respective positions expressed by Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, and Bawcutt "The Castalian Band: A Modern Myth". For a modern conciliatory approach, see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 24-50.

⁸⁷ Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2553 (Maitland Folio MS) and Pepys MS 1409 (Maitland Quarto MS). Both manuscripts have been edited in their entirety for the Scottish Text Society; see Chapter One for details.

The Maitland Folio and Quarto, along with other manuscripts that can be connected to the Maitland family, have allowed scholars to trace the development of poetry in Edinburgh as related to burgess families. While the Maitlands themselves were firmly rooted in the *curia maior*, having been state servants and holders of major government offices under both Mary and James, their extended family circle included minor burghers and clerical court servants, as well as printers, booksellers and other producers and consumers of literature, at various levels.⁸⁸ Finally, Edinburgh cultural geography also included the city's burgeoning University (founded in 1582 as the "town's college") and the singing schools connected to major places of worship.⁸⁹

The atmosphere of the "Castalian" environment in Edinburgh seems to have fitted Master William Fowler particularly well, and he may have joined the group shortly after his return from his travels to England in 1583. Fowler's sonnets appear in James' first published volume, along with sonnets by other members of the "band" (Montgomerie, the Hudson brothers, Hercules Rollock and Patrick Adamson, plus one unidentified M.W.). Another sonnet by Fowler appears in the prefatory section to Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith*, a poetic translation of *La Judith* by the French poet du Bartas, allegedly composed at the King's request.⁹⁰ The inclusion of his poetry in the first of the group's published works testifies to Fowler's status among the members of the court coterie. Between 1584 and 1587, Fowler produced mostly Petrarchist poetry, starting a collection of sonnets modelled on the Italian poet's *Canzoniere* and translating Petrarch's *Triumphs* into Scottish verse. This latter work was dedicated to Jane Maitland, Lady Thirlestane, the wife of the powerful John Maitland who, in 1586, had been reinstated in royal favour. This latter work, along with similarities between poems in the Maitland Quarto manuscript and in the Hawthornden papers, places Fowler firmly inside the circle of the Edinburgh cultured elites at this point in time.⁹¹

However, the "Castalian Renaissance" at the Edinburgh court does not seem to have lasted long, and by the end of the decade, the experiment seems to have ended. Montgomerie had been at odds with James as early as 1585, and finally died in 1597 or 1598, in disgrace with

⁸⁸ Described in detail in Theo van Heijnsbergen, "Coteries, Commendatory Verse and Jacobean Poetics: William Fowler's *Triumphs of Petrarche* and Its Castalian Circles", in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland*, pp. 45-64.

⁸⁹ The book by Verweij, *Literary Culture*, explores the geography of Jacobean Edinburgh from the point of view of verse and manuscript exchange.

⁹⁰ Mentioned above. The sonnets by Fowler begin respectively: "When as my mynde exemed was from caire" (*Essayes*) and "The Muses nyne haue not reuealed to me" (*Judith*). They are edited in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 3-4.

⁹¹ Fowler's links with the Maitland circle are discussed in some detail below, in Chapter One.

court and King. Thomas Hudson was also likely dead in 1586, while his brother died probably before the move to London in 1603; finally, there is no more notice of Baldynneis after his presentation manuscript of 1587. Overall, the group seems to have disbanded by 1590. In 1588-89, James had entered negotiations in search for a suitable wife in Europe; after many a false start, the choice settled on Princess Anna, the youngest daughter of Frederick II, King of Denmark, then fifteen years old and who had been brought up a Lutheran.⁹² The royal couple was married in Norway, and the new Queen entered her Scottish capital on 6 May 1590, to be crowned in a Protestant ceremony (the first such coronation in Scotland) at Holyrood Abbey Church on 17 May. The year 1587 also saw the execution of James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, who was beheaded on 8 February at Fotheringhay Castle, after having been a prisoner in England for nearly twenty years. The death of Mary seems to have brought on a measure of tension between her son and Queen Elizabeth I, who had otherwise enjoyed a mutually satisfying friendship. Moreover, the beginning of the 1590s saw the rise of conflict between Scottish Catholic and Protestant nobles, which was likely fuelled by other European powers (especially France and Spain).⁹³

However, the situation seemed to have been largely resolved by the summer of 1594, when the Scottish first-born was baptized at Stirling Castle with the English sovereign as his godmother and hailed as the future Prince of both Realms. With the birth of a male heir to ensure the continuation of the Stuart line on the twin thrones of England and Scotland, tensions between Scottish nobles also seem to have abated, and the years between 1595 and the end of the century do not feature any major conflict between the King and his retainers. Starting from the turn of the century, James was in personal contact with the English Privy council, heralded by Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's new Secretary of State, secretly negotiating the details of the Scottish King's succession to the English throne.⁹⁴ Accordingly, a progressively closer alignment with English taste and culture is evident in two of James' poetic contributions to literature at the end of the century. His "Carmen in Philippi Sidnaei interitum" (actually a sonnet in English) opens the poetic section of the 1587 collection *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymae* in memory of Philip Sidney.

⁹² For the early reign of Queen Anna, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 15-17.

⁹³ For instance the "Spanish Blanks Plot", discovered in 1592 and which involved the Scottish Catholic Earls (Huntly, Angus and Erroll), or the rebellious behaviour of the Earl of Bothwell, Fowler's patron, between 1590 and 1594. On the Spanish Blanks, see Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, p. 177.

⁹⁴ Pauline Croft, "The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 1 (1991), pp. 43-69, p. 48.

This first section of the collection contains verse in Latin by other notable Scots besides James, among them John Maitland and Alexander Seton, plus a poem by Neville “In Philippum Sidneium celebratum a Rege Scotorum”.⁹⁵ James’ second collection of poetry, titled *Poeticall Exercises*, is introduced by English sonnets (by the poets Henry Constable and Henry Lok) as well as by a sonnet by Fowler, addressed “To the Onely Royal Poet”.⁹⁶ When Queen Elizabeth died at the beginning of 1603, the Scottish succession was settled, and James left Edinburgh a short time later to take possession of his new realm.

THE COURT IN LONDON AFTER THE UNION OF THE CROWNS

Although the accession of the Scottish monarch to the English throne offered a tidy solution to the thorny problem of the Elizabethan succession, the transition itself proved to be far from smooth.⁹⁷ One of the reasons for this is the underhand way in which the interested parties carried on the negotiations over the years preceding Elizabeth’s death. These dealings left James VI with no official acknowledgment of his role. If Elizabeth herself had privately made known that James was her chosen successor, she had always refused to give her official seal of approval to the agreement. On his part, King James had joined secret negotiations on the subject with Robert Cecil, Walsingham’s successor as Elizabeth’s Secretary of State, starting from at least 1601.⁹⁸ The celebrations for the royal baptism of Prince Henry show that matters in this respect were already settled as early as 1594, at least for those around the Scottish monarch. Elizabeth herself was godmother to the Scottish first-born, who in turn was not, for the first time in about two centuries, named James, but significantly Henry (a Tudor name). In the 1594 entertainment, devised by Fowler with the help of Lord Lindores, English envoys had a prominent place and were given central roles in the pageants. Other pieces connected to the festivities, such as Andrew Melville’s printed *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia*, openly acknowledged the young Prince’s future role as ruler of the British Isles.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymæ Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij Sacratæ per Alexandrum Nevillum*. London: Windet, 1587, ESTC: S122201.

⁹⁶ James VI and I, *His Maestie Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*. Edinburgh: Waldegrave, 1591, ESTC S108288. The sonnet is edited in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 5.

⁹⁷ Much has been written on the Union of the Crowns. See for instance: Jenny Wormald, “The Union of 1603” in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 17-40, and the essays contained in Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (eds.), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

⁹⁸ Croft, “The Reputation of Robert Cecil”, p. 48. See also Leeds Barroll, “Assessing ‘Cultural Influence’: James I as Patron of the Arts”, *Shakespeare Studies* 29 (2001), pp. 132-162.

⁹⁹ On the political significance of Fowler’s printed account of the Baptism, see Rick Bowers, “James VI, Prince Henry, and ‘A True Reportarie’ of the Baptism at Stirling 1594”, *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Réforme* 29 (2005) pp. 3-22, pp. 4-5 and Rhodes Dunlap, “King James’s Own Masque”, *Philological Quarterly*

However, when the time finally came for James to take his place on the throne of England after Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, the actual succession activated a series of conflicts that had lain dormant for some years. James himself was undoubtedly aware of the situation, as is evident from the fact that, although he left for England almost immediately after receiving the news, he refrained from entering the English capital until Elizabeth's funeral had taken place. Although this was probably due to English court etiquette, since no English monarch had ever been present at their predecessor's funeral, James' haste to reach England just so he could wait some time outside the capital seems to indicate at least some measure of uncertainty in dealing with the practical aspects of the succession.¹⁰⁰

A sense of ambivalence on the Scottish succession can be discerned in the contemporary English printed output, where the tears on the death of the beloved Queen can be seen as somewhat awkwardly juxtaposed to the expressions of joy for the arrival of the new King. Consequently, English writers seem to have been especially undecided as to which of the two emotions was to be given precedence, as is evident from the contents of the many publications that deplored Elizabeth's death while at the same time celebrating the new monarch.¹⁰¹ From the Scottish point of view, literary critics have often highlighted how the loss of the royal establishment after 1603 ended up damaging literary culture in Scotland. The Scottish poets who celebrated their King's accession to the English throne seem to have been keenly aware of the possible consequences of the succession. They similarly suffered from a sense of uncertainty, caught as they were between the celebratory mood and the fear of losing their King to the more powerful neighbour (and consequently their role in the new State and a significant part of their national identity).¹⁰²

41 (1962), pp. 249-256. On the relation of Henry's Baptism to James' "manoeuvring" in view of the English succession, see Richard Hillman, "God-fathering Prince Henry" in Jean-Christophe Mayer (ed.), *The Struggle for the Succession in Late Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations*. Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III, 2004, pp. 313-326. For Melville's work, see Roger A. Mason and Steven J. Reid (eds.), *Andrew Melville (1545–1622): Writings, Reception, and Reputation*. London: Routledge, 2016, especially p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ On the management of Elizabeth's funeral, see Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: the Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998, pp. 97-100.

¹⁰¹ See for instance some of the many titles published in London in that year: Thomas Rogers, *Anglorum lacrimæ: in a sad passion complaining the death of our late soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: yet comforted againe by the vertuous hopes of our most royall and renowned King James* (ESTC S119445); Samuel Rowlands, *Aue Cæsar. God saue the King. The ioyfull ecchoes of loyall English hartes, entertayning his Maiesties late ariual in England. With an epitaph vpon the death of her Maiestie our late Queene* (ESTC S110750); H.S., *Elizaes losse, and King James his welcome* (ESTC S94984); Anthony Nixon, *Elizaes memoriall. King James his arriuall. And Romes downefall* (ESTC S113328).

¹⁰² See Morna Fleming, "'Kin[g]les be the glas, the verie scoole, the booke/ where priuate men do lerne, and read, and looke'" (Alexander Craig, 1604). The Translation of James VI to the Throne of England in 1603", in Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (eds.), *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland*. East

The same ambivalence about the Union that can be detected in the contemporary English production haunts Scottish writings of the period as well, and the anxieties of Scottish writers manifest themselves in their published poetry, as well as in their mode of identification. Many Scottish writers in the first decade of the seventeenth century chose to style themselves “Scoto-British” or “Boreo-British” (Northern Britons), in an attempt to assert their distinctive national identity.¹⁰³ This was the case for Fowler and his colleague Robert Ayton (who would succeed him as Anna’s secretary after his death in 1612), both writing from the royal court in London. Similarly, other Scottish poets chose to define themselves based on a dual national identity, while asserting their distinctive Scottish one. A glaring example is offered in the poetry of Alexander Craig, author of *The poetickall essayes of Alexander Craige Scotobritane*, published in London in 1604, the title of which is a direct reference to the King’s own previous poetic works (*The Essayes of a Prentise* of 1583 and the *Poeticall Exercises* of 1591).

The conflict between the old and the new was moreover replicated on a symbolic level, as English national mythology, which had been informed by decades of female power, had to be hastily reshaped to accommodate the new (male) monarch.¹⁰⁴ Official histories of England had to be revised as well, especially for what concerned the recent past and the two-decades-long conflict between Elizabeth and the (by then infamous) Mary Queen of Scots. Anxieties over James’ mother were re-awakened, and her ghost seems to have risen again to plague contemporary historians, in England as well as abroad. This complex process involving different types of negotiation left a visible trace in the work of several authors, such as the French historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, who was asked by James to revise the chapters dealing with the events surrounding Mary’s execution.¹⁰⁵

Linton: Tuckwell, 2002, pp. 90-110, which highlights both the English pattern of celebrating James and mourning Elizabeth, and the anxieties of James’ new Scoto-British subjects.

¹⁰³ For an overview of the transition period from the point of view of Scottish literary history, see Robert Crawford, *Scotland’s Books. A History of Scottish Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. The information here is quoted from pp. 163-64. See also Sila Şenlen Güvenç, “[You can’t kill me]’: Scottish Identity and the Anglo-Scottish Union in David Greig’s *Dunsinane*”, *Scottish Literary Review* 6 (2014), pp. 93-113.

¹⁰⁴ See for instance Jessica L. Malay, “Performing the Apocalypse: Sibylline Prophecy and Elizabeth I”, in Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (eds.), *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, pp. 175-192, p. 189.

¹⁰⁵ De Thou’s work, *Historia sui temporis*, was only published posthumously in its entirety in 1620. A recent account of de Thou’s sources and a mention of his conflict with James VI regarding the history of Mary Queen of Scots is provided in: Ingrid De Smet, *Thuanus: The Making of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617)*. Genève: Droz, 2006, pp. 219-225. See also Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: a Curious History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 5-6.

Similarly, the English antiquarian William Camden, who had close ties to the court as a royal herald, chose to gloss over that part of his history in his *Annales*, and confine himself to some rather vague remarks on the misfortunes of the powerful. Both de Thou's and Camden's histories doubtlessly indicate a certain level of discomfort when dealing with issues that were considered to be still too close to home in England, even two decades after Mary's execution in 1587.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, more anxieties would soon manifest themselves in the nationalistic conflict between James' English and Scottish subjects. Albeit united under a single monarch in what is known as a "personal union", England and Scotland were still two separate countries from the judicial and the religious point of view. The centuries-old tensions between the two came to a head after 1603, with what was perceived at the time as the massive influx of Scots to London. According to Jenny Wormald, the anti-Scottish sentiment that lay at the bottom of English nationalistic ideas became more militant after James' accession.¹⁰⁷ The Scots, who were aliens on the English soil, were seen by their English counterparts as "backwards, beggarly and rapacious"; a situation that was not made easier by James' habit of bestowing considerable favour and places on his Scottish allies.¹⁰⁸

The King himself was described as coarse, physically repulsive and overly familiar with his subordinates, with a passion for hunting and an accolade of similarly boorish Scottish favourites. His less ceremonious court in London, modelled on the much smaller Edinburgh establishment (where almost all the people close to the monarch were either related to him or childhood friends, or both) provided a strident contrast to the much more formal and dignified climate of the Elizabethan court.¹⁰⁹ The negative judgement in the first years of the Union was compounded by James' preference for male favourites, which brought on the additional taint of homosexuality.¹¹⁰ In all this, James' idea of a unified Great Britain left most of his English

¹⁰⁶ The first part of Camden's *Annales Rerum Gestarum Angliae et Hiberniae Regnante Elizabetha*, dealing with the events up to 1598, appeared in London in 1615 (ESTC S107145). For the treatment of Mary Queen of Scots in this latter work, see James E. Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964, pp. 224-232.

¹⁰⁷ Jenny Wormald, "Gunpowder, Treason, and Scots", *Journal of British Studies* 24 (1985), pp. 141-168, p. 158. At the same time, Jack registers a renewed interest in England for Scottish literature, exemplified by the publication of Scottish texts in London after 1603, see Ronald D. S. Jack, "The Thre Prestis of Plebis and the Growth of Humanism in Scotland", *The Review of English Studies* 26 (1985), pp. 257-270. See also Mary Floyd-Wilson, "English Epicures and Scottish Witches" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 57 (2006), pp. 131-161, who analyses Anglo-Scottish tensions in *Macbeth*.

¹⁰⁸ Jenny Wormald, "The Happier Marriage Partner", pp. 69-87, p. 75.

¹⁰⁹ On the composition of the Scottish court in Edinburgh, see Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, especially pp. 92-119, focusing on the prevalence of James' lifelong friends in his court.

¹¹⁰ Croft, "The Reputation of Robert Cecil", p. 59. See also Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: the Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 5. See also Curtis Perry, "1603 and the Discourse of Favouritism", in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, pp. 155-176, pp. 156-157.

subjects dubious at best, starting from the English Parliament, which routinely fought against it until the whole project was abandoned at the end of the decade. By the time 1608 rolled on, the King had contented himself with a Union that was such in name only.¹¹¹ Even self-professed Scoto-British authors, mainly those Scots who had followed the King in his move south and at least outwardly expressed their full support of James' Unionist ideal, appear to have had mixed feelings about the thing itself. As mentioned above, contemporary writings testify to the fact that even those subjects who fully supported James' project still seem to have harboured some level of anxiety over the perceived loss of a sense of national identity that James' unionist project seemed to entail.¹¹² A measure of tension over the Union can be detected in the Hawthornden manuscripts as well. Hw 2063 f. 239r contains a brief text on the principles of *decorum* applied to anagrams, which may at times "be rightlie maid unpertinently and improperly applyit". The example chosen by Fowler is the phrase *ex tribus conabor ruina* (transl.: "from three things ruin will come"), which can be connected to a ruined marriage or to the triple crown of the Pope, but also "to the kingdomes of Scotland England and Irland". At the same time, Fowler prominently chose to style himself "Gulielmo Foulerio Scotobritanno/Annae Serenissimae Magnae Britanniae Reginae/Ab Epistolis/et Libellorum Supplicum Magistro" in the several drafts for the title page of his unfinished *Ichnaea* (Hw 2064 ff. 1r and 2r), thus making his commitment to James' Unionist ideal explicit in his writings.

Simultaneously, the structure of the court in London underwent a series of dramatic changes with the accession of James, and while most of them were advantageous in nature, the sudden alterations required some adjusting on the part of both English and Scottish courtiers. With the presence of a royal consort and family came the need for separate court establishments for both Anna and Henry (and in due time for the younger royal children, Elizabeth and Charles). Although no sixteenth century court ever really offered a uniform landscape, due to the constant presence of factional strife, the presence of *two* such establishments in England had not been a fact since the times of Henry VIII. After 1603, the arrival of James and Anna created a situation in which two main court establishments could stage competing claims in the political and

¹¹¹ Wormald, "The Happier Marriage Partner", p. 79. See also Rebecca Calcagno, *Publishing the Stuarts: Occasional Literature and Politics from 1603 to 1625*. Ph.D. Thesis: Columbia University, 2011, who argues that James renewed his efforts for the Union after his visit to Scotland in 1617 (pp. 183-185).

¹¹² These anxieties are analysed in Fleming, "The Translation of James VI to the Throne of England". Cummings remarks on the habit of Scottish poets of anglicizing their verse after the Union, see Robert Cummings, "Drummond's Forth Feasting: A Panegyric for King James in Scotland", *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987), pp. 1-18, pp. 4-5. A similar view is embraced by John Kerrigan in *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, And Politics 1603-1707*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 141-168, "William Drummond and the British Problem". See also Sandra Bell, "'No Scot, No English Now': Literary and Cultural Responses to James VI and I's Policies on Union", *Renaissance Forum* 7 (2004): 1-13.

artistic fields, an environment that sharply contrasted with the relative homogeneity of the Elizabethan court.¹¹³ At the very basic level, two separate courts meant much higher expenses, but also more chances for advancement for English as well as Scottish nobles, since the number of people with access to power increased, as it became necessary to appoint more individuals to court offices.¹¹⁴ This situation was compounded by James' habit to dole out knighthoods and other titles both on his way south and in the first years of his reign. Previous studies have shown how the Union of 1603 brought with it an extension of the peerage, especially for what concerns Scottish nobility.¹¹⁵ This situation, with two royal courts and a royal couple notoriously free with both favour and material rewards, made for a highly competitive, and often corrupt, court environment in the first decade of Jacobean British rule.¹¹⁶

From another point of view, that of the powerful women of the English nobility, this meant a new world of possibilities to achieve their ambitions. While Elizabeth had necessarily retained a female entourage of noble ladies, most of her political activities had centred on her Privy Chamber, which contrary to the common practice comprised (male) officials of state such as Walsingham, Lord Burghley and later Robert Cecil, and male favourites, such as the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Essex, Leicester's stepson. Paradoxically, the presence of a female monarch in the previous years had had the effect of limiting the influence of women at court, since the Ladies of Elizabeth's Bedchamber were mostly relegated to the role of private companions to the Queen, and largely excluded from directly or indirectly influencing political decisions, which were taken by the Privy Council.¹¹⁷ The arrival of Anna, a Queen consort with the need for a full separate court establishment, changed all that, and furnished English noblewomen with a separate stage in which to exercise some measure of political and social influence for the first time since Elizabeth had come to the throne. There is evidence that contemporary English noblewomen did indeed appreciate this fact, as they flocked to greet Anna at the start of her journey in Berwick-on-Tweed. The English Privy Council had appointed a group of ladies to greet Anna in Berwick, mostly drawn from the noblewomen in

¹¹³ Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, pp. 10-11, started his investigation of Caroline courtly literature with the idea of Stuart "courts" (plural). See also Calcagno, *Publishing the Stuarts*, pp. 11.13.

¹¹⁴ Pauline Croft, "Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court", in Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 134-47, p. 136.

¹¹⁵ Wormald, "The Impact of the Union of the Crowns", pp. 74-75.

¹¹⁶ The description of the department of the royal household as "ramshackle and corrupt" is found in Croft, "Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court", p. 143. The article by Brown, "Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation", offers a good description of the competitive atmosphere surrounding intellectuals in an early seventeenth-century noble household, and by extension, at court.

¹¹⁷ See the description of Anna's early court offered in Leeds Barroll, "The Court of the First Stuart Queen", in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, pp. 191-208, pp. 191-92.

their own family circles and close to the Howard faction prominent at court. At the same time, other English noblewomen, led by Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, saw their chance, and independently rushed to meet Anna before the “official” group had time to leave London. To give an idea of just how important this was felt to be, according to the diary of the then thirteen years old Anne Clifford, she and her mother the Countess of Cumberland famously killed no less than three horses in their haste to greet the new Queen.¹¹⁸ Among these were noblewomen who would become Anna’s closest English companions and who would have a substantial influence in the shaping of her court.¹¹⁹

At the same time, the daily habits of the new King also meant that Anna’s court became more and more important for the administration of the state. As James spent most of his time out of London on endless hunting progresses in the company of his favourites (who were also his hunting companions), the Privy Council, headed by James’ Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, conducted state business from the palace of Hampton Court in London. On these occasions, Anna’s palace of Greenwich (and later Somerset House, renamed Denmark House) came to provide the only centre of royal power and the only royal presence in London, a prerequisite for the meetings of the Privy Council, which consequently met frequently at her apartments.¹²⁰ Anna’s London establishment functioned in this sense as an extension of the royal court, providing the Council with the physical presence of the monarch that was necessary to the conducting of government affairs in the absence of James.¹²¹ Moreover, from a cultural point of view, the King’s “peripatetic lifestyle” and his passion for outdoor sports made it difficult for his *clique* to enact a coherent cultural programme.¹²² The role of cultural intelligentsia of the realm was fulfilled instead by major noble households, which acted as centres of patronage in the realm of the arts.¹²³

The absence of a single centre of patronage meant that cultural and artistic efforts lacked a common purpose, and often steered court culture in different, if not opposite, directions. As a result, Jacobean court culture has often been described as lacking homogeneity and direction;

¹¹⁸ The journal of Clifford is quoted in, among others, Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 142. See also Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 45.

¹¹⁹ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 42-43: “Before the departure of these personages aforesaid [the official group], diverse ladies of honor went voluntarily into Scotland, to attend her majesty in her journey into England” (p. 43).

¹²⁰ See Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 38-39 for an overview of the main court locations in the Jacobean reign.

¹²¹ Croft, “Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court”, p. 138.

¹²² The mention of James “peripatetic” habits is taken from Croft, “Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court”, p. 138. See also Barroll, “James I as Patron of the Arts”, p. 149 and Malcolm Smuts, “Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I”, in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, pp. 99-112, p. 101.

¹²³ Croft, “Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court”, p. 137.

at the same time, this situation made it more eclectic, and more open than the Elizabethan establishment to cultural influences from outside the court. In this sense, the cultural geography of early Jacobean England is better understood as a polycentric environment, which included both the royal court(s) and the major noble households, but also places like the foreign embassies, the households of lesser courtiers and the country seats of the nobility. To these may be added an ever-increasing number of intellectual and cultural professionals, including historians such as William Camden and antiquaries like Sir Robert Cotton, who, while accepting court patronage, also cultivated ties with similarly minded individuals who were not part of the court.¹²⁴ Of these multiple centres, the Queen's court was arguably the most important, and the one from which most of the cultural innovation that is often associated with the Stuarts seems to have irradiated.

Although James himself was easily the most intellectual of English monarchs, his interests lay in the more traditionally humanistic *milieu*, which in turn was firmly rooted in the sixteenth century academic tradition of learning and centred on theology and disputation.¹²⁵ More innovative tendencies in the arts, *i.e.*, the rising importance of visual arts such as painting (specifically portrait painting) and architecture, and the habit of assembling eclectic collections into *wunder-* and *kunstkammers*, seem to have originated rather in the peripheries of the royal court and in Anna's own household, as opposed to the ideal centre represented by James.¹²⁶ More relevantly, recent scholarship has convincingly proved how Anna's court represented the real focus of this decentralized cultural establishment, and the one that was most open to modern cultural influences from abroad.¹²⁷ Scholars in turn have recently identified this as a major influence on the developing taste of the royal children, Henry and Charles, who would both become major art-collectors and patrons of artists in the following years, and with whom historians have largely associated the burgeoning artistic life in the Jacobean period. While the political *milieu* in London meant that Anna's influence was almost completely restricted to ceremony and entertainment, as opposed to her Scottish reign, when she had been more able to

¹²⁴ Smuts, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I", p. 104.

¹²⁵ For a description of James' intellectual pursuits as harking back to an older brand of humanist learning, see Barroll, "James I as Patron of the Arts", p. 151. Richards has termed James "[Gabriel] Harvey's fellow-pedant" (Jennifer Richards, "Gabriel Harvey, James VI, and the Politics of Reading Early Modern Poetry", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 (2008), pp. 303-321, pp. 306-7); the two share a model for reading and learning rooted in humanist education and in the practice of commonplacing (*ibid.* p. 304).

¹²⁶ Smuts, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I", p. 105.

¹²⁷ A re-evaluation of Anna's role in definition of cultural politics of the court is found in the work of Claire MacManus, *Silenced Voices/ Speaking Bodies: Female Performance and Cultural Agency at the Court of Anne of Denmark (1603-1619)*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1998. This reconsidered approach to the Stuart court has been more recently been at the centre of the studies by Barroll.

exercise influence over government policies, her court represents the real early Jacobean centre of modern culture. Anna herself was the main patron of, among others, Ben Jonson, Camden's pupil who wrote the masques that provided her with most of her entertainment and occupation between 1603 and 1611, and the architect Inigo Jones, who designed both the settings for Jonson's masques and the banqueting hall at Whitehall.¹²⁸ Jones was also responsible for the new design of the Queen's House at Greenwich, the first English building to display the neoclassical style that epitomized the more progressive European tendencies in art and architecture. Anna's establishment, moreover, was dominated by the artistically and literary minded people associated with the extremely socially cohesive Essex and Sidney circles, starting from her Chamberlain Robert Sidney, brother of the poet Philip Sidney and father of Mary Wroth, and himself a writer and patron of writers. The ladies of the court, from Anna's favourite English lady-in-waiting, the Countess of Bedford, patron to the poet John Donne among others, to Anne Clifford and Arbella Stuart, also appear to have acted as major artistic movers in the period. Together, Anna's ladies supported the activities of poets and artists, from the theatrical enterprises of Jonson and Jones, to the vernacular poetry of Samuel Daniel and Aemilia Lanier, to the Latin epigrams of John Owen. Overall, Anna's court and the households of the people connected to her seem to have provided a major focus for the development of the arts in a progressive sense in the following years. This connects Anna and her establishment to an epoch-changing shift in taste, away from the Petrarchist-oriented preference for public allegory and the partiality for artifice typical of the Elizabethan era, and towards a more modern fashion for private displays of power (such as portraiture and art collecting). This shift in taste can also be connected to a change in literary sensitivity veering away from allegory and "sugared discourse" and towards satire and the "plain speech" advocated by writers such as Ben Jonson, and to the emergence of the Cavalier debauchery that would be the distinctive mark of later Stuart Britain. Overall, artistic activities at Anna's court can be seen to usher in the so-called "Cavalier" taste in the following decade.

As several biographical accounts of Fowler's life show, the transition from Edinburgh to London, and from Scotland to United Britain, was not an easy one for the royal Secretary. Like many other individuals, such as second sons of noble families or court officials who could not count on local networks of political power, Fowler followed the court to the new capital in the hopes of improving his social standing. However, the new London environment proved to be

¹²⁸ For Anna's masques, and the role of both the Queen and her Ladies in court performances, see both MacManus, *Female Performance and Cultural Agency*, and Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, "Anne of Denmark and the Subversion of Masquing", *Criticism* 35 (1993), pp. 341-355.

much more competitive than the Scoto-British courtiers expected. As a result, Fowler seems to have lost his status as James' "official court poet" exemplified by his role in the 1594 celebrations for the baptism of Prince Henry.¹²⁹ As mentioned in the previous section, such accounts record personal tensions with the Queen, as well as Fowler's increasing isolation from courtly life, while the absence of almost all evidence of contact between him and the many rising stars in the Jacobean artistic world suggest this isolation was cultural as well. Probably in an attempt to regain lost footing, Fowler seems to have turned his considerable language skills towards the serial production of short occasional verse for the new networks of powerful people at court.

ROADMAP

This thesis is divided into two main sections. The first section covers contextual information on the manuscript and the author at the centre of this study, and sets the stage for the detailed discussion that follows. Chapter One presents an updated account of the life of William Fowler. Compared to older, more established bio- and bibliographical accounts, the one presented here has the merit of adding several pieces of new information. This information is mostly derived from new material evidence discovered in the Hawthornden manuscripts and from bibliographical evidence. For the first time, a tentative account of Fowler's books has been given, going beyond the scholarly assumption that advocated identifying his library *in toto* with the one of his nephew, William Drummond of Hawthornden. Chapter Two presents a detailed codicological account of the Hawthornden manuscripts, in the form of a descriptive expanded catalogue record. In addition to that, the chapter identifies and discusses the different stages in the transmission and conservation of the manuscript, with the aim of offering an updated detailed description of the structure and history of a composite object. Given the complexity of the situation, a detailed codicological investigation is a necessary preliminary step to engage with the material in a successful way. The second section of this dissertation is devoted to critical considerations in a narrower sense. This section mostly takes into account the material in Hawthornden that has been traditionally neglected, such as the many "scribblings" and drafts mostly in Fowler's hand. This material is mostly represented by occasional and topical fragmentary or micro-textual pieces. Most of these were arguably written after the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

¹²⁹ Lynch, "The Reassertion of Princely Power", p. 233, calls Fowler "the new master poet" after Montgomerie's dismissal from the court.

Chapter Three focuses on the texts that can be related to Anna's household, with a specific focus on the female presence in the Hawthornden manuscripts. Female patrons and dedicatees have been identified among the major contributors to Fowler's literary career in Scotland, and powerful women represent an audience that Fowler continued to pursue in his later career, as these pieces show. Chapter Four focuses on the world at large, taking into consideration those of the micro-texts in Hawthornden that have a strong link with James' own court, and *via* him and the royal children, with contemporary political circumstances and historical events. The main concern of this chapter is to show how occasional and topical material was at the centre of courtly social (and therefore political) life, and far from existing in the rather obscure corner in which it has been relegated by modern taste. The Conclusions will attempt to summarize the different types of evidence that have been collected in this research, drawing several strands together and shaping the information acquired in the study into a coherent picture of Fowler's times and intellectual environment. For greater accessibility, each section is preceded by a short abstract, and the whole of the thesis is followed by a detailed bibliography, which will make it possible to retrace the present work back to its theoretical basis. About thirty plates and figures have been included when necessary, especially when they are useful to illustrate specific codicological and philological issues.

PART I - THE MAN AND THE BOOKS

**WILLIAM FOWLER AND THE HAWTHORNDEN
MANUSCRIPTS**

*Coclea:
Meo succo sustinetur.
Ricco di me medesimo in me raccolto.*¹³⁰

ABSTRACT

This section presents the detailed history of the man and the books at the centre of this study. Chapter One consists of a summary of the life of Master William Fowler, mostly in line with similar accounts offered by his older (Dempster, Meikle, Thompson) and more recent (Petrina, Dunnigan, Verweij) biographers and editors. In addition to relying on scholarly sources, contemporary witnesses (from both the Hawthornden manuscripts and elsewhere) have been re-examined, leading in some cases to the discovery of new evidence. Other manuscripts and printed books that can be connected to Fowler will also be surveyed in this last section. Chapter Two focuses on the material context of this study, describing the Hawthornden manuscripts themselves. The chapter is specifically concerned with the material state of Hawthornden and with the history of its transmission and conservation up to the present day. The specific focus is on the “Fowler” volumes of Hawthornden (MSS 2063 to 2067), a descriptive catalogue entry of which is attached for reference. A brief description of the several identified hands in Hawthornden is also provided at the end of this chapter, along with a survey of Fowler’s hand as it appears in different forms, and of the different scripts he practised.

¹³⁰ Respectively: “My own juice nourishes me” and “rich in myself, in my own self contained”. The mottoes, in Latin and Italian, are connected to the “snail” emblem, here transcribed from Hw 2063 f. 124v (but also occurring elsewhere in Hawthornden).

ONE: MY SPARK IS STILL ALIVE A LIFE OF WILLIAM FOWLER

Thanks to the combined efforts of literary critics over the last hundred years, scholars now have a detailed account of William Fowler's lifetime and of his literary activities, especially for what concerns the period ranging from about 1580 to the early 1590s. Beside the detailed biography appended to the Scottish Text Society edition of his *Works*, several critics over the years have dealt with Fowler's literary production, and in so doing have shed additional light on specific periods of his life. Drawing on this wealth of information, this account is concerned with outlining Fowler's place in the contemporary social, professional and literary environment in the twin capitals of Edinburgh and, after 1603, London. Several new pieces of evidence discovered in the Hawthornden manuscripts make it necessary to offer an updated account of Fowler's life. This is particularly relevant for what concerns Fowler's later years, which were mostly spent in the new courtly establishment in London, about which very little is currently known. This information is necessary to understand the second section of this study, which focuses on Fowler's occasional production after 1603 and on the social networks and literary and political strategies it implies. Additionally, this account contains new information on Fowler's intellectual life and writing habits, as derived from a survey of books that can be connected to him whether in a direct or in an indirect way, which in turn will help modern scholars to a fuller picture of the author's life and times.

EDINBURGH, 1560 - 1603

Proper names are an important part of historical studies, as they can help tracing family relations; these in turn often formed the base of one's political alliances in the sixteenth century, a time when alliances were firmly grounded in interlaced family and professional networks. Moreover, naming conventions dictated that names be taken from either the family name-pool or the family names of powerful patrons, who in turn would be expected to keep an eye on children named after them inside a wide circle of retainers. As such, proper names can offer important clues as to social connections and even point to similar intellectual *milieus*. Additionally, names are an important part of an author's definition of himself, as shown by Fowler's use of his different titles (Master, Parson, and Secretary) over time. In the case of Fowler, finally, names and name-play are an important part of his later production, as will be

shown in the second section of this study. It seems appropriate therefore to begin a discussion of Fowler's life and affairs with the most basic form of evidence, that is, his name, as it appears in his circulated works. The name-pool for both Christian (given) and family names was fairly limited in early modern Britain, with William being the second or third most common name throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³¹ This, along with the contemporary usage of having the same (given) names recur in families over subsequent generations (naming children after a grandparent or a godparent) makes for some initial confusion on the part of Fowler's biographers. Thus, it seems useful to offer a brief summary of the other "William Fowlers" encountered by previous scholars, to serve as a disambiguation. Apparently, William Fowler the author had an older brother of the same name, who inherited his father's trade; this other William Fowler was made a Burgess and Guild Brother of Edinburgh in 1588/89 and is generally referred to in contemporary records as William Fowler, merchant.¹³²

The fact that an older brother inherited the family's earning potential is possibly what brought Fowler, a second son, first to get a Master's Degree and then to seek advancement at court using his intellectual credentials. The family name of Fowler was similarly widespread at the time, recurring in both Southern England and Lowland Scotland. Both a Thomas and a William Fowler (respectively father and son) are recorded in England at the end of the sixteenth century, sharing some of their social circles with William Fowler the writer. These Fowlers were servants to the English family of Lennox, who in turn had strong ties to both the Scottish family of the Douglas and to the Scottish and English Crowns.¹³³ Calendars also record the presence of yet another "William Fowlar", secretary to the Spanish ambassador Don Pedro de Zuniga in London around 1608.¹³⁴ Other common contemporary spellings of the surname, both in Scots and English, include Foular (or Foullar), and Fouller.¹³⁵ These homonymic occurrences in

¹³¹ For a list of common English names in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Scott Smith-Bannister, *Names and Naming Patterns in England 1538-1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 190-94. See also the tables provided in *Faire Names for English Folk*, available at: <<http://www.mygen.com/users/outlaw/English%20Names%20of%20the%201500s%20-%20Outlawe.htm>> [retrieved 2 Feb 2017].

¹³² Margaret Thompson, "The Daughter of Anna of Denmark's Secretary", *Scottish Historical Review* 19 (1921), pp. 21-32, p. 21. See also Meikle et al. *Works of Fowler*, III, p. x: "Brothers with the same Christian name were not uncommon at this period. In such cases probably the paternal and the maternal grandfather had identical Christian names." Fowler also had a stepbrother named William (Todd), born of his mother's first marriage.

¹³³ Thompson, "The Daughter of the Secretary", p. 21: "erroneously identifying him with William, son of Thomas Fowler, sometime a servant of Arabella's grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Lennox, and a spy on behalf of the English government".

¹³⁴ Earlier the same year the same "Fowlar" is described as a sort of intermediary between the English Ambassador and British Jesuits in Spain (*Salisbury Papers*, vol. xx, pp. 21-22, 176). We have no evidence that Fowler the author had ever travelled to Madrid or was attached to the Spanish entourage. The name of the Spanish ambassador, however, recurs in Hawthornden, so the two men could have met, see further Chapter Four.

¹³⁵ Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 79.

contemporary records have created some confusion with previous scholars trying to identify the specific social circles Fowler frequented. However, most of them have been solved, thus we can be almost sure that, for instance, the William Fowler who used to work for the Lennox family is *not* the same William Fowler as is the subject of this study, nor a direct relation, which would indeed be significant from a political point of view.

As far as modes of self-fashioning can be inferred from authorial signatures, Fowler's are similarly indicative of his place in society, according to himself. Fowler often signed his works with his title of "Master" or more commonly with his initials "MWF", for "Master William Fowler", or simply "WF", especially common in the case of short items or ephemeral material. In the years between 1583 and 1590, he was referred to as "parson of Hawick" (for instance in the presentation copy of his *Triumphs* of 1587). After his appointment to a court post in 1590, Fowler's title changed to "secretary to the Queen's Majesty", and this he used until his death in 1612. A more formal version of his title in Latin can be found on the frontispiece for a prospective work entitled *Ichnaea*, on Hw 2064 f. 1r, that can be dated around 1610. Here, the author introduced himself as "Gulielmo Foulario Scotobritanno/ Annae Serenissimae Magn. Britanniae Reginae/ Ab Epistolis/et libellorum supplicum magistro/" ("William Fowler Scoto-British/ Secretary and Master of Requests for Queen Anna of Great Britain"). Like many of his contemporaries, Fowler also used a Latinized form of his personal name for international purposes, generally a variation of "Gulielmus Foul(er)i(us)". This form appears in the records of the Universities of St Andrews and Padua, and on the first leaf of the bundle of law notes Fowler took in Paris in 1580 (Hw 2067, f. 49r, see *fig. 3*). In addition to that, Fowler also had variations of his name that he used for less formal purposes. For example, following an erudite fashion, Fowler took on a Greek name, in the form of "Gulielmus Ornitheutes" (from the Greek stem "ornith-", meaning, "bird"), a form he used to sign a multilingual sonnet to the English travel writer Thomas Coryat (found in two successive drafts, on Hw 2063 ff. 80r, 81r).¹³⁶ Moreover, his passion for anagrams, documented by his first biographer Thomas Dempster and testified to by the mass of such pieces in the Hawthornden manuscripts, drove him to use anagrammatic signatures.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ The sonnet, headed "Σοραιοσμος, *ceu coaceruatio et Miscella quaedam de diuresis ac variis idiomatibus*" is printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 267. For a near-contemporary parallel, see for instance David Hume of Godscroft (ODNB, s.v.) signing himself as "Theagrius" (thus conflating Latin and Greek word-stems).

¹³⁷ According to Dempster, Fowler produced "*Anagrammata mira facilitate ac rara inventione*". Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, Sive De Scriptoribus Scotis*. Edinburgi: Andreas Balfour, 1829 [original ed.: Bologna, 1627] I, pp. 292-293. Anagrammatic signatures were common in the period, see Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book", p. 370.

These are used mainly for truly ephemeral verse, such as the kind of manuscript pieces that would circulate privately by hand. Fowler apparently selected the appropriate anagram depending on the nature of his composition, and drew a distinction between his neo-Latin occasional material on one hand, and similar material in vernacular European languages (including English and Scots). For the first kind, he appropriately employed the anagram of his Latinized name, turned into the phrase “fulgor vivus ille meus/meis” (depending on the use of the form “foulerus” vs “foulerius”, meaning “my spark is alive”, see *fig. 1* and 2).

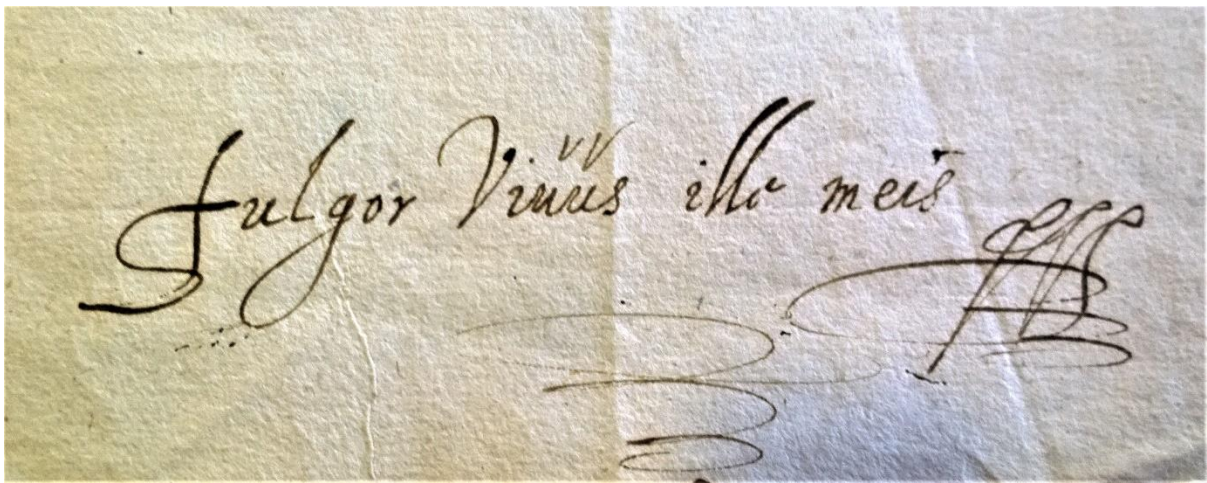


Figure 1: Anagrammatic subscription of William Fowler, with his monogram (WF), from Hw 2065 f. 152r.

This appears often in Hawthornden, notably below the verse for a sundial in the palace gardens at Whitehall (a fair copy of which is found in Hw 2064, f.25r) composed around 1610. On the contrary, the multilingual anagrams and emblems related to one Mary Middlemore (a fair draft of which is found in Hw 2063, f. 143r), are subscribed with the phrase “farewell my love” an anagram of his name in the vernacular (imperfect, since it requires the letter “e” to be used multiple times).¹³⁸

¹³⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the Middlemore *corpus* in Hawthornden, see further Chapter Three.

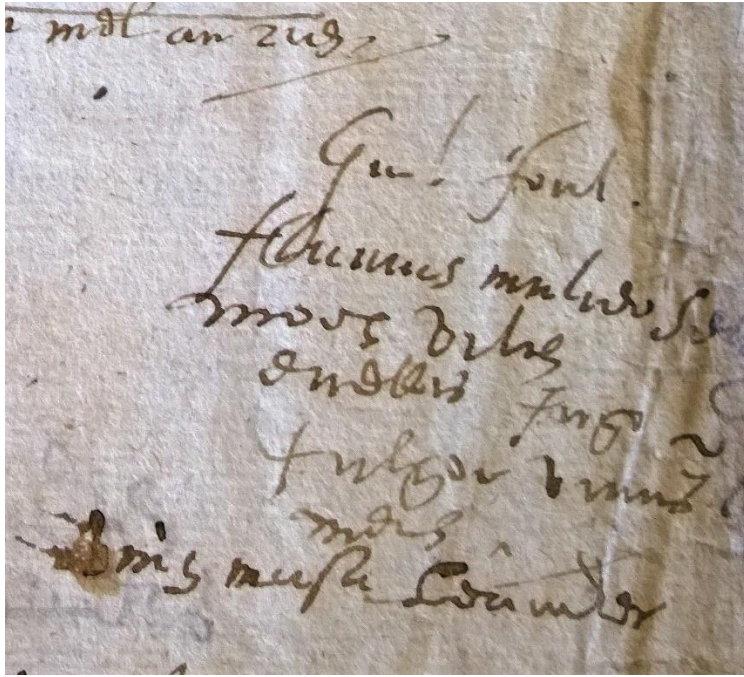


Figure 2: Several attempts at the same in Hw 2063 f. 175r, including the phrases “mori Leander” and “mors vitae”.

Fowler’s literary career started with the publication of his first work, the religious controversial tract entitled *An Answer to the Calumnious Letter of an Apostate Named Io. Hamilton* and printed in Edinburgh in 1581.¹³⁹ According to “these the first fruits of [his] ingyne”, “the 21 zeir of [his] birth [had] not zit expyrit” at the time the short treatise was composed.¹⁴⁰ Fowler must therefore have been born at the end of 1560. A page in Hawthornden (Hw 2063 f. 129r) presents a carefully laid out computation of zodiac signs and numbers connected to different parts of the body, which looks as if it were written in Fowler’s mixed (Italic-secretarial) cursive hand. Next to the sign of Sagittarius, the same hand has written the Latin word “ego” (“I”, or “me”) suggesting Fowler was born between 21 November and 21 December of that year. William Fowler’s father was a wealthy Edinburgh merchant, William Fowler of Foullerlaw (d. 1572), his mother one Janet Fockart (d. 1596).¹⁴¹ In the *Answer*, Fowler expresses a sharp contrast between his own respectable burgess background and Hamilton’s aristocratic pedigree, tainted with treason and murder.¹⁴² The claim, as noted by his first editors, can be

¹³⁹ William Fowler, *An ansver to the calumnious letter and erroneous propositiouns of an apostat named M. Io. Hammiltoun. Composed by M. VWilliam Fouler*. Imprentit at Edinburgh: be Robert Lekprewick dwelling at the Netherbow, 1581, ESTC S119685. Reprinted in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, pp. 5-68.

¹⁴⁰ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, pp. 9, 29.

¹⁴¹ ODNB, s.v. The name of Fowler’s mother has been often mistaken as Jane Fisher, for instance by Thompson, “The Daughter of the Secretary”, p. 22.

¹⁴² “My Grand- father, Guidshir & Father: ze & befor them thair proginitours on baith the sides, sa lang as thay had the vsury of this life hes bene obedient subiects vnto thair Kings, & borne offices as magistrats in the Toun

substantiated by archival evidence showing several Fowlers holding offices for the Edinburgh burgh throughout the sixteen century. His mother's family, too, could be the same Fockart found among the city burghers in records from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴³

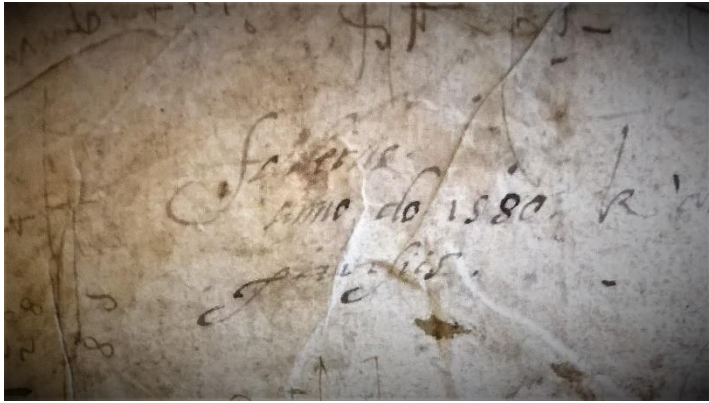


Figure 3: Hw 2067, f. 49r, the first page of the “law notes”, reading “foulerus/anno do[mini] 1580/parisiis

Besides his stepbrother William Todd and his older brother William, Fowler had a twin brother, probably the same John Fowler mentioned both in Fowler's will of 1612 and in a legal document dated 1604.¹⁴⁴ Fowler also had three sisters, Susanna, Barbara and Janet Fowler.¹⁴⁵ His father seems to have dealt in luxury goods, mainly textiles and clothing accessories, according to the majority of entries in his testament of 1572. The family also possessed both burgh property and houses in the city, for which William Fowler senior collected rent.¹⁴⁶ The family house was in the former Fowler's (now Anchor's) Close on Edinburgh High Street, although there is evidence that this property was already deteriorated by 1582.¹⁴⁷ Due to its vicinity to the Castle, the area used to be the abode of the highest ranks of Edinburgh's society, as well as of wealthy merchant families. Contemporary archival records show Fowler as living in a house in the Canongate around 1590, another area of the city customarily inhabited by

of Edinburgh, thair honestie & guid behaiour towards all men, wer knawin togidder with thair faithfulness towards thair Superiours.” As quoted in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 30.

¹⁴³ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. x; and Margaret Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People: Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland*. Edinburgh: Mercat, 1987, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴ Hw 2066 ff. 28-34, 61-80; see Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxiv, n. 4.

¹⁴⁵ John and William Fowler (the author) were made Burgesses and Guild Brothers of Edinburgh together on the same day, which could substantiate them being twins. See Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. x, n. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People*, pp. 95-97. William Fowler senior's will was transcribed by the antiquarian David Laing, and his own copy is now collected among the “Laing papers” (Edinburgh, University Library, La.III.494). For the relationship between Laing and the Hawthornden manuscripts, see further Chapter Two.

¹⁴⁷ Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People*, p. 97.

royal servants.¹⁴⁸ Another house related to Fowler is the so-called “Lord Provost’s House” further down the same close. This house shows a carved lintel inscribed with the Latin words “WF/ BG/ ANGVSTA SED AD VSVM AVGUSTA”, which has been traditionally thought to refer to James VI dining there in the company of his cousin, the Duke of Lennox. The initials “WF” and “BG” have long been connected with William Fowler the merchant, who was contracted to marry one Barbara Gibson in 1582.¹⁴⁹ This information paints a picture of Fowler’s family as deeply rooted and relatively high-ranking in the Edinburgh burgh community, which included both merchants and members of the curia (holders of State offices at different levels), as well as printers and book-dealers.¹⁵⁰ The latter category is represented at this stage by Fowler’s sister in law, who could have been related to the Gibsons, bookbinders in Edinburgh. One John Gibson served as the King’s bookbinder from 1581 until his death in 1600, and his son James Gibson, who inherited the trade, would later be a witness to Fowler’s will in London, suggesting a close acquaintance and perhaps a family relation.¹⁵¹

The title of “Master” was the result of Fowler’s recent graduation from St Andrews, where the author appears in the records between 1574 and 1578 as “Leonardinus”, or attending St Leonard’s college.¹⁵² After this, Fowler went to France, ostensibly to continue his studies in civil law, an especially common choice in Scotland for a younger son of some means and education.¹⁵³ The controversy that occasioned the *Answer*, Fowler informs the reader, took place in Paris in 1580, when Fowler made enemies of two Catholic Scots, John Hamilton and John Hay, after a heated debate on the matter of image worship.

¹⁴⁸ Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, p. 149.

¹⁴⁹ William Baird, “George Drummond: An Eighteenth Century Lord Provost”, in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, IV, pp. 1-54, pp. 35-37; John Geddie, “The Sculpted Stones of the Royal Mile”, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XIV, pp. 98-99 (the lintel, located “in a small inner room in an underground floor” is number 100 in the list). See also Sanderson, *Mary Stewart’s People*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁰ See the picture of the Edinburgh literary community in the 1580s painted in Theo Van Heijnsbergen, “Coteries, and Commendatory Verse”. Michael Lynch describes the Edinburgh network as “an intellectual circle in the capital made up of merchants, lawyers and professionals, some with connections to the royal court and administration” in his “The Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: The Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI”, in Martin Gosman, Alasdair Macdonald, Arjo Vanderjagt (eds.), *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*. Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 199-238, p. 202.

¹⁵¹ See the list of Scottish book trade available through the National Library of Scotland at: <<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index/gall-glassford>> [retrieved 25 Jan 2017]; and Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, p. 327.

¹⁵² As he himself acknowledges, he is “an Scoller of tender zeirs” (Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 14). See Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 70 for the details of the matriculation records.

¹⁵³ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 16.

A few days after the fact, Fowler was allegedly the victim of a violent aggression.¹⁵⁴ Fowler's presence in Paris to study law is testified to by a section of Hw 2067 consisting of about 50 pages of summaries of law matters (Hw 2067, ff. 49 to 95, described by Meikle as Fowler's "notes of law").¹⁵⁵ The booklet looks like a consistent unit of text from the point of view of the layout and handwriting, as well as of the kind and size of paper used, suggesting the writing was undertaken consecutively in a short period. An annotation on the first leaf of this section (f. 49r), which reads "foulerus / anno do. 1580/ parisiis", places the notes (and Fowler with them) in Paris around that time. While there, Fowler probably attended the Collège de Fortet. Besides providing scholars with precious details about the events of Fowler's life, the *Answer* also offers more information as to his position in the social world of Scotsmen abroad and his general conduct therein. The short treatise marks him as a staunch Protestant, and highlights an early propensity for "putting his pen at the service of his polemical (and possibly propagandistic) intent".¹⁵⁶ The *Answer* is dedicated to James VI's first cousin, Francis Stuart, first Earl of Bothwell (1562-1612), himself a committed practitioner of the reformed religion. That Fowler was himself a devoted Protestant is made clear by a letter to the martyrologist and contemporary "literary celebrity" John Foxe (Hw 2064, f. 136). In the text, Fowler asked the English divine a series of questions mainly centring on the issue of free will as discussed by John Calvin and mentions Foxe's treatise *Contra Osorium*. The *terminus ante quem* for the letter is 1587, the year of Foxe's death in London; Fowler here subscribed himself without using any of the titles he acquired during his life, which could suggest a dating between his graduation in 1578 and 1587, when Fowler's involvement in religious issues was apparently at its height.

In the introduction to his *Answer*, Fowler mentions other individuals as "his noble, lernit, wise & godlie countriemen" in Paris. Among these are Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Abroath (to whom John Hay's book was originally presented, originating the whole controversy), the Earl of Crawford, George Keith, Master of Marischal (and later Earl Marischal), Patrick Leslie, Commendator of Lindores, and Sir James Balfour. Some of these connections (Keith, Lindores) would recur later on in Fowler's lifetime and in connection with his literary and political career, suggesting that Fowler made good use of the personal relations

¹⁵⁴ Fowler was "inuadit be [Hamilton] & 13 debauchit scollers: quha violen[t]ly casting yair hands all vpon [his] body & thrawing [him] to ye ground, tred [him] vnder yair feit" (Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 25).

¹⁵⁵ See the description of this section in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xlviii.

¹⁵⁶ See Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 70-71, for the Collège de Fortet vs Navarre as Fowler's college while in Paris.

he established in his student years.¹⁵⁷ More interestingly, while some of these people (Bothwell, Keith) were definitely Protestant, “not a few” Scots in Paris, such as Lord Hamilton, “were Catholic refugees or students preparing for the priesthood”. John Hay’s *Certain demandes to the ministers of the new pretended Kirk of Scotland*, which occasioned the debate with Fowler, was published there in 1580, when Hay had just recently returned to France after causing some trouble to the Protestant leadership in Scotland. John Hamilton’s *Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise to Confirme the Praesence of Chrystis Bodie and Blude*, dedicated to Mary Queen of Scots and allegedly written because of the dispute, came out in 1581, the same year as the *Answer*.¹⁵⁸ The publication of the three books in such a short time-span proves that the debate was a heated one, and relevant enough for printed answers to be circulated among Scots at home and abroad. From his first appearance in print, Fowler seems to have been “involved with the religious controversies in the Scottish community” in Paris. According to indirect accounts, Fowler had been to Rome at some time or other, and there he “suffered persecution and perils by the malice of his own nation”.¹⁵⁹ While there is no other evidence of this, a leaf in Hawthornden seems to back up the claims of Dempster and Hudson. Hw 2063 f. 217r is a copy of a famous mediaeval Latin “rhythm”, which Fowler claims to have received from “brother Octavius Avilla from Naples, as I was in Rome for the inquisition”.¹⁶⁰ The material is not exactly pious, being a version of the famous bawdy song beginning *quicumque vult esse frater/bibat bis, ter et quater* and praising heavy drinking.¹⁶¹ In this context, the reference to the “bad habits” of Rome, if this is actually the origin of Fowler’s anagram *alma Roma / mala mora*, makes for an interesting connection. If his commitment to Protestantism was indeed

¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Bothwell had been a student at St Andrews in the same years as Fowler.

¹⁵⁸ For biographical details of both men, see ODNB, s.v. John Hay, *Certaines Demandes concerning the Christian Religion and Discipline, proposed to the Ministers of the new pretended Kirk of Scotlande*. Paris: Brumen, 1580; Hay’s texts underwent several reprints and was translated in several European languages. John Hamilton, *Ane Catholik And Facile Traictise, drawin out of the halie scriptures, to confirme the real and Corporell presence of Chrystis pretious bodie and blude. Dedicat to his souuerane Marie the quenes maiestie of Scotland. lohne Hamilton student in theologie, and regent in philosophie in the royal College of Nauarre*. Imprintit at Paris the first of April, 1581.

¹⁵⁹ From a letter by James Hudson (brother to Thomas and Robert Hudson, the musicians and members of the “Castalian band”) dated 1602. As quoted in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxx). The circumstance of a stay in Rome is recounted by Dempster as well: “*Ex officio sancto romae dimissus, abjurata haeresi, cellae suae custodiae superscripsit ALMA ROMA MALA MORA*” (“dismissed from the holy seat after having abjured heresy, he wrote on the wall of the cell where he was confined “NOBLE ROME” “BAD CUSTOMS”, an anagram, see *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, p. 292).

¹⁶⁰ Hw 2063 f. 217r, on the bottom of the page, in Fowler’s secretarial current hand, “*Frater octavius avilla neapolitanus cum romae in inquisitione essem haec mihi suggessit*”.

¹⁶¹ A near contemporary example of the same text is in Petrus Andreas Canonherius, *De admirandis vinis virtutibus libri tres*. Antwerpiae: Apud Hyeronimum Verdussium, 1627, p. 501, who however writes: “*Item exterminandae illae plebeiae et vulgarissimae cantilenae, quae ad immoderatum compotandum provocant*” (“these plebeian and vulgar songs should be avoided, which encourage drinking immoderately”).

genuine, as his correspondence with Foxe seems to suggest, it would explain his closeness to Protestant leaders such as the Earl of Bothwell, and possibly give additional clues about his subsequent estrangement from Anna of Denmark, who is widely suspected of having converted to Catholicism shortly after her arrival in Scotland. However, it also seems that his religious allegiance to Scottish Protestantism did not prevent him from interacting amicably with individuals of opposite beliefs.¹⁶² In this, he behaved similarly to his contemporaries, for instance his patron Bothwell who, despite being a firm supporter of the Kirk, did not disdain to consort with Catholics when doing so seemed politically expedient.¹⁶³ Additionally, the presence of prominent Catholics at the Jacobean court, such as the Earl of Huntly, a favourite of James VI who is also indirectly referred to in Hawthornden, suggests that Fowler's contemporaries were far less concerned about the worshipping habits of their close allies than modern scholars have generally thought. Indeed, contemporary perspective often seems to go against received wisdom and against the picture of animosity that can be inferred from the written remnants of the sixteenth century religious debate, with their heated polemical take on religious matters.

That this was indeed the case became evident shortly after Fowler's return to Scotland, when he attempted to launch his career as a political informer. Sometime in 1582 he had come to London with the apparent aim of recovering money owed to his mother by Mary Queen of Scots and had been briefly imprisoned in the city's infamous Tower. Sometime later, he had made contact with the French ambassador in England, Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de Mauvissière (c. 1520–1592). This acquaintance was possibly prompted by the intervention of Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary and the head of an extended network of informers; the young Scot and the son of Mary's former servant, just back from France where he was on friendly terms with prominent Catholics, would have been a good choice to infiltrate the French circle. Consequently, Fowler's name recurs quite often in State Records during the years 1582 and 1583 as a correspondent of Secretary Walsingham, with whom he was trading information regarding Mary Queen of Scots and her Francophile network in London.¹⁶⁴ At this point, the fact that Fowler was, in the words of Mauvissière, a "Huguenot" seemingly did not bar the French party from trusting his professed allegiance to the Catholic Mary.¹⁶⁵ His correspondents at this time allegedly include such individuals as the Earl of Leicester and Archibald Douglas

¹⁶² Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xi; and Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 71.

¹⁶³ For instance around 1592-94, when he became allied with the Catholic Earls (see *ODNB*, s.v.).

¹⁶⁴ *CSP Scot*, VI, *passim*.

¹⁶⁵ *CSP Scot*, VI, p. 244.

(Mary's uncle), and perhaps Mary Stewart herself.¹⁶⁶ By the end of 1583, however, these doubtful allegiances might have turned against Fowler: his (Protestant) relatives at home were not happy with his frequentations and required him to come immediately back to Scotland. His English employers too were not particularly inclined to trust him. A short time later in 1584 William Davison (Elizabeth's personal secretary, then in Scotland) wrote to Walsingham urging him not to put too much faith into Fowler. Apparently, by this time, the double dealer was being double-dealt with in turn, and fed false information aiming at confusing the English party, a state of affairs of which Walsingham seems to have been aware.¹⁶⁷ Whatever the reason, Fowler does not seem to have thrived in Walsingham's service, and the more lucrative aspect of these early political exploits seems to be the kind of connections that they allowed him to make. In 1583, he met the King's cousin, Esmé Stewart, in person, and accompanied him as far as Canterbury on his way to France. Moreover, he could easily have made the acquaintance of a series of internationally renowned humanist intellectuals, such as the philosopher Giordano Bruno, the jurist Alberico Gentili and the Anglo-Italian linguist John Florio, who were regular guests at the French ambassador's house in London.¹⁶⁸

Back in Scotland in 1583, Fowler effected another change of careers, focusing his energies on the Scottish court and turning from "a would-be politician and informer to a poet and scholar".¹⁶⁹ The timing could not have been better for him to turn his talents towards literature, since in 1583 James VI and his court poets were collectively embarking in an attempt at modernizing Scottish letters in a European sense through the translation from, and imitation of, modern European models.¹⁷⁰ To this project Fowler would prove himself exceptionally well suited, as a consequence of his recent travels to the Continent and of his literary interests, and easily introduced, having the powerful Bothwell as a patron. His family standing among the Edinburgh merchant class and their personal and professional connections could also have played a role. William Fowler senior had also been a court servant and specifically a treasurer of the French revenues for Mary Queen of Scots; the father's experience may well have favoured the son's aspirations, since James is known to have made good store of his mother's

¹⁶⁶ Letters of Mary Queen of Scots among the Salisbury papers state she used "le petit fouler" as a messenger. However, this could likely be the other William Fowler, servant to the Countess of Lennox in the same years. *Salisbury papers*, III, p. 12.

¹⁶⁷ *CSP Scot*, VII, p. 258, dated August 1584, mentions that Fowler is suspected of being "used as an underminer".

¹⁶⁸ *CSP Scot*, VI, pp. 265-66. On Fowler's possible frequentations in London, see Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 73-4, and Nuccio Ordine, *Tre corone per un Re. L'impresa di Enrico III e i suoi misteri*. Milano: Bompiani, 2015, pp. 230-250.

¹⁶⁹ Quoted from Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁰ Alessandra Petrina, "Italian Influence at the Court of James VI: The Case of William Fowler", in Parkinson, *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland*, pp. 27-44, pp. 27-31.

servants.¹⁷¹ Somewhat surprisingly, however, Fowler's mother can provide the most direct links with the varied environment of the 1580s Edinburgh court. Jane Fockart had turned from commerce to money-lending on a large scale after the death of her husband, becoming what was referred to as a "wad-wyfe" in contemporary Scots, albeit one with an exalted clientele. As a measure of her standing, she was well known enough for sale records to refer to "Janet Fockart's twa closis" to locate a property.¹⁷² When Janet died in 1596, she was one of the richest merchants in Edinburgh, and one of the richest people in the city *tout-court*; her testament records the presence of a sizeable quantity of ready money, as well as several pieces of jewellery that were most likely intended as surety against loans. Among her creditors were people such as the second Duke of Lennox (Ludovic Stewart, the son of James' all-powerful cousin Esmé), and the Scottish Crown itself. The first Duke of Lennox was even entertained at Janet Fockart's house on least two occasions, as he himself reminded Fowler when they met in London.¹⁷³ Other important people, such as one Lady Fleming (possibly either Mary Fleming or her niece Jean Fleming, to whom Fowler dedicated his translation of Petrarch's *Triumphs*), the Earl of Huntly and Lord Seton had owed money to William Fowler senior. More interestingly, if only from the literary point of view, the Edinburgh printer Leprevick was also among Fockart's debtors.¹⁷⁴

Overall, Fowler seemed already well connected to the court at the very beginning of his literary career. Two sonnets by William Fowler, beginning respectively "When as my minde exemed was from caire" and "The Muses nyne haue not reueald to me", appeared among the prefatory matter in the two printed books ushering the Jacobean Renaissance, James VI's *Essayes of a Prentise* and Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith*, both published in early 1584.¹⁷⁵ Fowler's prefatory poems, signed with his monogram, appeared here in the company of court poets such as Alexander Montgomerie, James VI himself, and the Hudson brothers, marking him in the eyes of modern critics as one of the most prominent members of the Edinburgh poetic coterie, the so-called "Castalian band of poets". Fowler's relations with Robert Hudson, in particular, is suggested by multiple pieces of documentary evidence. The two writers could have both

¹⁷¹ See ODNB, s.v. "Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline": "James always set great store by men who, like Seton, had been loyal to his mother and then transferred that loyalty to himself.

¹⁷² Quoted from Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People*, pp. 91-102.

¹⁷³ *CSP Scot*, VI, p. 265.

¹⁷⁴ See Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People*, pp. 91-102, and her "The Edinburgh Merchants in Society, 1570–1603: The Evidence of their Testaments", in Ian Borthwick Cowan and Duncan Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983, pp. 83-199.

¹⁷⁵ The introductory sonnets are printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 3-4.

contributed lyrics to the Maitland Quarto manuscript of 1586 (briefly discussed below), while a vernacular poem “to Robart Hudsoun” can be found among the Hawthornden papers on Hw 2065 f.15r.¹⁷⁶ In the same period, Fowler’s relationship with Bothwell brought its first material rewards, in the form of the parsonage of Hawick in the Scottish borders. Fowler received one third of the rents shortly after his return to Scotland, in 1583 and the remaining two thirds much later, in 1595. Fowler also accompanied the Earl as part of his retinue during the conference between English and Scots that took place in Berwick-upon-Tween in 1586, where “Mr. Wm Fowler of Hawik” is recorded among Bothwell’s followers.¹⁷⁷

Around this time, in 1583, and possibly owing to the family’s closer connection with the royal court, Fowler’s sister Susanna was contracted to marry Sir John Drummond, the laird of Hawthornden (1553-1610) and a Gentleman Usher to the King.¹⁷⁸ The Drummonds of Hawthornden were gentlefolks with (somewhat distant) connections to the Drummonds of Perth (who in turn were related to the crown); consequently, Susanna’s marriage must have represented a step-up in the social ladder for the bride’s burgess family as a whole. More significantly for the purpose of this study, Susanna Fowler provides the link between her brother’s work and the Hawthornden manuscripts. Her son was William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649), the Scottish Petrarchist poet widely known for his “conversations” with Ben Jonson, when the latter visited Scotland in 1618, and his wide circle of literary acquaintances that included William Alexander, the Earl of Ancram, Drayton and Donne.¹⁷⁹ Thanks to this family relation, Fowler’s manuscripts and papers were preserved alongside Drummond’s own in Hawthornden castle, where they were discovered again at the end of the eighteenth century and bound as part of the Hawthornden manuscripts. Despite the importance of this connection, the only trace of Susanna among her brother’s papers seems to be a copy of

¹⁷⁶ The poems by the Hudson brothers are subscribed by them. The poem to Robert Hudson is printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. cli, who however does not believe the handwriting to be Fowler’s (*ibid.* p. xlvi: “Probably not in Fowler’s hand”).

¹⁷⁷ *CSP Scot*, VIII, p. 452, June 1586.

¹⁷⁸ *ODNB*, s.v. “William Drummond of Hawthornden”. In the same year, William Fowler the merchant married Barbara Gibson, possibly a relation of Gibson, James’ bookbinder.

¹⁷⁹ Drummond’s notes from his conversations with Johnson were first printed by David Laing, “Notes of Ben Jonson’s Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, January, M. DC. XIX”, *Archaeologia Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 4 (1831), pp. 242-270. A version of the resulting travel narrative by Johnson has been recently discovered and edited, see James Loxley, Anna Groundwater and Julie Sanders (eds.), *Ben Jonson’s Walk to Scotland: An Annotated Edition of the ‘Foot Voyage’*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

an Epitaph in Latin signed by one “Raius” (probably Master John Ray, a teacher of Humanities and a friend of Drummond of Hawthornden), found in Hw 2065 f. 3.¹⁸⁰

The 1580s were undoubtedly Fowler’s most productive period from the literary point of view. In addition to penning the sonnets for the *Essayes* and *Judith*, Fowler began an exploration (and exploitation) of Italian Petrarchism, composing a sonnet sequence entitled *The Tarantula of Love*, the first sonnet of which begins “O you, who heare the accents of my smart”, an overt quotation of Petrarch’s introductory sonnet in the *Canzoniere*.¹⁸¹ The work, which survives in autograph as part of the Drummond collection in Edinburgh University Library, has recently been dated to this first part of Fowler’s career between the years 1583-84 and 1587, based on the evidence offered by surviving manuscript witnesses.¹⁸² The title of the sequence, a quotation from Baldassar Castiglione’s *Book of the Courtier*, has been long thought to have been an addition by Fowler’s nephew Drummond. In the same period, Fowler embarked on a somewhat connected project, an elaborate verse translation of Petrarch’s *Triumphs*. Fowler’s *Triumphs of Petrarke* survives in the contemporary presentation manuscript, also part of the Drummond collection, plus a fragment in Hawthornden (Hw 2063 f. 39). Fowler also attempted a translation of Machiavelli’s book *Il Principe*, which survives in draft in the Hawthornden manuscripts (last section of Hw 2064, ff. 144-187), dedicated to Walter Scott, Earl of Buccleuch. However difficult to date, Fowler’s *Prince* seems to represent an early engagement with Italian literature, since critical analysis has pointed out the author’s “weak grasp” of the language, and his reliance on both French and Latin translations of Machiavelli’s work.¹⁸³ Fowler’s preference for the Italian models in these works, vs the French ones prevalent at court, has been noticed by many. However, despite the fact that, starting from the seminal work of Ronald D. Jack, these literary efforts have long singled out Fowler as the “spokesman for Italian

¹⁸⁰ Titled “*In obitum Dominae Susannae Foulariae Dominae Hawthorndinensi*”, printed in David Laing, “Extracts from the Hawthornden Manuscripts, in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland”, *Archaeologia Scotica: or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 4 (1831): 225-240, p. 236. For the identity of John Ray, see Leon E. Kastner (ed.), *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1913), II, p. 403, n. LVIII.

¹⁸¹ Ronald D.S. Jack, “William Fowler and Italian Literature”, *The Modern Language Review* 65 (1970), pp. 481-492, p. 486.

¹⁸² Edinburgh University Library De.3.68. Some additional sonnets belonging to *Tarantula* can also be found in Hawthornden, as are some earlier drafts of sonnets in the main manuscript. The entire sequence has been printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 135-213. For a critical appraisal and dating, see Verweij, “The Manuscripts of William Fowler”; Elizabeth Elliott, “‘A memorie nourished by images’: Reforming the Art of Memory in William Fowler’s *Tarantula of Love*”, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 2 (2010), freely available at <<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/a-memorie-nourished-by-images-reforming-the-art-of-memory-in-william-fowlers-tarantula-of-love>> [retrieved 28 Aug 2016]; as well as her “Eros and Self Government: Petrarchism and Protestant Self-Abnegation in William Fowler’s *Tarantula of Love*”, *Scottish Literary Review*, 4 (2012), pp. 1-14.

¹⁸³ Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 123-128, dates it tentatively before 1591 and the voyage to Italy (p. 125).

literature at court”, recent studies tend to focus more on Fowler’s more generically cosmopolitan attitudes towards foreign languages.¹⁸⁴ As the following section will show, this attitude is similar to the appropriating strategies he enacted in his occasional material, conflating different sources into the same composition. Later material similarly shows Fowler relying heavily on his knowledge of foreign languages, and using several idioms, classical as well as vernacular, as a means of expression.

While the draft for the *Prince* gives little information about the context for its production, both Fowler’s *Triumphs* and *Tarantula* once again offer some clues on Fowler’s position within the contemporary literary (social and professional) networks. The *Triumphs* manuscript is dated from Edinburgh, December 1587 at the end of the dedicatory letter to Jean Fleming, Lady Thirlestane, signed by “Mr Wm Fouler P. of Hawick”.¹⁸⁵ Jean Fleming was a niece of Mary Fleming, one of Mary Queen of Scots’ four life-long companions (the so-called “four Marys”), who had married the much older William Maitland, Mary Stuart’s “Machiavellian” secretary. More relevantly, Jean Fleming was the wife of the powerful John Maitland of Lethington (secretary Maitland’s younger brother), who had only recently been reinstated into power after the family underwent a period of obscurity due to their Marian allegiances. James’ secretary since 1584, Lethington “was the most powerful man in Scotland after the king” from at least 1586, when he was made Keeper of the great Seal, until 1592.¹⁸⁶ Consequently, his wife represented “in the absence of a female royal consort, a most suitable choice” as a focus for literary compliment. Fowler’s presentation of the *Triumphs* in 1587 to Lady Jean, and thus indirectly to her husband, “makes good political sense” on the part of Fowler and confirms his taste for powerful patrons.¹⁸⁷ Maitland is mentioned at length in the heading of the dedication as “right honourable SIR/ IOHNE MAETLAND Knight, prenci-/pall SECRETAIR to the KING/ his Ma.^{tie} and great/ CHANCELLOR/ of/ SCOTLAND”, suggesting Fowler’s intent was indeed that his work would ultimately reach Lethington.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the material related to *Triumphs* and *Tarantula* functions as another indication of Fowler’s assured position inside the most relevant of Edinburgh’s literary circles. The Maitland family represents the centre of a wide contemporary network of book-owners, producers and consumers of literature, with ties

¹⁸⁴ See both Jack, “William Fowler and Italian Literature”, and Alessandra Petrina, “Italian Influence”. Quoted from Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 123.

¹⁸⁵ EUL De.1.10, f. 1. The text of the *Triumphs* is reprinted in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 13-134.

¹⁸⁶ Quoted from Lynch, “Reassertion of Princely Power”, p. 229.

¹⁸⁷ For details on Lethington’s career, see ODNB, s.v. Quoted respectively from Lynch, “Reassertion of Princely Power”, p. 229; and Heijnsbergen, “Coteries and Commendatory Verse”, p. 49.

¹⁸⁸ On Fowler’s *Triumphs*, see Petrina, “Italian Influence”, pp. 31-35.

to both the elite world of the “Castalian” court coterie and other peripheral circles of writers and printers among the city burghers and the lower aristocracy. State servants under Mary Queen of Scots and during James’ minority, the family shares with Fowler their roots in the Scottish *curia media*, or the aristocracy of office whose main avenue for social ascent was service to the Crown.¹⁸⁹ The Maitlands had performed 40 years of such service under three different monarchs, and found themselves “[straddling] the divide between landowners and urban elite interwoven with aristocracy and the court”.¹⁹⁰ The para-textual material associated with the *Triumphs* helps to detail a wider network of Fowler’s patrons and friends at the end of the 1580s. The six sonnets introducing the work are signed respectively by James VI (as “I. Rex”, one sonnet), E.D. (two sonnets) Robert and Thomas Hudson (one sonnet each) and one M.R. Cockburn. Then follow six lines of verse (shaped like the last quatrain + couplet of a sonnet: *ababcc*) subscribed by A. Colville. The sonnets by James and the Hudson brothers confirm Fowler’s position in the inner court circle during the 1580s, and suggest James’ endorsement (or at least approval) of the translation project. At the same time, a series of clues help connecting the *Triumphs* manuscript to the extended Maitland circle. E.D. has been generally identified with one of two women named Elizabeth Douglas, possibly the same person celebrated in a printed “Epitaph” bound together with the *Triumphs* manuscript, also related to the Cockburn-Maitland circle.¹⁹¹

A copy of the sonnets by E.D. is included in Hawthornden 2065, on a single leaf (Hw 2065, f. 4r/v) which could well be a personal copy sent by the author to Fowler.¹⁹² These are followed closely by another sonnet (Hw 2065, f. 6), signed M.L.B. and apparently soliciting Fowler to “lay adowne” the songs of love (possibly a reference to his sonnets in *Tarantula*) and “assaye” Petrarch’s *Triumphs*. The latter has been identified by some as Mary Beton, Lady Boyne.¹⁹³ Mary Beton was allegedly the most cultured among the Queen of Scots’ “four Marys”, and to her Mary Stuart left her vernacular books; among them, there could have been a copy of Petrarch’s *Triumphs*, listed among the Queen’s books as “The Morall Triumphis of Petrark in Italiane.”¹⁹⁴ Lady Boyne is also the dedicatee of a partial translation from Ariosto in Fowler’s

¹⁸⁹ For a definition of *curia maior*, *curia minor* and *curia media* at the Scottish court, see Juhala, “Shifts and Continuities”, p. 8. For a detailed survey of the Jacobean establishment in Edinburgh in those years, see her *The Household and court of King James*, pp. 39-64.

¹⁹⁰ Heijnsbergen, “Coteries and Commendatory Verse”, p. 48.

¹⁹¹ With a separate shelf-mark, Edinburgh, University Library De.1.10/3.

¹⁹² For the identification of E.D. with one of two Elizabeth Douglas, see Heijnsbergen, “Coteries and Commendatory Verse”, pp. 50-51, 58-60.

¹⁹³ Printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 393. See also Heijnsbergen, “Coteries and Commendatory Verse”, p. 58.

¹⁹⁴ Verweij, “The Manuscripts of William Fowler”, p. 11.

hand, a fragment of which remains in Hawthornden (Hw 2063, ff. 37r, headed “The Lamentatioun of the desolat Olymphia”).¹⁹⁵ As noted by several scholars in recent years, the material that can be connected to the *Triumphs* paints a picture of a vibrant literary community with a focus on female figures as “patronesses, co-creators and instigators” of Petrarchist literary works. Moreover, the recent attribution of the title page of the *Triumphs* manuscript to the Scottish calligrapher John Geddie throws more light on Fowler’s professional relations. Geddie had collaborated with George Buchanan and was frequently employed as a scribe by James VI; in 1590, he was apparently also appointed secretary to the Queen, and as such could have been Fowler’s close colleague.¹⁹⁶ A personal exchange is testified to by an acrostic poem in Hawthornden spelling the names of ‘IOANNES GEDIVS’ and ‘FRANCISCVS BODOINVS’, in a fair copy in Geddie’s hand (Hw 2065 f. 14r).¹⁹⁷ It is possible that Fowler and Geddie had known each other for a comparatively long time, as he could be the same “Iohne Gedie” mentioned “for our tender loue & for the good expectatioun of his pregnant spirit” in the *Answer* of 1581.¹⁹⁸ Geddie would then be one of Fowler’s Paris acquaintances, confirming the importance of such personal relations with both prospective patrons and peers for the careers of professional intellectuals at court. The value of presentation copies of literary works to solicit patronage, and the role of presentation manuscripts in the literary economy of the period are no mystery to modern scholars.¹⁹⁹ Employing Geddie’s pen for his own presentation copy suggests that Fowler attached more than a modicum of value to the book, at least enough to hire “a pre-eminent early modern Scottish scribe and calligrapher”, even considering the two men might have been closer than previously thought.²⁰⁰

More manuscript clues connect Fowler with the Maitland environment in the years 1586-87. The Maitland Quarto MS, one of the books produced inside the Maitland family circle, contains a selection of verse from the previous generation, plus some more recent poetic material (by James VI and Montgomerie) that testifies to the family’s awareness of, and involvement with, the new taste that pervaded the court in the 1580s.²⁰¹ This manuscript is almost contemporary

¹⁹⁵ Printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 310.

¹⁹⁶ ODNB, s.v.; see also Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 96. Despite his penmanship, a letter by James dated 1605 informs us that the “knave Gedie” had been in disgrace with the King for some time, having provided bad copies of his “*puerilia*” (James’ juvenile verse, see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 56).

¹⁹⁷ Bodin was the author of mathematical treatise in Latin, *Methodi, sive compendii mathematici*, the manuscript copy of which was the work of Geddie (see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 98).

¹⁹⁸ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 29.

¹⁹⁹ See for instance Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, pp. 21-23.

²⁰⁰ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 95.

²⁰¹ Maitland Folio MS: Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2553; Maitland Quart MS: Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1409. The Maitland Folio and Quarto MSS have both been edited by the Scottish Text Society: William Craigie (ed.), *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1919-27,

with Fowler's *Triumphs*, since it was probably completed in 1586, as a joint celebration of Lethington and commemoration of his father's passing. Among the dedicatory material at the end of the volume are two "Epitaphs" of the recently deceased Sir Richard Maitland subscribed by Thomas and Robert Hudson, James' court musicians and members of the court poetic circle.²⁰² A few leaves after these (on ff. 133 to 136) comes an unattributed short sequence of four sonnets or "Visiouns", celebrating the newly achieved status of John Maitland and the clemency of the King. The short sequence shows strong parallels to two stray sonnets in Hawthornden (Hw 2065 ff. 8r, 9r). These two sonnets, headed "Visions" as the sonnets in Maitland, are also clearly part of a longer group, and were possibly written as a final draft for a presentation copy, as the careful handwriting, decorative Italic *formata* titles and the gilded edged paper all seem to suggest. The two sets of poems feature an almost identical situation, a poetic vision in which the muses talk to the poet, singing the praise of a powerful patron and of the King.²⁰³ The theme of a cycle of sonnets presented as poetic visions has its roots in the Petrarchist emblematic tradition popular on the Continent and a near-contemporary parallel in the early production of the English poet Edmund Spenser. Fowler, with his ties to the English intellectual networks and a substantial stake in Italian Petrarchist poetry and Continental literature, is indeed a suitable candidate for the authorship of these pieces.²⁰⁴

Another clue pointing to Fowler's authorship is represented by a Latin phrase closing the short sequence in Maitland Quarto (on f. 136r, under the 4. "Visioun": "Muis sine tempore tempus"), which also recurs among the material in Hawthornden (Hw 2063, f. 47v) after a sonnet in Fowler's hand.²⁰⁵ The name of A. Cockburn (identified as Andro Cockburn, a relation

and Joanna M. Martin, *The Maitland Quarto: A New Edition of Cambridge, Magdalen College, Pepys Library MS 1408*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2015. Sir Richard Maitland (1496–1586) had been a vernacular poet in his later years, while both his sons John Maitland (Lethington) and Thomas Maitland (ca. 1548–1572) have left literary pieces in neo-Latin. The Maitland Folio manuscript, one of the most significant manuscript collections of the age, contains poetry by Sir Richard and John Maitland, William Dunbar and Alexander Scott. The circle associated with the Maitland manuscripts has been described in detail in Joanna Martin and Kate McClune, "The Maitland Folio and Quarto Manuscripts in Context", *English Manuscript Studies* 15 (2009), pp. 237-63; and Joanna Martin, "The Maitland Quarto Manuscript and the Literary Culture of the Reign of James VI", in Parkinson, *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland*, pp. 65-82. For the relationship of Fowler with the Maitland literary circle, see Heijnsbergen, "Coteries and Commendatory Verse", and Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 78-109.

²⁰² Placed at the end of the manuscript, on ff. 129r and 130r. Printed in Martin, *The Maitland Quarto*, pp. 273-74.

²⁰³ So much so that they could represent successive versions of the same text (Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 103).

²⁰⁴ This information further supports the evidence discussed in favour of Fowler's authorship of the sonnets in Maitland Quarto, as claimed by Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 101-106.

²⁰⁵ The latter sonnet beginning "My winding scheits my steidfast love sal end" is printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 249. For the phrase "*musis sine tempore tempus*" similarly used to subscribe a prefatory sonnet, cfr. the sonnet by François d'Amboyse printed in 1570 in Paris: "Que tu es fortunè, mon doux severe Ellain [...] plus le devise *Muis sine tempore Tempus*" (quoted from Jean P. Barbier, *Ma Bibliothèque Poétique: Quatrième Partie, Tome II*. Genève: Droz, 2001, p. 150).

to Edinburgh printers and the Maitlands) at the bottom of Hw 2064 f. 9r, although in a different hand from the main text, brings the two sonnets back to the city literary environment. Interestingly, Lethington was also a sworn enemy to Fowler's earlier patron, the Earl of Bothwell. The two were on opposite sides at court, and in the 1580s were involved in a long-standing dispute for the rights of Coldingham Priory in Berwickshire.²⁰⁶ Here, Fowler can be seen either switching sides or courting two opposite parties at once, giving credit to the accusations of political opportunism levied against him by some scholars.²⁰⁷ The extent and variety of the connections established by Fowler in this period is also suggested by a draft for a prospective work entitled "The Triumph of death", a compilation of funeral elegies commemorating his former employer Francis Walsingham. The material (Hw 2063 ff. 4r-5v) consists of the frontispiece of the proposed work, written in Fowler's compressed current hand, plus a dedication to "Lady Eleanor Baes" (that is Bowes, the wife of the English ambassador at the Scottish court) dated "In Odinb. The 9 of Januar 1590."²⁰⁸ Her husband Robert Bowes would be the subject of a printed epitaph around 1597, a copy of which is now bound together with the presentation copy of Fowler's *Triumphs*.²⁰⁹ Although incomplete, "The Triumph of death" highlights Fowler's continuing readiness to employ his pen and his Petrarchist references to homage the powerful, and his continuing effort in cultivating his links to the English party, possibly *via* the English ambassadorial establishment in Edinburgh. He seems to have retained his contacts with Elizabeth's informers, since in 1597, the same year as Bowes' death, he was again communicating with them via George Nicolson, an English agent in Scotland.²¹⁰

As well as becoming closely connected with the court and higher administration, Fowler also enjoyed the trust of the burgh, and in 1589 "Mr William Fowler person [parson] of Hawick" was sent to Denmark as part of the embassy to conclude the negotiation of James' marriage to Princess Anna. On 25 May 1589 the burgh deliberated to settle on him the sum of 500 merks for the necessary expenses and appropriate apparel. The city burghers were keen on the Danish match, due to the profitable trade links between the two countries, and Fowler's duty was to "to attend vpoun sic things as may occur concerning the burrowes, and to hald thame [the other

²⁰⁶ The dispute was settled in 1586 in favour of Bothwell. See the related entry in *ODNB*.

²⁰⁷ See the moderate statement made by Sarah Dunnigan in her entry for *ODNB*, stating that: "[Fowler's] religious and therefore political allegiance were occasionally uncertain"; see also Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 76, and Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. 22, who both highlight Fowler's convenient change of patrons at this juncture.

²⁰⁸ Hw 2063 ff. 4r-5v.

²⁰⁹ With separate shelf-mark: Edinburgh, University Library De.1.10/2.

²¹⁰ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

envoys] in remembrance thair of and mak advertisement of the samyn”.²¹¹ The embassy set forth from Leith on 16 June 1589, and sailed off again in early August to finalize the agreement. The company was composed of James’ ambassador, George Keith, whom Fowler had already met while studying in Paris and who had in the meantime become fourth Earl Marischal, the advocate John Skene, Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall (of James’ bedchamber) and Peter Young (James’ erstwhile tutor, now in his Privy Council). A letter found in a contemporary collection suggests that Fowler took part in the entertainments offered to the noble company, including the more cultured sort. In the letter John Craig, James’ physician in Edinburgh, wished to introduce some people to the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe, among whom were “his friends Skene, Nicolson, Fowler, and Swinton”. Fowler is clearly held in some esteem, as Craig described him as *Juvenis egregius, nec amicitia indignus*.²¹² Fowler’s conduct during this diplomatic mission must have satisfied James, because on 28 November 1589, just five days after the in-person wedding of James and Anna had taken place in Oslo, Fowler was rewarded with a court appointment, as Master of Requests and Secretary Deputy to the new Queen, with an initial salary of “66li, 13s and 4d”.²¹³ This post can be considered the pinnacle of his career; however, the appointment would prove to be notoriously less profitable than Fowler would have imagined, or indeed hoped for.

In the light of Fowler’s previous interest in, and involvement with, Italian culture, it seems only appropriate that the next documented stage of his life are his travels to Italy, although it is at least surprising to see Fowler leaving a recently acquired court post to follow Bothwell’s stepson Walter Scott, Laird of Buccleuch, abroad. The fact that he did, and that he was able to resume his post a couple of years later suggests that Fowler was still close to his first patron Bothwell, and that he was serving him with the approval of his royal employees. Buccleuch departed from Edinburgh on 17 September 1591 in dubious circumstances, bound for the Continent, in the company of “William Fowler and one lacquey only”.²¹⁴ The group seems to have matriculated at the University in Padua, their names appearing in the registers for the year 1592 as “Walterus Scotus, Gulielmus Foulenus Scottus, and Thomas Nicolsonus Scotus” on 25 July 1592.²¹⁵ Fowler probably travelled around the Veneto region, and his presence is

²¹¹ Quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxii.

²¹² Quoted and translated from the original Latin by Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 76-77.

²¹³ See Thompson, “The Daughter of the Secretary”, p. 22. “Nevertheless, the first recorded salary (£400 a year) to Fowler ‘Secretar to the Queene’s Grace’, is for the two years ending Whitsunday 1590, when he received £900” (see Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxiii, and Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, p. 58).

²¹⁴ *CSP Scot*, X, p. 572, September 1591.

²¹⁵ Thomas Nicolson could be the “lacquey” accompanying Buccleuch, and the same “magister philosophiae” who had been introduced to Tycho Brahe along with Fowler in 1590. See Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 77-78. Fowler

attested in Venice around July 1593, by a letter signed by the Venetian bookseller Giovan Battista Ciotti (Hw 2065 f. 84r). The letter is a kind of promissory note for the handing over of “half a bale of books” to Fowler or a representative of his, in Frankfurt at the next book fair.²¹⁶ As pointed out by Petrina, the letter is interesting in that it connects William Fowler with a “vast network of writers, thinkers, heretics and humanists operating in late sixteenth-century Europe”, for whom book fairs throughout Europe and Ciotti’s shop in Venice functioned as main venues of exchange.²¹⁷

While in Italy, Fowler probably met Sir Edward Dymoke of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, who acted as hereditary royal Champion to both Queen Elizabeth and James, and whom Fowler could have already met in London. Even if it is probably too much to infer that Dymoke acted officially as Fowler’s patron, their friendship is testified to by a letter sent from Padua and preserved in the Hawthornden manuscripts (Hw 2065, ff. 5-5*). The letter contains a short piece of Latin verse in an unmistakably affectionate tone.²¹⁸ Along with Dymoke, Fowler could also have met the poet Samuel Daniel, who had been Dymoke’s servant and his companion on the Italian trip of 1590.²¹⁹ Dymoke and Daniel, in turn, were also in contact with John Florio (another of Fowler’s London acquaintances), who was Daniel’s brother-in-law. In 1592, Daniel would insert several sonnets in a distinctive interlaced pattern closely associated with the Castalian poets in the new edition of his sonnet sequence *Delia*, which could suggest some kind of exchange between the two poets could have taken place.²²⁰

could have joined the University purely on account of the greater freedom the status of student could grant him (Petrina, “Italian Influence”, p. 40).

²¹⁶ “[...] addì 21 luglio 1593 in Venetia receui io Giamb.ta Ciotti Libraro in Venetia dal Magco Sig.r Guglielmo fullerio gentilomo schozese una meza balett[a] di libri involta con Canovac.a segnata de davanti segno la qual baletta devo mandare a franco forte et farla consegnare al ditto” (transcribed and translated in Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 79).

²¹⁷ Quoted from Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 79. On Ciotti’s life, see the related entry in *DBI*, s.v.

²¹⁸ The verse on f. 5 runs: “Virtutes (Fowlere) tuas ego semper amabo/ Non igitur et te cogor amare simul?/ Ex te proueniunt Virtutes, te quoque Virtus/ Nobilitat: Quid ni semper utrumque colam?/ Reciproci precor, hoc, nostril sit pignus Amoris./ Dilige me, quod te cogor amare. Vale./ Tuus, quantus/ Ed. Dymoke” (“I will always love Your virtues, Fowler; Am I not therefore compelled to love you, too? Your virtues derive from you, even as Virtue makes you nobler: why shouldn’t I revere both? I pray this be the token of our mutual love, love me, as I am compelled to love you. Farewell. Yours, Edward Dymoke”; transcribed, translated and discussed in Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 107-108).

²¹⁹ For the poet Samuel Daniel see the relevant entry in *ODNB*. For details on Dymoke’s life, see the *ODNB* entry for “Dymoke of Scrivelsby”, and the online *History of Parliament*: <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/dymoke-sir-edward-1557-1624>> [retrieved 12 Jan 2017].

²²⁰ On the sonnet form popular among Scottish writers (rhyme scheme: *abab bcbc cdcd ee*), and generally referred to as “Spenserian”, see Katherine McClune, “The ‘Spenserian sonnet’ in Sixteenth Century Scotland”, *Notes and Queries* 56 (2009), pp. 533-36; and Allison Steenson, “Writing Sonnets as a Scoto-Britane. Scottish Sonnets, the Union of the Crowns, and Negotiations of Identity”, *Medievalia et Humanistica* 41 (2015), pp. 195-210.

In December 1591, the Queen had managed to bring about the safe return of Buccleuch to Scotland, possibly also through the offices of her own Secretary deputy, as items in Hawthornden have led scholars to suggest.²²¹ In the meantime, Fowler was still abroad in 1593, when he directed a Latin letter from the Netherlands to his acquaintance Jean de Villers Hotman, the son of the Protestant jurist François Hotman. Hotman, though a Frenchman by birth, had moved in the diplomatic circles at the Elizabethan court and thus had an extensive network of acquaintances that included people such as the Sidneys and Sir Amias Paulet (Mary Queen of Scots' guardian in her last days). Moreover, Hotman had been a secretary to the Earl of Leicester and had connections to Scotland, having served as an ambassador to James VI from Henri of Navarre in the late 1580s. In 1594 John Gordon, Mary Queen of Scots' exiled bishop of Galloway, witnessed Susanna Hotman's (Jean's sister) marriage contract to John Menteith, also a Scotsman.²²² A draft of an epitaph for a "John Menteith, Scotus" who is said to have been living in France is found in Fowler's hand in Hw 2065 f. 188r, suggesting a closer link between Fowler, Hotman and Gordon. The letter, found among Hotman's printed correspondence, mentions Bothwell and Buccleuch, at the time both in disgrace with the King, the pregnancy of Queen Anna, and a book by Hotman's father François that Fowler had delivered into James VI's hands and that, Fowler assured, had been well received by the monarch.

Fowler must have returned to Scotland in late 1593 or early 1594, when he took on his post as full Secretary to Queen Anna. Early on 19 February of the same year, Prince Henry Frederick was born at Stirling, James' son and heir. Fowler, together with Sir Patrick Leslie, Commendator of Lindores (another of his friends from the Paris period), was entrusted with devising the festivities at Stirling, and with issuing the printed account that followed.²²³ An incomplete manuscript copy of the *Baptisme* in Fowler's hand is preserved among the so-called "Warrender papers" in the National Records of Scotland, confirming him as the material author of the text.²²⁴ Guests to the celebrations included envoys from the Netherlands, Denmark,

²²¹ Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 81 discusses two copies of a letter in Italian regarding Buccleuch in Hw 2064.

²²² See ODNB, s.v., for biographical details about Hotman. See also Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxvi. The letter has been quoted and translated by Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 82.

²²³ First printed as: William Fowler, *A true reportarie of the most triumphant, and royal accomplishment of the baptisme of the most excellent, right high, and mightie prince, Frederik Henry; by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland. Solemnized the 30. day of AuguSt 1594.* [Edinburgh]: Printed by R. Walde-graue, printer to the K. Maiestie. *Cum priuilegio regali*, [1594], ESTC: S103986, reprinted in London: by Thomas Creede for Iohn Browne, and are to be solde at his shop in S. Dunstons Church-yard in Fleetstreete, 1603, ESTC: S103987. Lindores was "high in King James' favour", and was granted land, titles and made a Gentleman of the King's bedchamber; he was also acquainted with Fowler in Paris (Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxviii).

²²⁴ Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD1/371/1 ("Warrender papers", vol. A, part 1), ff. 34-35. Printed in: Annie Cameron (ed.), *The Warrender Papers*. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1931-32, vol. II, pp. 258-

Germany and most importantly, England.²²⁵ Lindores and Fowler had been given a difficult task, made even more troublesome by the short time available and by the disastrous state of Crown finances.²²⁶ Despite this, no effort was spared to impress the foreign ambassadors: the Royal Chapel at Stirling Castle was completely re-modelled, and the celebrations were planned as a true Renaissance festival involving outdoor tournaments, indoors banquets, recitations of Latin and vernacular poetry and elaborate decorative displays.²²⁷ Fowler's description of the entertainment acknowledges the difficulties:

The first [day] to be of three Turks, three Christian Knights of Malta, three Amazones, and three Mores. But by reason of the absence, or at the least, the vncertaine presence of the three last Gentlemen, who should haue sustained these personages, it was thought good, that the number of that mask shuld consist of Nyne Actors, nyne Pages, and nyne Lackies.

That the original arrangement was of twelve characters instead of nine is confirmed by a fragment in Hawthornden (Hw 2063 f. 108r), which apparently contains a draft for this earlier version of the entertainment. The hand on the page is Fowler's current, mostly secretarial hand, occasionally switching to Italics (mainly in Latin words, see for instance in the word "sustentor", at the end of the penultimate line). The text consists of 13 emblems, in Scots with mottoes in Latin; the emblems are separated into four groups (three items each, the last section containing four) by the slanted dashes that are a common feature of Fowler's drafts. The page contains all the emblems mentioned in the printed *Baptisme*, minus the one showing "a Hart half in fire, & half in frost: on the one part Cupids torch, & on the other lupiters thunder, with these words, Hinc amor, inde metus" (worn during the celebrations by one of the knights impersonating a "Turk").²²⁸ Only the first three emblems (worn by James VI, the Earl of Mar and Thomas Erskine, as "Christian Knights") are in the same order as the ones in the printed copy.

62. The text of the Warrender copy is transcribed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, pp. 165-195, side by side with the printed version.

²²⁵ The invitations were sent out well in advance, but due to delays in the arrival of the English envoy, the ceremony was delayed until 30 AuguSt For a discussion of the entertainment, see Michael Bath. "Rare Shewes and Singular Inventions".

²²⁶ "who by their trauells, diligence, and inuention, broght it to that perfection, which the shortnes of time and other considerations culd permit" (Fowler, *Baptisme*, as printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 172). See also Lynch, "Reassertion of Princely Power", p. 224.

²²⁷ As Fowler put it: "both in Feeld pastimes, with Martiall and heroicall exploites, and in houshold, with rare shewes and singular inventions". The text, here and in the quotation that follows, is quoted form the printed version of William Fowler, *Baptisme* (as published in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, pp. 172-176).

²²⁸ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 174.

This suggests that the arrangement of this first group, featuring the most important people at court, remained unchanged, while the other two had to be rearranged and consequently some emblems (a peacock, and a variation on the common “northern star and compass” image) had to be rejected.

The decision to entrust the devising of such a significant moment in courtly life to Fowler mark him as ranking relatively high in the hierarchy of court servants, and Meikle could be right in suggesting that the remaining two thirds of Hawick, which Fowler received in 1595, were intended as a “reward for his services in this occasion”.²²⁹ If it is true that the Exchequer occasionally met at Jane Fockart’s house in 1593, then we must consider Secretary Fowler as having established himself quite securely in the eyes of the world by the mid-1590s. Around this time, Fowler must also have married, although there is no mention of his wife’s name.²³⁰ There is a possibility that Fowler’s marriage might have been sort of a *misalliance*, at least from the point of view of social prestige, as a passage in a letter of 1665 seems to suggest, reading “[Anne Delille, Fowler’s daughter] is a Scot by birth of a very worthy (if not noble family, especially from the mother’s side)”.²³¹ That he did not advance further is probably the result of the fiercest competition the Scottish court had seen in a long time. If Scottish court culture was finally flourishing again after decades of uncertainty, a new court and James’ profligacy in bestowing honours, coupled with the ever-precarious state of court finances, meant that while more people saw a chance to gain advancement by royal patronage, “the scramble for status among the nobility became frenetic in the 1590s.”²³²

Perhaps as a result of his more stable fortunes, or of the duties imposed on him by his office, Fowler’s literary production seems to have declined from this point on. In 1591, he had provided a prefatory sonnet (“To the only Royal Poet”, the only contribution by a Scot to the paratext) to James’ second poetic publication, the *Poeticall Exercises*. Moreover, he was still writing poetry, since in 1595 he is said to have exchanged verse with James in an amicable fashion, along with the Irishman Walter Quin.²³³ However, as the initial impetus of the

²²⁹ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxviii.

²³⁰ His son Ludovic was still legally a minor in 1612, but his writing hand was relatively assured around 1610. Fowler also has two daughters who are said to be married in 1612. See the discussion of Fowler’s will below.

²³¹ The letter, from one Dr. Levett to Dr. Sancroft, then Dean of St Paul, is quoted in Thompson, “The Daughter of the Secretary”, p. 29.

²³² Lynch, “Reassertion of Princely Power”, p. 230.

²³³ The sonnet is printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 5. See also *ibid.*, III, p. xxviii: “According to George Nicolson, an English agent in Scotland, writing to Bowes, ‘here is suche making of cockelauds and verses and such emulation as I feare still troubles, notwithstanding the intent of agreamentes. The King of Scottes is supposed to have made the verses of Mr. Wm. Fowler and was spoken to in it, and doethe laughe it over. The Iris[hman] Quin semeth to be very simple, suppose his verses be not so.’ Next day an anonymous correspondent

Castalian decade seems to have worn off progressively during the 1590s, so did Fowler's literary production decline and critics have not been able to assign any complete works to him after the *Baptisme* of 1594-95. His name resurfaces occasionally in State Papers, once in 1598, when he was warily communicating with England on the sensitive topic of a Scottish alliance with Catholic Spain, and again in 1602, when he was sent to the relief of Buccleuch, wounded in the Netherlands.²³⁴ Both these instances confirm that Fowler was still attached to his old patrons, and that at the turn of the century he was keeping communications open with England.

LONDON, 1603-1612

The year 1603, with the death of Queen Elizabeth on 24 March and the move of the Scottish court to London, ushers in a new chapter of Fowler's life, and one on which information is scarce. It is to this less known period that this study is mainly devoted, hoping to shed some light on a rather obscure time (both literally and literarily) in Fowler's life, with the help of his own papers in Hawthornden. Queen Anna followed her consort, who had left Edinburgh immediately after receiving the news. The Queen began her journey with her own entourage (Fowler among them) in April, and reunited with James later in June.²³⁵ A piece in Hawthornden indicates that one of the first stops in their journey south was Chillingham in Northumberland. The Chillingham estate, known to have been visited by James on another occasion during his journey north in 1617, belonged to the family of Grey, relations to the Scottish Grays, whose representative, Patrick, the Master of Gray, had been knighted in Berwick at the start of the King's own progress.²³⁶ The page (Hw 2065 f. 83) is undated, and the handwriting shows similarities with the hand of Sir William Drummond, Drummond of Hawthornden's son. The text is thus likely to have been copied later at some point in the second half of the seventeenth century, and thus would not belong to the original gatherings of material by Fowler. Nonetheless, the page, a short poem welcoming the Queen to Chillingham, offers some new information on Anna's progress south. The most likely origin is in the welcome entertainments offered to both monarchs during their progress, and described in some details

wrote to Bowes: 'The King has writtin this vther aganis Mr Williem Fowllar. Thair is another made aganis the lord Treasurer of Scotland, the coppie whair of was promiseit me, but he faillit. Howsone I may get it, I sall send the same'".

²³⁴ See Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 83; and Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xxix-xxx.

²³⁵ George B. Harrison, *A Jacobean Journal*. London: Routledge, 1958, p. 41.

²³⁶ See Anna Brunton, "'A Kind of Silent Rhetoric': the Significance of the Worthies of Chillingham Castle", *Vides* 3 (2015), pp. 1-10. See also *CSP Scot*, XIII, pp. xxxi, xxxxiv, xxxviii. The Master of Gray was rumoured to have been on the side of Anna, Maitland and the Duke of Lennox in their long-standing quarrel against the earl of Mar over the custody of Prince Henry.

on other occasions.²³⁷ A series of internal elements contribute to assign the composition of this poem to the spring/summer (April to June) of 1603, for instance the insistence on the theme of spring (see l. 3: “thawing hearts” and the whole second and fourth stanzas) and on the English monarch’s recent death (l. 4: “since Englandes sunn set in the Western parts”). Moreover, the poem refers to a Queen of England and Scotland, separately, which can only apply to Anna of Denmark. The motif of spring as related to fertility (in ll. 18 and 24-26) is also appropriate for her, as she was routinely celebrated in these terms, and especially apt as a contrast between Anna and the childless Elizabeth.²³⁸

The most significant event of this southern progress was for Fowler the meeting at Worksop with Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, and (on that occasion or later at court) with his relative Arbella Stewart (1575 - 1615). The 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (Gilbert’s father George Talbot) along with his wife Elizabeth Talbot had been the guardians of Mary Queen of Scots during most of her English captivity, and at the time were tutors to her niece and James’ cousin, Arbella. Arbella is without doubt one of the most prominent in a gallery of female figures that loom large over Fowler’s literary production, and judging from the Hawthornden papers, the single most significant of such women after 1603. Although the suggestion that Fowler was at some point aspiring to Arbella’s hand is to be considered pure literary fantasy, the volume of prospective works, scraps of poetry, letters, compliments and scribbles directed to Arbella in one way or the other is a testament to Fowler’s dedication.²³⁹

After the court was settled in the new capital, Fowler retained his post as Secretary and Master of Requests to the Queen, participating in the coronation ceremonies.²⁴⁰ The many drafts for official letters in Fowler’s current (mostly secretarial) hand, collected in the final section of Hw 2064 (after f. 99, a modern separator), testify to his employment, and can help paint a

²³⁷ For instance the entertainment devised by Ben Jonson on the occasion of the Queen arriving at Althorp, the home of Sir Robert Spenser. “As they approached the house from a spinney there appeared a satyr who leapt out, and having spoken sundry verses ran away into the wood again, when to the sound of soft music there came tripping up the lawn a bevy of Fairies, attending on Mab their Queen. After sundry songs and dances in which the satyr hopped amongst the Fairies and was chased away again, he came out the wood again leading Sir Robert’s son before the Queen. Hereat the whole wood and place resounded with the noise of cornets, horns and other hunting music, and a brace of deer were put forth which were killed, as they were meant to be, even in the sight of her Majesty” (quoted from Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 41).

²³⁸ For the use of fertility imagery referring to Queen Anna, see further, Chapter Three.

²³⁹ See Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

²⁴⁰ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxiii: “In the following year, in the Ordinances of the Household, it was laid down that ‘Mr Fowler, Secretary to our deare bedfellow, [and others] who had an abridgement by our booke lately signed of two dishes of meate apeece per diem, shall have the same restored them againe’”. He is mentioned in a list of “Officers & Councillors to the Quene’s Majestie” drawn in October 1603 (Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners*. London: Nicol, 1791, vol. III, p. 209. A letter in Hawthornden (Hw 2064, f. 127), although undated, contains Fowler’s requests in preparation for the ceremony.

clearer picture of what Fowler's day-to-day entailed while in the service of the Queen. There are letters of safe-conduct, such as one for Richard Gray (Hw 2064 f. 105v, dated from Falkland palace in 1596) and one for a Scot merchant "Jacobus Draggius" (Hw 2064 f. 106, datable after the Union of the Crowns). Hw 2064 f. 139r is a request (possibly from Anna to one of her treasurers) to pay about 275 "Scots money" to one "Alexander Crayford". This could be the same Alexander Crawford (of which Crauford/Crayford are alternative spellings) who was the beneficiary of a royal warrant as the King's shoemaker from 1595 to 1599.²⁴¹ Hw 2064, f. 129r is the draft of a letter appointing Patrick Stewart, the Earl of Orkney, as Anna's Chamberlain. Other leaves contain several more nuggets of information about Fowler's professional frequentations. Hw 2064 f. 130r is a summon to court, to accept a post in the Queen's council; the letter is unaddressed, and space has been left to insert the actual day as well as the specific territories the new council member is supposed to oversee. The blank spaces in the letter suggest that this was a general draft, to be subsequently made into copies that were more specific to each council member. The leaf could have ended up among Fowler's papers in different ways, either as a model for further copies, or kept as a specimen for a prospective "art of secretary" that Fowler seemingly never managed to write during his lifetime.²⁴²

As the Queen's Master of Requests and as such somebody who (presumably) had frequent access to the monarch, Fowler seems to have mediated between the Queen and such writers who wanted to pay her homage. This could have been the origin of Hw 2064 f. 131r (*Plate 2*). The recto of the page (the verso has been left intentionally blank) displays a beautifully laid out page in a fully *formata* Italic book-hand containing a short message to the Queen. In it, the writer greets her and introduces his brother "younger in years and somewhat smaller in body, but equally, if not more, desirous to do her service" (see ll. 9-13 of the main text). The short message ends with a Latin couplet, allegedly composed by said brother: "Regis nata, soror regis, es regia coniux/ Et regis matrem te fore signa canunt". The address to Anna as Queen of Scotland, and the mention of her future offspring allow dating this leaf between the royal marriage and the birth of Prince Henry, *i.e.*, between 1590 and 1594.

*SERENISSIMAE/ PRINCIPI ANNAE SCOTORUM REGINA/ PRAETER OFFICIUM MI/hi aliisque
facturus videbor, si tuam/ Maiestatem magnarum virtutum ca=/ pax domicilium insalutatam
praetermit=/ to: praesertim quum frater meus, in / communem omnium nostrum paren=/ tem, tuae
Maiestatis fidissimum con=/ iugem benevolentâ animis testimonium/ exstare voluerit. Et quamvis
aetate / corporisque modulo, fratre inferiorem / me cernis; studio tamen erga tuam/ Maiestatem, et*

²⁴¹ Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, p. 327.

²⁴² The work is mentioned in a list of his own writings (Hw 2063 f. 107) transcribed in Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 89), who relates the two letters in Italian in Hw 2064 f. 125r to the same project (*ibid.* p. 81).

*benevolentia, si non prae=/ currere, at aequare adnitar. Quae prop=/ ter distichon hoc, animi
promittendi=/ne, haud ingenii imbecillitate perperen/sâ animi auriumque hospitio non de=/
dignabere./ Regis nata, soror regis et regia coniux/ et regis matrem te fore signa canunt.*²⁴³

Fowler's position at court frequently made him an intermediate ring in the "chain of patronage" that shaped the economy of contemporary literary production.²⁴⁴ This is the case of the verse exchange in Hw 2065, centred on Thomas Cargill, rector of the Grammar School in Aberdeen from 1580 to his death in 1602. Hw 2065 f. 36, a calligraphic copy, carefully executed and with decorative features (borders, decorative capitalization) contains five short poems in Latin, plus two sonnets in the vernacular on the *verso*, in the form popular among Scottish sonneteers, with interlaced quatrains (*abab bcba cddc ee*). The verse praises Cargill as author of a lost "interpretation" (probably a translation into Latin) of the Greek poet Hesiod; in addition, the writer devotes more Latin verse to praise Cargill's patron, "the Earl Marischal, under whose name the interpretation of Hesiod is put forth". Marischal, whom Fowler had met in Paris before travelling with him to Denmark, was the founder of Marischal College in Aberdeen and a patron of writers. Keith probably acted as Cargill's patron at some point, as can also be evinced by the fact that verse by Cargill was added to the *Oratio Funebris* for Keith, published in 1623.²⁴⁵ The Latin verse is subscribed D.E.A., while the two sonnets on the *verso* are signed by M. W. Barclay. While the first author remains unknown, the second has been identified with William Barclay, doctor in Aberdeen and the author of *Nepenthe*, a small treatise praising the virtues of tobacco, and of more occasional items in neo-Latin.²⁴⁶ It is unclear how the poems reached Fowler, but he must have known Cargill and his work, as the latter answered a compliment by Fowler with his own verse, found on the following leaf (Hw 2065 f. 37r). The page, most likely holograph, presents a copy of a poem by Cargill, thanking Fowler for his appreciation and support. After the poem, the homonymy between the name Fowler and the

²⁴³ "To the Most Serene Princess Anna Queen of Scots/ I will seem to others and myself that I will be doing more than my duty, if I neglect to salute your Majesty, who is able to accommodate so many virtues. Especially because my brother, who I share both parents with, wanted to give testimony to the benevolence of your most loyal spouse. And even if, as you can see, my brother is inferior to me in size and age, I will show you how he wants to be my equal, if not superior, in his devotion to your Majesty. And for this reason do not refuse this distich admittance into your ears and heart, which testifies to his ready wit and intellect. Born of Kings, sister and wife of Kings, the signs show you will be a mother of Kings". Notice the presence of decorative ligatures in "st", "ct" clusters; the text is justified on both the left and right margins (by cutting words that exceed the prefixed line-length).

²⁴⁴ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 87; for the concept of a "chain of patronage" among humanists in Tudor England, see Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 36: "the extent of the patronage seeker's connections and the quality of his personal introduction [constituted] for the patronage seeker a reticula of sub-patrons."

²⁴⁵ See the biographical notice on Cargill and the poems published in W. Keith-Leask (ed.), *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1910, pp. 27-30. The poems in their relation to Fowler have been discussed by Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 87-91.

²⁴⁶ ODNB, s.v. A selection of Barclay's neo-Latin poetry is printed in Keith-Leask, *Musa Latina*, pp. 3-19. See also Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, pp. 118-19 (who erroneously listed him under the name of John Barclay).

word for “falconer” prompts a punning tribute headed “A coniecture of this his vnknown freind/ takin out of his awin words”:

As everie man doth vse the termes | belonging to his art
My freind I think a *Fowlar* bo(r)ne | a Pöet most expert
with *falcone flight* acquentit well | such thing his words doth say,
And for his skill he worthie is | to wear the Laurell bay.²⁴⁷

The pun, highlighted by the use of *Italic* script in the two words “fowlar” and “falcon”, is a flattering one, since falconry was a pastime associated with the higher classes; the piece moreover relates the flight of hawks to the height of poetic inspiration.

Moreover, the material on Hw 2065 ff. 36-37 links Fowler to the extensive intellectual community in Aberdeen, and contributes to paint a picture of the Secretary as involved in literary exchange reaching far outside the boundaries of Edinburgh’s intellectual circles. There is evidence that Fowler continued in this role after the move to England, as suggested by the verse found in Hw 2065 ff. 11r-12v. The bifolio contains a Latin poem (f. 11r), pleading to relieve the writer from the clutches of his enemy, dire poverty (see ll. 17-18: *Hostis adest mihi crudelis, nec Turca nec Indus, Ah sed paupertas insidiosa mihi*). The first line, addressing a writer (one *vir Aeonio*) and the address of the bifolio on f. 12v (*Clarissimo, omni uirtutum genere Ornatissimo viro praestantissimo(ue) Domino, M. Willyam Voller, Reg: Maiest: Angliae et Scotiae &c. Secretario fidelissimo, Domino suo omni obseruantia colendo*) confirm that the poem is addressed to Fowler as a direct plea for assistance.²⁴⁸ The author, “Georgius Opitius a Leipa/ cantor et exul”, could have been one Georg Opitz from Lipa, in today’s Czechia, a musician mentioned in Leipzig in 1614.²⁴⁹ In the same period, his old friend Hotman asked Fowler to help his wife, who had come to London and was in contact with members of the Sidney circle, to obtain some form of recompense for Hotman’s translation of James’ *Basilikon Doron* into French.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 396, emphasis mine.

²⁴⁸ Transcribed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 398-99.

²⁴⁹ The only reference I could find was to a “Georg Opitz aus Böhm-Leipa, Kantor in Görlitz (1612-15)”; see Rudolf Quoika, *Die Musik der Deutschen in Böhmen und Mähren*. Berlin: Merseburger, 1956, p. 54. Opitius is recorded as a Latinization of Opitz, and the spelling “Voller” for “Fowler” on f. 12v encourages to think of a German speaker.

²⁵⁰ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xxxv, xxvi.

SERENISSIMAE
PRINCIPI ANNAE SCOTORVM REGINAE

PRAETER OFFICIUM MI
hi alijsque facturus videbor, si tuam
Maeſtatem magnarum virtutum ca,
pax domicilium, inſalutatam praetermit
to: praefertim, quum frater meus, in
communem omnium noſtrum paren
tem, tuae Maeſtatis fidiſſimum con
iugem benevolentis animi teſtimonium
exſtare voluerit. Et quamvis aetate
corporiſque modulo, fratre inferiorem
me cernis; ſtudio tamen erga tuam
Maeſtatem, et benevolentia, ſi non prae
currere, ut aequare aduſtar. Quapropter
diſtichon hoc, animi promptitudi
ne, haud ingenui imbecillitate perpen
ſa, animi auriumque hoſpitio non de
ſignabere.

Regis nata, ſoror regis, es regia coniux
Et regis matrem te fore ſigna canunt.

However, things seem to have changed for the worse while in London, and Fowler appears to have been increasingly less capable of influencing events at court. As Master of Requests, Fowler had the role of furthering requests by petitioners for royal appointments to the Queen's entourage, generally in exchange for money. The second item in Hw 2064 f. 135r is a draft for a letter, in Fowler's current hand, addressed to one "Madame", who, given the context, could well be the Queen. The writer is sorry to hear that he "suld be thought to embrace any suit which might proceure [her] displeasure", and recommends one "Ro. Whychombe" (probably a Robert Wycombe) as a candidate for the post of Groom of the Robes. One similar transaction ended in a complaint against Fowler by one John Newe involving, along with William Fowler, his brother John, evidence of which is preserved in Hw 2066 ff. 28-34 and 61-80. Newe failed to obtain the post he had paid Fowler to get, which can be seen as a sign that his influence at court was declining sharply. Meikle states Fowler had "difficulties in maintaining his official position" in London from the very start, and indeed his letters to Robert Cecil often lament his want of money and lack of proper rewards for his service.²⁵¹ This was known to his allies in England: in a letter Shrewsbury informs Cecil (by then made Earl of Salisbury by James) that Fowler had had little advantages from his post, which did not bring in the expected revenues as he was not able to profit from royal appointments.²⁵² Fowler's situation was not unique, and many who held an office at court would find more profit dealing in some form of connected side-business, than in the payment for their services.²⁵³ In the draft of a letter seemingly addressed to Anna (HW 2063 f. 100), Fowler "begs to be received in audience" with more than a hint of urgency, reminding the Queen that "in deley is danger".²⁵⁴ Another hastily scribbled annotation in Fowler's hand (likely the draft for a *billet*) on Hw 2063, f. 228v asks for somebody to "come out" of the presence chamber, since "[he] wants presence and cannot well get in". The fact that the annotation is hastily scribbled on the margin of the leaf containing the dedication to Anna in the unknown hand discussed above could be a hint as to the identity of the latter as one of Fowler's colleagues at court.

²⁵¹ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxiv.

²⁵² A letter of complaint shows that Fowler's wages had not been increased from the initial 66£. In the letter, Fowler "begs consideration for his maintenance. His fees are but equal with pages, less than the grooms and inferior to the 'Dutch Minister, who does nothing.' His seal is of no benefit to him. He has spent in her Majesty's service 'since coming here' £700. He complains again that 'he cannot subsist in this place with 66 li. and spending 400 li. yearly' ". *Salisbury Papers*, XVII, p. 176. As quoted in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxiv.

²⁵³ It was rather normal for court posts to be paid only a nominal salary, as holders were expected to be able to make more money from other sources related to their posts. Robert Cecil was in a similar situation, making most of his money from managing the Court of Wards (see Pauline Croft, "The Reputation of Robert Cecil", p. 51).

²⁵⁴ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxvi.

His earliest biographer Thomas Dempster confirms Fowler's situation in London was less than ideal, writing that in his later years he was "only a secretary in name".²⁵⁵ This aligns with other pieces of information: in the same years, Queen Anna was employing John Florio as her Italian reader, and around 1607 Fowler was thought of as considering early retirement from court service. This might have been just a euphemism for dismissal, as a letter dated 1608 relates that Fowler had been in serious danger of losing his post the previous year, or at least enough for Cecil to intervene in his favour.²⁵⁶ The cause of this loss of status seems to lie in Fowler's frequent absences from court, motivated by continuing illnesses and frequent and extended trips to Scotland, where most of his personal interests still lay. One of these trips could have culminated in Fowler and his brother John jointly being made Burgesses and Guild Brothers of Edinburgh in 1606.²⁵⁷ At the same time, Fowler seems to have increased his efforts both as an intermediary and as an occasional writer during these years, most likely in the hopes of cultivating relations in the new environment. His correspondence with Salisbury attests to a degree of familiarity between the two men, and there is evidence that Fowler was involved in brokering the sale of some lands near Pontefract in West Yorkshire between the Earl and Arbella (since the lands at issue were part of her inheritance), Queen Anna and the City of London. Similarly, the relationship between Fowler and the powerful Robert Cecil seems to have been something of a mutual arrangement in this sense. A letter among the Salisbury papers has Fowler advising Cecil, who had newly been made Viscount Cranborne and who is the subject of a few anagrams and smaller pieces in Hawthornden, on a painting to be bought for Queen Anna. A few months later in 1605, another letter from Fowler to Cecil enclosed a letter for the Prince (probably Prince Henry), to whom Cecil had presumably an easier access; the same letter asks Cecil for favour, protection and money.²⁵⁸

The year 1610 is a good example of what the last period of Fowler's life must have been like. From the political point of view, 1610 is the year of the fall of Arbella Stewart, on account of her marriage to William Seymour without the King's consent. Arbella and her husband were imprisoned, and while Seymour managed to escape to France, Arbella would die in captivity a few years later in 1615.²⁵⁹ Fowler, close as he was to Arbella and Shrewsbury, could not

²⁵⁵ Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 292: "*sed subirata, incertum quam ob causa, regina, officio dejectus nudum nomen usque ad vitae exitum retinuit*" ("but having angered the Queen, I do not know for what reason, he was shunned and kept his office only in name until the end of his life").

²⁵⁶ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxiv.

²⁵⁷ John Fowler seems to have collaborated with the secretary's business in London, and is mentioned in Hw 2966, in documents related to the complaint made against Fowler by John Newe (see below).

²⁵⁸ *Salisbury Papers*, XV, p. 374; xvi, pp. 114-115 and xvii, p. 176.

²⁵⁹ *ODNB*, s.v.

possibly have avoided being indirectly implicated in the disastrous consequences of the match, and loosing even more ground at court. In the same year, Fowler fell so ill that he was having genuine concerns for his life. This illness probably prompted him to write his own epitaph, preserved in several versions in Hawthornden. The earliest, dated June 1610, is a sonnet in the English scheme (*abab cdcd efef gg*), represented by two slightly different drafts (Hw 2063 ff. 66*r* and 67*r*); it seems to have been occasioned by a very serious bout of illness. Both copies are in Fowler's hand, although on 66*r* the text is in Fowler's scrawled current, while 67*r* is written in a more legible cursive mixed hand. The sonnet on f. 66*r* closes with the subscription reading "mortalibus eripior ut immortalibus reddam/ haec moribundus gemibunde scripsit".²⁶⁰ The same phrase is to be found on a scrap of paper (Hw 2063 f. 213*r*) headed "morens de me ipso, filio meo sepulchrum insculpada relinquo, 3 jun 1610", where it is followed by several notes, seemingly for emblems connected with death (for example "colorant et discolorat/ fulmen").²⁶¹ Although Fowler did not die at the time, he kept working on his epitaph: other copies can be found on leaves dated September and November 1610, and 1611, suggesting his illness was troubling him continuously. Another of these Epitaphs (Hw 2063 f. 244), in Latin, ostensibly copied by his son Ludovic and dated 30 September 1610, conveys an adequate impression of Fowler's bitterness at this point: *De me ipso sum decumberem/ Vaga mihi fuit vita: in curia Incuria, Incerta certa fides, certior mors at in christo salus certissima*.²⁶² The last of his epitaphs is dated 1611, and is a longer version of the Latin inscription, found in three copies on Hw 2063 f. 177 and f. 244 (with small variations). F. 177 contains two copies of the same prose text in Latin, first in Fowler's current hand and, below, in an elegant Italic *formata*. As the only one of these texts that has not been printed, it is worth transcribing in full:

Vixi, facilis difficilisque, modestus et molestus/ ~~tristis~~ protervus et facetus, cui nec omnes, nec omnia cum/ placere, ut nec tu possis viator omnibus./ annos complures in Curia imperitus aulicus/ trasegi. ~~Imperitor~~ Infaelicior an melior medicus aliis aut mihi-met. Nescio, obii [superscript: incuria subitoque tamem] Caeterum/ viator deo placere, et deum placare, piis precib(us)/ cura, [superscript: et incumbere] nunc inter vermes sine titulo, aut tumulo/ caducus recumbo. Sum quod eris, fui quod es/ vale abi./ mortuo hac moerens posuit,/cui preci/pitem obitum (at adhuc superstes)/ praepropere predixeram/ GF ²⁶³

²⁶⁰ These two texts are printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 276-77.

²⁶¹ The phrase must have stuck with Fowler, as it is also found in a list (Hw 2063 f. 189*r*) among other quotations.

²⁶² The text on Hw 2063 f. 244 is printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 329. More copies in Fowler's hand can be found in Hw 2063 and Hw 2065.

²⁶³ "I lived through easy and difficult [times], [I was] both easy-going and bothersome, aggressive and courteous, I did not like everything nor was I liked by everybody, as you too, wanderer, cannot be. I spent many years in court inexperienced and honoured. [I was] more unhappy, or maybe just a better doctor to others than to my own self. Despite that, I endured neglect and died; I do not know about the reSt Wanderer, [only] take care and aim to be liked by God, and to placate him with pious prayers. Now among the worms, without a title nor a mound, I rest after falling. I am what you will be, I was what you are. Fare well, wanderer."

A similar text is found in a fair copy among the so-called “Laing papers” (EUL La.II.512 f. 8), dated 26 May 1610 and subscribed by Fowler.

Quiesco quietius quam vixi: vita mihi vaga et devia fuit. In Curia/ incuria incerta a moribus libertatem hausi, opum contemptor, recti/ pervicax, amicitia tenax, beneficiique memor extiti: cumque iam/ mors ipsa imminet fallaces tandem et terrenas spes spernens/ in coelis ad christum anhelō, ubi mihi in meo redemptore spurcissi/mis relictis erroribus foedissimisque vitae labibus, certissima salus/ est adipiscenda. Vale viator et quod mihi eirpiet mors id tibi/ victuro proroget ulterius./ hoc epitaphium cum morbo affligerer/ lectoque affixus fueram/ et moribundus/ effinxi./ Viximus, hic omnes exitus habet.²⁶⁴

Many of these texts show the combined hands of Fowler and his son Ludovic, perhaps writing for his father when the latter was too ill to write himself. Preoccupations with the future of his son must have compounded the effect of physical illness, as a desolate letter in Hawthornden seems to testify. Dated July 1610, Hw 2064 f. 135r is a draft for a pleading letter to Anna, in which Fowler (allegedly on his deathbed) recommends Ludovic, whom he has sent to London, to the Queen’s benevolence after his passing.

18 July 1610/ *Serenissima Maiestas*/ Commisi filio meo ut hisce Luduris Ma(iesta)tem V(estr)am salutando/ antequam exspirarem quasi valedicendo [superscript: scilicet] Ma(iesta)te et/ sub(iec)ti exhaberet. Fave illi precor [superscript: forsā] non improbae indoli me/ defuncto. Cuius miser pater cum de eo minus solers/ nisi in institutione solvitus fuit de acquirendis et/ accumulandis [superscript: illi] opibus mentem omnem abiecit nunc nam/ pervetusta [superscript: nec sordida] nostra familia in predecessores tuos reges aut/ nos [superscript: subitem] in Ma(iesta)tem V(estr)am peccarunt [superscript: aut delinquere]. fide enim intaminata et/ sincero obsequio eam coluimus [superscript: in omnem occasionem non [desines]]. Sed iam ingemisco. nam/ recolens [superscript: ea] quae causa memoriae ut immemor reddaris/ cum(que) praeter canitiem temporis(que) irreparabilis iacturam mihi quicquam tumulto/ praeter gemitus referens [superscript: et forsā sine sumptu]. haec non sine singultibus/ scribo. Sed quia molesta mihi et Ma(iesta)ti forsā V(estr)ae [superscript: acerba]/ gemens et lubens defero. deus Ma(iesta)tis V(estr)ae patrociniū/ suscipiat. et me ab intolerabilis et ingrato iugo [pabuli] ~~ex parte~~ vacuo ingrataeque fortunae dominae confestim subducatur. Vale decus regum/ et sanctioris ecclesiae et pietate et doctrina fulchrum et fidamen.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ “I rest quieter than I lived: my life was pleasant and ill-considered. In court I tried neglect, uncertainty and loose manners, I despised riches, was stubborn in doing what was right, steadfast in friendship, and did not forget the good that was done to me. Now that death itself is imminent, though, I despise the misleading hopes borne of earthly things, I desire Christ in heaven, where in my saviour I will obtain certain salvation, despite the despicable errors I leave behind and my shameful life. Fare well wanderer, and may the same death that takes me away prolong your life. This epitaph I made while afflicted by sickness and confined to my bed, and at the point of death. We lived, we all end with this.”

²⁶⁵ “Most Serene Majesty. I sent my son, as you know, with [Luduris?], with greetings to your majesty and almost a last farewell before I expire, to exhibit to your Majesty and your subject [?]. I pray you, after I die, to not take a dislike of him. His sad father was more active in his education than in accumulating riches for him, which were far from his mind. But now, since our family, rather old and not at all of base origins, or me myself appear to have failed you in something, we strove to cultivate the purest faith and most sincere respect [for your Majesty]. But now I start lamenting my fate, and I remember things that should best be forgotten, cast beyond by destructive time, and for which I perhaps was not responsible. Now I want to leave some kind of monument besides sighs. I write this with tears in my eyes. But, since this kind of talk is painful to me and perhaps also disagreeable to your Majesty, I will leave sighs and sobs for another time. May God protect your Majesty, and may he free me soon from the hateful and thankless yoke and from the whims of thankless dame fortune, and guide me to the empty

Fowler survived his illness, but not for long, since he died in May 1612, still relatively young (aged about 52). He was buried in the Church of St Margaret, Westminster, on 20 May. On 18 May he had made his will, which is worth examining in some detail here since it gives us some indications about Fowler's circle of acquaintances and allies at the time of his death.²⁶⁶ In this document, Sir James Foullarton (or Fullerton) is mentioned first among the will's "overseers". Fullerton was a courtier and a man of growing power since being appointed gentleman of the bedchamber, keeper of the privy purse and surveyor-general to Prince Charles.²⁶⁷ All the other overseers in the will are family connections: John Fowler is his twin brother and sometime collaborator in business, and "Patrick Stiveling" and "James Ruth" are his sons-in law. The latter is probably "Mr. James Raith, servitor to my Lord Chancellor" who was made Burgess of Edinburgh "by r[equest] of [his] w[ife] Eliza dau. to umq. Mr. Wm. Fowler, secretarie to her Majestie, B. and G."²⁶⁸ The Lord Chancellor to whom John Raith was a servitor was Alexander Seton, Lord Chancellor of Scotland and former tutor to the young Prince Charles.²⁶⁹ Fowler could have been acquainted with Seton, who is found among the people mentioned in Hawthornden; moreover, a connection between the emblematic decoration in Seton's Pinkie House in Musselburgh and material in Fowler's manuscripts has been recently suggested by Michael Bath.²⁷⁰ Raith was apparently involved in Fowler's affairs, since he drew Fowler's last documented wages as secretary in the same year.²⁷¹ One of the witnesses is "William Fowler his nephew" (probably the son of his homonymous brother William); "James Gibson, bookbinder" is the son of James' bookbinder in Scotland, and could have been a family connection (as William Fowler the merchant might have married in the same family).²⁷² Fowler's choice of people shows a preference for family relations, and indicates that Fowler still had strong ties in Scotland and with the Edinburgh burgess professionals (other secretaries,

pastures. Farewell, honour of the Kingdom, and cornerstone and trust of the most sacred church, devotion and doctrine".

²⁶⁶ Summarized in Thompson, "The Daughter of the Secretary", pp. 23-24.

²⁶⁷ *The History of Parliament*, <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/fullerton-sir-james-1563-1631>> [retrieved 3 Feb 2017].

²⁶⁸ Thompson, "The Daughter of the Secretary", p. 24. See also Charles Boog Watson, *Roll of the Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1406-1700*. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1929, p. 441.

²⁶⁹ He is the same James Raith singled out by Jonson in a letter to Alexander Seton, in preparation for his Scottish travel. See Loxley et al., *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, n. 552.

²⁷⁰ See the dedicated chapter in Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland*. Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland, 2003, pp. 79-103, and his article "Ben Jonson, William Fowler and the Pinkie Ceiling", *Architectural Heritage* 18 (2007), pp. 73-86.

²⁷¹ "The last payment was made in the accounts for 1611-1612 'to Mr James Raith for vmquhile Mr Williame Foullar, Secretarie to hir Maiestie'" (original accounts quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxiii).

²⁷² See Thompson, "The Daughter of the Secretary", and the list of people involved in the Scottish book-trade provided by the National Library of Scotland, available at: <<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index/gall-glassford>> [retrieved 12 Feb 2017].

bookbinders, merchants *etc.*). Fowler's will highlights links with the circle centring on the younger of James' sons, and soon to become heir to the Crowns of England and Scotland (at the death of his brother from a typhoid fever, later in the same 1612). Likewise, Fowler predictably was connected with the Queen's circle, represented here by "James Klegghorn, gentleman waiter of the Queen's chamber", Fowler's colleague quoted as a witness.

The will also provides some information on the composition of William Fowler's family. As has been known for a long time, he had one son and heir, Ludovic, and at least three daughters, two of them named Anne and Eliza (Raith's wife). Ludovic and Anne were still minors at the time of their father's death, and as such are the only ones to be mentioned explicitly in the will. The fact that he chose to name his children after political figures (Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anna and Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox) rather than relatives is a strong indication of Fowler's priorities, especially considering the kind of naming traditions that have been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. This reinforces the picture of Fowler as an ambitious burgher. Powerful people were expected to be favourably inclined towards their "namesakes", and Fowler could have been motivated by hopes of future protection for his children. Moreover, by appointing a nobleman as tutor to his children, Fowler possibly hoped to give them some initial connections at court. As will be seen, these hopes did not materialize, and the fate of Fowler's descendants is almost completely unknown. The fate of his son, specifically, is of paramount importance in the history of the Hawthornden manuscripts. In 1612, Ludovic and Anne were still in their "pupillaritie" (or *pupillari aetate*, with the specific meaning of not having reached puberty) and a tutor was chosen for them in the person of Fullerton. In addition to that, John Fowler was also appointed "commissioner" during Ludovic's minority sometime later on 13 July 1613. Ludovic must have been younger than fourteen (the customary "age of discretion" in England) and his sister might have been even younger. Meikle suggests that Fowler could also have left a living wife, but she is not mentioned in the will as receiving anything specific (which however is not uncommon for the early seventeenth century). Despite having complained of financial difficulties, he seems to have died reasonably wealthy. "His gold chain and jewels were worth £300, and he had, in addition, four diamond rings, including one with nine small diamonds given to him by the Queen.

He had no debts in either England or Scotland, but considerable sums were owed to him. By far the most substantial was the Earl of Shrewsbury's debt amounting to £843 sterling. In Scotland he estimated the "debt awand to me" at some 20,000 marks Scots."²⁷³ To his youngest daughter he left considerable provisions worth "five thowzand markis scotts money [for her marriage] togidder with two thowzand markis more for hir apparel and ornamentis thereto", to be paid to her "the second daie after her marriage, she marrying with the advice and consent of the same oversears". In light of this account, the Earl of Shrewsbury's complaint, that Fowler "served the king and queen faithfully for 25 years, reaping rather meagre rewards" sounds unjustified.²⁷⁴ However, it should be considered how James had continued to be extremely generous to the Scots who followed him in London, distributing knighthoods and other titles along with granting suits and pensions. Some of the Scots gentlemen attached to the court made spectacular fortunes, and were raised to prominent positions. According to Shrewsbury, Fowler "had never a suit granted unto him", nor was he knighted for his faithful service; moreover, his son would not have a place at court, despite evidence that Fowler tried to procure a position for him.²⁷⁵

Ludovic was set to inherit his properties in England, but he also seems to have had access to his father's Scottish goods, since he was served heir to the substantial property of Dean's House in Restalrig, near Edinburgh, in March 1613 (probably through his commissioner John Fowler).²⁷⁶ In later years, he is styled "Captain Ludovic Fowler, portioner of Restalrig" and is served heir (in his own person) of the property in 1630, when he was also made a burgess of Haddington (21 April), and a Burgess and Guild Brother of Edinburgh (28 July), which all point to Ludovic living in Scotland after his father's death.²⁷⁷ The connection between Ludovic and Restalrig is significant for what concerns the later history of the Hawthornden manuscripts, and their transmission and conservation (as will be detailed below, in Chapter Two). A daughter named "Issobel Fowler", daughter of "Ludovick Fowler" and one Jeane Catchairt, was baptized in Edinburgh in 1623. She could have been the same Isabel Fowler who was a famous Scottish heiress and subject of a contemporary ballad, which being true would again

²⁷³ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxviii.

²⁷⁴ The letter, dated 1608, is quoted in full in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

²⁷⁵ Even if certain minor sources refer to him as "Sir", there is no record of Fowler receiving a knighthood (see for instance the anonymous *History of Carroll County, Tennessee*, Paducah: Turner, 1987, p. 170: "Sir William Fowler was a poet at the court of James VI", emphasis mine). More importantly, we can be quite certain that Fowler would have used the title if it had been available to him at any point.

²⁷⁶ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxviii.

²⁷⁷ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxix and Watson, *Roll of the Edinburgh Burgesses*, p. 191. See also Laing, "Extracts from Hawthornden", p. 233.

suggests that the inheritance of Master Secretary Fowler had been substantial.²⁷⁸ Thanks to the work of Thompson, we also know something about the later life of Anne Fowler, the secretary's youngest daughter: she seem to have married a Frenchman, Sir Arnold de Lille (o Delille), who died fighting on the royalist side in the Civil War. In Cambridge in 1665, an impoverished Anne Delille was petitioning the Dean of St Paul for help, describing herself as “a Scot by decent, [her] fathir being secretarie to queene Ann & is decent of subiats and servant to his Ma.ties predisours”.²⁷⁹ The fact that she claims to have been “from [her] Infancie a straunger to [her] native land” could explain why she did not reach out to her other Scottish relatives, such as the Drummonds of Hawthornden or the rest of the Fowlers in Edinburgh.

Fowler's burgess social background is probably the most important piece in the puzzle to understand the whys and hows of his career vagaries. The financial standing of his family was essential in procuring him the education that would form the basis of his career, but apparently was not enough to propel him into the highest echelons of the court. The status of his mother as a known “wad-wyfe” could have also had a negative impact on his advancement. Moreover, and most importantly, the Fowlers were burgesses: seemingly, only Fowler's sister Susanna managed to make the jump from commoner to (small) gentry, and even this change apparently did not much affect the rest of the family in an overtly positive way, if we exclude Fowler's appointment to the Queen's establishment. The difference in social background could have originated more tangible differences, for instance in the nature and size of compensation that was offered for literary works.²⁸⁰ As a “burgess humanist”, as he has been aptly termed, Fowler was forced throughout his career to rely on patrons for his advancement, a fact that influenced his literary choices.²⁸¹ Fowler's most important personal connections are to be found among his family and among the friendships he established while young, first as a student in Paris and then in England and Scotland. Both his will and the information we can extract from official

²⁷⁸ Information has been retrieved through the *FamilySearch* database (from “Scottish Births and Baptisms, 1564-1950”, reference number: 2:17J9D2V; FHL microfilm 1,066,662, record available at: <<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XTPW-GD4>> [retrieved 2 Jun 2016]).

²⁷⁹ See Thompson “The Daughter of the Secretary” for a complete transcription of the correspondence between the destitute Anne Delille and the Dean. One Dr. Levett, writing on behalf of Anne, mentions her being from a worthy “if not noble family, especially from the mother side” (*ibid.*, p. 29).

²⁸⁰ Piers Brown, “‘Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris’: Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008), pp. 833-866, pp. 840-41, who argues that differences in social status can be inferred by different types of compensation. This could be the case for the recompense Fowler and Lindores were offered after their efforts in the Baptismal celebrations of 1594. While Fowler was given the remaining two thirds of the Hawick parsonage, Lindores, a gentleman, was ennobled.

²⁸¹ A similar situation is connected with the career of John Owen, the Welsh epigrammatist, who according to Harries was in the habit of soliciting favour *via* his published poetry, since his family connections could not ensure his career. Byron Harries, “John Owen the Epigrammatist: A Literary and Historical Context”, *Renaissance Studies* 18 (2004), pp. 19-32, pp. 23-24.

records seem to show that he remained firmly attached to his Edinburgh burghess background, having relations with other burghers and state servants, and kept working and exchanging professional favours with people he had known in earlier years (Lindores, Geddie, Marischal *etc.*). It is clear that Fowler used literature as a means to further his career and to make his name known to the kind of powerful people that he wanted to attract as patrons. In doing that, he did not refrain from flattering both sides of a court dispute, as in the case of Maitland and Bothwell. His choices in this matter could have contributed to his diminishing influence in later years, as his association with Arbella Stewart became increasingly damning and could have jeopardized his standing at some point. As the following section of this study will show, the material in Hawthornden that can be dated to the London period makes it evident that Fowler tried several different avenues to obtain protection there, with little or no success. As the relationship with his primary employer, Queen Anna, progressively deteriorated, Fowler can be seen trying to approach influential people in her circle, such as Lucy, countess of Bedford. At the same time, he seems to have attempted contact with the circle of young Prince Charles. It is evident that Fowler did not relinquish his habit of maintaining multiple allegiances with different factions at court; his behaviour was likely grounded on the need for security amid the unstable world of the Jacobean court, but could easily have turned against him, as people realized his allegiances were unsteady. However, Fowler's habitus in this respect is not an exception among contemporaries, as such "volatile political behaviour" was often the consequence of the extremely unstable position of a professional intellectual, often caught between different duties, as provider of literature and leisure, but also diplomat (and spy), and broker of several commodities (material as well as cultural).²⁸²

Fowler has also been termed "a sort of intellectual middleman", and it is evident how he performed this function in different ways in different moments of his life, both figuratively and materially.²⁸³ From buying books on the Continent to bring back to Scotland, to acting as a carrier for other people's books, to importing literary models from Italy and furthering relations between writers and their prospective patrons at court, Fowler often found himself in the position of mediating, sometimes between literary and practical issues and sometimes between the world of the court and the intellectual world of court professionals. According to Sherman,

²⁸² Marika Keblusek, "Double Agents in Early Modern Europe", in Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus, (eds.), *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 1-10, quoted from p. 3.

²⁸³ David Baird Smith, "Jean de Villiers Hotman", *Scottish Historical Review* 14 (1917), pp. 147-166, p. 154. The definition is applied to Fowler in Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 82.

the European courtly *milieu* during the Renaissance fostered the development of just such “hybrid intellectuals”, those figures in the intermediate ranks of courtly service continuously shifting between their roles as intellectuals and court professionals.²⁸⁴ This peculiar position is also due to his social standing among the “middling classes”. Even at the pinnacle of his career, Fowler was high enough in the hierarchy to be in contact with the great and powerful, still low enough to be deemed approachable by those who sought further patronage. As such, Fowler is part of that army of secretaries, clerks, diplomats and informants that collectively constitute the backbone of the early modern courtly establishment. For these people, power and success were directly correlated to the extension and quality of their personal and professional networks. Access and proximity to the centres of power (royal or local) were central to these people’s intermediate role as brokers of cultural product, information and influence, a situation of which Fowler was clearly painfully aware.²⁸⁵ Despite this, and his numerous contacts, it is clear from the material in Hawthornden that his London years must have been lived in relative isolation. The amount of material in Hawthornden (mostly anagrams and emblems, plus some occasional poetry) that can be related to the London court environment and to several specific individuals testifies to Fowler’s literary and practical efforts in the new environment.

Sometimes, what is *not* to be found in Hawthornden proves even more interesting. Notwithstanding the vibrant and active literary community in which Fowler was immersed, there is no trace of such people as Jonson or Shakespeare, or indeed any of the many well known (or even lesser known) literary figures that revolved around the Jacobean establishment. A good example of Fowler’s isolation is provided by his relation with the poet John Donne: Fowler was in contact with Donne, who in 1607 desired to succeed him as secretary, and he had dedicated short commendatory verse to Donne’s patroness the Countess of Bedford. However, the two writers seem to have exchanged only business communications, and even then, it was done indirectly *via* a third person.²⁸⁶ As a sharp contrast, Fowler’s nephew William Drummond of Hawthornden, although resident in Scotland, bought Shakespeare’s plays and was in frequent epistolary contact with many London writers (for instance, with Michael Drayton and with the Earl of Stirling); he also copied Donne’s poem in his own hand (Hw 2067 ff. 3-37, bound together with Fowler’s “law notes”), and acted as a host to Ben Jonson. This

²⁸⁴ William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995, p. 25, who connects this with the development of a humanist rhetoric of *vita activa* and participation in public affairs vs intellectual retreat.

²⁸⁵ Koblussek, “Double Agents in Early Modern Europe”, p. 8.

²⁸⁶ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxv.

situation could have been a consequence of poor judgement in his political allegiances, but it could also be none of Fowler's fault, and instead a result of changes in literary taste, and in the social makeup of courtly intellectuals. With the turn of the century, and the shift from humanism to baroque happening at the European level, literature in Britain seems to have undergone a shift away from the burghess and towards the aristocratic, while taste encouraged wit and surprise above humanist learning. In this sense, the more "frivolous" occasional literature that can be ascribed to Fowler after 1603 could represent an attempt to adapt his literary skills to the new circumstances. Fowler thus can be seen as part of an older generation of intellectuals who could not adapt to a changed environment, and ended up being socially and intellectually marginalized.

The different ways in which Fowler referred to himself and is referred to by others throughout his career help pointing out some of the salient features of his life, such as the way his relative social standing changed over the years. From the list of Bothwell's followers in 1586, where his name appears near the bottom of the list, Fowler's name was moved up in the list of those present at Anna's coronation in October 1603, where he appeared among the top-ranking "Officer of the Queenes coucell".²⁸⁷ His self-referring strategies also offer some hints as to his personal traits and his character as an author. In this sense, Fowler's signatures show an inclination towards wordplay and name-play that would be even more evident in his later production. After 1603 and the move to London, Fowler's production seems to be entirely of the occasional and ephemeral kind, and most of these pieces involve some level of name-play. He also displays a propensity towards syncretism in the use of his sources, from the use of different (French and Italian) versions for his translation of Machiavelli, to his coupling of different art forms in the creation of complex pieces, often involving anagrams and imagery (usually in the form of emblems). This attitude also reflects on his treatment of foreign languages. Fowler exhibits a multi-linguistic attitude to composing literature, embracing foreign European vernaculars as well as classical tongues, often conflating different sources in the same cluster of texts. Moreover, there seems to be a degree of professional pride in using his acquired title(s), as they testify to a successful career at court. The anagrammatic signatures in Latin are particularly significant: the attempts to anagram his name as "musis Leander" and "fulgor vivus ille meis" show that he took unmistakable pride in his literary achievements. This is also evident from the fact that he tended to sign many of his drafts as well.

²⁸⁷ For the list of Bothwell's followers to Berwick, see: *CSP Scot*, VIII, p. 452, June 1586. The list of Anna's officials at her coronation is edited in Lodge, *Illustrations*, III, p. 209.

As this chapter has illustrated, Master William’s “lively spark” of poetic inspiration enabled him to live off his intellectual talents and to build a relatively successful career, putting his linguistic and literary skills (sometimes opportunistically, and sometimes with little success) in the service of his social ascent at court.

FOWLER’S BOOKS

The consensus among scholars for what concerns the fate of Fowler’s library is that the books, along with his manuscripts, would have gone directly to Drummond of Hawthornden after his death. Between 1626 and 1636, Drummond donated a large quantity of books to Edinburgh University Library (then called King James’ College), where they still reside under the name of Drummond Collection (under the collective shelf-mark EUL De). A list of books belonging to Drummond of Hawthornden has been compiled, based on records of the Drummond collection and other sources, which will serve as a starting point to discuss Fowler’s hypothetical library. Admittedly, many of the books in the list could have belonged to Fowler, as many bear an imprint earlier than 1612. However, Drummond’s appetite for second-hand books is well known, and a quick perusal of the list provided by MacDonald makes it clear that an earlier date is no guarantee of provenance, as many of these books with such an earlier imprint were acquired by Drummond at a later time.²⁸⁸ However, the list contains a series of books that have interesting Fowler connections. This is the case of a French translation of Machiavelli’s *Prince*, now at the Bodleian Library, which could have been used by Fowler for his own version of Machiavelli.²⁸⁹ The Drummond Collection includes a copy of Fowler’s first published work, the *Answer to Hamilton*, plus a French copy of John Hay’s *Certain demandes* and of John Hamilton’s *Facile traictise*, both connected with the Paris controversy of 1580-81.²⁹⁰ The Drummond books also include copies of works by Fowler that could easily represent author’s copies; these include three epitaphs by him, printed in broadside format and now bound together with the manuscript of *Triumphs*, and a copy of James’ *Essayes*, to which Fowler contributed a prefatory sonnet.²⁹¹ Other items can be linked to Fowler based on an association with their author: among the manuscripts in the Drummond collection, there is a

²⁸⁸ Robert H. MacDonald and Geoffrey Keynes (eds.), *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971, p. 3. Many books bear Drummond’s notes recording where he bought a volume, and sometimes of the price he paid for it.

²⁸⁹ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 211. The version is authored by Jacques Gohory, as a copy of d’Auvergne translation, which has been identified by Petrina as the likely source for Fowler’s work (*Machiavelli*, pp. 43, 124-125).

²⁹⁰ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, pp. 209, 194-195.

²⁹¹ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 197.

letter from Bothwell, Fowler's patron, to the University of St Andrews, dated 1594, and a letter to Queen Anna of Denmark by Queen Elizabeth dated 1595, at the time when Fowler was Anna's secretary.²⁹² The manuscripts in the Drummond Collection also include Fowler's manuscripts of *Tarantula* and *Triumphs*; a copy of "verses, dedicated to the Lady Thirlestane" by Fowler (apparently a separate item from *Triumphs*) is also mentioned in the list, but has not been otherwise identified.²⁹³ It has long been known that an (incomplete) manuscript copy of Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence, *Astrophel and Stella*, now in the Drummond collection, could have been owned by Fowler. The manuscript was "written for or by Sir Edward Dymoke", and could have been given to Fowler when the two met in Padua in 1591-92.²⁹⁴ The lost manuscript copy of "Psalmes in English verses" by Robert Ker, Earl of Ancram could in fact be included in Hawthornden (Hw 2065 ff. 50-75, "Erle of Ancrams Psalmes").²⁹⁵ If the identification is correct, it would prove a degree of permeability between the Drummond collection and Hawthornden, and give further credibility to Helena Shire's suggestion that the "Certaine Sonnets" by John Murray mentioned among the manuscripts in the Drummond collection could be represented by a booklet in Hawthornden (Hw 2065 ff. 16-36).²⁹⁶

All these books however can only be linked with Fowler in an indirect way, on the basis of their association with himself, his writings, or with people connected to him. A different case can be made for those few books that can be connected directly with William Fowler. A handful of books in the Drummond Collection bear Fowler's signature on the frontispiece; interestingly, all these books are in Italian and had been printed in the Veneto region (in Padua and Venice) between 1586 and 1593.²⁹⁷ Filippo Gesualdo's *Plutosofia* is a treatise on the "art

²⁹² MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, pp. 224-25.

²⁹³ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, pp. 225-26.

²⁹⁴ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 227. For the possible circumstances of the exchange, see Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 94. It is unlikely that Fowler used Sidney's sequence as an inspiration for his own, since *Tarantula* has been dated to the previous decade (by Verweij, "The Manuscripts of William Fowler"). On the Drummond manuscript of Sidney's sequence, see Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, pp. 358-360, plus the related entry in *CELM*.

²⁹⁵ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 226.

²⁹⁶ For this theory, see Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 187-194. The booklet is printed among the "Poems of doubtful authenticity" in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 335-390.

²⁹⁷ Giovanni Maria Bonardo, *La minera del mondo. Divisa in quattro libri. Mandato in luce, e dedicato da Luigi Grotto*. Venezia: appresso Fabio & Agostino Zoppini, 1585, *USTC*: 816047, Edinburgh University Library De.2.4; Bonardo, *Della miseria et eccellenza della vita humana, ragionamenti. Fatti alla illustrissima signora la signora Lucrezia Gonzaga marchesana. Et nuovamente dati in luce da Luigi Grotto cieco d'Hadria*. Venezia: appresso Fabio & Agostino Zoppini, 1586, *USTC*: 816048, Edinburgh University Library De.1/1.30; Filippo Gesualdo, *Plutosofia. nella quale si spiega l'arte della memoria con altre cose notabili pertinenti, tanto alla memoria naturale, quanto all'artificiale*. Padova: appresso Paolo Meietti, 1592, *USTC*: 832373, Edinburgh University Library De.4.3; Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas, *La divina settimana. Tradotta di rima francese in verso sciolto italiano* [by Ferrante Guisone]. Venezia: presso Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1593, *USTC*: 827765, Edinburgh University Library De.2.16). MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, pp. 217-18, 220, who however missed Fowler's signature on the frontispiece of Bonardo's *Minera del mondo*.

of memory”, as the popular set of memorizing techniques was known in the sixteenth century, in which Fowler had a personal stake. According to Hw 2063 f. 272v he was for a time busy teaching similar techniques to James, and could have planned to write a work on the subject himself, as other “arts of memory” among the books owned by Drummond could testify.²⁹⁸ A copy of Bonardo’s *Minera del mondo* similarly bears Fowler’s signature, almost obliterated by his nephew’s bolder handwriting. A phrase inscribed on the first flyleaf (*Initium sapientiae timor dei*, “the beginning of wisdom is the fear of God”) connects this copy of Bonardo to another book in the Drummond Collection that could have been owned by Fowler.²⁹⁹ A similar phrase is to be found on the frontispiece of Ker MS (Edinburgh, University Library MS De.3.70), containing the poet of the Castalian “master poete” Alexander Montgomerie, also belonging to the Drummond collection.³⁰⁰ This is the second in a three-volume edition of Ovid’s *Works* in the original Latin, bearing the same inscription on the last flyleaf. On the frontispiece of the latter volume, the beginning of a signature reads “Fow”.³⁰¹ This latter book is heavily annotated in what could be Fowler’s secretarial cursive hand (the differences in module can be accounted for by the small size of the margins in this copy), and thus could have been the source for the many quotes from Ovid present in Hawthornden’s commonplace booklets.

From similar evidence (the detailed quotations in Hw 2063 f. 226v) it is possible to assume that Fowler also owned a copy of George Buchanan’s collected works printed in Heidelberg in 1594, which however is not present in the Drummond Collection nor among the books in NLS.³⁰² Several annotations of words in Hawthornden are accompanied by the word “calep.”,

²⁹⁸ Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 75. On Fowler and his involvement with the art of memory, see also: Elliott, “A Memorie Nourished by Images”, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 2 (2010), pp. 36-53. Other “arts of memory” associated with Drummond include some untraced books: Nicolas Chappuis, *De mente et memoria libellus*. Paris: in aedibus Josse Bade, 1515, USTC: 144403, Edinburgh University Library De.3.29/1; Alexander Dickson, *Thamus, sive de memoriae virtute*. Leiden: ex officina Thomas Basson, 1597, USTC: 423880, Edinburgh University Library F.21.42/3, not in the Drummond Collection; Guglielmo Grataroli, *The castel of memorie wherein is conteyned the restoring, augmenting, and conserving of the memorye and remembraunce* (in one of the four editions printed in London between 1562 and 1574, not in Edinburgh University Library); Guillaume Le Lièvre [Guilielmus Leporeus], *Ars memorativa*. [Paris], Josse Bade, 1520, USTC: 181939, Edinburgh University Library De.3.29/2 (although this is listed in the library catalogue as the 1497 edition). MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, pp. 155, 157, 195.

²⁹⁹ The phrase is from Proverbs, 1.7: “*Timor Domini principium scientiae/Sapientiam atque doctrinam stulti despiciunt*” (quoted from the *Nova Vulgata, Bibliorum Sacrorum Editio*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1986, online edition available at: <http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_vt_proverbiorum_lt.html> [retrieved 12 December 2017]).

³⁰⁰ I am indebted to Dr. Sebastiaan Verweij (University of Bristol) for this piece of information.

³⁰¹ Edinburgh University Library MSS De.1.1.31, 1.1.32 and 1.1.33.

³⁰² George Buchanan. *Franciscanus et Fratres. Elegiarum liber I. Silvarum liber I. Hendecasyllabôn liber I, De sphaera fragmentum*. [Genève]: [Pierre de Saint-André], 1594, USTC: 451423. For a census of extant copies, see the exemplars listed in the GLN catalogue by the Library of Geneva (record available at:

which arguably refers to the Latin dictionary published by the Italian lexicographer Ambrogio Calepio (known as “Calepinus”). That Fowler used Calepinus as a dictionary is also confirmed by two consecutive entries of the same occurring in Hw 2063 f. 150v, under the name of the Spanish ambassador Don Pedro de Zuniga that are probably an attempt at a difficult anagram. Many editions of the dictionary were published during the sixteenth century, and often enlarged with lists of words from other languages, making it difficult to identify Fowler’s copy; however, a *Dictionarium Calepini septem linguarum* is recorded among Drummond of Hawthornden’s books, although there is no certainty that this was the copy used by his uncle.³⁰³ Similarly, an annotation on Hw 2063 f. 127v points to a book by Giovanni Rinaldi, *Il mostruosissimo mostro*, a treatise in two parts, the second dedicated to herbs and flowers. Rinaldi’s books was also used as a word repository for the composition of anagrams, as is evident from the scribbles on f. 127v.³⁰⁴ A copy of du Bartas’ *La settimana* (an Italian translation of the French author’s work *La Semaine*), also bearing Fowler’s signature, was published in 1592 by Ciotti, the printer and bookseller who addressed a letter to Fowler (Hw 2065 f. 84r). Although the publication dates are too close to Fowler’s own departure from the Veneto region to be able to determine their precise origin, it is tempting to associate the Italian books in Edinburgh University Library with the “half bale of books” Ciotti had promised to deliver to Fowler in Frankfurt.³⁰⁵

A quick perusal of the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland reveals a few other books that belonged to Fowler at some point and bear his *ex-libris* on the frontispiece (*fig. 4*). The first is a copy of Thomas Ross’ *Idea*, a collection of panegyric poems on James I and his courtiers in London, published there in 1608; the volume is preserved in its original binding and bears traces of a metal clasp. Throughout the book, initials have been washed in yellow ink (arguably simulating gold).³⁰⁶ The second of these books is a copy of Claudius Coelestinus, *De his quae mundo mirabiliter eveniunt* and Roger Bacon, *De mirabili potestate artis et*

<http://www.village.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/notice/details.php?ref=/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/notice/simple.php&p=2&tbl=gln_edit&no=3695> [retrieved 18 Oct. 2016]).

³⁰³ MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 172.

³⁰⁴ Giovanni Rinaldi, *Il mostruosissimo mostro di Giouanni De' Rinaldi, diuiso in due trattati, nel primo de' quali si ragiona del significato de' colori, nel secondo si tratta dell'herbe, & fiori*. In Ferrara: per Vittorio Baldini, 1584 (several copies in Scotland and England according to the COPAC catalogue, but not in the Drummond collection). See below, Chapter Three, for the context of this leaf.

³⁰⁵ Petrina transcribes and translates Ciotti’s letter in *Machiavelli*, p. 79.

³⁰⁶ Thomas Rosa, *Idæa, siue De Iacobi Magnæ Britanniae, Galliae et Hyberniae, præstantissimi & augustissimi Regis, virtutibus & ornamentis, dilucida enarratio, eiusque cum laudatissimis veterum regibus, monarchis, & imperatoribus, comparatio exacta & enucleata. Authore Thoma Rosa Scoto-britanno*. Londini : Excudebat [Richard Field for] Iohannes Norton, serenissimæ Regiæ Maiestati in Latinis, Græcis, & Hebraicis typographus, 1608, ESTC S116168. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland RB.s.1965.

naturae, printed together in Paris in 1542.³⁰⁷ The most interesting of Fowler's volumes in NLS is probably a copy of a catalogue of *Imprese nobili*, printed in Venice in 1578; the book, illustrated by many engravings, collects the *imprese* of several nobles from the Veneto region, especially families connected to the mainland area, between the towns of Padua and Vicenza, accompanied by verse by the Italian poet and critic Ludovico Dolce. As this publication appears to be of local interest, it is possible that this volume too was acquired by Fowler while travelling in Italy. The engravings in the book are signed by one B.P.V. on the lower right corner. It is possible to connect the initials with the production of Battista Pittoni, originally from Vicenza, who was active in Venice between 1558 and 1583.³⁰⁸ At least two of these books (Coelestinus's short treatise and the *Imprese*) were previously in the possession of the Advocates Library, whose shelf-mark they bear, which could have constituted an alternative venue for Fowler's books before the modern times. Moreover, both the *Imprese* and *Idea* have belonged to the antiquarian and herald Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (c. 1600 – c. 1658), who must have acquired the books after 1630, when he was made Lyon King at Arms by Charles I (the title he used to sign himself on the frontispiece). Balfour was in contact with the poet John Leech, who dedicated a poem to praising his knowledge in 1626, and through Leech, who also wrote poetry to King James, he was likely connected with Drummond, from whom he might have acquired some of Fowler's books.³⁰⁹

To this inventory of Fowler's material outside the Hawthornden manuscripts is to be added the draft for the *Baptisme of Prince Henry* in the National Records, connected to the draft for the tournament *imprese* used in the same celebrations (Hw 2063 f. 108r).³¹⁰ The *imprese* for the *Baptisme* in Hawthornden also point to another of Fowler's sources, since the same emblem appears in Andrea Alciato's famous collection, a copy of which Fowler likely possessed. The first line of writing, above the *impresa* worn by the King ("a lyons heade w(t) oppen eis"), reads "ur refert pausanias Agamem(n)on portabat leoninu(m) caput in scuto". This description and the reference to the Greek historian Pausanias correspond to the verse following the emblem titled *Furor et Rabies* in Alciato's collection, the emblem (showing an armoured man

³⁰⁷ Claudius Coelestinus and Roger Bacon, *De his quae mundo mirabiliter eveniunt ubi de sensuum erroribus, et potentiis animae, ac de influentiis caelorum. De mirabili potestate artis et naturae, ubi de philosophorum lapide*. Paris, apud Simon de Colines, 1542, *USTC*: 140385, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland H.26.b.9).

³⁰⁸ See the record in the *Oxford Art Online* database, available at: <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/art/T067981>> [retrieved 28 June 2017]. *Imprese Nobili* does not feature among the works hitherto attributed to Pittoni. I am indebted to Evelien de Wilde, Curator of the Print Cabinet for the Groeningemuseum in Bruges, Belgium, for this information.

³⁰⁹ *ODNB*, s.v.

³¹⁰ Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD1/371/1 ("Warrender papers", vol. A, part 1), ff. 34-35. Printed in Cameron, *Warrender Papers*, vol. II, pp. 258-62.

bearing a shield) comes with a short piece of Latin verse, describing Agamemnon.³¹¹ Among the many editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* published in Europe in the sixteenth century, the one printed in Venice in 1546 as *Emblematum libellus* shows instead the shield itself, bearing a lion with open eyes, which corresponds to the image chosen by Fowler for this emblem in 1594. Since the woodcuts from this edition of Alciato had little influence on later collections, this specific illustration is comparatively rare in the printed *Emblemata* tradition. James' impresa used on the first day is accompanied by the motto *timeat et primus et ultimus orbis*, a quotation from Ovid's *Fasti*.³¹² Although the original emblem had been devised to illustrate violent anger (of which Agamemnon is the representative), this reworking using the verse from Ovid (who in turn was addressing Emperor Augustus), thus changing the meaning of the combination emblem + motto from negative (violence) to positive (kingly power). The emblem of the shield and the phrase from Ovid were used together during the entry of Emperor Charles V in Naples, an account of which was published in Rome in 1535. A copy of Sala, *La triomphale entrata di Carlo V*, who connects the image directly with the conceit of the Emperor's might, is now preserved at the British Library in London.³¹³ An annotation on Hw 2063 f. 203r confirms that Fowler either possessed, or has easy access to, a copy of Alciato's collection in one of its many European editions. F. 203 contains a quotation mentioning eagles and beetles, and followed by a line reading "alciat. embl. 168". The quotation reproduces the idea expressed in the verse that follows Alciato's emblem headed *A minimis quosque timendum* ("small things are to be feared as well"), though Fowler's wording is different and the text is in prose rather than verse.

³¹¹ "Ora gerit clypeus rabiosi picta leonis,/ Et scriptum in summo margine carmen habet:/ Hic hominum est terror, cuius possessor Atrida/ Talia magnanimus signa Agamemno tulit." ("The shield bears the painted face of a raging lion, and inscribed upon the upper margin has a verse: 'This is the terror of men, and the son of Atreus is its possessor'. Haughty Agamemnon bore this symbolic figure". As translated by the *Alciato in Glasgow* project, record available at: <<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A46a049>> [retrieved 15 July 2017]).

³¹² See Ovid, *Fasti*, I, l. 717: "horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis" at the end of Book I (quoted from Ovidio, *I Fasti*, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1988, pp. 46-47). A copy of Ovid's collected *Works* is also among the books in the Drummond collection that could have belonged to Fowler.

³¹³ Andrea Sala, *La triomphale entrata di Carlo V imperadore augusto in la inclita citta di Napoli & di Missina, con il significato delli archi triomphali, & dele figure antiche in prosa & versi latini*. Roma: Antonio Blado, 1535, USTC 854190 (no copy located in Great Britain). As quoted in De Dominici, *Vite dei pittori, scultori e architetti Napoletani*. Napoli: Trani, 1843, p. 46: "nella seconda base una testa di Leone con gli occhi aperti, e spaventosi, in mezzo a uno scudo, significane il valor di Cesare, con questo motto: *Austriadas timeat, et primus, et ultimus Orbis*" ("there was in the second base a lion's head with his eyes open and dreadful, in the centre of a shield, which signifies the courage of Caesar, with this motto *Austriadas timeat, et primus, et ultimus Orbis*").

This emblem is number 168 in two of the editions of Alciato, one printed in Paris in 1584, and the other in Leiden in 1591, which can both be plausibly assumed as Fowler's direct source in the absence of more definitive information. The Plantin edition of 1591, although of a later date, represents the more plausible identification, given several copies of the same book in Scotland as well as in England.³¹⁴

The library of the University of St Andrews in Fife also holds some books that could have belonged to Fowler. A copy of Werner Rolevink's *Fasciculum Temporum* (a chronicle of the world, first published around 1475) bears the name "William Fowler" several times on ff. 25v, 30v and 39v. However, the signatures are in variety of blackletter book hand that has no correspondence among the many instances of Fowler's own signatures (which date as far as 1581). It is tempting to associate these books with Fowler's father, or with one of his brothers of the same name (more likely the former, as the script looks as if it would fit an earlier period). Rolevinck's *Fasciculum* was donated by one Guild, principal at Aberdeen in 1657. In addition to that, Ludovic Fowler apparently promised a small number of books to the Library of St Leonard's College in St Andrews, where his father had graduated half a century before. These books went to complement the more substantial donations made by Scot of Scotstarvit and several other people, on instigation of the first. The name of Ludovic appears in a list of prospective donors drawn by Scotstarvit, arguably written around the time of the first donation, in 1620. All together, these volumes would constitute the starting endowment of the newly created Chair of Humanities.³¹⁵ Ludovic's donation consists of three books, for a total of four volumes. The first is a copy of Francesco Guicciardini *Historiae sui temporis*, printed in Basel in 1566; the second book is Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum*, printed in Paris in 1578 and the last is a copy of Antonio Ricciardo, *Commentaria Symbolica* in two volumes, printed in Venice in 1581. According to Pringle, Ricciardo's *Commentaria* are dated 1591 (probably on the flyleaves), which again would make an association with Fowler's travels to Italy plausible. Guicciardini's *Historiae* are said to have belonged to one J. Fowler, who could easily be identified with John Fowler, William's twin brother who acted as commissioner for Fowler's children.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata*. Jean Richer: Paris, 1584 and Leiden: Plantin, 1591. A copy of this emblem is available through the *Alciato in Glasgow* project, available at: <<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/>> [accessed 23 Sept 2017]. A copy of the Plantin edition is located at the National Library of Scotland.

³¹⁵ Pringle, R.V., "An Early Humanity Class Library: the Gift of Sir John Scot and Friends to St Leonard's College (1620)", *The Bibliothek; a Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics* 7 (1974), pp. 33-54.

³¹⁶ Pringle, "Gift of Sir John Scot", p. 46.



Figure 4: Ex-libris of William Fowler and annotation by Drummond recording the donation of the book to the University Library in 1628, from EUL De.2.4, a copy of Bonardo, *Miseria della vita humana*.

Overall, this brief survey of those of Fowler's books that can be traced to known collections displays many of his sources for his occasional poetry, from Calepinus to classical poetry (Ovid), to contemporary *compendia* of natural phenomena (Rinaldi's *Mostro*, Ricciardo's *Commentaria*), and general works (Guicciardini, Rolevinck). Moreover, the small library thus assembled shows several emblem books (such as *Imprese Nobili*), and books containing emblems and *imprese* (for instance Sala) among the volumes Fowler could plausibly have had at his disposal. The general idea is that Fowler likely assembled a working library, containing the kind of works he would use as reference and sources when composing occasional material. More books of this kind are recorded among the volumes that belonged to Drummond of Hawthornden; however, in the absence of positive evidence (palaeographical evidence or ownership marks) it is very difficult at present to connect those books directly with Fowler instead of his nephew, for the reasons detailed above.

Two: A CONFUSED MASS

THE STATE OF THE HAWTHORNDEN MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts commonly referred to as “Hawthornden manuscripts” (here abbreviated with “Hw” followed by the serial number of the volume in the NLS catalogue) are currently residing in Edinburgh, at the National Library of Scotland, under the shelf mark NLS MSS 2052 to 2067. Hw 2052 to 2062 contain the papers of the Scottish Petrarchist writer William Drummond of Hawthornden, while the last five volumes, Hw 2063 to 2067, on which this research is focused, collect instead the papers belonging to Fowler, Drummond’s maternal uncle. Most of the material in the Hawthornden volumes that collects Fowler’s papers has never been edited or indeed accounted for; the unedited material amounts to about five hundred leaves of text. In the first description of the manuscripts, offered in the Scottish Text Society edition of Fowler’s works, the volumes are described as “small folios” (Hw 2067 only is described as a “small quarto”), fully bound in brown calf leather.³¹⁷ Each volume contains between *ca.* 270 (Hw 2063, the largest volume) and 80 leaves (Hw 2067, the smallest). As a result of being all but forgotten for a long time, the current aspect of the Hawthornden manuscripts is fairly dishevelled. Hw 2063 to 2067 (Fowler’s volumes), in particular, are in a state of almost complete disarray, “still bearing traces of their original confusion, some leaves being bound upside-down and others separated from their context”.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ For previous bibliographical descriptions and accounts of the contents of Hawthornden 2063-67, see Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xliii-l; and Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 87-111. The catalogue entries in National Library of Scotland, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925* (Edinburgh: HM Stationer Office, 1966, pp. 35-37) document the acquisition of the volumes from the Society of Antiquaries and offer a summary of the contents of each volume. See also the entry in *CELM*, s.v. “Hawthornden MSS”. The whole of Hawthornden have been first described by David Laing, “A Brief Account into the Hawthornden Manuscripts”, pp. 57-116 (“Account”) and 225-240 (“Extracts”). Hw 2052-62 have been described by Leon Kastner in his edition of the works of Drummond of Hawthornden (Kastner, *Works of Drummond of Hawthornden*). The volumes themselves have been fully described and their contents critically considered by Robert MacDonald, *The Manuscripts of William Drummond of Hawthornden*. Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1969. See also his description of Drummond of Hawthornden’s library, mainly based on the material in the Drummond Collection in Edinburgh University Library (MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*).

³¹⁸ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xliii.

EXTERNAL DESCRIPTION

Shelf-mark:

Edinburgh, NLS, MSS 2063 to 2067 (previously: Edinburgh, Soc. Ant. Hawthornden MSS voll. XI to XV). Part of Edinburgh, NLS, MSS 2053 to 2067 (previously Edinburgh, Soc. Ant. Hawthornden MSS voll. I to XV). The previous shelf-mark documents the earlier history of conservation by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to which the volumes still legally belong.

Title:

None. Commonly called “Hawthornden manuscripts” (MSS 2053 to 2067) or less commonly “Fowler manuscripts” (MSS 2063 to 2067). Each volume is lettered on the spine: Hw 2063, “Poems & Misc. Scrolls by W. Fowler”; Hw 2064, “Misc. Papers & Scrolls by W. Fowler”; Hw 2065, “Miscell. Poems”; Hw 2066, “Miscell. Papers &c.”; Hw 2067, “Donne’s Poems. Fowler’s Law Notes.”

Summary of contents:

Hw 2063 is the most sizeable volume in the collection and the most chaotic. It contains a mixture of “scribblings”, anagrams, *imprese*, drafts of works by Fowler (a translation of Beza’s *Psalms*, sonnets, *etc.*) and commonplace annotations in different languages (mainly Scots and Latin, but also Italian and French). Hw 2064 contains drafts and copies of a variety of material (the front matter of the unfinished *Ichnaea*, Epitaphs, *imprese* and mottoes, prose...), plus drafts of official letters and Fowler’s translation of Machiavelli’s *Prince* (ff. 144 to 187). Hw 2065 contains mainly verse in different languages (English, Latin, Italian, French), by Fowler and by others to him, and mostly in fair copies, plus more drafts and a collection of Epitaphs. Hw 2066 contains letters and official documents, mostly related to Drummond of Hawthornden and to his father Sir John Drummond, and the papers relating to the complaint of John Newe against William Fowler. Hw 2067 binds together two unrelated texts, Drummond of Hawthornden’s autograph copy of verse by John Donne (ff. 3-37) and Fowler’s law notes from the 1580s (ff. 49-95); ff. 38-48 are conservation leaves added as separators and to provide some bulk to the binding, that can be dated around the mid-1820s.

Scripts:

Most leaves are written in a variation of the Secretarial and Italic scripts, and in a variety of mixed scripts (combining features of Secretarial and Italic), in a combination characteristic of manuscript writing appearing in Britain between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³¹⁹

Hands:

Besides its main contributor, William Fowler, the volumes also show several identified and unidentified hands. Identified hands include King James VI and I, Fowler's son Ludovic, his nephew William Drummond of Hawthornden and the latter's son Sir William Drummond, Master John Ray, Thomas Cargill, John Geddie, Georg Opitz and Sir Edward Dymoke of Scrivelsby. Hw 2065 contains the highest number of foreign hands, reflecting the volume's nature of *liber amicorum*.³²⁰

Foliation:

This foliation represents an update of the account provided by Meikle, reported in pencil on the verso of the last flyleaf in each volume. The older foliation is here given between square brackets for comparison.³²¹

Hw 2063: iv + ix + 274ff. + (ff. 213* + 71*) = xiii + 276 ff.

[ix + 274ff. + (f. 213*) = ix + 275 ff.]

Hw 2064: iv + viii + 187ff. + (ff. 81* + 70*) - f. 155 = xii + 188 ff.

[viii + 187ff. + f. 81* - f. 155 = viii + 187 ff.]

Hw 2065: iv + [xii + 156 ff. - (ff. 94 + 5, 133) + f. 5* = xii + 154 ff.]

Hw 2066: [viii + 81 - (f. 53) = viii + 80 ff.]

Hw 2067: iv + [xii + 96 ff.] = xiv + 96 ff.

Structure:

The body of the manuscripts contains a mixture of small quires, bifolia and singletons. The number and nature of the (mostly factitious) quires have not been determined. While the individual booklets have been sewn with thread (traces of the process are visible on Hw 2063 f. 108r, which is partially detached from the text-block), the text-block itself has been sewn on cotton tapes, which are still mostly visible under the front and back endpapers in each volume.

³¹⁹ Beal, *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, s.v. "mixed hand").

³²⁰ Petrina, "Italian Influence", p. 42.

³²¹ As given in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xliii-xlvi, and annotated in pencil on the last flyleaf of each volume. The foliation is here given in the same format, to avoid confusion.

Size:

The measurements were taken on the outer face of the boards, since Hw contains leaves of very different formats and sizes. Hw 2063 to 2066 measure *ca.* 320 x 210 mm. Hw 2067 measures *ca.* 240 x 185 mm.

Material:

Cart. The paper can be dated conjecturally from the early 1580s to the mid-nineteenth century, based on the content and later history of the manuscripts. Older flyleaves and separators belong to the mid-1820s, while newer flyleaves belong to the second half of the twentieth century.

Binding:

Full binding in brown calf leather. Hw 2063-2065 and Hw 2067 have been re-sewn using the original covers and spines in the second half of the twentieth century, and an overback has been added. Decoration: on the front and back cover, a double fillet along the four edges, approximately 2 mm from the margin, and gauffered edges (*fig.* 9). Both are blind-tooled on fresh leather and were likely made with rollers.³²² In the centre of the front cover, tooled in gold, the *ex-libris* of the Society of Antiquaries, a vertical saltire (containing the words “Ex lib. Anti. / Soci. Scot.”, in the centre: “ins. 1780”) with a crown and a thistle flower; measures 40 x 28 mm.³²³ At the centre of the back cover, also tooled in gold leaf, the armorial device of William Drummond of Hawthornden: a Pegasus proper surmounting a laurel wreath, plus a crescent bearing the motto: *Hos gloria reddit honores* (“such are the honours begotten by glory”, from Petronius, *Satyricon*, l. 120), measures 40 x 42 mm.³²⁴ The same back stamp also occurs on the back cover of the volumes in the Drummond collection in Edinburgh University Library (*fig.* 5 to 7). The books in the Drummond collection bear the arms of the Drummonds of Perth gold-tooled on the front cover (later adopted by Drummond of Hawthornden and described as: “Or, three bars wavy Gules”, or, three wavy bars in red on a gold background) in a circle; on the border, the inscription “Academ. Edinburg. Guil. Drummond ab Hawthornden D.D.O.” This refers to Drummond’s donations between 1626 and 1636. The decoration on the gauffered edges in Hawthornden occurs in some of the volumes in the Drummond Collection.

³²² David Kerr, Conservator for the National Library of Scotland, personal communication. I also wish to thank Dr. Anna Gialdini for her help in revising the codicological description.

³²³ *Cfr.* the description in the *British Armorial Bindings* database (by the British Library in collaboration with the University of Toronto, available at: <http://armoriallibrary.utoronto.ca/stamps/SOC001_s1> [retrieved 26 Aug. 2016]): “Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Stamp 1). Badge: A saltire ensigned of a royal crown below a thistle, on the saltire an eight-pointed star with INS / 1780 and the legend EX LIB. SOCI. ANT. SCOT.”

³²⁴ *ODNB*, s.v. “William Drummond of Hawthornden”. *British Armorial Bindings*: “Crest: A Pegasus, a crescent for difference” (<https://armoriallibrary.utoronto.ca/stamps/SOC001_s2> [retrieved 26 Feb. 2017]).



Figure 5: Front Stamp, Hw 2063.



Figure 6: Back stamp, Hw 2063.



Figure 7: Back stamp from EUL De.4.27, a copy of Ovid's *Heroidum* in the Drummond collection.



Figure 8: Gauffered edges (gilt) on EUL De.1/1.31-33, a copy of Ovid in three volumes in the Drummond Collection that could have belonged to Fowler.



Figure 9: Gauffered edges (blind tooled) on Hw 2064, showing the same pattern.



Figure 10: Hw 2063, spine.

Spine and edges:

The spine is divided into six sections by five false raised bands (*fig. 10*). The gilded lettering on each section reads, from above: section one, “Society of Antiquaries of Scotland”; section two, “Hawthorn[den] MSS – vol. [XI to XV]”; section three, “[Title]” (see above). Sections four and five are empty, and section six bears the modern shelf-mark “[MSS 2063-67]”. The font in section 1 (sans serif) does not correspond to the font in other sections (showing serifs). The head- and tail-bands on Hw 2063-65 and 2067 are machine made and belong to a later stage of conservation in the twentieth century. Hw 2066 does not display head- and tail-bands, suggesting that this was the aspect of the manuscripts when first bound. The edges of the text-block are untrimmed and noticeably uneven, due to the miscellaneous nature and size of the leaves.

Flyleaves:

Hw 2063-65 and 2067 present both older flyleaves, olive-coloured and numbered in roman numerals, and newer flyleaves, cream-coloured and unnumbered; Hw 2066 only displays the older flyleaves. The newer flyleaves have been pasted onto the upper and lower plates, under which the older pasted endpapers are visible. The upper plate on each volume bears the current shelf-mark (MS 2063 to 2067, no other shelf-mark is present). The verso of the last flyleaf in each volume shows the foliation in pencil. Some of the older flyleaves, separators and binder’s flyleaves are dated in watermark (1815 or 1813, see Hw 2063: f. 200; Hw 2064: ff. 60, 79, 98, 142; Hw 2066: ff. iii, iv, vii, viii; Hw 2067: ff. x, 47, 48). The newer flyleaves are undated.

Library Stamps:

The volumes are stamped with the Sigil of the Society of Antiquaries (round shape, the design in the centre reproducing the Society’s *ex-libris*, the border bearing the words: “Sigillum Societatis Antiquariorum Scotiae”, *fig. 11*), generally around f. 1. List of stamped leaves: Hw 2063: f. iiiv, Hw 2064: f. 1v, Hw 2065: f. 2v; Hw 2066 f. 1v; Hw 2067 f. 1v. Moreover, the volumes bear the *ex-libris* of the society (identical to the stamp on the front cover described above, *fig. 12*) stamped in blue ink in different places throughout the volumes. Stamped leaves in Hw 2063: ff. 2r, 38r, 53r, 98r, 116r, 182r, 216r, 234r, 267r. Hw 2064: ff. 2r, 53r, 88r, 101r, 145r, 167r. Hw 2065: ff. 2r, 15r, 48r, 70r. Hw 2066 ff. 7r, 21r, 40v, 57r, 80r; Hw 2067: ff. 2r, 10r, 31r, 56v, 66v, 95v, 110r.

Related Manuscripts:

DUNDEE, University Library, GB 254 Br MS 2/2 (part of “Brechin Diocesan Library: Miscellaneous Papers and Volumes”, no foliation), containing a chronicle of the Drummond family titled “Memorialls”, in the hands of Drummond of Hawthornden and of his son Sir William Drummond.

EDINBURGH, National Library of Scotland, MS 1787 (diary of Sir William Drummond, Drummond of Hawthornden’s son).

EDINBURGH, National Records of Scotland GD1/371 (“Warrender papers”, vol. A, printed in Cameron, 1931), containing a holograph draft for the printed *Baptisme of Prince Henry*, 1594.

EDINBURGH, University Library, La.II.512 (part of “Laing papers”), containing fragments originally belonging to the Hawthornden MSS (especially on ff. 1-20).

EDINBURGH, University Library, La.XV.494 (part of “Laing papers”), containing a transcription of material in Hawthornden, in David Laing’s hand.

EDINBURGH, University Library, MS De.3.68 (“Drummond MS” of Fowler’s sonnet sequence, *The Tarantula of Love*, holograph).

EDINBURGH, University Library, MS De.1.10 (“Drummond MS” of Fowler’s translation of the *Triumphs*, partly holograph, presentation copy).

Related contemporary printed books:

EDINBURGH, University Library, Drummond Collection, containing ca. 800 printed books and about 60 manuscripts, donated by William Drummond of Hawthornden to the University Library between 1626 and 1632. A list of items in the collection has been published by MacDonald in 1971.

EDINBURGH, University Library, three broadsides by William Fowler bound together with Fowler’s *Triumphs*, EUL De.1.10 (*Epitaph Upon the Death of the Right Honorable, M. Robert Bowes, Esquire; Epitaph Upon the Death of Sir John Seton of Barns; A Funeral Sonnet, written upon the death of the Honorable, and maist virtuous Gentlewoman, Elizabeth Dowglas*). The broadsides have a separate shelf-mark, respectively: EUL De.1.11, .12 and .13.

WILLIAM Fowler, *An Answer to Mr. Hamilton*, Edinburgh: Lepreivik, 1581.

WILLIAM Fowler, *A Trve Reportarie of the Baptisme of Prince Henry*. Edinbrugh [sic!]: Waldegrave, 1594.



Figure 11: Sigil of the Society of Antiquaries, Hw 2063 f. iiiv.

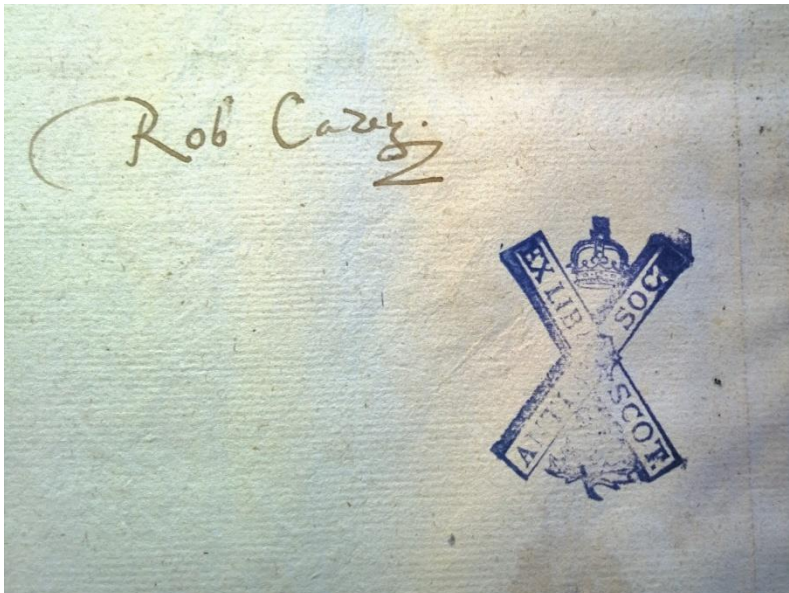


Figure 12: Ex libris of the Society of Antiquaries, reproducing the front stamp, under a copy of a letter signed by 'Robert Carey' on Hw 2066 f. 21r.

TRANSMISSION AND CONSERVATION

The scholarly history of Hawthornden began in 1828, when David Laing gave an account of the manuscripts' contents to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, of which he was a respected member. According to his account, published in 1831 in the Society's *Proceedings*, the Hawthornden papers had been acquired by the Society in 1782 from Rev. Abernethy Drummond, second husband to Drummond of Hawthornden's great-granddaughter Barbara Drummond.³²⁵ Until then, the papers had been kept in Hawthornden Castle on the River Esk in Midlothian, Drummond's home that Rev. Abernethy had inherited upon his marriage.

The consensus among scholars is that Fowler's papers reached Drummond directly after his uncle's death; according to this version, Fowler would have left the manuscripts (along with part of his library) to Drummond on account of the latter's literary propensities. However, this is unlikely. First, Fowler's manuscripts and books are not mentioned in his will of 1612, which is something we would expect if special provisions had been taken for them, and neither is Drummond named among the will's beneficiaries. It is more likely that the manuscripts, along with Fowler's books, were inherited instead by the latter's son Ludovic, along with most of Fowler's unallocated movables, and transferred to Scotland when Ludovic moved there after Fowler's death. Hawthornden contains several examples of Ludovic writing under his father's instruction, and it is likely that Fowler was taking personal care of his son's education. Moreover, in his biography of Fowler, published in Italy around 1625, the near-contemporary Thomas Dempster claims that Ludovic was working on a collected edition of his father's works. If Dempster is right, Ludovic was probably using Fowler's papers at some point between 1612 and the beginning of the 1620s.³²⁶ Several fair copies of Fowler's shorter material that show similarities with Ludovic's handwriting likely represent evidence of his attempts at copying and editing. Lastly, an annotation on Hw 2063 f. 269v reads: *auñnculo suo: D. J. Logane Ludovicus foulerus gratitudinis causa dedit* (transl. "Ludovic Fowler gave this to D.J. Logan, as a proof of his gratitude", fig. 13). The handwriting looks more assured than the examples of Ludovic's hand written under Fowler's supervision, and could belong to his adult life. The prefix D. before the name suggests that "J. Logan" was a member of the church (as protestant ministers would often be addressed as "Dom." for *dominus*), or a *doctor theologiae*. An important branch of the Logan family was rooted in Restalrig, where Ludovic Fowler had

³²⁵ Laing, "Account", pp. 57-59, and Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 99-100.

³²⁶ Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, pp. 292-293. Meikle et al. (*Works of Fowler*, III, p. ix) noted that Dempster "seems to have obtained his information from Fowler's son Ludovick".

inherited property from his father; Ludovic's daughter Issobel (or Isabel) Fowler would later marry a descendant of the Logans of Restalrig (possibly identified with one George Logan of Burncastle).³²⁷ Moreover, Ludovic's cousin Drummond married in 1632 one Elizabeth Logan, who was probably the daughter of a James Logan, who is recorded as minister in 1591-93, first in South Leith and then in Eddlestone near Edinburgh.³²⁸ Although "avunculus" refers only to one's maternal uncle in classical Latin (vs "patruus", a paternal uncle), the usage could have been more relaxed in the sixteenth century. It is not possible to identify univocally the person Ludovic referred to, since the name of his mother is not recorded, nor is it possible to know with certainty if Ludovic's "gift" referred to the whole of the manuscripts or part of it, or to something else entirely. However, the annotation establishes a link between the Hawthornden manuscripts, Ludovic Fowler and the area around Edinburgh, which could suggest that Fowler's papers (presumably along with his books) went first to his son and with him to Edinburgh, and only then were they passed on to the Drummonds. Fowler's manuscripts could have reached Drummond after Ludovic's move to Scotland before or around 1623, at which time his daughter's birth is registered in Edinburgh.³²⁹ At least part of the volumes could have reached Drummond through an indirect route, and were perhaps in the hands of his father-in-law or another relative before him. The books must nonetheless have been in possession of Drummond by 1626, as the manuscript of Fowler's *Tarantula*, which testifies to a close relationship with the Hawthornden manuscripts, is listed among the items in the first of Drummond's two separate donations in that year.³³⁰

³²⁷ W. Douglas, "The Armorial Tombstone of Lady Jonet Ker at Restalrig, 1596", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 62 (1927-28), pp. 28-29, contains an account of the Logan family in Restalrig.

³²⁸ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae. The succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, I: *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915, pp. 165, 271. Michael Spiller also agrees on the identity of Elizabeth Logan's father as James Logan the minister (ODNB, s.v. "William Drummond of Hawthornden"). On the close relation between poems in Hawthornden and in *Tarantula*, see Verweij, "The Manuscripts of William Fowler", pp. 12-16.

³²⁹ Issobel (Isabel) Fowler, daughter to Ludovic Fowler and one Jean Cathcart, christened in Edinburgh on 4 Nov. 1623 ("Scotland Births and Baptisms, 1564-1950", from the *FamilySearch* database, record available at: <<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XTPW-GD4>> [retrieved 2 Apr. 2017]; citing Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland, reference 2:17J9D2V; FHL microfilm 1,066,662).

³³⁰ The *Auctarium bibliothecae Edinburgensae, sive Catalogus Librorum quos Guilielmus Drumondus ab Hawthornden D.D.O.* Edinburgh: Hart, 1627, documents the 1626 donation. Drummond also performed smaller donations between 1628 and 1636 (MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond*, p. 47). Fowler's manuscripts are mentioned in *Auctarium*, p. 15.

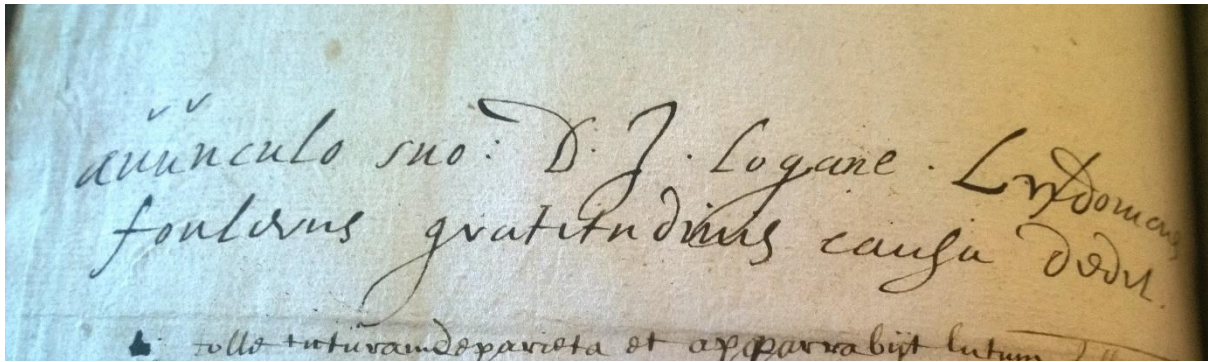


Figure 13: Hw 2063 f. 269v, in the hand of Ludovic Fowler.

In his 1831 “Brief account of Hawthornden”, Laing famously described the state of the manuscripts as he found them several years earlier as still “in loose sheets and bundles, without any kind of separation or arrangement”. He also questioned the integrity of the manuscripts, based on the fact that he could not locate items that had allegedly been available to others before him.³³¹ Among Laing’s “lost items” from Hawthornden was a chronicle of the Drummond family identified with a manuscript volume in Dundee University Library, among the papers belonging to the Dioceses of Brechin (shelf-mark: DUL, GB 254 Br MS 2/2). The book is a small thick volume (measuring 136 x 90 mm, and between an *octavo* and a *duodecimo* in terms of format) bound in leather, with running titles in Drummond of Hawthornden’s hand (reading: “Memorialls”). The volume contains an account of events relating to the Drummond family in the hands of Drummond and of his son Sir William.³³²

By the summer of 1827, Laing had combed through the “confused mass” of Hawthornden and arranged Drummond and Fowler’s manuscripts in their present-day form. In doing so, he separated the papers belonging to Drummond, in whom his main interest lay (in volumes I to X, according to their older shelf-mark) from the material belonging to his uncle (volumes XI to XIII) and other items (volumes XIV and XV).³³³ More relevantly for the current inquiry, Laing divided Fowler’s papers into three main categories of “scribblings”, “autograph verse” and “miscellany verse”, bound together respectively in Hw 2063, 2064 and 2065. Hw 2066 contains mainly legal documents relating to Drummond of Hawthornden and to his father John Drummond, and as such is of no great interest for the present study. The poems by John Donne in Drummond of Hawthornden’s hand were acquired from rev. Abernethy in 1783 by the Society of Antiquaries as a separate donation, and bound together with a booklet containing

³³¹ Laing, “Account”, p. 59; and Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 99.

³³² See also MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 11.

³³³ Laing, “Account”, p. 62.

Fowler's law notes in Latin, in what is now the smallest volume in the collection, Hw 2067, "for convenience of size".³³⁴ As evidence of this first stage in the conservation history of Hawthornden, each volume is stamped with the Sigil of the Society of Antiquaries (usually around f. 1) and bears the Society's *ex-libris* in various places. The process of binding the volumes in 1827 was superintended personally by Laing, as he writes in his account to the Society.³³⁵ Here the factitious quires (containing a mixture of booklets, bifolia and single leaves) were first sewn singularly with thread, then sewn together using cotton tape and forming the text-block. The larger cotton threads are clearly visible under the paste-downs in Hw 2066, the only volume that shows the nineteenth-century binding without subsequent alterations. It is possible to offer a suggestion on where the binding likely took place. Between 1827 and 1828, Laing was working as an external consultant to the University Library in Edinburgh, which was then being moved from its cramped quarters to its new location in the Old College quadrangle, where it remained until 1967. In the process of re-housing the library, a great number of valuable books (about 10,000 volumes) were singled out in 1825 by Prof. Brunton, the head librarian, as urgently requiring repairs. The University Library hired Laing to supervise the repairs to the most valuable collections; he apparently "discharged the trust undertaken by him in May 1825".³³⁶

Among the rare books that required repairs was the Drummond Collection, over 800 printed books and more than 60 manuscripts, which had been donated to the Library by Drummond of Hawthornden between 1626 and 1636.³³⁷ The Drummond Collection contains, among other things, the manuscripts of Fowler's sonnet sequence *The Tarantula of Love* (EUL De.3.68) and the presentation manuscript of his translation of Petrarch's *Triumphs* (EUL De.1.10). According to Finlayson and Simpson, a great part of the repairs (about three quarters of the volumes that were considered endangered) were carried out by library staff in the purposely built binding establishment, under Laing's direct supervision.³³⁸ While I haven't been able to locate any specific account regarding either Hawthornden or the Drummond Collection, several features of the books themselves strongly suggest that the two sets of volumes were bound together, and using the same tools. The similarities between the bindings of Hawthornden and

³³⁴ Laing, "Account", p. 72.

³³⁵ Laing, "Account", p. 62.

³³⁶ C.P. Finlayson and S.M. Simpson, "The History of the Library, 1710-1837", in Jean Guild and Alexander Law (eds.), *Edinburgh University Library 1580-1980. A Collection of Historical Essays*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Library, 1982, pp. 55-66, p. 65.

³³⁷ For a summary description of the Drummond collection, see Murray C.T. Simpson, "The Special Collections", in Guild and Law, *Edinburgh University Library 1580-1980*, pp. 140-162, pp. 153-56.

³³⁸ Finlayson and Simpson, "History of the Library", p. 65.

of the Drummond Collection include the identical tooling on the covers' gauffered edges and identical gold-tooled back stamps, representing the crest adopted by Drummond of Hawthornden (*fig. 5 to 9*).³³⁹ Moreover, both the volumes in the Drummond Collection and Hw 2063-67 present modern endpapers and binder's flyleaves, some of which bear the same style of (dated) watermark as the conservation flyleaves added to some of the printed books in the Drummond Collection. These watermarks in both Hw and the Drummond books show dates ranging between 1813 (or possibly 1815) and 1827 (see for instance EUL De.4.27, and EUL De.1/1.31-33). Of the books in the Drummond Collection that have been given special care, one of the most interesting is the manuscript copy of Fowler's *Triumphs*, with its all-gilt pages and decorative gold-tooling (on both front and back paste-downs, beside the tooling on the covers). It seems fair to suggest that Laing took advantage of his ongoing work on the Drummond Collection at the University Library and of the new binding facilities, and widened the scope of his work to include the binding of the Hawthornden papers in possession of the Society of Antiquaries, possibly beginning as early as 1825. Indirect evidence in support of this hypothesis includes Laing's own account of the enterprise, which states that the work on Hawthornden was completed by the summer of 1827, and that he first had occasion to work on the volumes "several years before".³⁴⁰ Archival evidence includes the University Library's account books, which explicitly mention payments in 1829 (to Laing personally, of £157, plus a bill of *ca.* £1500 for the fitting of the "binding establishment").³⁴¹

The 1827 "Laing" binding is still visible only on Hw 2066, since the other volumes have undergone re-backing in a subsequent stage of their conservation history. Hw 2066 presents no head- or tail-bands nor more recent (twentieth century) flyleaves. A further connection can be established between Hw 2063-65 and material preserved in the Edinburgh University Library, and specifically with Laing's own manuscript collection, which was bequeathed to the University Library after his death in 1878.³⁴² The so-called "Laing papers" contain over a hundred manuscript books and several folders of manuscript fragments from different periods. A number of pieces that have their origin in Hawthornden are to be found in the rather heterogeneous folder that makes up EUL La.II.512 (in particular ff. 1-20).

³³⁹ *ODNB*, s.v. "William Drummond of Hawthornden".

³⁴⁰ Laing, "Account", p. 57.

³⁴¹ Finlayson and Simpson, "History of the Library", p. 65.

³⁴² S. M. Simpson, "The History of the Library 1837-1939", in Guild and Law, *Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980*, pp. 94-114, pp. 101-2.

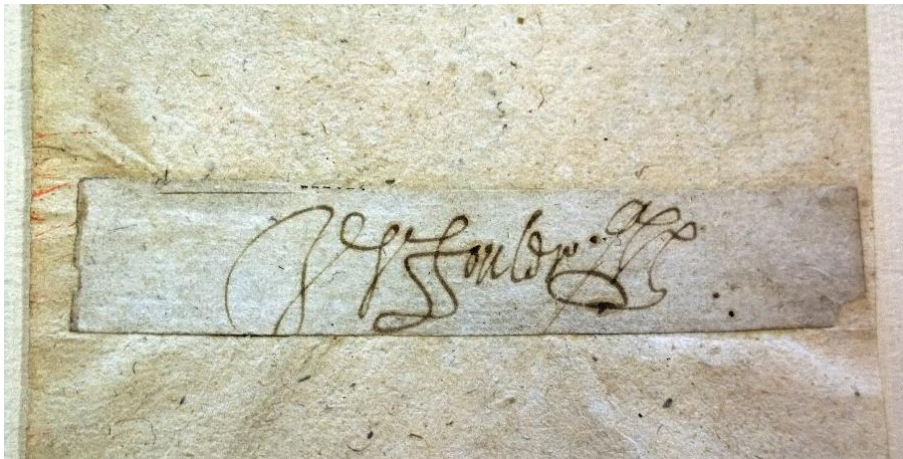


Figure 14: Cut out of Fowler's autograph, from the "Laing papers", EUL La.II.512 f. 9, pasted on another leaf.

It is not wholly surprising to find such items among Laing's papers. During the whole of his career, Laing was apparently in the habit of using his professional and personal contacts (his father had been an antiques dealer in Edinburgh), and his reputation as an expert in Scottish antiquities to acquire rare material for his private collection (manuscript fragments and books, but also prints and artist's sketches), part of which was donated to the University Library after Laing's death.³⁴³ One of the most interesting fragments is a small cut-out bearing Fowler's signature (EUL La.II.512 f.9, measures 20x100 mm, *fig.* 14) which can be linked to the two places in Hw 2064 (ff. 25 and 27) where a square hole witnesses a cut-out.³⁴⁴ Moreover, a transcript of some material in Hawthornden, in Laing's handwriting, can be found among the Laing papers (EUL La.XV.494), further testifying to Laing's engagement with the Hawthornden volumes.

As for Laing's description of the material conditions in which the manuscripts were found, there is evidence that some kind of sorting had already taken place well before the papers entered the Society's possession in 1782. As mentioned by Laing, Sir William Drummond (the eldest son of Drummond of Hawthornden, born in 1636 and still alive in 1713), at some point sorted through his father's papers. Around this time, he may also have perused Fowler's papers, as several notes in his hand found throughout Hw 2063-67 seem to indicate. The annotations

³⁴³ For an account of Laing's methods for assembling his impressive collection, see: Murray C.T. Simpson, "How did David Laing (1793—1878) Acquire His Collections? An Investigation", *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 8 (2013), pp. 9-32.

³⁴⁴ The measures of the holes in Hw do not correspond to the fragment among the Laing papers; however, the fragment is compatible with Hw 2064 f. 25.

(Hw 2063 ff. iir, 104r, 106v; Hw 2064 ff. 57v, 58v, 129v; Hw 2065 ff. ir, 5v, 40r, 41r, 50r; Hw 2066 f. 1r, 12, 34, 69v and finally Hw 2067 f. 1r) date from the years 1665, 1693 and 1703. Of these, only the ones written in 1693 and 1703 can be ascribed to William Drummond, based on the handwriting. The stratified annotations in Hawthornden allow us to establish a timeline for Fowler's papers in the seventeenth century. Apparently, at least three people went through them: first Drummond of Hawthornden (who wrote running titles on *Tarantula* in EUL and left annotations on Hw 2066 f. 69v), an unidentified person in April 1665 (who left a series of dated annotations), and lastly, Sir William Drummond between 1693 and 1703 (fig. 15). This aligns with Laing's report, claiming that Sir William in his old age was working with Thomas Ruddiman on the edition of his father's work, published in 1711.³⁴⁵ The hand of the historian Thomas Dempster could also be hidden somewhere in Hawthornden, given that he is likely to have had access to Fowler's papers at some point in the early 1620s. The nature of the notes, which overlap the pre-existing text and the sometimes visibly altered condition of the leaves on which these descriptors are found (see for instance Hw 2063 f. 106v, heavily stained) suggest that these leaves were at some point used as covers for temporary folders, containing at least some of the leaves with material by Fowler. This is confirmed by an annotation on Hw 2066 f. 34, which reads "all the papers within this outmost [leaf] are for the most part verces by secr. Fowler". We do not know whether the bundles stored this way could be still available to Laing about a century later in 1825-27, but the current state of Hw 2063-67 seems to suggest that some of the gatherings could still have been partially recognizable when the binding of Hawthornden took place. Specifically, some of the notes seem to correspond, albeit loosely, to the material in the related sections of the manuscripts, suggesting that Laing might have used Sir William's descriptions as his guide in sorting through Hawthornden.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ See Laing, "Account", p. 58. The edition was printed as *The Works of William Drummond, of Hawthornden. Consisting of those which were formerly printed, and those which were design'd for the press. Now published from the author's original copies*. Edinburgh: printed by James Watson, in Craig's Close, 1711. ESTC: T125749.

³⁴⁶ A similar case has been made for some of the manuscript writings of James VI, which were also stored as separate bundles of paper, see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 61.

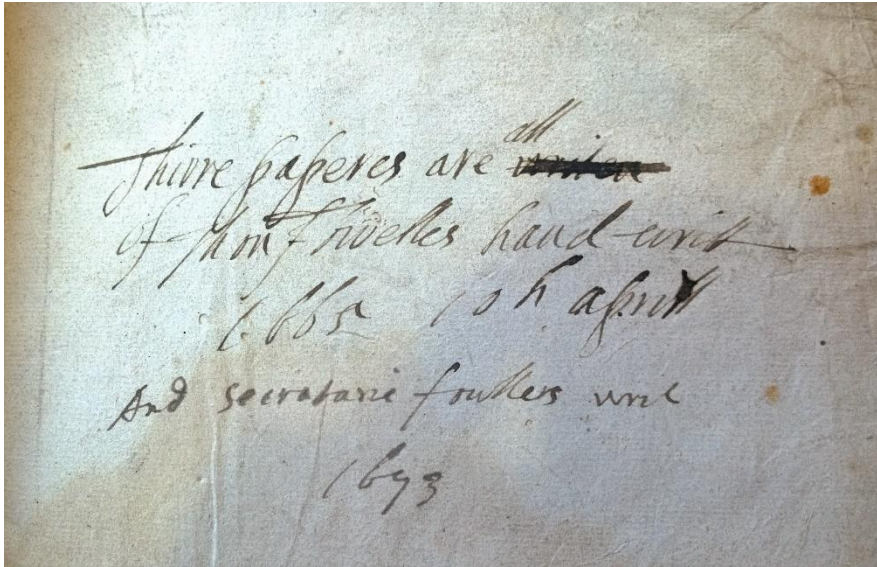


Figure 15: Hw 2063 f. iiii, a conservation paste-on showing annotations in an unknown hand (dated 1665) and, below, in Sir William's hand (dated 1693).

For instance, a pastedown on Hw 2063 f. 104r reads “Granduncle Sr W fouller secretarie to Queen Anne his scriblings”, which well describes the contents of the most voluminous and most chaotic volume in the collection. In Hw 2065, the volume that was aptly described by Petrina as a kind of *liber amicorum*, Sir William’s annotation on f.1 reads “verces written by sundrie hands”.³⁴⁷ Furthermore, some of the material was already apparently preserved in booklets, some of which are still visible, for instance Hw 2065, ff. 50-75. Some of these booklets show traces of being sewn using cotton thread (for instance Hw 2063, ff. 9-21), although it is impossible to say if the thread is the same used by the binders, and thus to know at which point in the history of the manuscripts this operation was carried out.

Given the fact that Laing could have found the Hawthornden papers at least partially sorted, his division into five volumes acquires more credibility. We can assume with some measure of confidence that most of the material that is to be found in Hw 2063-2067 is in Fowler's hand, or can be associated with him. Conversely, we can expect that material associated with Fowler should not be found elsewhere in Hawthornden, and specifically in the ten “Drummond” volumes, since both Sir William and Laing would have sifted through such material.³⁴⁸ These assumptions are largely correct. However, interpolations of arguably later material are quite

³⁴⁷ Quoted from Petrina, “Italian Influence”, p. 42. “A *liber amicorum* (‘book of friends’) is sometimes also called an *album amicorum* and is a type of album that flourished especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Libri amicorum* were compiled by gentlemen who encouraged their friends, hosts, or honourable guests or visitors to write verses, inscriptions, or drawings in them, as well as their signatures, as souvenirs or mementos” (quoted from Beal, *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, s.v.).

³⁴⁸ See the full account of the contents of Hw 2052-62 provided in: MacDonald, *Manuscripts of Drummond*.

common, clustering around Hw 2065, the portion of Hawthornden that contains verse from several sources. These mostly concern a series of items that can be connected to Drummond of Hawthornden rather than to his uncle. This is the case of Hw 2065 f. 41*r*, containing a sonnet by James VI (beginning: “How cruelly these catives do conspire” and dated 1616, after Fowler’s death) plus another by Sir William Alexander (beginning: “When Britain’s monarch, in true greatness great”). The marginalium by William Drummond on the top left corner informs us that “this sonet was made by James the 6 [an]d sent to [his] [fa]ther by the Earl [of] Stirling”.³⁴⁹ A similar case can be made for the Epitaph of Susanna Fowler (Hw 2065 f. 3*r*), Fowler’s sister and Drummond of Hawthornden’s mother, written by Drummond’s friend and former teacher at Edinburgh University, John Ray. Other material has been copied by Drummond, and thus would probably fit better among his papers, such as Walter Quin’s *Epithalamion* for Alexander (Hw 2065 ff. 44-46), and a booklet of Psalms translated by Robert Ker (Hw 2065 ff. 50-75, titled “Erle of Ancrams Psalmes” by Sir William) and believed to have been composed in the 1620s. Hw 2065 f. 42 contains the “Regraits on the Deathe of Dame Margaret Lindesay, Ladye of thorintoune”: despite the older-looking script, the leaf probably dates to the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁵⁰ The Epitaph for the poet John Murray (Hw 2065 f.40), who is said to have died in 1615, three years after Fowler, also probably belonged to Drummond’s papers, as do two Epitaphs for John Skene (Hw 2065 ff. 90-91, m. 1617), one of which is also signed by John Ray.³⁵¹

The division of Fowler’s papers in the Victorian period into three different volumes containing respectively “scribblings”, drafts and fair copies, was underpinned by aesthetic considerations and had the unwanted effects of obscuring compositional stages and separating consecutive items from one another. It is possible, however, to piece together several distinctive clusters of text. The most interesting example of material that almost certainly belonged together in the original and is now to be found in different volumes is represented by a sort of commonplace book, or compilation of sententious lines of verse. The *ca.* ten leaves remaining from the booklet, which could represent Fowler’s own collection of *sententiae*, are to be found scattered among the material in Hw 2063 (on ff. 101-102, 183-85, 225-26 and 261-62). The leaves are almost identical in layout and handwriting, a fairly legible mixed-hand that tends to look closer

³⁴⁹ That is, Sir William Alexander, a close friend of Drummond. The address on the verso, to “Master William Drummond” suggests the poem was sent to Drummond before 1610, when he inherited his father’s lands and title.

³⁵⁰ One Margaret Lindsay married Sir Robert Forbes of Newton around 1630, bringing with her the lands of Thornton (here spelt “Thorintoune”).

³⁵¹ However, the unknown person who sorted the papers in Hawthornden mistook the subject of these epitaphs for his son James Skene, who died in 1633.

to Italic, large and cursive in nature, heavily compressed vertically as a result of speedy writing. That these leaves used to form part of the same gathering is also evident from their watermark, shared between only a few other leaves in Hw 2063-67. Two similar versions of this watermark have been dated between about 1607 and 1623-4, and the one that was used around 1607 is connected to the countess of Shrewsbury (generally known as “Bess of Harwick” and one of Fowler’s acquaintances).³⁵² The arrangement of the *sententiae* in Hw 2063 suggests that whatever order was imposed on the Hawthornden papers before Laing had a chance to see them, it was at least partially disrupted when the antiquarian found the volumes.

The year 1934 marks the arrival of the volumes at the National Library of Scotland, where the Society of Antiquaries deposited them on permanent loan.³⁵³ The change of location was accompanied by a change in the denomination of the volumes, which acquired their current shelf-mark (NLS MSS 2053-67) *in lieu* of their previous denomination as “Hawthornden volumes”. As evidence of a transitional stage between the two conservation events, Meikle, Craigie and Purves, in their account of Hw 2063-2076, carried out between 1934 and 1939, referred to the manuscripts with the older denomination (Hawthornden MSS voll. XI-XV), in use before the NLS shelf-mark was assigned.³⁵⁴ At some stage during their residence at the National Library, some of the volumes underwent a process of re-backing in matching leather, signs of which are visible on the joints of each volume, where the original spine was re-attached. The original covers and boards were re-used, but it is not clear if the text-block was also re-sewn at this stage.³⁵⁵ The lettering on the top panel of the spine, which does not correspond to the lettering of the title in the second panel, nor with the types in use for the National Library’s routine conservation work, probably belongs to the first stage of conservation of the manuscripts at the Society of Antiquaries. The newer flyleaves (four in each volume, two at the front and two at the back, undated) and pastedowns (front and back)

³⁵² Two variations of this watermark are classified by the *Gravell Watermark Archive*: see the relevant entries on the online catalogue, available at: http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=77&offset=3&rectotal=7&query=SELECT%20DISTINCT%20%2A%20FROM%20records%20WHERE%20MATCH%20%28P_DESC%29%20AGAINST%20%28%27%2B%22Flag%22%27%20IN%20BOOLEAN%20MODE%29%20ORDER%20BY%20YEAROFUSE%20 and http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=125&offset=2&rectotal=7&query=SELECT%20DISTINCT%20%2A%20FROM%20records%20WHERE%20MATCH%20%28P_DESC%29%20AGAINST%20%28%27%2B%22Flag%22%27%20IN%20BOOLEAN%20MODE%29%20ORDER%20BY%20YEAROFUSE%20, [accessed 1 Apr 2017]. Leaves that display this watermark in Hawthornden: Hw 2063 ff. 98, 177-78, 225-26, 261, Hw 2065 f. 151. Hw 2066 ff. 15-16 display a similar watermark.

³⁵³ National Library of Scotland, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 33.

³⁵⁴ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, pp. xliii-xlvi. The newer shelf-mark is now noted in pencil on the front pastedown of each volume. Hw 2066 shows the same in red ink.

³⁵⁵ David Kerr, National Library of Scotland, personal communication.

most likely belong to this stage. These latter flyleaves are not mentioned in the detailed account delivered by Meikle and Purves before 1940, which functions as a *terminus post quem* for the re-binding. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate records for these operations, since the National Library only started keeping a record of conservation works in 1987. This date is considered a *terminus ante quem* for the re-backing of Hawthornden, which must then have occurred at some point between 1940 and 1987, and probably closer to the late 1970s. Many different hints point in the direction of the work having been outsourced to an external workshop instead of being carried out by the Library's own conservation unit, which was not fully developed until the mid-1980s. For instance, the endpapers have been pasted onto the boards instead of the older endpapers being lifted and fitted with a cloth joint, as would have been the Library's conservation practice. In addition to that, the head- and tail-bands in Hw 2063-65 and 2067, which have been glued to the volumes, are machine-made and do not match the quality of the work at the conservation unit that would have used handmade bands.³⁵⁶

Hawthornden presents different styles of smaller repairs which were probably carried out at different times during its history. The quality of the repairs varies greatly, from the pedestrian (the Dutch-tape used at some point to cover an extensive tear on Hw 2066 f. 49 is a glaring example of low-quality repairs) to the professional. The most common kind of repair throughout the manuscripts is the application of strips of Japanese kozo paper (commonly but erroneously referred to as "rice-paper") to the edges of leaves, to strengthen them and make them less vulnerable to fraying (see for instance Hw 2067 ff. 49, 87, respectively on the lower and outer edge, or Hw 2063 ff. 101, 202, for an example of this repair on both the outer and lower edge).³⁵⁷ More strangely, perhaps, entire pages are covered in a thin layer of paper that sometimes makes it difficult to read the writing underneath. At present, it has proven difficult to determine if this is the case of a layer of (probably Japanese) paper applied to the entire leaf, or an example of machine-made repair (where the entire leaf is bathed in paper paste). The first hypothesis is the more likely, since it matches the other repairs in Hw. Florentine repairs of varying extent, where frayed or missing parts of a leaf are repaired by attaching the frayed edges to another leaf that is later cut to size, are visible throughout the manuscripts (see for instance Hw 2063 f. 205, Hw 2064 f. 93). Due to the colour and quality of the paper used for

³⁵⁶ David Kerr, National Library of Scotland, personal communication.

³⁵⁷ "Japanese papers are appropriate for repairs because they do not discolor or become brittle over time, and they have long, strong, flexible fibers that produce a lasting repair. The lighter-weight papers are especially suited, since they are translucent and unobtrusive, and may not obscure the text." See "Repairing paper artifacts", by The Northeast Document Conservation Center, available at: <<https://www.nedcc.org/free-resources/preservation-leaflets/7.-conservation-procedures/7.3-repairing-paper-artifacts>> [retrieved 6 Aug 2016].

these repairs, it is possible to suggest that they date to the early history of the manuscripts, and were probably executed at the time of the binding to provide consistent page-size and edges throughout the volumes. There are also several patches of different extension, applied to holes in the leaves, which were probably executed with a starch-based paste. Elsewhere, mending strips have been applied specifically to weak spots (see for instance Hw 2063 ff. 173v-174r, where a horizontal strip has been applied to reinforce the leaf along a fraying folding line in the centre). Strips of Japanese paper are most commonly used to repair tears (where no part of the original leaf is missing, see Hw 2063 f. 105r, Hw 2064 f. 100r). Many of the most fragile leaves have been entirely pasted over modern leaves, to offer the older paper additional support, as have been many of the smaller fragments, again to provide some consistency in page-size. Many leaves, especially in the most miscellaneous volume, Hw 2063, are in fact composite pages, consisting of several fragments pasted onto a nineteenth century conservation leaf (usually three or four, see for instance Hw 2063 f. 222r, presenting four such fragments with no apparent relation to each other). The olive colour of these leaves, similar to the older set of endpapers, makes it possible to date these paste-ons to the arrangement of Hawthornden by Laing around 1825.

Hw 2066 is the only volume that did not undergo a re-backing process, a fact that incidentally supports the hypothesis that the work was outsourced, as the conservation unit at the National Library would have probably re-backed the whole set for consistency. As mentioned before, Hw 2066 does not present newer flyleaves or head- and tail-bands. This volume presents supporting additions to the gutter-side of some of the leaves, for instance on Hw 2066 f. 2r, and ff. 8-13, which look like they might have originally composed a separate loose booklet. Hw 2066 ff. 20-21 present edges covered in Japanese paper analogous to those in Hw 2063 to 2065. Hw 2066 ff. 27, 47 show Japanese paper used both to support the edges of the leaves and to repair tears. Hw 2066 ff. 37r and 57v show a strip of paper used to support a fraying folding line, similarly to what happens in Hw 2063 ff. 173v-174r. Hw 2066 f. 56 is pasted on an olive-coloured conservation leaf. At least some of these repairs can be dated conjecturally to the Laing stage, although it is also possible that the volumes have been repaired at different points in the past, and by different people. The contents of the volume list mainly official documents and papers belonging to William Drummond of Hawthornden and John Drummond. The fact that such leaves are mostly singletons (albeit of a full folio size) influenced the structure of the volume at the time of binding; this is particularly evident between Hw 2066 ff. 69 and 70, where the guard-strips of several leaves are visible. At the end of the volume, on f. 80, two cuts

close to the spine make it evident that the leaves between Hw 2066 ff. 70 and 80 (which look identical in size, type of paper, layout and script) were once bound together, probably inside a floppy cover bound with either parchment or cloth strings, as this would have been a common practice to preserve documents. As further evidence of this, Hw 2066 f. 80v is stained and darker in colour than the ones that precede it. The material preserved in Hw 2066 might have enjoyed a higher consideration, and consequently been preserved in a much better order; the leaves in this volume show no missing parts, and fewer holes and fraying edges than those in the other four volumes of Hw 2063-2067. Ironically, the nature of Hw 2066 and the fact that it contains mainly legal documents made it of little interest for literary critics, and is probably the reason why the volume, having been through fewer hands and arguably reporting less damage by the twentieth century, escaped extensive conservation work and re-backing.

SCRIBES AND HANDS IN HAWTHORNDEN

Most of the textual items found in Hw 2063 to 2067 are in the hand of William Fowler. Fowler's hand shows several degrees of formality, from carefully executed *formata* to cursive and current handwriting. Given his secretarial post at court, Fowler could master both the older secretarial script and the newer, humanist-inspired italic handwriting, which had infiltrated the educated *milieu* of the British Isles starting from the sixteenth century. It was usual for Fowler's contemporaries to write in both hands, selecting Italic for more formal purposes such as presentation writings or titles, and secretarial for more mundane tasks. This difference is reproduced in contemporary printed books as well.³⁵⁸ Most of the fragments in Hawthornden show his mixed Italic-secretarial handwriting, with features pertaining to both scripts, in a combination that is characteristic of manuscript writing between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The hand of Fowler's only son, Ludovic Fowler, is also present and easy to identify, as he often undersigned his work. Most of such subscriptions read something to this effect: "pater effinxit, ludovicus foulerus exscripsit" (found on Hw 2064 f. 30, transl.: "the father invented it, Ludovic Fowler wrote it") testifying to the extent of collaboration between the father and the son. Fowler's nephew Drummond of Hawthornden also contributed some pieces to Hw 2063-67. For instance, he copied the Psalms by Robert Ker, on Hw 2065 ff. 50-75 headed "Erle of Ancrams Psalmes" and an *Epithalamion* originally composed by Walter Quin on occasion of William Alexander's (1577–1640) marriage with Janet, daughter of Sir William

³⁵⁸ Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book", p. 366; see also Sebastiaan Verweij, *'The inlegebill scribbling of my imprompt pen': the Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany Manuscripts in Jacobean Scotland, c. 1580-c.1630*. Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 2008, p. 99.

Erskine in 1601 (Hw 2065 ff. 44–46). Drummond’s son and heir Sir William Drummond (1636 – died after 1713) left some marginalia and notes, as mentioned before, in a distinctively seventeenth century hand, also occurring in Hw 2065 f. 108 and ff. 128–29. F. 108^r contains a short Latin poem headed “Iudicum extremum” (*inc*: “Quaeso anima fidelis/Ah! Quid respondere velis?” *expl*: “vivam eum iustificatis in aevum aeternitatis”), while an annotation on the verso informs the reader that “[Drummond of Hawthornden] turned this verses in Latin into English and is printed”. Ff. 128–29 contain “ane Elegie of King Charles of blessed memorie” in two different hands (*inc*: “where all the flatterie of the world in me” *expl*: “without repentance be damned eternally”). The second hand, a small closely written handwriting resembling print lower-case, shows strong similarities to Sir William Drummond’s hand as is displayed in long stretches of writing (*vs* Hawthornden that only contains short notes) in the family’s “Memorials” (DUL, GB 254 Br MS 2/2, the MS has no pagination).

Master John Ray of Edinburgh (Drummond of Hawthornden’s teacher at University, and a life-long friend of the poet), who died sometime after 1636, undersigned the two sets of Epitaphs in Hw 2065 (f. 3^r on Susanna Fowler, Master William’s sister and Drummond’ mother, and ff. 90–91 on John Skene).³⁵⁹ Thomas Cargill (*fl.* 1580–1601), rector of the Grammar School in Aberdeen, signed a poem thanking Fowler for his appreciation, now in Hw 2065 f. 37^r.³⁶⁰ Hw 2065 ff. 11^r–12^v, a bifolio, contains a plea for patronage and assistance similarly addressed to Fowler in the form of a letter, and written by the German musician Georg Opitz. The Scottish scribe and calligrapher John Geddie, an acquaintance of Fowler and his sometime colleague at court, is the author of an acrostic poem in Hw 2065 f. 14^r, as well as the title page of the *Triumph* presentation manuscript in EUL, as shown convincingly by Verweij.³⁶¹ Sir Edward Dymoke of Scrivelsby is the author of a short Latin poem on Hw 2065, ff. 5–5*, addressed to Fowler while in Padua, and his name is connected to the manuscript copy of *Astrophel and Stella* now in the Drummond Collection (EUL De.5.96). A bill signed by the Venetian bookseller Giambattista Ciotti in Hw 2065 f. 84^r can also be ascribed to the same period.³⁶² The hand in Hw 2063 f. 121 and 2064 ff. 94–97, containing corrections to James I’s *Basilikon Doron* of 1599 in an elegant and assured Italic *formata*, has been proved to belong to King James himself.³⁶³ The sonnet on Hw 2065 f. 41^r (beginning “How cruelly these caitiues do

³⁵⁹ For details on John Ray, see Kastner, *Works of Drummond of Hawthornden*, II, p. 403 n. LVIII.

³⁶⁰ For details on Alexander and Ker, see *ODNB*, s.v.

³⁶¹ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 94–96.

³⁶² Most of these individuals connected to William Fowler are discussed in some detail in the following chapter.

³⁶³ Alessandra Petrina, personal communication. For James VI’s *Basilikon Doron* and its history of publication, see Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, pp. 113–115.

conspire”) was authored by the same James VI; the copy in Hawthornden was allegedly sent to Drummond by the Earl of Stirling (according to the *marginalium* by Sir William Drummond) along with one of his own pieces (also a sonnet, beginning “When Brytanies monarke in true greatnesse great”). According to Verweij, the sonnet could have reached the manuscripts as early as the early 1590s.³⁶⁴ The page, in a fairly decorated Secretarial with titles in Italic, could plausibly be in the handwriting of William Alexander.³⁶⁵ In addition to them, the manuscripts contain the hands of the Irish Jacobean writer Walter Quinn, the lexicographer John Florio and the Scottish nobleman William Murray of Dysart, as well as (plausibly) of Walter Scott of Buccleuch.³⁶⁶ Additionally, the hand that copied the booklet titled “Instructiones for fencinge” (on Hw 2064 f. 45r, Hw 2064 ff. 45-49) shows many points of similarity (especially in the module and in the way it switches between Italic and Secretarial versions of the letter “h”) with the hand that produced the presentation copy of Fowler’s *Triumphs* (EUL De.1.10); the title-pages of this latter manuscript have been convincingly ascribed to the calligrapher John Geddie.³⁶⁷ The catalogue of known hands in Hawthornden 2063–2067 can be considered complete with the addition of a missing hand, that is, a hand that could not be proven to be represented in Hawthornden. Hw 2063 f. iiir contains a paste-on of a note, partially in the hand of Sir William, which reads “Thirre papers are all of John Fowelles hand writt. 1665 10th Aprill. and Secratarie Foullers writ. 1693”. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to link the name of John Fowler (William Fowler’s twin brother and sometimes collaborator in business) to any specific page in the manuscripts.

The manuscript environment displayed in the Hawthornden manuscripts is extremely varied and consequently very complex from a codicological point of view. Similar manuscripts are generally under-investigated, mainly due to the complexity of philological operations that such a detail account entails.³⁶⁸ However, as hopefully this chapter has succeeded in proving, a closer inspection of the material context of Fowler’s “scribblings” can and will provide a sizeable quantity of information. This information in turn, can be useful to settle matters of

³⁶⁴ Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 72. The scribbles on the page have been associated with Scott of Buccleuch by Alessandra Petrina, “Walter Scott of Buccleuch, Italian Poet?”, *Renaissance Studies* 24 (2010), pp. 671-93.

³⁶⁵ The sonnet by James is also found in National Library of Scotland Adv 33.1.14 (a fair manuscript copy of James’ minor poems, see Steven May, “The Circulation in Manuscript of Poems by King James VI and I”, in James M. Dutcher and Anne Lake Prescott (eds.), *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honour of Arthur F. Kinney*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008, pp. 206-224, p. 219), with the title “A Sonet against the could that was in January 1616” (printed in James Craigie, *Poems of James VI*, vol. II, p. 116).

³⁶⁶ Petrina, “Buccleuch, Italian Poet?”, p. 679.

³⁶⁷ For information on Geddie, and on his relationship with Fowler and James VI, see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 95-99.

³⁶⁸ A good example of a similar manuscript is the Harleian medical miscellany, containing about 7000 separate texts and described in detail by Nuvoloni, “The Harleian Medical Manuscript”.

literary criticism, as far as Fowler's production is concerned.³⁶⁹ With its many sections and different kinds of (literary as well as not) textual items, the Hawthornden manuscripts provide a veritable wealth of material evidence on late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century practices relating to books. In this sense, they offer different kinds of material proof of literary (commonplacing, composition) and scribal practices (collaborative copying, circulation), as well as more general details on the practices of storage and conservation of manuscript material. As such, the Hawthornden manuscripts represent a valuable witness of the early modern use of literature and books, and of the role of manuscripts (books, single pages, workbooks *etc.*) in the contemporary intellectual and social economy. There is no doubt that further codicological analysis (such as a complete catalogue of watermarks) could benefit the literary criticism of Fowler's works by unearthing more evidence, for instance allowing for a relative chronology of material in Hawthornden and providing a definite account of booklets. This in turn would help modern scholars in settling issues of dating and circumstances of composition arising from some of the more problematic pieces. Finally, a more detailed survey would easily attribute the many quotations scattered through the volumes, throwing a better light on Fowler's sources, and on his reading and commonplacing habits.

³⁶⁹ As anticipated by Mary Hobbs ("Verse Miscellanies", p. 142): "all of these small physical external details of manuscripts are useful and worth of examining carefully even in case where the text of the poem or poems proves of little use".

PART II - THE LANGUAGE OF SERVICE

**THE HAWTHORNDEN MANUSCRIPTS AT THE LONDON
COURT**

*Ecco vergato in carte, rinchiuso in libri,
messo avanti gli occhi, et intonato a gli orecchi
un rumore, un strepito, un fracasso d'insegne,
d'imprese, de motti, d'epistole, de sonetti, d'epigrammi,
de libri, de prolissi scartafazzi, de sudori estremi, de vite consumate.*³⁷⁰

ABSTRACT

This section focuses on the Hawthornden manuscripts in the context of the Jacobean court in London after the accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603 as James I. The aim of this section is to widen the canon of Fowler's works and increment our knowledge of the author, by taking into account a period of his production that has been generally neglected by previous scholarship. Moreover, the textual material in this section will provide a starting point to re-evaluate the literary environment of the Jacobean court and court-periphery in London. Chapter Three will focus on those texts in Hawthornden that can be linked to the court of Anna of Denmark in England. Chapter Four will widen the view and examine those texts that are linked instead with James' court and with the royal children. This chapter also takes into account international relations as portrayed by the Hawthornden manuscripts. Overall, this section will provide an evidence-based account of the day-to-day literary activities of a humanist-trained Scottish court servant operating in the new capital at the beginning of the seventeenth century, unravelling some of the networks of patronage and politics that saw him as a participant. From the point of view of the methodology adopted, this section represents a close reading of fragmentary material. The texts are all found in a single manuscript collection and are the work of a single author. The information thus acquired, however, will make it possible to present a panoramic shot of the Jacobean court from the privileged point of view of Master Secretary William Fowler.

³⁷⁰ "And here you find, written on paper and printed in books, before all eyes and going through all ears, a racket, a ruckus, a clamour of emblems, *imprese* and mottoes, of epistles and sonnets, of epigrams, of volumes and long-winded scrapbooks, [the results] of desperate sweating and of lives worn away" (quoted from Giordano Bruno Nolano, *De gli eroici furori*. Parigi, appresso Antonio Baio l'anno 1585. Milano: Laterza, 2000, p. 3).

THREE: DIFFICULT TRIFLES

THE HAWTHORNDEN MANUSCRIPTS AT THE COURT OF ANNA

The fragmentary material in the Hawthornden volumes includes a dazzling variety of texts of different kinds, some of which have been discussed briefly in the previous sections. There are minutes of official letters connected with Fowler's position as royal secretary, and a few drafts of those of Fowler's works that were published in contemporary print or manuscript books. This is the case, for instance, of several stray sonnets from his sequence *The Tarantula of Love* (bound together in a separate booklet in Hw 2063, ff. 23 to 35), that arguably at some stage belonged together with those bound in the manuscript copy, now in Edinburgh University Library (due to similarities in the paper, handwriting and annotation system).³⁷¹ Similarly, a fragment in Hw 2063 is connected with Fowler's translation of the *Triumphs* (headed "The Triumph of Love", in Hw 2063 ff. 39 to 41, plus another fragment in the same volume on f. 4), while the draft for Fowler's printed contribution to the Baptism of Prince Henry (Hw 2063 f. 108r) is also to be found there.³⁷² There are also drafts for works that never saw the light, such as the incomplete translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* (Hw 2064 ff. 144 to 187), or the entire para-textual section for *Ichnaea*, an unfinished "treatise on circular and palindromic symbols" dedicated to Arbella Stuart and dated around 1605 (the material includes two fair copies of the title-page, a dedicatory letter and a few commendatory poems, in Hw 2064 ff. 1 to 9).³⁷³ Additionally, there are several fair copies of texts detached from their original context, such as the poems celebrating Thomas Cargill's "interpretation" of Hesiod (Hw 2065 f. 36), or a single leaf containing a fair copy of the first four sonnets from *Tarantula* (Hw 2063 f. 51), both arguably not in Fowler's hand.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ The sonnets are published in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 135-211, alongside the versions from the Drummond manuscript of *Tarantula* (EUL MS De.3.68). For an in-depth discussion, see Verweij, "The Manuscripts of William Fowler".

³⁷² The Drummond MS of Fowler's *Triumphs* in EUL MS De.1.10 (published in its entirety in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 13-134). The printed *Baptisme* has also been edited in *Works of Fowler*, II, pp. 165-195.

³⁷³ The translation of Machiavelli (Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II) has been published and discussed in depth in Petrina, *Machiavelli*. For a note on *Ichnaea*, see *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xlv.

³⁷⁴ The poems praising Thomas Cargill are mentioned in Chapter One. The sonnets in a fair copy are number I to IV in the STS edition (Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 136-141). Although the hand in the main text does not seem to be Fowler's, the marginal emendations are in his handwriting.

EPHEMERAL POETRY AT COURT

Most leaves, especially in Hw 2063, the first and most fragmentary of the Hawthornden volumes, are occupied by what Meikle, Fowler's editor for the Scottish Text Society, vaguely but aptly referred to as "scribblings".³⁷⁵ These scribblings represent for the most part a massive collection of emblems, *imprese* and personal mottoes, *sententiae* and quotations (from classical as well as contemporary Latin authors), plus anagrams of the names of contemporary "court celebrities".³⁷⁶ All these texts can be described broadly as "manuscript fragments". Often, several of them (twenty to thirty) will appear in draft on the same leaf, while a few folios contain the same kind of text in what appears to be closer to a fair copy. The anagrams, emblems, *imprese* and mottoes, in particular, fit the literary category of "ephemeral texts", defined broadly as the kind of literature that is not destined to last forever. As far as these items in Hawthornden are specifically concerned, the best definition of the category as a whole is probably that of "true ephemera", or what David Carlson calls "restricted" occasional verse, "precisely fulfilling the expectation of a ruling standard of taste, fit for consumption on a particular occasion, but otherwise negligible". This kind of material had a specific function in contemporary society, but was often deemed unworthy of collection or publication once the occasion was over. Since ephemeral literature is by definition topical, this kind of material often "yields little of interest to audiences that are not the original ones for which they were written"; however, as the following sections will show, a closer look to those pieces can still yield valuable clues.³⁷⁷ For the purposes of this study, the term "micro-texts" has been chosen specifically to designate extremely small literary items (a few words to a couplet) mostly of an ephemeral and/or occasional nature, such as the ones found in heaps in the Hawthornden volumes.

According to Meikle, such micro-texts, especially anagrams involving the names of powerful people at court constituted Fowler's "favourite recreation" in the last decade of his life.³⁷⁸ As this and the following chapter set out to prove, however, the scribbles in Hawthornden likely represent something more than a mere pastime on the part of Secretary Fowler. On the contrary, I will argue that such micro-texts stand for a complex web of literary, professional and more broadly social relationships that has not been fully investigated yet. Furthermore, these texts

³⁷⁵ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxv.

³⁷⁶ Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxv.

³⁷⁷ Quoted from Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, pp. 128-129.

³⁷⁸ Quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxv.

encode Fowler's social strategies during the difficult period in his life and career represented by the transition from the Edinburgh *milieu* (where he was safely established both as a poet and as a court servant) to the more competitive environment of the London court. Based on a careful reading of the evidence presented by the Hawthornden manuscripts, it is possible to suggest that Fowler did not abandon his literary pursuits after authoring the *Baptisme* in 1594 (his last published book, and his last completed work). Instead, it seems as though he decided to re-invent himself as a professional anagrammatist and emblematiser, and more generally as a provider of occasional short verse to the rich and powerful. This was not an unusual choice of employment, as anagrams and such "literary follies" were extremely popular in Continental Renaissance courts. Around the same time Fowler was active, the King of France Louis XIII retained the writer Thomas Billon as *anagrammateur royal* with a high salary.³⁷⁹ Based on the material in Hawthornden, it seems reasonable to suggest that the move to London did not put an end to Fowler's literary career. Instead, the new environment encouraged him to try his hand at other types of literary production, starting from the kind of restricted occasional verse in Latin and other languages that had earned him royal favour in 1594.

As mentioned before, most of the fragmentary material in Fowler's volumes of Hawthornden seems to point to the period after 1603 and the Union of the Crowns, suggesting that the manuscripts mostly contain material dating from the later, almost undocumented part of Fowler's career. This assumption is supported by several pieces of circumstantial evidence. First, the sheer size of the material, and the fact that the same text is often repeated multiple times through the volumes, suggest that Fowler was something of a compulsive scribbler and obsessive re-writer. In this case, one would expect many more drafts and foul papers from his other, published works to turn up somewhere in Hawthornden. Since this is not the case (except for a handful of items, mostly mentioned above), it seems safe to suggest that such drafts did at some point exist, but did not make it into Fowler's papers as they are collected today. Secondly, most of the people mentioned in the Hawthornden micro-texts are documented among Fowler's acquaintances only after the move to London in 1603, with only a few exceptions. Consequently, given that the about four hundred unedited leaves in the Hawthornden manuscripts seem mostly to document Fowler's literary activities after the move to London, the fragmentary and micro-textual material in Hawthornden can help our critical

³⁷⁹ Alastair Fowler, "Anagrams", *The Yale Review* 95 (2007), pp. 33-43, p. 34. See also the chapter devoted to anagrams in the book by the same author: *Literary Names: Personal Names in English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 75-100, "Hidden Names". The term "literary follies" is from the dedicated section in the monograph by Isaac Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*. London: Moxon, 1834.

understanding of Fowler as a literary author, by offering a fuller picture of his social and cultural *milieu* during the least documented part of his life. As the following section will show, Hawthornden provides details of Fowler's life and career in London that go beyond what is widely known, for instance his much-maligned relationship with Arbella Stuart or the apparent enmity with his royal employer that have been discussed at length by previous scholarship. Authorial philology, moreover, is not the only field that has something to gain from a fuller understanding of the Hawthornden fragmentary material. For instance, the fact that Fowler, an exclusively vernacular author, chose to write this material (and only this kind of material) almost exclusively in the Latin language suggests a degree of specialization on his part. It also suggests that his shift from literary to mainly occasional author came with a corresponding shift in the language that he chose to use. This in turn points to the different status of respectively Scottish/English vernacular, foreign European vernaculars, and Latin in contemporary literary culture, which informed the different purposes these languages were used for. From the material in Hawthornden, it is evident that Latin and foreign European vernaculars were specifically selected in the case of occasional composition, giving early modern polyglots like Fowler a good start in the business of ephemeral literary production. In this case, far from being used as the language of high humanistic culture and learning, Latin in particular was being used almost exclusively as the language of trifles and complimentary literature, which for the most part was not designed with publication in mind. Moreover, there is substantial evidence on the private use of Latin among members of the same circle as a marker of intimacy, a practice that is especially common among the sort of intellectuals who formed the backbone of humanist culture, such as, for instance, the students of the many Universities.

The treatise *Ichnaea*, described briefly above, which shows evident traces of a publishing design in the presence of sizeable prefatory material, represents the only exception to this on Fowler's part. The same material suggests that Fowler had some view of capitalizing on his abilities as a writer of ephemera outside the comparatively restricted circles of the court, and that he took such an endeavour rather seriously. It also suggests Fowler (and later his son Ludovic, who was busy collecting his father's ephemera for publication) could foresee a market for such pieces. Moreover, from the point of view of what has been called "anthropology of literature", the scribbles and micro-textual material in Fowler's volumes provide access to networks of literary production and clues as to the patterns and modes of circulation of

ephemeral literature among early Jacobean courtiers.³⁸⁰ From this point of view, Hawthornden contains extremely valuable information concerning the artistic and social world of the royal court in the first decade of the Stuart rule. This historical environment has only recently being re-discovered by literary critics and historians alike, after being often neglected in favour of studies focusing generally on the later Stuart court and more specifically on the Caroline period as a prelude to the Civil War.³⁸¹ Finally, literary ephemera in general and micro-textual material in particular have only relatively lately come under the radar of literary criticism, with recent scholarship devoting more attention to such things as handwritten marginalia in contemporary printed books.³⁸² Arguably, this state of things represents a distorted view of sixteenth and seventeenth century literary culture, where ephemeral texts seem to have been both widespread and widely appreciated. Despite generally acknowledging this, ephemeral literature in this period is still an under-investigated topic and this not only due to wilful scholarly neglect.³⁸³ Given the ephemeral nature of the texts, that were produced more for actual use than later collection, and often of the material support they were written on (disposable manuscripts or cheap printed copies, often single-page), the quantity of ephemeral material that has survived into the modern age is generally acknowledged to be very small.³⁸⁴ In this sense, the material collected in the Hawthornden manuscripts provides rare (and therefore much more valuable) material clues as to the modes of production and circulation of ephemeral literary material, and material evidence of the different uses languages could be put to by Fowler's contemporaries with a *penchant* for literature.

Despite Ben Jonson's comment, appropriately recorded by Fowler's nephew Drummond, that "he scorned anagrams", this kind of text was apparently a widespread and reasonably respectable occupation for the literary-minded in Fowler's times.³⁸⁵ The height of the fashion

³⁸⁰ On the "anthropology of literature" and the methodological premises of this study, see Introduction and related critical literature.

³⁸¹ Barroll, in his study of Anna of Denmark and her court, also points out the scholarly neglect of the early Jacobean period, and in particular of the first ten years of James' English reign (*Anna of Denmark*, p. 2).

³⁸² See the introduction for a more complete appraisal of the state of the art. An example of the kind of study dealing specifically with what here is called micro-textual material is Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book". Another would be the issue of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* dedicated to "Renaissance collage" *JMEMS* 45 (2015).

³⁸³ The fact that the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary of Literary Terms* does not include an entry for ephemeral literature speaks volumes about the lack of proper critical attention from modern literary criticism.

³⁸⁴ Carlson (*Humanist Books*, p. 144) claims none of the previously widespread examples of this kind of texts is currently extant. While this is possibly true for the early sixteenth century, there are reasons to think this material could be more abundant in the witnesses for the following period (end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth). However, the low level of scholarly interest means that only a few witnesses of this practice have been located.

³⁸⁵ *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, London: Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 29: "He scorned Anagrams; and had ever in his mouth "Turpe est difficiles amare nugas/ Et stultus labor est

for anagrams seems to have been the second half of the sixteenth century, when they replaced acrostics both as a popular form of learned *divertissement* and as published compliments to patrons and peers. Contemporary Scottish literature also testifies to the role of acrostics at the time. Acrostics were often used to hide the name of the author of a poetic work, such as it happens in James' 1584 *Essayes of a Prentise*, where the first letter in each line of the commendatory poem by Patrick Adamson spell out the name "JACOBUS SEXTUS".³⁸⁶ The same device is used to disguise the name of Francis Bodin, author of *Methodi, sive compendii mathematici* by his friend John Geddie, the Scottish calligrapher and Fowler's colleague. The double acrostic poem spelling out "*Franciscus Bodinus/Iohannes Gedijs Suus M[isit]*" can be found in a fair copy in Hw 2064 f. 14r, confirming the vogue for complimentary acrostics was still very much alive at the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁸⁷ Jonson's remark to Drummond, Fowler's nephew and a good *connoisseur* of the contemporary literary landscape, quoting the famous lines of Martial about the foolishness of overestimating this kind of poetry, is an indication of how anagrams and similar texts were both popular and felt to belong to the past generation of writers.³⁸⁸ The fashion for anagrams did not fade quickly, as they were apparently still quite popular with poets in the mid-seventeenth century, when several collections of such material were published.³⁸⁹ One such collection is the one dedicated to commemorate Queen Anna's passing in 1619, a copy of which can be found among Drummond's volumes in Edinburgh University Library.³⁹⁰ The fashion for anagrams seems to have declined by the end of the seventeenth century, also due to an epoch-making shift in cultural perceptions, from Baroque extravagance to enlightened culture and more generally to the kind of intellectual pursuit that was perceived as carrying more weight.³⁹¹

ineptiarum". Drummond and Jonson are misquoting the verse by the Latin epigrammatist, which has been used as an opening quotation for this study: "*turpe est difficile habere nugas, et stultus labor est ineptiarum*" ("it is low to treat trifles as difficult things, and only a fool puts effort into nonsense", *Epigrams*, II, 86, ll. 9-10; quoted from Giuliana Boirivant (ed.), *Marziale, Epigrammi*, Milano: RCS, 2000, p. 54).

³⁸⁶ James VI, *Essayes of a Prentise*, 1584, sig. A. For the use of acrostics to hide an author's name, see Fowler, *Literary Names*, pp. 77-78.

³⁸⁷ See Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 98-99, for a closer look at the relationship between Geddie and Bodin, councillor at la Rochelle. Bodin's *Methodi* is considered by Verweij to be Geddie's calligraphic masterpiece.

³⁸⁸ See previous footnote n. 379.

³⁸⁹ H.B. Weathley, *On Anagrams*, London: printed for the author, 1862, pp. 59-62. See also, Fowler, "Anagrams", pp. 35-37.

³⁹⁰ Cambridge University, *Lacrymae Cantabrigienses: In obitum serenissimae Reginae Annae*. Cambridge: Legge, 1619 (ESTC: S107321). The volume is listed in MacDonald, *Library of Drummond*, p. 163, item n. 265. Although the book could not have belonged to Fowler, its presence in Drummond's collection highlights the points of contacts between Drummond and his uncle on the topic of anagrams and occasional writing.

³⁹¹ Fowler, "Anagrams", p. 34. Contemporary English sources on the literary practice of the anagram are mainly William Camden, *Remains of Great Britain*, and Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*. The dearth of more recent scholarly literature on the subject is a consequence of the more general neglect for ephemeral literature.

As for the early years of the sixteenth century, the historian William Camden dedicated a whole chapter of his *Remains of Great Britain* (published for the first time in London in 1605) to Anagrams, or “the only Quintessence the Alchemy of wit could draw out of names”. Camden’s detailed description of the form, accompanied by contemporary examples of anagrams circulating in court circles, testifies to the fact that the subject was interesting to intellectuals at the time Fowler was active.³⁹² Anagrammatizing names was a difficult pursuit, and as such, worth the intellectual effort from the point of view of *difficilia quae pulchra* (“some things are pretty because they are difficult”) in a culture that valued elaborate conceit and enjoyed structured poetic rhetoric.³⁹³ Although the main idea was to be able to use the exact number of letters as in the original name, a set of rules were devised allowing imperfect anagrams to be produced. These rules often allowed anagrammatists to either double a letter (use it twice in the anagrammatized form) or ignore it (notably the letter “H”, as described by both Camden and Fowler, “for that it cannot challenge the right of a letter”).³⁹⁴ They also allowed writers to substitute a letter, or a group of letters, for another, mostly exploiting ambiguities in the written form or similarities in pronunciation (for instance, “I” or “IE” for “J” and vice-versa, “UU” or “VV” for “W”, etc.).³⁹⁵ The anagram of a person’s name was thought to express some inherent truth about the person (Camden’s “quintessence”, an important term in contemporary alchemical science), and a good anagrammatist would have chosen a phrase that in some way resembled the name’s bearer. This concept found expression in the phrase *in nomen omen*, which is itself an imperfect anagram and recurs in several places in Hawthornden (for instance on Hw 2063 ff. 145r and 244r, amidst a series of similar phrases, reading *nomen omen erit*, transl.: “your name will be your destiny”).³⁹⁶ As such, the practice of the anagram was linked by contemporaries to the Jewish science of Kabbalah (and more precisely to Gematria, the alphanumeric system assigning a numerical value to letters of the alphabet) and numerology. These practices formed the basis that connected literature with the occult sciences, and made such ephemeral products a serious pursuit for Fowler and his fellow anagrammatists.

³⁹² William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1984, pp.182-191, p. 182.

³⁹³ Camden also quotes the same popular saying in *Remains*, p. 183.

³⁹⁴ Quoted from Camden, *Remains*, p. 182.

³⁹⁵ A short summary of the rules in English (which the author calls *licentiae* or “licenses”) is given in Camden, *Remains*, p. 182.

³⁹⁶ The phrase is attributed to the Roman play writer Plautus: “*Nomen atque omen quantivis iam est preti*” (Friedrich Ritschel, Gustav Loewe, Georg Goetz and Friedrich Schoell (eds.), *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, Leipzig: Teubner, vol. IV, *Persa*, IV, 4, l. 73, p. 89); the dialogue refers to the opportunity of buying a young female slave whose name means “profits”, suggesting the price paid for her will repay itself with the future earnings).

These views are subscribed to in the most popular contemporary guide to composing anagrams, Guillaume le Blanc's *Libellus de ratione Anagrammatismi*, reprinted several times after the first publication in 1586. Le Blanc's *Libellus* was still popular at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was reprinted in 1602 as part of Nicholas Reusner's *Anagrammatographia*.³⁹⁷ The *Libellus* connects the practice of the anagram explicitly with Hebrew numerology, and could represent the main source behind Camden's account of Anagrams in *Remains*, as the almost identical phrasing seems to indicate.³⁹⁸ Similarly, Fowler could also have used the same book as a guide to anagrammatizing, as a leaf in Hw 2063 suggests. F. 106, a fairly well written copy of several religious anagrams (on the names of God, Jesus and the Virgin Mary) contains a remark similar in phrasing to both Camden's and le Blanc's on the appropriateness of ignoring the letter "H" in an anagram (on the top of f. 106r: "*nam H est expiration tantam, non literam*", "for H is more an aspiration than a letter").³⁹⁹ Moreover, Fowler seems to have taken from le Blanc's collected *Poemata* of 1584 (where the *Libellus* is contained) the anagrams of Pope Sixtus V (secular name: Felice Piergentile di Peretto di Montalto) "*Sixtus V de Monte Alto / Tantus Exules Domuit*" and "*Sixtus Quintus de Monte Alto / Mundo Solus Extat Inquietus*" (in Hw 2063 ff. 105r and 124v, among other copies).⁴⁰⁰

Whatever the case, the presence of several copies of this book in British libraries indicates that le Blanc's manual was popular with English and Scottish readers alike. Evidence of a mystical approach to name-based writing in Hawthornden is represented by a micro-text allegedly foretelling Elizabeth's death in 1603 and the Scottish succession. The micro-text in Hw 2063 f. 110r reads *Anglia maesta dolet*; the text is in a fair copy (while drafts of it are found in Hw 2063 ff. 109r, 132r and 156), and is coupled with a chronogram.⁴⁰¹ Similarly, Fowler made the name of Mary Queen of Scots into an anagram summarizing her tragic fate (*Maria Stuarta*

³⁹⁷ Guillaume le Blanc, *Libellus de ratione Anagrammatismi*, in his *Poemata*. Roma, 1586; and Nicolaus Reusnerius, *Anagrammatographia, accessit Guillelmi Blanci Libellus de ratione Anagrammatismi*. Jena: Reusnerus, 1602. For a comparison with another contemporary anagrammatist and mathematician, see Ian MacLean, "Thomas Harriot in Combination", *Revue d'Histoire de Mathématiques* 11 (2005), pp. 57-88, pp. 64-67.

³⁹⁸ Le Blanc, *Libellus*, p. 27v. For the almost identical phrasing in his work and Camden's, see below.

³⁹⁹ However, the idea of considering the letter "H" as an "aspiration" rather than a full letter is already present in the classical grammar by Quintillian, and later in Ausonius.

⁴⁰⁰ The fact that the anagrams used by Fowler as trials on f. 106 have a Catholic subject could contribute to reinforce the link between Fowler and le Blanc's works, as the latter was a *camerarius* of Pope Sixtus V. For information on the latter, see *DBI*, s.v.

⁴⁰¹ Also mentioned in Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 82. "Chronogram (Gk 'time writing'): An inscription in which letters form a date in Roman numerals" (John Anthony Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. Hoboken: Wiley, 2013, s.v.).

Regina Scotorum/Trusa vi regni, Morte amara cado, “Expelled from my Kingdom by violence, I died a bitter death”). Similar pieces represent evidence of Fowler’s allegiance to this kind of magical thought, and testifies to the use of “logogriphs” in general for occult purposes.⁴⁰² In a similar vein, a copy of several anagrams of astronomical words (for instance *planets / at plane plena*) is to be found in Hw 2063 f. 166r. “Onomatomantia” (le Blanc) or “Onomantia” (Camden), that is, soothsaying using proper names, was openly condemned as un-Christian, but nonetheless seems to have been a well known practice for Fowler’s contemporaries.⁴⁰³

According to H. B. Weathley, anagrams were a common presence in sixteenth and seventeenth century everyday life, used by gentlemen as apophthegms and to add poignancy to the conversation, on tombs as part of an epitaph, as personal *imprese*, but also coupled with a short piece of explanatory verse or embedded in longer poems such as sonnets.⁴⁰⁴ Fowler’s Hawthornden material offer examples of all of these uses bar private conversations (as it is understandably unlikely that these were recorded in written form). Of Fowler’s contemporaries, several of the poets at the Jacobean court, such as Joshua Sylvester and Walter Quinn, also produced anagrams centred on the royal family, and specifically on King James.⁴⁰⁵ John Taylor “the water poet” was also a prolific anagrammatist either of his own name or of prospective patrons’ names, and included his creations in his many published works, which he used to beg for favour.⁴⁰⁶ From these few clues, it seems that, as a literary form, anagrams were regarded mainly as topical material and were mainly the province of minor authors at the Jacobean court. Nonetheless, the anagrammatic craft seems to have been a widespread one. Weathley connects the practice of the anagram to the neo-Platonic so-called “cratylistic” tendencies of the previous generation of Elizabethan intellectuals, with their stress on the mystical link between names and destiny.⁴⁰⁷ The link is made explicit in le Blanc, who quotes Plato’s *Cratylus* as a source,

⁴⁰² “Logogriph: (Gk “word riddle”). An anagram or verses from which anagrams or other word puzzles can be guessed. See also acrostic” (*Dictionary of Literary Terms*, s.v.).

⁴⁰³ le Blanc dedicates a long digression to censure the practice, all the while excusing anagrams on the ground of the innocent *divertissement* they provide to the discerning mind, from p. 29r to 34v (*Poemata*, 1584).

⁴⁰⁴ See the examples quoted in Weathley, *Anagrams*, who in his study offers several examples of these different uses.

⁴⁰⁵ Sylvester, Josuah, *Devine Weekes and Workes*. At London: printed by Humfrey Lownes, 1605, ESTC S116457; and Walter Quin, *Sertum Poeticum in honorem Jacobi Sexti*. Edinburgi: Excudebat Robertus Waldegraeue typographus regius, 1600, ESTC S110577.

⁴⁰⁶ For information on John Taylor’s life and literary production, see ODNB, s.v. Bottalla writes of him as a man that “with his learned oar learned oar, as Dekker had said, rowed and wrote his way to fame, but in the end remains a gentleman-like sculler, hopping between two worlds [...] an amphybiac being caught between two cultures” (translated from the original Italian, Paola Bottalla, “L’eroe alla rovescia: John Taylor, il ‘poeta barcaiolo’”, in Alessandra Petrini and Mario Melchionda (eds), *Imperi moderni. L’eroe tra apoteosi e parodia*. Padova: University Press, 2002 (pp. 53-66, quoted from p. 57).

⁴⁰⁷ Weathley, *Anagrams*, p. 65.

since both Plato and Heraclitus “*existimabat nomina esse naturae opus*” (transl.: “thought that names were [also] things of nature”) *i.e.* that they were embedded into, and inseparable from, the nature of things themselves.⁴⁰⁸

FOWLER’S ANAGRAMS

The first published record of an anagram by Fowler is represented by the *impresa* he created for Walter Scott, the Laird of Buccleuch, in occasion of the baptismal celebrations in 1594. The *impresa* represents “A Crown, an eye, and a Portcullis: the Crowne betokening the power of God, the Eye his Prouidence, and the Portcullis his protection, with these wordes, which were composed in Anagrame, of Walterus Scotus, the Laird of Bacleughs name, Clausus tutus ero”. This *impresa* can be found both in the printed copy of the *Baptisme* and in draft in the Hawthornden manuscripts (in Hw 2063 f. 108r).⁴⁰⁹ As for the afterlife of Fowler’s anagrams, there is some preliminary evidence that can confirm that Fowler’s activities as an anagrammatist were probably more than a private pastime, and that his material circulated in circles connected with the court. First, as mentioned by Fowler’s first biographer, Thomas Dempster, there is the fact that his son Ludovic attempted to gather his father’s later literary production for publication, which included mostly anagrams and other similar micro-texts.⁴¹⁰ The fact that Ludovic had publication in mind suggests that they might have enjoyed some popularity. Moreover, among the anagrams quoted by Camden in *Remains* as notable examples of the genre, a few of Fowler’s items in Hawthornden occur, albeit unattributed. This, along with the mention by Dempster of Fowler’s great capabilities as an anagrammatist (*Anagrammata mira facilitate ac rara inventione*, “[he composed] anagrams with great readiness and uncommon genius”), suggest that Fowler’s creations enjoyed some circulation and at least some degree of appreciation.⁴¹¹ The mention of Fowler’s anagrams by Dempster, and the fact that his material recurs in Camden’s account offer indirect evidence that Fowler could have enjoyed some reputation among his contemporaries as a maker of anagrams. The anagrams quoted in Camden’s *Remains* are the one on *Anna Britannorum Regina/In Anna regnantium arbor* and the one on Mary Queen of Scots “made after her death”, *Maria Steuarda*

⁴⁰⁸ Le Blanc, *Libellus*, p. 27v.

⁴⁰⁹ Quoted from the modern edition: Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, II, p. 174.

⁴¹⁰ Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, p. 292: “*Epigrammata et multa alia, quae habet edenda ornatissimis moribus adolescens Ludovicus filius*” (“[He wrote] Epigrams, and much more, which his son Ludovic, an accomplished young man, is currently editing”).

⁴¹¹ Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, pp. 292-93. Dempster also quotes some examples of anagrams by Fowler.

*Regina Scotorum/Trusa vi regni, morte amara cado.*⁴¹² The fact that many versions of the two pieces quoted by Camden are present in the Hawthornden volumes in the stage of drafts and scribblings substantially proves that the authorship of these pieces is likely Fowler's own.

The material connected to the royal family (King James, Queen Anna and their three children, Henry, Elizabeth and Charles) represents the most logical starting point to depict the court in London from the point of view of Fowler's ephemera in the Hawthornden manuscripts. This is both due to the abundance of micro-textual material in Hawthornden directly connected to members of the royal family, and to their metaphorical and literal centrality to the court's life in general and to Fowler's career as court servant in particular. More precisely, and somewhat contrary to received wisdom, this survey is going to start from Anna instead of James, due to her role as the central figure in Fowler's professional life (as his main employer), but also on account of the recently rediscovered pivotal role played by the Queen and her court in the "cultural efflorescence" that characterizes Jacobean England. Most of the references to the royal family in the Hawthornden manuscripts is represented by anagrams of their names, in various forms. As for Fowler's presence at Anna's court, an annotation in Hawthornden preceding a series of scribbles (probably mottoes for *imprese*) in Hw 2063 f. 124r reads: *somniando confeci Grewhic 20 maij 1609* ("I made this in my sleep in Greenwich"), confirming Fowler's presence at the Queen's habitual residence when in London, Greenwich palace.⁴¹³

Moreover, the annotation, along with a few others mentioning poetry composed in a dream, testifies once again to Fowler's allegiance to a mystical concept of literature, which paid keen attention to the dream world. As recorded by historians, Fowler and the Queen do not seem always to have been on the best of terms.⁴¹⁴ That the relationship between the two was somewhat tense at times is confirmed by the material in Hawthornden, and in particular by the anagram transposing *Danismerca* (Denmark) into *canis merda* (meaning "a dog's turd") in Hw 2063 f. 176r and elsewhere.⁴¹⁵ Similarly, in the same volume Anna's name is transposed in unflattering ways, involving the words "ingannare" and "ingrata" (meaning respectively "to cheat" and "ungrateful" in Italian, in Hawthornden 2063 ff. 105 and 112 among others). On f. 197 in the same volume, the phrasing is expanded in the anagram *Anna Britannorum Regina/*

⁴¹² The two anagrams are quoted in Camden, *Remains*, pp. 185-186. The first of these pieces is discussed in some detail below.

⁴¹³ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 39.

⁴¹⁴ See previous Chapter One on Fowler's life, and related sources.

⁴¹⁵ The anagram was known to contemporaries, apparently, as is quoted by Dempster (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, p. 293), along with the one on Mary Queen of Scots (*Trusa vi regnis, morte amara cado*), *Danismerca/ Canis merda* and *Alma Roma/ Mala Mora*.

in vana ingrata non bear. The letter to Anna on Hw 2064 f. 135r, pleading unsuccessfully for patronage of Fowler's son Ludovic, is further evidence of a strained relationship between the Queen and her Secretary. The situation could have been made worse by religious difference, as Anna has been widely suspected of being a closet Catholic starting from the early 1590s. If Anna was actually a Catholic, this could well have contributed to straining the relationship between her and Fowler, a committed Protestant, even further. Anna is known to have been a headstrong and decisive woman. She was constant and true to the people she perceived as friends, but was able to hold a grudge for a very long time and did not easily forget perceived slights. Given this, even a minor disagreement between her and Fowler could well have jeopardized their working relationship in the long term.⁴¹⁶

Notwithstanding a sometimes tempestuous relationship between Anna and her Secretary, anagrams of the Queen's name are relatively abundant in Hawthornden. They often occur together with the names of others, be it the royal family or members of the royal household, confirming that Anna still represented a key element in Fowler's circles of patrons. Anna is generally addressed as Queen of Great Britain, which helps dating this material collectively after 1603. The only instance of an anagram of "Anna Regina Scotorum" (anagrammatised into *Anna Scotorum Regna / Ornata Regnum Vincar*, "I, decorated [with virtues] will win the kingdom"), found in Hw 2063 f. 199r, occurs together with her and James' names as sovereigns of Great Britain. In the rest of Hawthornden, the most widely employed anagram for Anna is the same one recorded by Camden, reading: *Anna Britannorum Regina / In Anna Regnantium Arbor* ("A tree of sovereigns [springs from] Anna"). The anagram is a customary allusion to the Queen as the fertile wife of the monarch, and the conceit was often exploited, for instance during the baptismal celebration for Prince Henry in 1594.⁴¹⁷ The same theme is found in a couplet following a letter addressed to Anna in Hawthornden (*Regis nata, soror regis et regia coniux/et regis matrem te fore signa canunt*, "Born of Kings, sister of a King and wife of a King / the signs show you will be a mother of Kings [as well]" in Hw 2064 f. 131).⁴¹⁸ The anagram *In Anna Arbor* is found in draft in Fowler's handwriting in Hw 2063 ff. 112r, 171r, 197r, 199r, and finally in Hw 2064 ff. 13 and 14 (also together with the *canis merda* anagram).

⁴¹⁶ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 26, highlights the Queen's tendency to retaliate politically, and her constancy in both her friendships and her enemies.

⁴¹⁷ Clare McManus, "Marriage and the Performance of the Romance Quest: Anne of Denmark and the Stirling Baptismal Celebrations for Prince Henry", in Luuk Houwen, Alasdair MacDonald and Sally Mapstone (eds.), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*. Leuven: Peeters, 2000, pp.175-198. pp. 184-187.

⁴¹⁸ See Chapter One on Fowler's life, where this letter is transcribed in full.

The only other anagram involving Anna's name, although incomplete, can provide information on Fowler's sources. The name Anna is partially anagrammatized in *Anna Danica/a canna inda* ("from an Indian reed") on several leaves in Hawthornden (Hw 2063 105r, 112r, the same leaves that contain the phrase *Anna Regina/a ingannare*, plus 127r and 190r). On f. 112r, the annotation is followed by the phrase *est canna sed non canna inda* ("is a reed but not an Indian reed"). The phrase could contain a remark on Anna as "not sweet" (since sugar is extracted from *Canna Indica*) or "untrustworthy", or even a most pointed link between Anna and Syrinx. On f. 127r, the Latin phrase is followed by the annotation "a redde", which confirms that the botanical translation is the correct one.⁴¹⁹ More importantly, the same leaf contains the annotation "Johannes de Rinaldis de/ sig. herbar. et floram", which evidently refers to the book Fowler had in mind when composing the anagrams on the page (which also contains anagrams for the Earl of Mar, and others). It is possible to identify the book with a treatise by Giovanni Rinaldi in two parts, the second dedicated to herbs and flowers, published for the first time in Ferrara, Italy, in 1584.⁴²⁰ References were necessary when writing anagrams, as the limited number of letters meant that finding words to fit was a difficult task, and additional vocabulary was arguably a bonus. There are other examples of works being used as words repositories in Hawthornden, first of them all the famous multi-lingual dictionary by the Italian priest Ambrogio Calepio, *Calepini Dictionarium*, which went through many editions. Under the entry for *canna*, Rinaldi recounts the story of the nymph Syrinx from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which connects her to the origins of the reed pipe, making her a symbol of "chaste love".⁴²¹ The presence of Rinaldi's *Mostro* in British libraries makes it possible for Fowler to have had access to a copy of the same work.

As mentioned before, most of the micro-textual material in the Hawthornden manuscripts is in the form of drafts or quick scribbles. There are very few examples of micro-texts in a fair copy. This is understandable, as the fair copy is likely to have circulated as an ephemeral manuscript and as such to have been permanently lost to posterity. However, Hawthornden does contain some rare examples of ephemeral material in a fair draft (arguably only few steps

⁴¹⁹ See *OED*: "Canna: A lily-like tropical American plant with bright flowers and ornamental strap-like leaves." Fowler here refers to a specific plant in the family of *Cannaceae* (*Enc. Brit.*, s.v.)

⁴²⁰ Giovanni Rinaldi, *Il mostruosissimo mostro di Giouanni De' Rinaldi, diuiso in due trattati, nel primo de' quali si ragiona del significato de' colori, nel secondo si tratta dell'herbe, & fiori*. In Ferrara: per Vittorio Baldini, 1584 (several copies in Scotland and England according to the *COPAC* catalogue, but not in the Drummond collection).

⁴²¹ Diana changed the nymph Syrinx into a reed to preserve her chastity from the god Pan. Pan then made an instrument out of reeds (the reed pipe) that became his main attribute. See Rinaldi, *Mostro*, p. 40; the story is narrated in Ovid, *Metam.* I, ll. 689-713 (Giovanna Faranda Villa (transl.) and Rossella Corti (ed.). *Ovidio, Le Metamorfosi*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1997).

removed from the circulating exemplar). This kind of text can help us reconstruct the original material conditions of production and circulation of such pieces, and give us additional information on their place in the contemporary intellectual panorama. Hw 2063 f. 98r (*Plate 3*) is a fair copy of the ubiquitous anagram *In Anna Arbor*.⁴²² On this leaf, the anagram is preceded by the heading “Anagramme” and followed by two short pieces of verse, one a Latin distich and the other a short poem in English vernacular (4 ll., rhyming *abcb*). A copy of the English quatrain in cursive Italic script can be found on the following leaf, f. 99r, which possibly represents a dry run for the final copy. F. 98r reads as follows:

Anagramme

Anna Britannorum Regina. 21

In Anna Regnantium Arbor. 21

*Perpetuo vernans **arbor regnantium in Anna***

*Fert fructus et frondes, germine laeta novo.*⁴²³

Freshe budding blooming trie

From Anna faire which springs

Groſe on blist birth with leafes and fruit

From branche to branche in Kings.

The leaf exemplifies many of the characteristics of court anagrams in Fowler’s period. F. 98 represents a composite, multilingual ephemeral text, made up by three different types of texts (an anagram, plus two different sorts of poetry) connected by a central theme and supposed to circulate and to be read together as a single text. The practice of incorporating an anagram into a small piece of poetry is documented elsewhere and might have been widespread. Le Blanc in his *Libellus* advises authors this way: *adponetur Anagramma in Epigrammate, maxime vero ad finem, sed ita apte, ut non tam adpositum, quam innatum esse videatur*.⁴²⁴ Fowler seems to have followed le Blanc’s instructions, as he positioned his anagram at the end of a line and slightly modified the wording to make it fit the line better. Both le Blanc and Camden (who is probably using le Blanc as his source) agree on the fact that this procedure greatly increases the literary value of anagrams, which in the words of Camden “are compared by the French to

⁴²² The leaf is assigned the number 97 in pencil, due to errors in the foliation. Printed in Meikle et al, *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 316.

⁴²³ “In Anna [is] a perpetually verdant tree of Kingship / it bears fruits and branches, and newly rejoices in bloom”. The same conceit is exploited in the English quatrain. The second half of the first line of the distich is rubricated (here rendered with *Italics*).

⁴²⁴ le Blanc, *Libellus*, p. 27r. “[it is possible] to put an Anagram into an Epigram, especially at the end [of the line], but this has to be done properly, so that [the Anagram] does not look like it has been merely attached [to the Epigram], but instead is naturally part of it.”

gems, but when they are cast into a distich or Epigram, to gems enchased in enamelled gold.”⁴²⁵ To this, Fowler also adds a quatrain in vernacular English. Moreover, both the anagram and the Queen’s name are followed by the number 21, pointing to the numerological connection between the two phrases and consequently to the mystical connection between Anna and the idea of fertility, and underscoring the veracity of the poetic device behind her anagram.

As for the material aspect, this leaf is a good example of how the final manuscript version of such a text would look when ready for circulation. The page is written in Fowler’s hand, the script is an Italic semi-*formata* (formal enough to require the scribe to lift the pen from the sheet often, but not a display script), with decorative capital letters executed in the same ink as the text and decorative weighted ascenders. More evidence of the fact that the leaf was supposed to be a fair copy is represented by the wide margins and careful layout of the page, with consistent ample spacing between the three textual items, which are also separated by the slanted dashes that are a feature of Fowler’s writings. The leaf is written on one side only (the *verso* being blank) on a smaller sheet of paper. L. 1 in the Latin distich, reproducing the wording of the original anagram, has been written in red ink (rubricated) as a means to make it stand out on the page. From a codicological point of view, the fair copy of Anna’s anagram on f. 98 represents material evidence of the circulation of ephemeral manuscript copies. Overall, this leaf represents a single-sheet ephemeral manuscript copy of a micro-textual literary item, produced personally by the author for circulation in private or semi-private circles. This form can be assimilated to contemporary presentation manuscripts on the grounds of its function, that is, to flatter an existing or prospective patron with a carefully produced manuscript copy of an original text. Despite the fact that printed anagrams abound in publications from the period, this sort of literary object (ephemeral manuscript copies of occasional material) is understandably rare.

Fowler was apparently glad to exploit this mode of semi-private circulation, as at least another copy of an almost identical item can be found in Hawthornden. Hw 2063 f. 62r (*Plate 4*) is a very similar leaf to the fair copy of the anagram for Anna. The page (the right margin of which is partially torn off, with some minor loss of text) is written on the *recto* side only, in the same

⁴²⁵ Camden, *Remains*, p. 186. Compare Camden’s words to the correspondent passage in le Blanc, *Libellus*, p. 27r: “*Ac quemadmodum, quamlibet pretiosa gemma, nisi auro insignita, et in annulo scite tornato inferta sit, neque usui nobis est, neque suum ostendit nitorem: ita etiam Anagramma, vel maximi pretij, nisi in aureo, inclusum Epigrammate apparere non potest*” (“Like a precious gem, which we encase in gold and insert in a precious ring, otherwise its light is not fully appreciated, so it is with anagrams, which do not show their value fully unless they are encased in an Epigram”). Le Blanc could represent Camden’s authority hiding behind the generic attribution of this ideas to “the French”.

Italic semi-*formata*, and is signed with Fowler’s monogram on the bottom of the page. The page does not contain the anagram, but only a couplet in Latin followed by four lines in English (with the same rhyme scheme *abcb*). The text runs as follows:

* or	<i>Immortale decus terris, Cum [...]</i>
spread	<i>Nunc benedicta viget Luci [...]</i>
shine	----

or	<i>Immortal honour to this earthe</i>
derived	<i>whils Lucia hathe begun *</i>
from	<i>with blisshed strength to spend</i>
created be	<i>* begotten of the Sun</i>

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The marginalia on the left represent variations of the words in the main text, and confirm this copy to be a draft, and possibly close to a final one, considering Fowler is also making an attempt at a proper *mise en page*. The layout is very similar to the item dedicated to Anna, with a slanted dash separating the Latin distich from the English quatrain, and the same style of writing, an Italic semi-formata with decorative bigger initials (capital “I” in the beginning) and weighted ascenders, but without rubricated lines and more quickly written. As such, this leaf could represent the compositional stage preceding the anagram of Anna on f. 98 of the same volume. The composition exploits the etymology of the female name “Lucy”, from the Latin masculine name “Lucius” (meaning “born at first light” but perhaps also “fair, light”). The identity of the dedicatee is a matter of guesswork, since no other clue than the first name is given. However, the piece can be connected with another leaf in the same volume, Hw 2063 f. 134v, where an annotation reads “Lucie countesse”. Given that Lucy was not a common name among women of the court, the identification of the addressee with Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford appears to be a sound one. After a promising career during her youth at Elizabeth’s court, Russell and her husband Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, suffered neglect at the royal court as a consequence of the Earl’s suspected part in the Essex rebellion of 1601.

98
Anagrame
Anna Britannorum Regina. 21

In anna regnantium arbor. 21.

Perpetuo vernans *arbor regnantium in Anna*
fert fructum et frondes germine laeta novo.

freshe budding blooming tree
from Anna faire which springs
Growth on blisfull birth, with leafes and fruit
from branche to branche in Kings.



Plate 3: Hw 2063 f. 98r, containing a multi-lingual composite piece for Anna of Denmark.

After the death of Elizabeth, Lady Russell set out to recover lost favour, and rapidly became one of Anna's chief companions and a great favourite among the English ladies of her court, becoming Anna's Lady of the Bedchamber along with the Countess of Hertford.⁴²⁶ Russell was extremely well educated, and had a keen interest in literature, the figurative and fine arts and music. She participated actively in many of Anne's masques, and acted as patron to some of the most important writers of the period, such as, but not limited to, Ben Jonson, John Florio (who dedicated his first *World of Words* to her in 1598), John Donne, and Samuel Daniel. Some of these people could have been known to Fowler as well: anagrams of the name of John Florio can be found for instance in Hw 2063 f. 191r, while Daniel, Florio's brother-in-law and also a provider of Anna's masques, was in Italy in the same period as Fowler in 1591-92, as the secretary of Edward Dymoke of Scrivelsby, a friend of Fowler's. Donne would later petition Fowler for his place (which would instead go to Robert Ayton), while Jonson must have been a familiar face in Anna's court. Russell was also interested in painting and collected paintings by Holbein "and other excellent masters", while the lutenist John Dowland dedicated his *Second Booke of Songes or Ayres* to her in 1600.⁴²⁷

Overall, with her many contacts and wide cultural interests, Bedford is one of the most significant figures in the cultural panorama of the Jacobean court. Her personal connections tied her to the closely-knit Sidney/Essex circle, which in turn represented a true literary powerhouse in the cultural world of both Elizabethan and early Jacobean England. On account of her interests and the many writers she patronized, Fowler could well have looked up to her as a prospective patron and tried to ply her with literature, although apparently without great success. In this, he behaved like another Scot in London, Patrick Hannay, an occasional poet and a supporter of the Union who tried hard to enter the graces of Queen Anna, and also dedicated works to Bedford.⁴²⁸ Moreover, the presence of two almost identical and unusual pieces that show close ties to Anna's inner circle of confidantes among the Hawthornden material suggests a taste for this kind of ephemera among the ladies of the Queen's entourage.

⁴²⁶ See Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 49 for an account of the Queen's entourage.

⁴²⁷ See the account of her activities in Nadine Akkermann, "The Goddess of the Household. The Masquing politics of Lucy Harington-Russell, Countess of Bedford", in Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (eds.), *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 287-309. See also Barbara K. Lewalski, "Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness", in *Politics of Discourse*, pp. 52-77 and the detailed entry in *ODNB* s.v.

⁴²⁸ Hannay's occasional production is discussed in Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 172-73 and Calcagno, *Publishing the Stuarts*, pp. 27-28.

This suggestion is confirmed by several other pieces of writing that can be connected to women at the court, both in Edinburgh and in London. The name of Stewart occurs on Hw 2063 f. 20v “Henriett Steuart/Treu sett in harte/I merrest at treuth”. This is likely to be Henrietta Stewart, the eldest daughter of Esmé Stewart, the King’s cousin and his powerful favourite in the early 1580s. After spending her youth in France, Stewart married George Gordon, first marquess of Huntly, in 1588, one of James’ closest companions in his youth. The anagram could be connected with her marriage, for the celebration of which James VI himself is said to have composed an entertainment, and almost surely predates 1603 and the move to London. Although the entertainment is not extant, Stephen May mentions an “epithalamion vpon the Marques of Huntlies marriage” among James’ manuscript poetry.⁴²⁹ The Huntly family was made up of prominent Catholics, and, despite Huntly having outwardly converted to Protestantism on the eve of his marriage, the marquess was involved in several plots over the years. This led to Huntly being excommunicated and banished from court on several occasions, which however did not compromise his wife’s relationship with the Queen and court. Both Huntly and his wife largely retired from court business after Gordon’s last exploits in 1592, and spent the following years mostly in their estates in Aberdeenshire.

⁴²⁹ See Rhodes Dunlap, “King James’s Own Masque”, *Philological Quarterly* 41 (1962), pp. 249-256. May, “Circulation in Manuscript of Poems by King James VI”, p. 213.

Immortale decus terris, am
Nunc benedicta viget, Luca

Immortal honour to this earthe
while Lucia hatho begun
with blessed strength to spend
* begotten of the Sun.

* or
speak
rhyme,
or
dervued from
crated. be.

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Despite her husband's troubles, his wife remained faithful to him, and acted as his administrator during his frequent absences from Scotland. Moreover, Stewart became soon a close confidante of Queen Anna, and it is believed that her connections with the Jesuits had a strong influence over the young Queen, playing a huge part in her conversion to Catholicism.⁴³⁰ Although the Gordons were not among the Scottish nobles who followed the King to London, their eldest son George Gordon was summoned at court in 1606 to be part of Prince Henry's entourage, a proof that, despite their Catholic connections, they were never far from royal favour.⁴³¹ If the identification is correct, the anagram of Henrietta Stuart proves Fowler was probably engaged in making anagrams (albeit in the vernacular) well before the first dated instance in 1594. Moreover, the Gordon family could also be connected to a piece in Hw 2063 f. 182r headed "*In Gordonium*" (or, "against Gordon"), which compares Catholics to howling wolves. The main text does not look as if it were in Fowler's hand, while the headings surely are.

However, much like Bedford, most of the other women mentioned in the Hawthornden anagrams can be connected to the royal court *after* 1603. This is the case for a series of English ladies, whose names can be found in Hawthornden. The first is one Elizabeth Radcliff (or Rathcliff), mentioned in Hw 2063 f. 163r (anagrammed as "I affect the[e] ad blisse"); Hw 2063 f. 173v contains a hint to the world of court scandal ("Elizabets rathcliff/an affront in reason of his/ladye did tak it † but indiscretions"). Besides offering material for speculation, similar annotations relate the practice of micro-text with the social *milieu* of courtly gossip and verbal backstabbing that must have been a familiar environment to Fowler and his colleagues. Similarly to literary ephemera, such "indiscretions" represented valuable political and social currency in the court environment, and as such were worth remembering and possibly spreading. The kind of item that comprises both literary aims and base gossip is exemplified by the famous anagram against the marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Carr in 1613 ("Car finds a whore").⁴³² Although these events are later than Fowler's death, there is some evidence that Howard had been pursuing advancement at court rather aggressively for some time, as a leaf in Hawthornden includes an anagram of her name as "of honour crased" ("maddened by

⁴³⁰ On Henrietta Stuart's influence over Queen Anna, see Cynthia Fry, "Perceptions of Influence. The Catholic Diplomacy of Queen Anna and her Ladies, 1601 – 1604" in *The Politics of Female Households*, pp. 267-286, pp. 272-74. On the enduring friendship between Anna and Stuart, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 17.

⁴³¹ For George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, see *ODNB*, s.v. For his wife, see Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes and Siân Reynolds, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006, s.v.

⁴³² Mentioned in several near-contemporary sources, such as the autobiography of Simon d'Ewes (J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, and Richard Wynn (eds.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart: During the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.* U.S.: Elibron Classics, 2005). A copy is available through the database *Early Stuart Libels*, available at: <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/overbury_murder_section/H21.html> [accessed 29 Aug 2017].

ambition”) and “races forward”, on Hw 2063 f. 127r, along with the names of other people in the court. Her name as “frances howard of essex countess” also occurs on Hw 1063 f. 135v, accompanied by the phrase *sees no excuse for a forward chance* (meaning she did not stop at anything to advance, also present on f. 127r). As for Radcliff, the most probable identification is with the Elizabeth Radcliff who married John Ramsay, viscount Haddington, one of the king's favourites, in February 1609. Their marriage was celebrated with a masque in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, written by Ben Jonson.⁴³³

Another Elizabeth in Hawthornden is Elizabeth Norris, whose name appears in Hw 2063 on f. 191 and in Hw 2064 on f. 15. Her name is anagrammatized in Latin in “*laesa nisi abhorret*” (transl.: “I will be hurt if I do not avoid it”), translated as: “I abhor sen it slayes” on the same leaf. In the case of Norris, the anagram is clearly meant to function as a personal motto, similarly to what happened with Buccleuch’s *impresa* in 1594, and f. 191 records the corresponding image of “a fish hook” (an appropriate choice on the part of Fowler, suggesting that Elizabeth will be harmed if she takes the bait). Norris can be possibly identified with Elizabeth Pierrepont (married name Norris or Norreys), who married in 1604 Thomas Erskine, a lifelong friend of King James and one of his favourites in London.⁴³⁴ The marriage with the profligate Erskine apparently ruined her and left her almost destitute. Erskine is connected to the court literary circles via his signature under a copy of James’ sonnets in BL Add. MS 22601, and was one of the first of James’ Scoto-British subjects to “set the fashion for Scots who had come south with King James to marry rich English widows”.⁴³⁵ The Elizabeth Grey mentioned in Hw 2063 f. 170v, along with the address “for my lord Shrewsbury” dated 2 April 1610, could be Shrewsbury’s daughter, Elizabeth Talbot, who in 1601 had married Henry Grey, Lord Ruthin (c.1583-1639), heir to the earldom of Kent.

⁴³³ See Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court*, pp. 74-77.

⁴³⁴ See also William Napier, “The Rise, Fall and Rise of Kellie Castle - A Re-evaluation of its Early History”, *Architectural Heritage* 18 (2007), pp. 15-34, pp. 22-23.

⁴³⁵ Curtis Perry, “Royal Authorship and Problems of Manuscript Attribution in the Poems of King James VI and I”, *Notes and Queries*, 46 (1999), pp. 243-246. His evidence has been successfully challenged by Priscilla Bawcutt, “The Authorship of James VI and I’s *Amatoria*: the Manuscript Evidence”, *English Manuscript Studies, c. 1450-1700*, 15 (2009), pp. 219-236. The quotation is from ODNB, s.v. “Thomas Erskine”.

Her first cousin was Arbella Stuart, and they lived together from 1602 to about 1604. Grey was a constant presence at court, where she often participated in masques and other entertainments and state ceremonies. Like her cousin Arbella, she was highly educated, patronizing writers and even writing two works herself (a compendium of medical knowledge, and a book of recipes), which were published during her lifetime.⁴³⁶

The last lady mentioned in Hawthornden had a more important role in Anna's court; moreover, the occurrence of her name among the Hawthornden anagrams offers further clues as to Fowler's activities during this time. This is Lady Jane (or Jean) Drummond (Hw 2063 f. 210r), countess of Roxburghe through her marriage to Robert Ker, and First (and the only Scottish) Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anna. Drummond, a closet Catholic, was highly influential at the Scottish court, and her influence continued to be felt after 1603, when she followed the Queen south and became her closest spiritual confidante before she was dismissed from court service in 1617.⁴³⁷ An annotation on f. 210 reads: "the Lating of my Ladye Jean Drummond / *ortu, arte, amore, mores mutavi moria*" ("from the beginning, with skill and love, I changed the habits [before I died?]"). The phrase can be put in relation to the notes that precede, *Incipientibus et Inscipientibus* ("to those who begin, and those who have no knowledge"), and follow it "*Odi memorem compotorem*" ("Drinking [with them] while remembering hate"). The three items are numbered 1 to 3, and the leaf is headed, in Fowler's secretarial current handwriting, by the phrase "for tho. duryes portrait/sought be † at the Queenes desyre". Thomas Derry or Durye was Queen Anne's jester, and she commissioned portraits of him on at least two occasions; one of them is extant and now on display at the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. The use of the verb "*compotare*" ("to drink together") could be connected with the presence in Durye's portrait of a "cup of hospitality" filled with wine, that the subject of the painting is holding towards the viewer (*fig. 16*). The identification of this item as produced for one of Durye's portraits, however, is doubtful, due to the fact that the only extant portrait of Durye is dated 1614 and does not feature an inscription. Moreover, the specific nature of the relationship between Drummond, Durye and Anna, and between the texts and a portrait of Durye (perhaps lost, or never completed), is not clear. However, the heading of the leaf allows suggesting that one of Fowler's occupations in this period was writing short Latin pieces to be

⁴³⁶ Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet and Jo Eldridge Carney (eds.), *A Biographical Encyclopaedia of Early Modern Englishwomen: Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts, 1500 – 1650*. London, New York: Routledge, 2017, s.v.

⁴³⁷ For information on Drummond, see *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, s.v. See also Fry, "Perceptions of Influence", pp. 271-79.

used in portraits or on everyday objects. Similarly, f. 174v of the same volume mentions “a tebil cloth for my ladye arbella” (along with the motto “*tamdiu quamdiu adimendo adit*”) and something “in greek” “to wrayt upon hir potreyte”. Another leaf in Hawthornden mentions a motto written on a knife (Hw 2063 f. 202r). Although specific evidence is scant, the following Chapter Four will present more evidence suggesting that Fowler might have contributed his ephemera for the decoration of objects destined to people connected with the Jacobean court.



Figure 16: Portrait of Thomas Durye, the Queen's fool, now in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh.

THE MIDDLEMORE CORPUS

The most comprehensive example of the kind of material Fowler would have produced for the ladies at the London court is represented by a set of different texts in several languages that can be connected to one Mary Middlemore. Middlemore was apparently one of the favourite maids of honour to Anna of Denmark from her arrival in England until Middlemore's death in 1618.⁴³⁸ She is not often mentioned in official records, but the diary of Lord Herbert records an incident in 1606, when Herbert got into a fight with another gentleman on behalf of Middlemore, who had a "topknot" stolen from her hair.⁴³⁹ Several vernacular poems dedicated to her have been already edited in the Scottish Text Society edition of Fowler's works and she is a comparatively well known figure to Scottish scholars. However, the full extent of the material connected to Middlemore has never been probed before. The items related to her in Hawthornden include not only the vernacular poems, but also emblems, mottoes and anagrams, in drafts as well as in fair copies, in English, Latin and foreign European vernaculars. Texts related to Middlemore are scattered in the first three volumes of Hawthornden, this being one of the cases where material that almost certainly belonged together is now placed in separate volumes.

The first item under consideration is a short poem headed "Recantation" in Hw 2063 f. 71r; the poem's rhyme-scheme runs: *aaaabbaccdd*. The same text is present on the previous leaf, f. 70r, in a slightly different version, suggesting that the two copies represent successive compositional stages.⁴⁴⁰ Actually, f. 70 seemingly represents an improvement by Fowler on the text on f. 71, since it implements one of the corrections noted as marginalia on the latter leaf and the rhyme pattern appears more varied (switching from *aaaa* to *abab* in the first four lines). A first draft of the same poem is also present in Hw 2063 f. 107v, hastily jotted down in Fowler's secretarial current hand. Both copies on ff. 70-71 are instead in Fowler's italic semi-*formata* already familiar from the fair copies of anagrams addressed to Anna and Russell, with decorative initials and weighted ascenders, and a careful *mise en page* with ample margins and consistent spacing. As noticed by previous editors, the name contains a logogriph of Middlemore's name in l. 9 (hidden in the phrase "placed in the *Middle* of my harte and *more*") and, something that escaped previous commenters, Fowler's own anagrammatic signature in

⁴³⁸ *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Early Modern Englishwomen*, s.v.

⁴³⁹ Sidney Lee (ed.), *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*. London: Nimmo, 1886, pp. 58-69.

⁴⁴⁰ The STS edition prints both versions: Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 325-26. For this reason, it seems superfluous to reproduce the texts here.

the vernacular shortly after in l. 11 (“*fairwell! my Love*”).⁴⁴¹ The account offered in previous editions of the “Middlemore poems” includes the texts on Hw 2063 ff. 72r and 78r, two sonnets respectively headed “Meditation upon virgin Maryes hatt” and “Aetna” (fig. 17).⁴⁴² The sonnets display an alternate rhyme-pattern running: *abab cdcd efef gg* (sometimes known as “Shakespearean sonnet pattern”). This is an unusual choice for Fowler, who uniformly preferred his native Scottish “interlaced” sonnet pattern (*abab bcbc cdcd ee*, with fewer rhymes and rhyme-clinches between quatrains, also known as “Spenserian pattern”), and could be the result of trying to accommodate his poetry to the English taste. Both texts are seemingly in a fair copy, f. 78 being ruled in pencil, and both display rubrics used to highlight specific words in the text (the names of Mary, Cupid *etc.*). The identification of the hand in the main text with Fowler’s is uncertain, and the writing could belong to his son Ludovic (the Italic book hand on this leaf is almost too formal for univocal identification). On the contrary, the secretarial current hand in the marginalia and corrections on the leaf containing “A Meditation” is certainly Fowler’s own. Both texts contain Fowler’s vernacular anagrammatic signature on the bottom (“Fairwell my Loue”), which he only apparently used for the items that can be connected to Middlemore. Additionally, “Aetna” features the same logograph as “Recantation” in l. 1-2 (“and suffers *More/* paines in my *Middle* than euer *Mary* proved”), where the three elements composing the name “Mary Middlemore” are both capitalized and rubricated to make them stand out. The last piece that can be connected to the same group is found in Hw 2065 f. 136, a short poem in Italian subscribed “Madre di Mill’amori” (being an anagram of Middlemore’s name, discussed briefly below). The latter text has not been edited, and is worth transcribing here in full:

*S'altra fiamma giamai
M'arse, Madonna, il core:
che quella che per voi v'accese Amore;
o se per altra donna vnqua provai
gli amorosi tormenti;
cresca in voi il ghiaccio, in me le faci ardenti;
ne troïi il cor merce de danni suoi:
siami Crudele il Ciel, più Cruda voi.*
*Madre di Mill'amori*⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ Quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 326, reproducing the text on f. 71r, italics added for emphasis.

⁴⁴² Printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, pp. 268-69.

⁴⁴³ “Madame, if any other flame ever burnt my heart, than the one that Love has kindled for you, or if I ever proved Love’s torments for any other woman; then may the ice in you grow colder, and the flames in me more scalding, may my heart never find mercy. May the heavens be cruel to me, and you more cruel still. Mother of a thousand loves.”

The content of the piece is distinctly Petrarchan, with its allusion to “love’s torments” and the parallel drawn between love and a burning flame. The form of the poem is of a closed quatrain plus two couplets (rhyme scheme: *abba cc dd*). The text is written in an italic *formata*, and possibly represents a fair copy, as the fact that the item is isolated on the page (a single leaf) and the verso is blank seem to suggest. The subscription reproduces one of the anagrams Fowler composed for Middlemore, and thus can be connected to the same textual grouping. The main text in this respect is represented by Hw 2063 f. 143r. The leaf is a very similar composition to the ones dedicated for instance to Anna, featuring anagrams of her name connected by numbers. At the same time, this text represents a more complex product, involving several languages.

	<i>In Lating</i>	
	<i>Name</i>	
I shall mak all	<i>Maria Middelmorea</i>	16
things well	<i>Anagrammatismus</i>	
and better	<i>Iam meliora reddam</i>	
	<i>In Italien</i>	
Tu se cruda e	<i>Maria Middelmorea</i>	~~16~~ 15
scarza di	<i>Tu fai rapina e non nudrisci gli cori</i>	
favori	<i>Crudel! Madre de mille amori</i>	15
	<i>In Frensche</i>	
	<i>Marya Middelmorée</i>	

[...] crudel m’ayde	<i>De Laymer mode amer</i>	

	<i>In engh[li]sch</i>	My admyred morell
	<i>Marye Myddellmore</i>	
	<i>My Lorde my remedie</i>	

Here, several anagrams of Middlemore’s name are made in Latin, Italian, French and finally English. Some of the items are separated by the slanted dashes that are a feature of Fowler’s *mise en page*. The marginalia on the leaf (in Fowler’s secretarial current) contain the translation of the foreign language anagrams. The leaf displays three separate layers of text (two layers of main text, plus *marginalia* which has been added later), probably written in two different moments. The first level is represented by the main text (the series of anagrams of Middlemore’s name) in shiny jet-black ink, Italian script, semi-*formata*, with decorative initials and the usual weighted ascenders.

There is a marked change in writing and colour of the ink starting from l. 7 (“in Frensche”), with thicker strokes consistent with a change in pressure, which however could be simply due a somewhat uncomfortable writing surface. The second layer of text is represented instead by the marginal annotations (reproduced above) and by the text that follows:

imprese the cod of the silk worme brokken by it selfs
with this Ho fatto et disfatto . jay fait et defait . struxi et destruxi
I have made it and marred it

Thus for your honour I my humeurs prove
which if they be disgracd farewell my love

These lines, plus the marginalia, are written in Fowler’s customary secretarial current hand, in brown ink. They have been added to the page at a later time, as proved by the fact that the writing in this last section of the page partially overlaps with the last separation dash. The section describing the *impresa* ends with Fowler’s anagrammatic signature, as do the other texts related to Middlemore. The material on this leaf is to be found in other places in Hawthornden in the state of quick drafts and annotations, which is further evidence of Fowler’s authorship of the pieces. For instance, Hw 2063 f. 127r contains different anagrams from the ones that made it into the fair copy: *Maria middelmoria / ea [eu?] mallem arida mori* as well as *ira mallem dei amore* and *dira ei mallem amore*.⁴⁴⁴ F. 127v (which contains on the recto the anagram for Pope Sixtus V) contains both *struxi et destruxi* and *delibata renascor*, along with other unrelated mottoes and phrases. F. 147 on the same volume contains another draft of the anagrams for Middlemore. F. 70r (containing a copy of “Recantation”) also contains the “morel” anagram (a kind of horse), with the motto “*delibata renascor*” (transl.: “I rise from ruin”) and followed by the phrase “† in her eyes and virtue in her name”. Hw 2064 f. 28r contains (in Fowler’s secretarial current hand) the “cocoon” emblem on f. 143, as well as the same multi-lingual mottoes, plus the “morel” image (with an explanation, “my admired morel” being another anagram of her name) with the motto “*admota renascor*” (similar to f. 70) which is also present on f. 143 along with the cocoon emblem. The text is followed by what seems at first sight to be an epitaph in Latin (the writing is cramped and quick, and very difficult to decipher) beginning with the conventional phrase “*specta viator*” (transl.: “see, traveller”).

⁴⁴⁴ The first anagram translates as “I would prefer her to die barren!” or “Alas! I would prefer to die barren!”, a very different tone from the anagrams in the fair copy.

So what, if anything, could Fowler have been doing with this kind of material? Middlemore is not mentioned often in official records, so there is no particular court circumstance to which this material can be tied. Almost surely, Fowler, a married man well over forty when Middlemore was active, did not court Middlemore (a maid of honour and presumably a young woman) himself. All the material related to Middlemore has love as a central theme; however, she does not seem to have married, since she was still one of Anna's *maids* of honour (a young unmarried woman) when she retired from court in 1617. The "cocoon" emblem was often associated with death and rebirth, however Middlemore apparently died in 1618, a few months after being awarded a patent from the King and six years after Fowler's death. The translation of the anagrams on f. 143 (written by Fowler on the margins) suggests that these pieces could have been written on behalf of someone else, less familiar than Fowler with foreign languages, and thus points to the fact that Fowler might have been writing bespoke ephemera on commission.⁴⁴⁵

Alternatively, the annotations could also represent a sort of "reading guide" for the addressee herself, if she too was unfamiliar with foreign languages. The most interesting leaf in this sense is probably Hw 2063 f. 191, which contains, in draft, all the anagrams that are in the fair copy on f. 143, plus another ("*m'arde di molto amor*", in Italian, "I burn with love for her cause"). These are followed by a draft of the couplet following the emblem, plus Fowler's anagrammatic signature in the vernacular, proving f. 191 to be in fact the draft copy of the material on f. 143, which in turn shows a close connection to the other Middlemore texts. Hw 2063 f. 191 is dated, on top of the page, 14 February 1609.⁴⁴⁶ The dating plus the pre-eminence of love themes in the poems for Middlemore could suggest a connection between this material and the feast of St Valentine, a somewhat significant yearly event that was celebrated with courtly games in Elizabeth's time.⁴⁴⁷ Arguably, unmarried young women in the court would have played an important part in such games. Alternatively, the compositions might have been connected to the marriage of Elizabeth Radcliff and John Ramsay in the same February 1609, mentioned above. Confirming the importance of the feast in contemporary culture, Anna's daughter

⁴⁴⁵ Writing ephemera for others was apparently not uncommon. William Shakespeare, Fowler's contemporary, received payment for designing the Earl of Rutland's *impresa* for the Accession Day Tilt in 1613. For this, and other examples, see Alan R. Young, *The English Tournament Imprese* (New York: AMS, 1988), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁴⁶ However, the dating of leaves in Hawthornden should not be taken in absolute terms. The *verso* of this leaf, for instance, is dated 1607, two years before the *recto*. Therefore, texts in the same leaf could well have been written at different times.

⁴⁴⁷ See Jack B. Oruch, "St Valentine, Chaucer, and Spring in February", *Speculum* 56 (1981), pp. 534-65, who claims the celebration of St Valentine had a comeback in Elizabethan times. Verweij also confirms there is some evidence for St Valentine's games in the Jacobean court (*The Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 173).

Elizabeth of Bohemia would marry on that day in 1613, the year after Fowler's death; John Donne wrote an *Epithalamion* for the occasion, explicitly mentioning the connection of the marriage with Valentine's Day. Moreover, a poem in Fowler's hand celebrating Valentine's Day and addressed to an unidentified "Valentyne" is also to be found among the Hawthornden papers (Hw 2063 ff. 44v-45v).⁴⁴⁸ Overall, the Middlemore texts give us further information on the social function of ephemera at court, and on the kind of preparatory work that went into making them. They also represent a wonderful example of deceptively easy occasional texts. In truth, the Middlemore items are quite a complex achievement, a small *corpus* of interconnected texts including established forms of poetry (sonnets) as well as restricted ephemeral material (anagrams), and the kind of item that is traditionally linked to court festivals (*imprese* and emblems). To add an additional layer of complexity, the group includes textual items in several languages, which have been selected depending on the text's function (English for the sonnets, mostly Latin for the *imprese*, Latin and foreign vernaculars for the anagrams).

Finally, a closer scrutiny of the small textual *corpus* containing Fowler's anagrams addressed to ladies at court can help fill in the picture of early seventeenth century cultural life. Beside longer published material in print and manuscript, the early Jacobean environment appears to have relied also on occasional material and on restricted ephemera for the creation and the maintenance of social (and arguably political) relations. The material involved in these exchanges eschews most traditional definitions of what constitutes "literature" and specifically "English literature", centred as it is on the use of imagery (involved in emblem production) and foreign languages (classical tongues as well as European vernaculars). The exchange of this sort of material was underscored by the circulation of single-sheet ephemeral manuscripts, produced for specific purposes and with some care for their material presentation, intended to be circulated in a small semi-private circle including one's noble patrons, and then presumably quickly forgotten. The items addressed to Anna, Russell, Middlemore and several other noblewomen who can all be placed in close proximity to the court circle represent additional material evidence of the central role of women in the early Jacobean court, and in Fowler's own life. This is more relevant than can appear at first sight: given their outwardly secondary role in contemporary society, material evidence of female cultural activity is comparatively rare, and thus every morsel of documentation can be useful to either corroborate or disprove scholarly thoughts on the matter. Of course, Fowler's close relation to powerful women of his

⁴⁴⁸ "For my Valentyne", printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, 312-15. Donne's verse is part of a large outpouring of verse connected to Elizabeth and Frederick's wedding.

times is no news for scholars of Scottish literature, who have considered Fowler's apparent preference for female patrons in depth. However, previous scholarship was limited to a focus on Fowler's choice of patrons in the Edinburgh *milieu*. In this period of his life, his chosen dedicatees and literary correspondents seem to have involved the kind of woman that was influential in a strictly political sense, for instance Jean Maitland, Lady Thirlestane, the wife of the powerful John Maitland to whom the manuscript translation of the *Triumphs* is dedicated. Scholars have convincingly argued that the dedication to Lady Jean may underscore a covert attempt to reach the ears of her powerful husband.⁴⁴⁹ The ephemeral texts in Hawthornden confirm that Fowler was following a similar strategy in England. His main patron was arguably Lady Arbella Stuart, to whom many an item in Hawthornden is addressed.

After her came the Queen and the circle associated with her (Russell and Middlemore), but also ladies that bore no direct connection to the Queen (Norris, Radcliff and Grey) and were instead linked to powerful men, Scottish as well as English (Hay, Erskine and Shrewsbury). In appealing for patronage, the techniques he used were mostly the same as in Scotland, and Fowler appeared to have relied heavily on distributing his own fair manuscript copies of original works. As for the kind of influence that women exercised at court, material evidence in this respect is scant, although contemporary records of notable circumstances suggest that they did in fact have some measure of leverage. Surely, Anna's impact was greater in Scotland between 1590 and 1603, when she managed to influence the policies of both her husband and the Council several times.⁴⁵⁰ In England, Anna and her ladies were mostly relegated to the sphere of entertainment and other innocuous pursuits, and largely excluded from official business. However, their influence at the London court extended well beyond the realm of trifles, and these women can be seen as powerful artistic, social and political brokers of influence in the court environment. This status as "influencers" in the courtly game of soft politics, especially for what concerns the exercise of diplomacy, was apparently recognized by contemporaries, as Fowler's case exemplifies. Thanks to both their personal and family connections, and to the wide patronage networks they could sway, early Jacobean ladies were capable of enacting a sizeable measure of influence on their husbands, fathers and other male relations, who in turn would be responsible for enacting actual policies.⁴⁵¹ As such, they were

⁴⁴⁹ Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, p. 150. See also Theo van Heijnsbergen "Coteries and Commendatory Verse".

⁴⁵⁰ For an overview of Anna's political activities in Scotland, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 14-35.

⁴⁵¹ See the picture of women-driven Catholic politics at Anna's court painted in Fry, "Perception of Influence", pp. 269-70. On women as brokers of influence, see also the relevant chapter in Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*. London: Routledge, 2016, pp. 69-74. On women exercising political influence through masquing and entertainment, see also Akkermann, "The Goddess of the Household" and Louis

sought after by artists and diplomats alike. In turn, women at court could boast their own patrons and protectors, usually drawn from the men they were related to by blood or marriage. A perfect example of this is Russell, whose extended circle included the Sidney and Essex family; her patrons during her later years were powerful men such as Privy Councillor Robert Cecil (to whom she was related by marriage) and, after the latter's death in 1612, James' favourite Scottish courtier Robert Hay.⁴⁵² Moreover, women apparently played a significant role in the material making and circulation of ephemeral manuscripts, as many of them were produced for them. Moreover, Fowler's volumes also contain evidence of women as producers of literature, in the form of the commendatory sonnets dedicated to him by E[lizabeth] D[ouglas] and M[ary] L[ady] B[oyne].⁴⁵³ These ladies could possibly have been also the material authors of the ephemeral manuscript copies of the sonnets, which were arguably delivered to Fowler personally and have been preserved along with his papers (in Hw 2065 ff. 4 and 6 respectively).⁴⁵⁴ Thus, these powerful, artistically inclined women can be seen as representing the initiators, the main subject and sometimes the producers of literary works; in this sense Fowler's ephemeral texts in Hawthornden are no exception. Throughout Fowler's life these women, Lady Thirlestane in Scotland, Anna and Arbella in England *etc.*, remained a conspicuous presence and can be seen as figures of pivotal importance in the extended networks of contacts on which he, and many others like him, based their careers.

H. Roper, "Unmasking the Connections Between Jacobean Politics and Policy: the Circle of Anna of Denmark and the Beginning of the English Empire, 1614–18" in Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (eds.), *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 45-59.

⁴⁵² See *ODNB*, s.v.

⁴⁵³ For the identification of the authors of these poems with these two Scottish women, see van Heijnsbergen "Coteries and Commendatory Verse".

⁴⁵⁴ The three sonnets, beginning "The glorious greiks dois praise", "When Alexander entered Phrygian land" (both subscribed by E.D.) and "If high desyre the preaft to win that crowne" (M.L.B.), are printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, respectively pp. 19, 393. For the female network of patrons and producers surrounding Fowler, see for instance van Heijnsbergen, "Coteries and Commendatory Verse", Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry*, pp. 149-164 and Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 83-87.

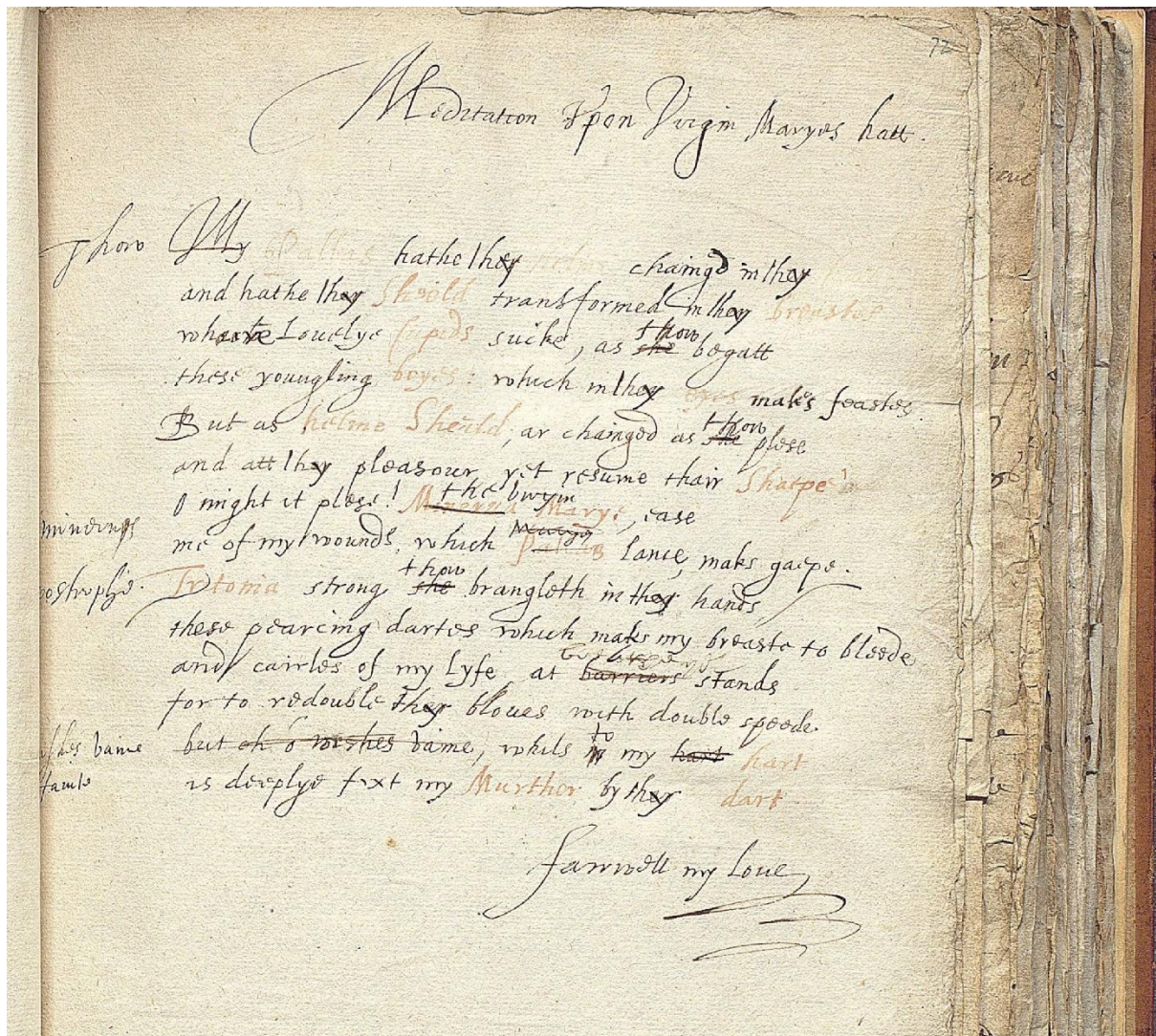


Figure 17: A close-up image of Hw 2063 f. 72r, containing the "Meditation" sonnet.

FOUR: PRIVATE VERSE FOR PUBLIC PEOPLE THE HAWTHORNDEN MANUSCRIPTS AND THE WIDER WORLD

While Fowler's strong ties to the Queen's establishment in the new capital are both evident and predictable, the fragmentary material collected in the Hawthornden manuscripts is also a witness to tendencies going in a seemingly contrary direction. In this sense, Hawthornden contains material connecting Fowler to other and sometimes oppositional factions at court. As this chapter will show, it seems fair to suggest, based on manuscript evidence, that while his primary contacts were most probably located within Anna's network of influence, the circle of people to which Fowler's ephemera were directed was definitely wider than the relatively secluded one represented by Anna and her ladies and retainers. By extension, it is possible to argue that Fowler's circles of protectors, friends (in the Renaissance meaning of "allies") and patrons encompassed a larger audience connecting him to many of the contemporary influential people operating within the Jacobean political and social life at different levels.⁴⁵⁵ This is not to be taken as a sign of political or personal untrustworthiness, however, but rather as a witness to a widespread tendency among those of Fowler's contemporaries who shared his occupation. As highlighted by previous scholarship, one of the main features of a successful cultural intermediary and professional intellectual was the ability to maintain a series of interlocking extended networks of patrons, sub-patrons and acquaintances.⁴⁵⁶ In the case of William Fowler, the Hawthornden manuscripts show how these circles intersected with personal and professional connections, and with family relations. For the Jacobean intellectual aspiring to a successful career in the public sphere, these people could provide protection and support (material as well as political) at various levels, as well as introductions to further networks that could also offer positions and means to a professional man and his family and friends, which in turn constituted one's own network of clients.⁴⁵⁷ That Fowler's circles in London included different types of individuals with different (and sometimes opposite) political, religious and

⁴⁵⁵ *OED*, s.v., lists the following definitions along with the most common meaning: "A person who takes the same side as another in war, a political contest or debate; an ally", and "A close relation, a kinsman or kinswoman. In later use *regional* (chiefly *Sc.* and *Irish English*)" and finally "A person who wishes another well; a sympathizer, helper, *patron*, or *supporter*". Emphasis mine.

⁴⁵⁶ Keblusek, "Double Agents in Early Modern Europe", p. 4.

⁴⁵⁷ Carlson, *Humanist Books*, p. 36.

social ties is evident from his testament, which names professional and family relations as well as aristocrats belonging to the inner court circle among the witnesses and overseers.⁴⁵⁸

The previous chapter has mainly focused on Anna's court, which in turn sees a massive presence of people connected to the intermarried Essex/Sidney circles; the material featured in this chapter, on the contrary, will show Fowler's ties to the faction that was diametrically opposite to the Essex circle in the power economy of the London court. If Anna's court was dominated by the Protestant leanings and artistic ambitions of the Essexians, her husband's court was centred around the rival Howard family, who had provided many of the women initially selected to meet Queen Anne on her crossing into England in 1604.⁴⁵⁹ Whereas both Sir Philip Sidney and the 2nd Earl of Essex had embodied the idea of the Elizabethan "Protestant champion", the Howards, representing one of the oldest families and including some of the highest-ranking nobles in England, had maintained their allegiance to the Catholic religion, albeit in a covert way. Thomas Howard, the 4th Duke of Norfolk, had been executed in 1572 following an alleged attempt to marry James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and restore Catholicism. His son Thomas Howard was a friend of Robert Cecil and was made Lord Chamberlain to King James shortly after his accession, and created 1st Earl of Suffolk in the same year 1603.⁴⁶⁰

Together with Cecil, the Secretary of State, the Howard faction largely represented the English side of King James' entourage.⁴⁶¹ In addition to these, the people closest to the King included a host of Scottish friends and noblemen who followed their King from his Edinburgh court. This subset of people is conspicuously absent from Anna's court.⁴⁶² This chapter will focus on a few of these individuals, in an attempt to untangle the ties linking Fowler's manuscripts to such different groups at court. A small *caveat* concerns the nature of these circles, and the possibility that an organized account can offer a deceptively clear-cut scenario. An attempt has been made in this study to avoid an artificial separation based on gender alone, and to avoid painting an overly simplified picture of the lives of men vs women at court. After all, as mentioned in the previous chapter, women were by no means relegated to closed circles, and

⁴⁵⁸ Fowler's political opportunistic tendencies in Scotland have been highlighted by previous scholarship. See Chapter One for Fowler's early career and for a detailed appraisal of his will.

⁴⁵⁹ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 166.

⁴⁶⁰ On the relationship between James and Southampton, and the implications on contemporary court politics, see Margot Heinemann, "Rebel Lords, Popular Playwrights, and Political Culture: Notes on the Jacobean Patronage of the Earl of Southampton", *The Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991), pp. 63-86.

⁴⁶¹ Barroll, "Assessing Cultural Influence", pp. 135-37.

⁴⁶² Barroll argues that the fact that none of Anna's Scottish allies followed her south was not a coincidence and part of a plan to exclude her from directly influencing government policies (Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 34).

could exercise some leverage outside their immediate sphere of influence in the Queen's court. However, the manuscript evidence highlights how most of the women mentioned in Hawthornden can be connected, directly or indirectly, to Anna's entourage. On the other hand, most of the men (not all of them, as notable exceptions include people such as Robert Sidney, Anna's Chamberlain) can be conversely shown to have been attached to James' establishment. Overall, this division in Hawthornden between men and women seems to be the literary representation of an historical situation in which the operational spaces of men and women were mostly separated, although they frequently shared similar issues and goals. The intention of this study is to present the situation as it is depicted by material evidence, and without an ideological sub-text. In this, it is important to bear in mind that the two circles, one mainly female and the other mostly male-based, intersected frequently, as they were part of the same events and were often embroiled in the same struggles.

JAMES AND HENRY

Similarly to the evidence presented in the previous chapter, here as well the royal family provides a convenient starting point to try and untangle the networks of people centring on the royal court. The members of the royal family, James, Anna and their children Henry, Elizabeth and Charles, often appear together in the Hawthornden papers in several combinations, a first sign that Fowler's activities were not confined to the Queen's establishment, but encompassed a wider section of the court and at least the rest of the royal family. Predictably, after Anna's, James' name is the one that occurs most often in Hawthornden, with some of the most elaborate pieces dedicated to him. Anagrams of his name appear for instance in Hw 2063 ff. 126r, 239r (together with George Carey, one of his English favourites), and on one of the four scraps of paper that together make up the composite f. 222r. The most elaborate of these pieces is found on Hw 2064 f. 22, a composition featuring the name of James anagrammatized in five languages (headed: *Jacobi VI scot. Regis quinq(ue) linguis anagram(ma)tism(us)*), Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and English. The composition predates 1603, as James is only addressed with his title of King of Scots, and is unlikely to be Fowler's (who apparently did not know Hebrew save for a few words, and did not use it in his compositions). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the short poem that follows the anagrams (in the same hand and ink) is a piece by John Gordon, the Marian Bishop made Dean of Salisbury, which was published

in broadside format in 1603.⁴⁶³ Probably the most interesting among the leaves featuring James' name are a series of three pages (Hw 2063 ff. 136 and 175, plus Hw 2064 f. 13), featuring a long series of anagrams of the King's name (about seventy in Hw 2063 f. 136, titled *De Regis nomine anagrammata* and about a hundred in Hw 2064 f. 13).⁴⁶⁴ Given the similarity in layout, the pages in Hw 2063 possibly represent a first (f. 175) and second (f. 136) draft of the final version, which is approximated more closely in Hw 2064. All three are written in a cursive italic hand (and not in Fowler's customarily garbled current hand) and the text is cleanly laid out in columns, giving these copies the appearance of relatively fair drafts.

The function of these multiple permutations becomes clearer when other apparently unrelated pages are taken into consideration. Ff. 136 and 175 contain some of the same phrases that were composed to be inscribed on a new sundial in the gardens at Whitehall. Several copies of the text for this sundial survive in Hawthornden (Hw 2063 ff. 123, 128, 254 and 255, and Hw 2064 ff. 16, 24 and 25), some in the stage of draft copies and some copies set in a fair italic *formata* by his son Ludovic. The presence of multiple fair copies with an almost identical layout signals that Fowler was probably very proud of his accomplishment and suggests that these pages could plausibly be serially produced copies, to function as keepsakes for himself and to distribute to others. The fact that most of these leaves are singletons or bifolia with blank *verso* and internal leaves also supports the hypothesis of planned circulation as ephemeral manuscript copies. Fowler's pride in this specific achievement is evident in the heading of f. 255r, which reads: *Inscriptiones solari horologio in palatio regio a me effictae whythall* ("inscription on a solar clock in the royal palace made by me, at Whitehall", in Fowler's cursive mixed hand).

The text contains a longer inscription reading: *Regis Jacobi est vero diffundere Christi/ lumen ut aeternuū beat alma pace Britannos* ("King James truly spreads the eternal light of Christ/ so that prosperity and peace bless the British people"). Then follow nineteen short phrases focusing on the effects of time and/or light (*vera monstro* or "I show the truth" and *lentescent tempore curas* or "preoccupations pale with time"). The text is subscribed by James' monogram as JR (for *Jacobus Rex*) and by an anagram of his name. Hw 2064 ff. 25-26, in particular, looks definitely like a copy produced for preservation. The text was most likely composed by Fowler (since it is subscribed with his Latin anagrammatic signature *fulgor vivus ille meis* on Hw 2063 f. 255r); it was later written out by Ludovic (as the subscription on the

⁴⁶³ John Gordon, *In effigiem Mariae Reginae, Jacob. Magni. Reg. matris*. Excusum Londini: Typi[s] Iohann[e]s Norton, [1603?]. ESTC: S3027.

⁴⁶⁴ See also Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 104.

bottom of 25r makes clear, also in Hw 2063 f. 255) in a fully *formata* italic book-hand, with decorative ligatures and capitals. The leaf is a *bifolium*, with the centre-pages blank. The heading on f. 26v *De horologio solari* suggests that this page was preserved as such, and separate from other material. Another draft of the same text (also in Fowler's hand, on Hw 2063 f. 123r) is dated 6 November 1610. It is my belief that Fowler's "solar clock" can be identified with the sundial occupying the same space in the Privy Gardens as Edmund Gunter's famous artefact.⁴⁶⁵ Gunter's mechanical sundial was built around 1622 to replace an earlier one and was in turn demolished when it fell victim to the general drunkenness of Charles II's court. The sundial replaced by Gunter's work, and built around 1610 under James, is probably the one that is referred to in Fowler's papers.⁴⁶⁶ This compounds with similar evidence in Hawthornden suggesting that Fowler's anagrams and micro-texts had practical purposes and were not simply relegated to the realm of literary entertainment. Finally, the sundial verse constitutes yet another example of the material uses of ephemera at the Jacobean court.

The royal children, especially Henry and Elizabeth, also feature prominently in Fowler's Hawthornden papers. All the anagrams of Henry's name in Hawthornden seem to date to his creation as Prince of Wales on 4 June 1610 or after (as he is uniformly addressed as *Henricus Princeps Walliae*, for instance in Hw 2063 ff. 118, 126, 134, 162, 171 and 190). The occasion was celebrated by the Queen's court with the masque *Thetis's Festival*, written by Samuel Daniel and designed by Inigo Jones; the actual ceremony took place at Westminster, and was reportedly so lavish that bystanders compared it to a coronation.⁴⁶⁷ It is possible that the anagrams in Hawthornden could have been composed for or around this specific occasion, although no direct evidence of their use can be found. The phrases used by Fowler certainly correspond to the general perception of the Prince; in 1603, on the occasion of his installation as a Knight of the Garter, the Prince was "much commended for his quick witty answers, princely carriage and reverend performing of his obeissance", and was often complimented by both English and foreign officials.⁴⁶⁸ Accordingly, the name *Henricus princeps Walliae* is anagrammatized variously as *proelia pulchra virescens* ("grows strong in glorious battles",

⁴⁶⁵ For information on this site, see the still valuable account by Edgar Sheppard, *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*. London: Longmans and Green, 1902.

⁴⁶⁶ See *Survey of London: Volume 13, St Margaret, Westminster, Part II: Whitehall I*. Originally published by London County Council, London, 1930, available online at: <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol13/pt2/pp41-115>> [retrieved 21 Oct. 2016].

⁴⁶⁷ ODNB, s.v. "Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales". See also Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 123-26 and Lewalsky, "Subversion of Masque", pp. 348-49.

⁴⁶⁸ Quoted from Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 43 (2 July 1602). See also ODNB, s.v. "Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales".

referring to his notorious passion for martial sports), in Hw 2063 162r and 163r. Elsewhere, the same name gives either *spe pulchra nuncia orbis* or *pulchra saepe nuncia veris* (“announcing wonderful hope to the world” or “fair things are often messengers of truth”), both in Hw 2063 f. 171r. F. 181v features a quotation from Vergil (Georg. III, ll. 77-80) and the words “the princes schip”, which allows to date the quotation somewhat more precisely.⁴⁶⁹ Prince Henry was personally presented with two ships, the *Disdain* in 1604 (a small vessel presented to him by the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham) and the mastodon *Prince Royal*, built between 1608 and 1610.⁴⁷⁰ According to contemporary accounts, the *Disdain*, which Henry personally baptized “with a great bowl of wine” was “a vessel of length 28 feet and breadth 12 feet, adorned with painting and carving within and without”.⁴⁷¹ Although we do not know the nature of the artwork, it seems fair to assume that it would include emblematic phrases and mottoes, or that such micro-texts could have been used on the occasion of the ceremonial launch.

Similarly, a series of leaves forming two consistent units of text (Hw 2064 ff. 41 to 49, and 53 to 57) containing material on fencing techniques could be connected with the famous entertainment of the “Barriers”.⁴⁷² The event was also part of the celebrations for Henry’s installation as Prince of Wales; moreover, the martial theme offers a likely connection with Fowler’s anagrams *proelia virescens*. Accordingly, the top of f. 41r, in Fowler’s familiar mixed current hand, begins “dyverse hathe spokken dyverslye of the barrier”; the text continues in the same handwriting until f. 44v, giving more specific instructions as to how the weapons and the fight should be handled. The following f. 45r contains only the heading “Instructiones for fencing” (not in Fowler’s hand), and is followed on ff. 46r to 49v by the same text in a formally set and extremely well executed secretarial cursive script, with careful layout, ample space on the margins (justified on the left) and regular blank spaces. The handwriting itself shows a strong similarity with the (unidentified) hand that wrote the main text of the *Triumphs*

⁴⁶⁹ “*primus et ire viam et fluvios temptare minacis/ audet et ignoto sese committere ponti,/ nec vanos horret strepitus. illi ardua cervix/ argutumque caput, brevis alvus obesaue terga*” (He is the first that dares to lead the way, and tempt the threatening floods, and trust himself to an unknown bridge; nor starts affrighted at vain alarms. Lofty is his neck, his head little and slender, his belly short, his back round and plump”). Both text and translation are quoted from Benjamin A. Gould, *The Works of Vergil: Translated Into English Prose*. London: Printed for G.B. Whittaker, 1826. The verse, referring to a young colt, is appropriate for a Prince with martial tendencies.

⁴⁷⁰ ODNB, s.v. “Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales”. See also Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 117 (22 Mar 1604) and George B. Harrison, *A Second Jacobean Journal* London: Routledge, 1958, pp. 107-8 (29 September 1608). See also John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the FirSt* London: Society of Antiquaries, 1828, I, p. 245.

⁴⁷¹ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 117.

⁴⁷² For a more detailed analysis, see Mary C. Williams, “Merlin and the Prince: The Speeches at Prince Henry’s Barriers”, *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977), pp. 221-230.

presentation manuscript (EUL De.1.10), especially in the decorative shapes of capital letters.⁴⁷³ This would suggest that either a professional scribe was hired for both the *Instructions* and *Triumphs*, or that Fowler could master a formal secretarial book-hand in addition to his other writing accomplishments, and would personally use it to produce presentation copies. The consistency of handwriting and paper single these pages out as a separate booklet, possibly originally produced to circulate as such. F. 53 is headed, in Sir William Drummond's hand, "instructions for fencing: with som other papers", an evident trace of later sorting and indicating this leaf was likely used as a temporary cover for the entire bundle. Ff. 54r to 57r contain again the same text, this copy too being in Fowler's current mixed hand, but better set out on the page. At least two entertainments following the "barriers" format took place in London during Fowler's lifetime. The first occurred on 6 January 1606, the setting being a battle between Truth and Opinion and the words for the speeches being written by Ben Jonson; the Earl of Lennox, Ludovic Stuart, "led those on the side of truth", while Thomas Howard, the Earl of Surrey, led the opposite faction. The second and most famous occurrence of this kind of entertainment is directly correlated to Prince Henry, and took place on 6 January 1610 (Twelfth Night) at the Banqueting Hall in the Palace at Whitehall. The entertainment, performed as a prelude to Henry's instalment as Prince of Wales later the same year, featured an Arthurian setting with speeches again written by Ben Jonson.⁴⁷⁴ The Prince and his six companions (the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, Lord Hay, Sir Thomas Somerset and Sir Richard Preston), according to the format of this kind of duel, fought against fifty-six defendants in successive bouts and with two kinds of foot weapons ("at push of pike and with single sword").⁴⁷⁵

There is a possibility that the Queen's secretary might have contributed to the entertainment, and as such may have collaborated with Jonson, either with his mottoes and anagrams, or summarizing information on the barriers from fencing manuals. The link between Fowler's anagrams and the Barriers of 1610 is the more tantalizing because the original setting of the entertainment was partially based on an anagram. When Henry announced the formal challenge that would mark the beginning of the preparations for the Barriers, he did so in an anagrammatic form, as *Moeliades* (anagram of *miles a deo* or "God's soldier"), the same

⁴⁷³ For a discussion of Geddie's hand in *Triumphs*, see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 94-99.

⁴⁷⁴ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, pp. 262-63, in turn quoting Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, pp. 24-32. The speeches were printed along with Jonson's *Works* (Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson*, London: printed by William Stansby, an^o D. 1616. ESTC: S126501).

⁴⁷⁵ Described in detail in Nichols, *Progresses*, II, pp. 269-82. See also Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 122.

address that would be used by Drummond of Hawthornden in his mourning poem for the Prince of Wales.⁴⁷⁶ According to contemporary witnesses, the fighting part of the display was preceded by a parade of contestants, similarly to what happened at tilting. The gentlemen taking part in the fight would emerge from a place “in the lower end of the roome [where they] had erected a very delicat and pleasant place, from whence in comly order [the contestants] issued, and ascended into the middell of the roome, where then sate the King and the Queene, and Ambassadors, with the several showes and devices of each Combatant”.⁴⁷⁷ These “devices”, I think, are to be interpreted as the *imprese* of the participants; according to tilting traditions, the *imprese* of the several knights were presented to the King and Queen at the start of the entertainment. A similar occurrence is mentioned in the records that pertain to the Accession Day tilting, which took place every year around 24 March; in 1607 Robert Carr, soon to become James’ favourite, was selected to bear Lord Hay’s device to the front podium before the fighting began.⁴⁷⁸ Carr broke a leg during the entertainment, and the occasion is the one that would endear him to James and make him one of the most powerful favourites in the decade to come. Carr’s stellar career after his recovery suggests that a simple “device” could have momentous consequences. However, the devices used in these occasions, like so many other similar artefacts, have not been preserved; the complete list of the people who participated in Prince Henry’s first sponsored entertainment is also lacking, thus making these assumptions difficult to prove beyond doubt.

In the absence of more material evidence, it is difficult to determine the extent and nature of Fowler’s collaboration to the organization of official court events on the basis of Hawthornden alone. More precisely, it is impossible at this point to say if Fowler’s role in these events consisted in writing *imprese* or emblems for participants, or excerpting from books on the subject for the use of the Prince and/or of others, or something else entirely. However, it is important to remember that emblems, *imprese*, mottoes and other types of “devices” formed an integral part of court entertainments, such as, but not limited to, masques and other courtly pastimes, royal and burgh ceremonies, and even private life. As a consequence of their ephemeral nature, very little of this kind of material has been preserved, as in the case of the 1610 barriers, but there is an abundance of indirect evidence for their wide dissemination and

⁴⁷⁶ See Williams, “Speeches at Prince Henry’s Barriers”. William Drummond, *Teares on the death of Meliades*. Edinburgh: Printed by Andro Hart, 1613, ESTC: S105422. Drummond’s *Teares* are printed in Kastner, *Works of William Drummond*, pp. 75-81.

⁴⁷⁷ Quoted from Nichols, *Progresses*, II, p. 270.

⁴⁷⁸ Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 19 (24 mar 1607).

their perceived value in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁷⁹ Other material related to Henry in Hawthornden is of a more dubious provenance, and unlikely to be associated with Fowler. These leaves include Hw 2063 f. 144r, headed with his name followed by a series of phrases that are remindful of the *memento mori* topós, for instance *moritur quod nascitur* (“all that is born has to die”) and *cogita mori* (“think about dying”). As such, this leaf is most probably to be dated after the Prince’s death by typhoid fever on 6 November 1612 and unlikely to be Fowler’s. This hypothesis is supported by palaeographical evidence, since the handwriting features a so-called “Greek e”, a somewhat later form of the letter that never occurs in the samples of Fowler’s own handwriting, which generally feature the secretarial “closed e” form (or, more seldom, the italic “open” form of the same letter). The page itself displays an unusual ruling pattern dividing the page into several columns consistent with the layout of an account book, and could represent a recycled leaf. On similar grounds (both palaeographic and internal evidence), the anagrams of members of the royal family (Mary Queen of Scots, James and Elizabeth as Queen of Bohemia) that occur together with early Stuart court personalities (Buckingham and the Earl of Pembroke, Ludovic Stuart, *etc.*) on Hw 2063 f. 196r can also be dated to a period following Fowler’s death.

Another clue as to the fact that Fowler could have been performing secretarial duties to other people than Anna alone is given by the text in Hw 2064 ff. 58-59. The text, in Fowler’s secretarial cursive, is a prose compilation in English, dealing with the titles of “Barrons and Knight Barrons”, as the heading on the top left corner, in the hand of Sir William Drummond, informs. While historical research of the antiquarian kind was a common pastime for learned men in the Jacobean period, the material in Hawthornden suggests a more practical association. Given the context, it is possible that these pages are connected to the controversy surrounding the rights of the newly created rank of the Baronets, and the convoluted issue of precedence at the lowest level of aristocracy, between the new Baronets, the sons of Barons and Knight Baronets. Baronets were first introduced in England in the fourteenth century, and the title was revived by James in 1611 to raise funds for his enterprises in Ireland. The issue of precedence was raised soon after and continued to occupy the court until the beginning of 1612, with successive petitions from different quarters.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ The most complete account of English tournament *imprese* from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods (of which many were collected at Whitehall), and of the shields themselves, is Alan R. Young, *The English Tournament Imprese*, New York: AMS, 1988.

⁴⁸⁰ See for instance the events recounted in Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, pp. 104-105, 111 and 119.

“CUBICULAR COURTIER”⁴⁸¹

James and Henry also provide a convenient focus for a brief survey of the constellation of people surrounding the King and his heir, as they appear in Fowler’s manuscripts. The names mentioned in the Hawthornden leaves include most of the “celebrities of the period”, both English and Scottish.⁴⁸² The list of people here is by no means inclusive, as many other names can be found in Hawthornden which are both difficult to identify univocally and have no particular relevance in this discussion, and have thus been deliberately left out.⁴⁸³

The Scots who were part of James’ entourage feature prominently and often in the Hawthornden manuscripts, a fact that corroborates previous descriptions of the inner court circle as heavily influenced by James’ Scottish connections.⁴⁸⁴ The first to come under scrutiny is John Erskine, 19th or 2nd Earl of Mar, who appears in the Hawthornden papers with the name *Johannes Comes Marriae* (Hw 2063 108r, 127r and 167r).⁴⁸⁵ His name is anagrammatized as *in mora ei* (or *heu*, meaning “alas!”) *necat amores* (“alas! he kills love by waiting”). Erskine was part of James’ circle of childhood friends, and as such was attached to the King since his early years. His mother, the dowager Countess of Mar, was the King’s tutor during his minority, and James grew up in the Erskine’s castle at Stirling. Like many of James’ childhood companions, he had a prominent place in the Edinburgh court soon after James’ coming of age.⁴⁸⁶ In August 1600, John and his brother Thomas Erskine were among those who saved the King’s life during the dubious events that have been dubbed by historians as the “Gowrie conspiracy”. In 1603, Mar was made one of James’ Privy Councillors in England, and he and Ludovic Stuart were the only two Scots honoured with a Garter.⁴⁸⁷ He was also the only Scot to be nominated for the commission to investigate the Gunpowder plot in 1605. Mar remained closely attached to James for the rest of his life, and although he gravitated back to Scotland in his later years, he was constantly in close contact with the court *via* his letters. In 1592, he had

⁴⁸¹ Quoted from David Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation, Unto the End of the Reigne of King James VI*. [Place of publication not identified], 1678, p. 365.

⁴⁸² Quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xxxv.

⁴⁸³ A few people are addressed with their title (“the Treasurer”, “the Chancellor” *etc.*) and aside from a few of them, it is difficult to know with certainty the identity of the individual Fowler is referring to. Many contemporary offices were doubled (there was an English Treasurer as well as a Scottish one for instance), or are not described with enough precision, and there is often no clue as to the dating of these fragments.

⁴⁸⁴ Juhala describes a similar situation in Scotland, with a court dominated by James’ Stirling classmates and Stuart relatives (Juhala, *The Household and Court of King James*, p. 91).

⁴⁸⁵ According to which creation of the Earldom is taken into account.

⁴⁸⁶ Barroll, “Assessing Cultural Influence”, p. 140, singles him out as James’ closest Scottish advisor.

⁴⁸⁷ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, pp. 23 (4 May 1603), 43 (2 July 1603). Among the English Knights of the Garter are the Earls of Pembroke and Southampton.

married Esme Stuart's daughter and Lennox's sister Marie Stuart, which puts him in relation to that faction at court, and indirectly to Fowler.⁴⁸⁸ The son of Esme Stuart does not seem to have had much success in London, notwithstanding a more than brilliant start in Scotland. He was called from France by the King himself shortly after his father had died, and inherited his father's office as first Gentleman of the King's bedchamber and the title of Duke of Lennox when he was barely nine years old. A trace of possible dissatisfaction with his lot could be represented by a page in Hawthornden (Hw 2063 f. 103r). F. 103 is a singleton, containing only one item and with a blank verso, which suggests circulation as a loose leaf. The page, not in Fowler's handwriting, contains instructions for what looks like an emblem "to make a Phoenix drouping with broken/ and discoloured fethers w^t a worde signifyinge/ that shee must be no Phoenix/ or happier"; the script is mostly Italic, with a few traces of secretary hands (mostly the "closed e"). These instructions are followed by the motto *si renascor, cur non nutris?* ("If I am reborn, why do you not nourish me?") and by the words *effinxisti, sed at multa desunt* ("You have made it, but many thing are still lacking") and *heu! quam dispar* ("alas! What a difference!"), in Fowler's handwriting. On the very bottom of the page (in a different ink, in Fowler's scrawled current hand) are written the words "the duke of Lenox". Fowler too was seemingly close to Lennox, at least in Scotland, since he named his firstborn Ludovic (who can be supposed to have been born around 1600) after him; f. 103 suggests, along with similar pieces, that Fowler was engaged in writing emblems and other pieces of ephemera on commission. If this were the case, the leaf would represents instructions sent to Fowler as a request, filed under the Duke's name for future re-workings.

Another prominent Scot of the early Jacobean period is Alexander Seton, the powerful Earl of Dunfermline who was the chief Scottish negotiator for the Union in 1604. He had made a friend of Robert Cecil while negotiating the Elizabethan succession around 1600, and was made Chancellor of Scotland after the accession.⁴⁸⁹ Seton seems to have lost some ground to the Earl of Dunbar after 1606, but he recovered his position of pre-eminence after the latter died in 1611. Although a prominent Catholic (he was even educated as a Jesuit) he maintained his hold on James, and he does not seem to have been ostracized for his faith, which suggests that religious allegiance was a less stringent factor when planning political allegiances. Seton was also an ally of the Gordons, and as such was closely tied to Anna's establishment; moreover, he had been Charles' governor until 1603, when the young prince was entrusted to the

⁴⁸⁸ For biographical information on Mar, see *ODNB*, s.v. See also Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 102.

⁴⁸⁹ Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 83.

Careys.⁴⁹⁰ Jean Drummond, Anna's only Scottish Lady of the Bedchamber and a Catholic, was his sister-in-law, and he had spoken for the return of Gordon in 1596, when the latter was in exile.⁴⁹¹ The links with Fowler are strong in his case. As mentioned before, his "servitor" James Raith was married to one of Fowler's daughters, Elizabeth, at the time of his death in 1612.⁴⁹² Moreover, iconographic research has found links between Mary's emblems recorded by Fowler in Hawthornden and the emblematic decoration on the ceiling of Pinkie House in Musselburgh, built by Seton. Ben Jonson's visit to the house prompted the request to Drummond of Hawthornden for more material on Scottish emblems; Drummond answered by sending a copy of the emblems on Mary Queen of Scots' bed, as recorded by his uncle.⁴⁹³ Finally, Alexander Seton acted as an administrator of the Queen's lands in Scotland, putting him in close contact with Fowler's main employer. His name is found on Hw 2063 ff. 114v and 161r variously as *Alexander Setonius/ deus alet exornans* ("God nourishes him in his success") or *se nitens deus relaxat* ("his success is a comfort to God"); both these anagrams put Seton's faith in the spotlight. Other anagrams focus on his position as James' trusted advisor, such as *Alexander Setonius/ una es leonis dextra* ("you are the only right arm of the lion", the latter a stand-in for James, whose heraldic device featured the rampant lion of the Stuarts) and *rex te laude ornans* ("the King adorns you with praise"). The address of the anagrams on f. 114r to Seton as *Fermelinoduni comes* (Earl of Dunfermline) suggests a dating of this leaf after 1605, when Seton acquired the title. At the same time, the mention of an Elinor (Eleanor) Seton could refer to Seton's aunt of that name married to Lord Somerville, who passed away in Scotland in 1603.⁴⁹⁴

Finally, another prominent Scot featuring in Hawthornden is George Home, the Earl of Dunbar. Home was not one of James' relatives, nor was he particularly interested in hunting, and as such represents an exception among James' closest friends. Instead, Home had risen in the King's esteem through his usefulness in office and especially through his undying loyalty. Although a man of little personal claims, he rose to become the most influential Scotsman in England in the last decade of his life. He had accompanied the King on his voyage to Denmark

⁴⁹⁰ See Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 167, 170.

⁴⁹¹ Maurice Lee, "King James's Popish Chancellor", in Gordon Donaldson, Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (eds), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983, pp. 170-82.

⁴⁹² See Chapter One and related sources.

⁴⁹³ Michael Bath, "Ben Jonson, William Fowler and the Pinkie Ceiling", *Architectural Heritage* 18 (2007), pp. 73-86.

⁴⁹⁴ See Croft's *Peerage*, online version: <<http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/seton1451.htm>> [retrieved 29 June 2017].

in 1590, and was one of the infamous “Octavians” in Edinburgh (as the committee was called that was trusted with ruling the court’s finances in the mid-1590s). In Scotland, Home had been a friend of the Earl of Huntly and opposed to Bothwell, Fowler’s main patron in his early years, in the struggle for the rights of Coldingham priory. After 1603, he followed the King to England and there he settled, becoming one of only two Scots to be appointed to an English government office, as Chancellor of the Exchequer (and de facto vice-Treasurer).⁴⁹⁵ The anagrams in Hawthornden probably belong to this later phase in his political career, as on f. 167r he is referred to as *Georgius Humeus Comes Donbarriae* (or, Earl of Dunbar) a title he acquired only in 1605, along with a Garter. The anagram is only partially legible, and reads [...] *ab his usu regor omnes rego* (roughly “I command all things the way I am commanded”), an allusion to his absolute obeisance to James’ wishes. Home died in January 1611, and Hw 2063 f. 142r contains his epitaph, copied in Fowler’s secretarial cursive hand and followed by a chronogram of his name reading 1611 (*fig. 18*). The capitalization of letters in his name suggests a chronogram:

Cui tumulus sine ossibus extat
et ossa sine tumulo

Anima coram deo corrupta
fide erga amicos incorrupta
In consuetudine [commodus] familiaritate liberali
apud proceres quorum humanitas illi indulcit
apud regem

jEorgIVs CoMes DVunbarrae
*MDCVVI*⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁵ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 30 (18 May 1603).

⁴⁹⁶ “Who has a tomb without bones, and bones without a tomb. His soul is corrupted in the face of God, as much as his faith was pure towards his friends. He was pleasant in company, and generous with his friendship. These human qualities endeared him to the best in the realm, and to the King. George, Earl of Dunbar, 1611”.

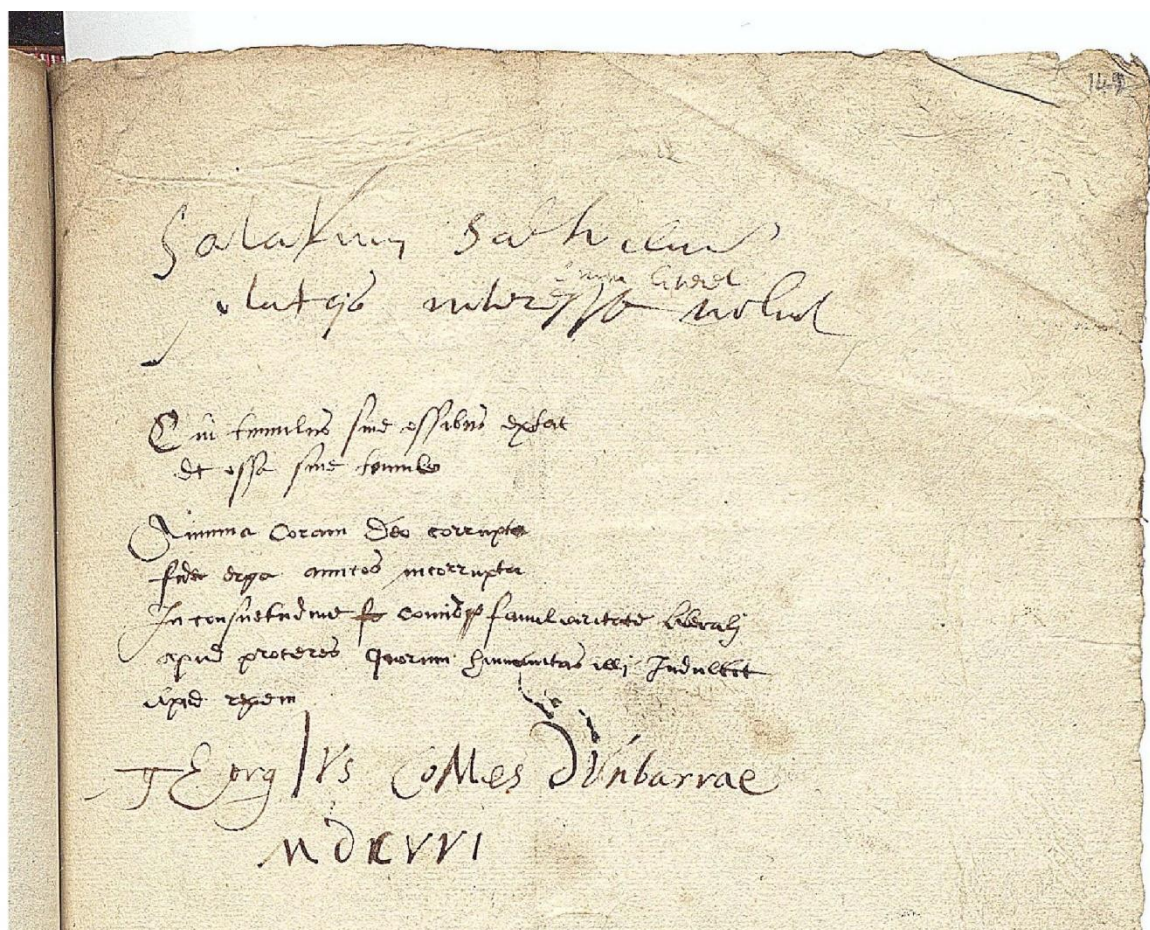


Figure 18: Hw 2063 f. 142r, Epitaph for the Earl of Dunbar.

If contemporary sources often complain of James' favouritism towards his Scottish nobles, the picture of the court painted in Hawthornden offers a more varied panorama, which includes English subjects as well. George Carey, who rode to Edinburgh in all haste and thus was the first to give James the news on his accession, had become a great favourite of the King, so much so that his wife was entrusted custody of young Prince Charles after he was removed from Seton's guardianship.⁴⁹⁷ His name appears on Hw 2063 ff. 132r (*Georgius Careus/ regia suge/ corvus*, which is probably an early attempt at an anagram) and 169r (*Georgius Careus/ corrige a jesu*, "you will amend [yourself] after Jesus' example") with variants *rege* and *iuges*, which seem to point to another failed attempt at anagrammatising Carey's name. The mention of ravens (*corvus*) and of "draining" (*sugere*) associated with a mention of the King make the anagrams a suitable choice for the ambitious favourite. Hw 2063 f. 150v contains the anagram of another of James' favourites as *Robertus Carus Vicecomes*, which can be identified with

⁴⁹⁷ For information on his life, see ODNB, s.v. See also Robert C. Monmouth, Walter Scott and G. H. Powell (eds.), *Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth*. London: Alexander Moring, 1905, pp. 75-77.

James' favourite Robert Carr, made Viscount Rochester on 24 March 1611.⁴⁹⁸ The different spelling on Hw 2063 f. 239r (*Georgus Cariūs/ suggero veraciūs*, "I present you the truth") and the different anagram suggests that the latter might instead be identified with one of two George Carews attached to the court. Given the direct relationship to the Queen's court, the most likely identification is with George Carew, Earl of Totnes, who was made Vice-Chamberlain and Receiver-General to Anna in October 1603.⁴⁹⁹ Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northampton, is mentioned in Hw 2063, ff. 112r (followed by the incomplete anagram *hoc nervosum hydrae usu*) and 186r, with a series of anagrams playing on the word *decus* (honour).

Judging from the number of mentions in Hawthornden, the person whom Fowler seems to have known better is indeed Robert Cecil, first Viscount Cranborne and Marquis of Salisbury.⁵⁰⁰ This is not surprising, given Cecil's enormous power during the reigns of both Elizabeth and James and the pivotal role he played in affairs of state until his death in 1612. Additionally, the two were in correspondence, with Fowler pleading his case with Cecil, who defended him when Fowler was in danger of losing his post. Finally, Fowler and Cecil could count on common allies, as Gilbert Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury and relative to Arbella Stuart was also in contact with Cecil regarding Fowler's condition at court.⁵⁰¹ His name recurs often, in Hw 2063 (ff. 111v, 132r, 149r and 171r), 2064 (f. 117r) and 2065 (ff. 87r, plus 98r and 99r). Most of these are anagrams of the name *Robertus Cecilius*, variously rendered as *sic celestibus uror* ("so the flame of heaven burns me", possibly referring to his life busily spent in the sight of monarchs) and *labuis et usu cicero* ("the lips and the manners of a Cicero", connected to his role as James' main councillor), both anagrams appearing on f. 132r. Hw 2064 f. 117r is a letter in Latin, undated, professing admiration and reassuring Cecil of his good standing, despite the rumours circulating about him. It is apparently from Fowler to Cecil and is followed by an anagram (*Robertus Cecilius/ Creo Lucius Iberis*, possibly "a Creon and a Lucius to the Spaniards"). For what concerns Cecil's notoriously bad reputation among contemporaries, Hw 2065 ff. 98 and 99 contain the same text, a satirical epitaph of Secretary Cecil that had a wide circulation in print. This item does not seem to be in Fowler's handwriting, and its interest lies mainly in that it offers more evidence for the manuscript circulation of this kind of topical material in the period close to Cecil's death, since the handwriting seems to belong to the first

⁴⁹⁸ ODNB, s.v.

⁴⁹⁹ The other person to whom this anagram could refer is George Carew, an administrator and diplomat who was close to Cecil (for information about him, see ODNB, s.v.).

⁵⁰⁰ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 26 (13 May 1603), p. 158 (20 Ago 1604) p. 201 (4 May 1605).

⁵⁰¹ See Chapter One and related sources.

part of the seventeenth century.⁵⁰² His motto, *sero sed serio* (“slowly but seriously”) appears in Hawthornden as well, on Hw 2063 f. 149v and Hw 2064 f. 3v (with variant reading *sero si serio*). Hw 2063 f. 209 mentions his name as “sarisburie”, which allows dating the page after 1605, when he was elevated to the Earldom of Salisbury. Sir Walter Cope was Cecil’s factotum, and this connection could explain the presence of his name among the Hawthornden anagrams, on Hw 2064 f. 14v.⁵⁰³ Other people mentioned in Hawthornden include John Ruthven, the last Earl of Gowrie, whose lands and title were forfeited after the “Gowrie conspiracy” of 1600. Fowler’s anagram on Hw 2063 f. 167r (*Johannes comes gavirus/ mirus ego casu* or “my disgrace is a true wonder”, and again on f. 191v of the same volume) captures the exceptionality of the events connected to his demise, which had been a matter of debate. Other honourable mentions include the Earl of Caithness (to whom a sonnet is dedicated on Hw 2063 f. 21r),⁵⁰⁴ one Archibald Campbell, James Hay and the Scottish divine Andrew Melville. Among the English, the name of John Colville, informer and diplomat often employed on missions over the border, surfaces frequently, while Fowler conversely makes a brief appearance in his letters.⁵⁰⁵ Fowler also wrote an English “doggerel” addressed to Sir David Wod, a minor courtier who would be marginally implicated in the Overbury scandal in the coming years.⁵⁰⁶

Such a cursory glance at the people surrounding Hawthornden in the London court seems to back up previous studies, confirming that the circle of people close to the King was mostly composed of either Scottish nobles or English people close to the Cecil and the Howard factions. The Scots at court seem to have included both those who had followed the King to London, or in the case of Gordon, met him there soon after his accession, as well as those who had stayed in Scotland to conduct government business there, but remained close to the court and King. Seton’s case is emblematic in this sense. Despite the fact that he spent most of his time in Scotland, he managed to maintain a personal relation with James via his correspondence with other Scots at court, especially those, like John Murray and Thomas Erskine, with whom he shared family ties.⁵⁰⁷ The fact that he successfully managed to keep a foot in London, so to speak, is a testament to the importance of a solid extended networks of relatives and allies for the lives and careers of Jacobean people even at the highest level. Moreover, Seton’s strategies

⁵⁰² Also quoted in Croft, “The Reputation of Robert Cecil”, p. 55.

⁵⁰³ ODNB, s.v. for a biographical account. See also

⁵⁰⁴ Printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 256.

⁵⁰⁵ David Laing (ed.), *Original Letters of Mr. John Colville, 1582-1603: To Which Is Added, His Palinode, 1600*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1863, p. 112.

⁵⁰⁶ Printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 320. See Loxley et al., *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, n. 86.

⁵⁰⁷ See ODNB, s.v. “Alexander Seton”.

for maintaining power offer additional proof of the cohesiveness of the Scottish group in London, a situation confirmed by Fowler's material in Hawthornden, with its prevalence of Scots. Finally, the micro-texts and ephemeral material connected to James' London court highlights an opposition between the two souls of the royal entourage, the English, mainly including business relations and favourites (Cecil, Carey and Carr) and the Scottish one, which includes a number of James' most trusted advisors and near-constant companions. While this situation has been duly noticed by scholars, its importance has been often overshadowed by the focus on the opposition between Anna's court (and the Essex faction) vs James' establishment (dominated by the Howards).⁵⁰⁸ Relevantly from the contemporary perspective, the Scots at court were concentrated in the Privy Chamber; furthermore, the same people provided most of James' accolade during his extended hunting trips. As such, the Scots in the London court were often seen as monopolizing access to James' physical presence, at a time when personal and physical closeness to the monarch was the one and true source of power and influence.⁵⁰⁹ In this sense, the opposition between Scottish and English people at court can be seen as mirroring the conflicts on a national level between James' Scottish and English subjects that have been mentioned above.

The climate seems to have remained heated for a relatively long time, according to contemporary records. In 1607, a Parliament meeting had apparently degenerated into invective when one Sir Christopher Piggott launched in a tirade "against the Scots and Scottish nation". Piggot "was astonished, that any ear could be lent for joining a good and fertile country to one poor and barren; and for associating frank and honest men with such as were beggars, proud and generally traitors and rebels to their King".⁵¹⁰ This sentiment had an effect on the issue involving the rights of the so-called *post-nati* (that is, those subjects that were born after James' accession to the English throne) which occupied contemporaries in a heated debate in the first decade of James' reign.⁵¹¹ At the court level, we do not have to rely on Hawthornden alone to find evidence of such tensions. Like everything else at court, political motives seem to have taken a personal turn, and contemporary witnesses record a series of incidents between Scottish and English subjects in the first decade of James' English reign, some of them involving courtiers. For instance, in 1604, the Earl of Southampton was freed from the Tower of London, where he had been confined due to a rumour that he and others were "plotting to slay certain

⁵⁰⁸ Barrol, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁰⁹ Maurice Lee notices the situation in relation to Seton, see *ODNB*, s.v. "Alexander Seton".

⁵¹⁰ Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 9 (13 January 1607).

⁵¹¹ See for instance the entry in Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 13 (22 February 1607).

Scots about the King”.⁵¹² In 1611, a letter from the Scot Sir Henry Balfour to Cecil informs us that the Earl was “displeased with a man for depriving him of a reward [and] would have killed him, but he was an Englishman, and the King dislikes frays between the nations”.⁵¹³ Later in May of the same year, a letter from the Earl of Cumberland to Salisbury informs him of the “murder of an Englishman by Scottish borderers”.⁵¹⁴ The King himself was aware of the tension, and there is evidence that he took practical measures to defuse enmity between his English and Scots courtiers, such as giving both an equally prominent place in courtly entertainments (as had happened in the “barriers” event of Truth vs Opinion, mentioned above) and setting up matrimonial matches between Scottish and English houses. That this strategy was not always successful is proven by Parliamentary records, showing that the Scot vs English debate occupied most of their time between 1603 and 1607.⁵¹⁵

Once again, Hawthornden provides us with a glimpse on the consequences of such “frays”, which must have been rather frequent at the end of the decade if James’ mind about them was common knowledge. The evidence is, again, in the form of a series of ephemera, related to an incident that was well known at the time, so much so that a ballad was made of the events.⁵¹⁶ On 9 November 1609 Sir James Stewart (“a great minion of the King” and his cousin) and Sir George Wharton (brother-in-law to Sir Henry Wotton) “both young men about the King” (*i.e.* belonging to the court’s entourage) fought a duel in Islington Fields, after having fallen out while playing cards at Whitehall.⁵¹⁷ Both men died and apparently James tried to turn their deaths into a moral lesson to his other courtiers (and probably to his subjects), as he ordered the Scot and the English to be buried in the same grave in St Mary’s parish in Islington. With a veritable passion for epitaphs (that he both collected and composed) and a taste for exceptional events with a moral twist, Fowler likely represented the most qualified person to memorialize the fallen courtiers. Accordingly, Hawthornden includes many a literary trace of this trivial occurrence, the symbolic implications of which were likely not lost on his contemporaries. Hw 2063 and 2064 contain multiple copies of a double epitaph for Stewart and Wharton, on Hw 2063 ff. 133, 208 and 213*, and on Hw 2064 ff. 62, 67, 70-71 and 73-74.

⁵¹² Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, p. 147 (25 June 1604).

⁵¹³ *CSP James I*, IX, p. 9 (10 February 1611).

⁵¹⁴ *CSP Domestic Series, James I, 1611-18*, IX, p. 36 (28 May 1611).

⁵¹⁵ Wormald, “Gunpowder Treason and Scots”, p. 159-160.

⁵¹⁶ Preserved by Walter Scott in his collection as “The Duel of Wharton and Stuart, in Two Parts” (Walter Scott, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Edinburgh: Black, 1887, II, pp. 311-19).

⁵¹⁷ Other authors, such as Kiernan, place the duel in 1612. However, documentary evidence enforces dating the duel in 1609 (V. G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy*. London: Zed, 2016). See Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 156.

The pieces show similarities with the items belonging to the Middlemore *corpus* in that the leaves include items of different kinds (epitaphs, anagrams and images) in the Latin and English languages. Similarly to the Middlemore items, moreover, some of the copies of these texts in Hawthornden show traces of particular care, such as rubrics and a careful layout, suggesting copies made for circulation, or as personal mementoes. Here follows the transcription of one of the two main texts related to the occasion, which occurs in numerous repetitions with small variants, as it appears on Hw 2064 f. 74r in what looks like its definitive form:

Jacobus Steuuartus

*Iracundia Acceleravit Certamen, Offensi Bile Vindictaq(ue)/ Succumbimus: Strenue Tamen. Exitio
Vtriusque Vitam/ Adimentes. Rarum Tradentes Viatoribus Spectaculum.*

*Vitae Casus Obrutus
Viguit Heu Sons Arguor*

*Gravis Erat Offense, Reputatio Gravior, Iniuria Vltione/ Sublata, Vitaq(ue) Vulneribus; Hanc
Animam Reddo Throno/ Omnipotentis Nostri Jesu Vigilantissimi Salvatoris .*

*Gerogius Whartonijs
Vigui Heu! Sons Arguor*⁵¹⁸

The text on f. 73 is written in italic semi-*formata*, with decorative capitals betraying an attempt at a formal presentation; the lines are set in the centre of the page with ample margins and space between items blank. Under this text, another version, written in a different ink and in Fowler's secretarial cursive hand, contains some minor variations. The text itself consists in two short epitaphs of the same length, followed by anagrams of the two men involved in the duel. A very similar text appear on Hw 2063 f. 208r (*Plate 5*). The top text on 2063 has all the features of a copy produced for public circumstances. The leaf is a singleton, blank on the verso; the text is written in an italic *formata* and placed squarely in the centre, with ample margins and blank space in-between the headings and the text. The longer prose text on top of the page can also be found on the bottom of Hw 2064 f. 67r (the left margin of the leaf is partially torn); the latter copy is in the state of a draft, in Fowler's secretarial cursive hand and subscribed with his neo-Latin anagrammatic signature *fulgor vivus ille meis*. The presence of so many draft copies of these items among the fragments in Hawthornden suggests that the whole of the epitaph is most

⁵¹⁸ "Anger hastened the fight; we succumbed to malicious bile and vengeance, but not without a valiant fight. As a result, we both lost our lives. Now we tell this exceptional story to passers-by./ Having lost my life, I lay buried./ He was strong. Alas, I am guilty as accused./ The offence was great but the rumour was greater, the affront was washed away by vengeance, and life succumbed to the wounds: I give back this soul to the throne of the omnipotent Jesus our saviour, who always watches over us./ George Wharton/ I was bold. Alas, I am guilty as accused". An English version of this text, in verse, is provided by Fowler himself and is transcribed below.

likely his own creation. The leaf itself (see *Plate 5*) is a complex product, halfway between literature and craftwork, involving changes in script, capitalization, rubrics and layout. As such, it is worth transcribing in full:

Jgaecoorbguisusstueaurutaorntiusus

*Intrepidae Grandisque animositatis Exuviae conquiescunt.
obruti occumbimus retusa bile gestiente vltione,
Interempti simul. Viriliterque satis. Sanguinem
vulnerum exhausit. [tellus] humidula ¶Vapida. at ve=
litationis (reputationis acerba trutina) [superscript: recordatio] rigidaque)
omnis tumulo nobiscum velanda Immemorabilisq(ue) sit
velamine sepulchri*

*Epitaphia Illustrum iuvenum JS GW
Singularis velitatione occumbentium*

*Epitaphia Illustrum iuvenum JS GW
Singularis velitatione occumbentium*

*Duelli finis mors ipsa
Pari damno obitus ictis*

*Anagrammatismus
jacobus Steuartus
vitae casus obrutus
Gerogius Whartonus
vigi heu! sons arguor*

*G.F. pater moerens expressit
L.F. filius excripsisit*⁵¹⁹

The text is subscribed *G.F. pater moerens expressit/ L.F. filius excripsisit* (“William Fowler, the father, composed this with tears in his eyes/ Ludovic Fowler, the son, wrote it down”). The page contains two different texts, the longer a prose epitaph followed by the two anagrams; the two parts appear to have been written at different times, since the layout and colour of ink are rather inconsistent. The subscription could refer only to the second text (the anagrams), but since the hands of Fowler and his son are so similar in their Italian *formata* stage, caution is obligatory. That the two parts of this page could represent different texts is suggested by the

⁵¹⁹ “James Stewart - George Wharton/ Here lie buried together the mortal spoils of great and valiant courage. We succumbed to inimical bile and died while exacting vengeance, killed at the same time, although we fought with valour. The blood poured from the wounds, dampening the ground and evaporating with the spirit. But now let our duel (the harsh and bitter measure of reputation) be covered with us by the mound and the forgetfulness of the grave's shadows./ Epitaphs of the famous youths JS and GW/ who died in the same fight [this line is repeated]/ The end of the duel was death, which hit them with an equal blow./ Anagrams: James Stewart, My life ended, I am buried./ George Wharton, I was bold, alas! I stand guilty as accused/ G.F. the father composed this with tears in his eyes/ L.F. the son put it in writing.”

fact that they seem to occur infrequently together, and are placed in different locations in the manuscripts. While the shorter epitaphs on Hw 2064 f. 73 are present in all the leaves mentioned here (except for f. 208 above), the longer text (on f. 208) is found as a later addition only in Hw 2064 f. 67r, which contains the shorter epitaphs and the anagrams (the latter item also on f. 208). Moreover, this text presents traces of a rubric, made by interlocking the names of the two men in their Latinized form, and alternating black and red ink (reading *Jacobus steuuartus/Georgius Uartonus*, on the page: *Jgaecoorbguisusstueaurutaorntiuuss*). The device is reproduced in the main text, where the same letters are either rubricated or capitalized, and (imperfectly) spell the names of the two men when isolated from the text, making it something akin to an acrostic. The use of differently coloured ink is a feature that connects this text with chronograms; accordingly, Hw 2064 f. 73r shows a list of roman numerals (in the bottom right corner, c, d, I, L, M, V, X) followed by their respective numerical value in English, in Fowler's mixed current hand, suggesting he was attempting to fit the names into a chronogram pattern. Lastly, Hw 2064 f. 62v, which contains a variation of the same text on the *recto*, displays two drawings in pencil (or drawing charcoals), consistent with the use of emblems on a gravestone. The drawings seem to depict very similar scenes both featuring objects emerging from what looks like clouds, one a lighthouse, the other a raised hand with a sword. Finally, Hw 2064 f. 74v contains an English version of the short epitaphs on the *recto* of the same page. The text, probably representing a vernacular re-working of the Latin text, is set in verse, three open quatrains rhyming *abab*:

Epitaphe upone James Steuuarts deathe

With courage full of splene I did combatte
 [o'r]cumming I succumb.⁵²⁰ So bothe subdeued.
 And bounding in my tombe my hopes and state
 With evil aspect of starrs deathe hathe enseued

upon Sir George Wharton.

Greate was the wrong, but gretar the report,
 Yet credditt was repayred with revenge
 With loss of lyfe after such martial sort
 As to faint harts, this boldnes will seme strange

But unto these which ar to honour borne
 And myndes resents the valeur of there race
 Such noble harts which cowardyce ay scorne
 May wel condole our deathe, but not disgrace

⁵²⁰ "Ourcum", also "o'r(e)-cum", meaning "overcome" (*DOST*, s.v.).

As in the case of the texts addressed to Middlemore, the epitaphs for Stewart and Wharton represent a complex piece of work, involving the use of different languages. Moreover, the type of text also called for the use of a complex *mise en page*, involving visual elements and figurative arts as well as presentation writing.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Princess Elizabeth's name occurs often as well, either in combination with other members of the royal family (He 2063, ff. 190r and 199r, for instance, and Hw 2064 f. 14) or isolated (Hw 2063 f. 206v). Her name is generally used in the forms of *Elizabetha heroina* (or "heroine") or *Elizabetha Steuarta*, which yields multiple variations of the phrase *a hebe talis* (or "the same as Hebe") or *altera Thisbe* ("another Thisbe"). Fowler also played with the name of other classical women, Arsinoe and Thalia (Hw 2063 f. 199r), although they do not seem to have yielded as good a final result. She appears on f. 190r in company of her mother and older brother, her name anagrammatized in Latin and Italian as *a hebe talis* and *a hebe sarà tanti i beni* (roughly "Hebe will receive many blessings").⁵²¹ Hebe being the goddess of youth and the cupbearer of the gods, and Thisbe the protagonist of the classical love story of Pyramus and Thisbe, the anagram is particularly interesting when read in the context of marriage negotiations for the Princess, which took place starting about 1609-10.⁵²² As the youngest of the royal children and a secondary character before his brother's death, it is no surprise that the name of Prince Charles occurs less often than his older (and increasingly politically relevant by the end of the 1600s) siblings, generally as *Carolux Dux*, with a possible reference to his English title as Duke of York. The negotiation for the Princess' marriage offers a reason for the name of Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Imperial Elector, to be present in Hw 2063 f. 206r, along with the name of others. Princess Elizabeth's name is also present, isolated on the *verso* of the same page. The presence on the same page of the name of Marguerite de Valois as Queen of France (*Margareta Valoisia Regina*) and of a *Dux Bavariae* (likely Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria, a cousin of Frederick) could be the result of Continental politics.

⁵²¹ The Italian in this last phrase is slightly incorrect, but the overall meaning seems clear.

⁵²² The *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Muses", lists Thalia as the muse of comedy; Hebe, the personification of "adolescence, puberty", is said to have married Hercules after his reconciliation with the Olympians (*ibid.*, s.v.). The very popular story of the lovers Pyramus and Thisbe is narrated in Ovid, *Metam.*, IV, ll. 55-165 (Ovidio, *Metamorfosi*, I, pp. 222-31); Arsinoe is the name of several mythological women.

208
Iacobus Stuart
et
Georgius Stuart

Interpida Grandisq; aemulatio. Exuviae conquiescunt.
Obruti occumbimus; retusa ile-gistruente litone.
Interrompti simul. Viriliterque satis. Sanguinem
Valneram exhaustit. humidula et Vapida. At Ve
litationis reputatio acerba trutina ^{recondatio} rigidaque
omnis tumulto nobiscum velanda immovabilis set
Velamino Sepulchri. Sepulchri.

Epitaphia Illustrum Juvenum J. S. G. W.
singulari belitatione occumbentium.

Ducelli finis mors ipsa
pari damno obitus ictis.
anagrammatismus.

Jacobus Stuart
Vetus casus, obrutus

Georgius Whartonius
brui, heu! sons arguor.

G. F. pater Maerens parit expressit
L. F. filius exscripsit

Maximilian led the Catholic League, a coalition of Catholic princes of the Holy Roman Empire formed in 1609, to which Queen Margaret also claimed allegiance. The League was opposed to the Protestant Union, headed by Frederick himself. On f. 206, the name *Comes Palatinus Elector* is anagrammatized in *aeternam spe colo* (“I keep undying hope”) which is apt for a pretender to Elizabeth’s hand. Frederick married the Princess in February 1613, only a few months after Fowler’s death. The negotiations, however, had been ongoing for some time. Princess Elizabeth’s German (and Protestant) marriage started to take a more definite shape by 1610, when Frederick’s father died.⁵²³ The general circumstances encourage dating this anagram around 1611-12, when the wedding began to look increasingly imminent. Frederick is not the only representative of foreign powers to find a place among the scribblings and fragments in Hawthornden. Probably the most relevant among foreign potentates appearing in Hawthornden are Christian IV, King of Denmark and brother to Queen Anne, and Henry IV of France.

In the case of Henry IV, the international echo of his assassination in May 1610 provides a rationale for Fowler’s interest, without any need for a personal connection to be established. On the contrary, the occasion to write about King Christian IV of Denmark could have been his famous visit to Britain in 1606, which was undoubtedly a grand affair, being the first visit of a foreign monarch since Emperor Charles V. A printed account was produced describing the visit, by one H. R. (Henry Roberts) in the same year.⁵²⁴ Along with the disastrous feast at Theobald’s described by John Harington in his memoirs, other occasions during Christian’s visit might have called for micro-texts, such as a tilting and other displays, and entertainments organized by the city and the guilds.⁵²⁵ However, Robert’s description is a simple list of activities and does not feature specific descriptions, making it difficult to ascertain if mottoes or anagrams could have been part of the entertainments. Moreover, relations between the two Kingdoms were amicable and the occasions for exchanging gifts of various nature was frequent. Just to name one, Christian was invested of the Garter at the beginning of James’ reign in July 1603, along with Ludovic Stuart, the Earls of Mar, Pembroke and Southampton. In 1606, on his visit, he was made a Knight of the Garter in person; however, he had sent his

⁵²³ “Now that the Elector Palatine is dead, their Majesties are the more inclined to marry the Princess Elizabeth to the young Count Frederick” (quoted from Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 227).

⁵²⁴ H. R. (Henry Roberts), *The most royall and honourable entertainment, of the famous and renowned king, Christiern the fourth, King of Denmarke, &c. By H. R.* At London: Printed [by George Eld] for H. R[oberts] and are to be sold by William Barley, 1606, ESTC: S115982 and S100604.

⁵²⁵ The feast is described in detail in *Harington’s, Nugae Antiquae, Containing Letters, Miscellaneous Papers &c.*, London: by J. Wright for Vernon and Hood, I, pp. 348-53.

secretary Ramelius in 1605, to be knighted as his proxy.⁵²⁶ Hw 2063 f. 126 contains a list of sententious phrases (probably mottoes, such as *habenda et non danda fide*, “trust is to be had not given”) written in a formal secretarial book hand that becomes Fowler’s highly recognizable current mixed hand by the end of the *verso*. The *verso* contains, mixed with the same kind of phrases, the name of *Christianus danorum rex*, among others. The presence of both Marguerite de Valois and Maria de’ Medici (*Maria Francorum Regina*) allows dating this leaf surely after 1600, while the presence of Henry as Prince of Wales encourages a dating closer to 1610 or after. F. 126r in the same volume displays half a page completely dedicated to Christian, with his name anagrammatized as variants of *Christi asina redux* or *en ei Christi duxere sana*, both in relation to the King of Denmark’s firm Protestant faith. The leaf is dated 1609 in the upper right corner. On the following leaf f. 161r, where it appears along Seton and the Archduke of Austria, the name of the King is similarly anagrammatized into *eucharistia dei risu* (possibly meaning “god smiles down on the Eucharist”). Other people that appear in Fowler’s papers in Hawthornden can be seen to have a link with the different policies pursued at court. Sigismund III Vasa, the Catholic King of Poland, can be found on Hw 2063 f. 210r, along with Emperor Rudolph II, whose ambassador extraordinary was in England in July 1605.⁵²⁷ The presence of the King of Poland could be linked to his attempt to marry Arbella Stuart in 1604.⁵²⁸ The “*soi disant*” Polish prince Stefan Yaniculo (Bogdan) was also in England in the summer of 1607, and secured a match with Arbella, which never materialized.⁵²⁹ However, the fact that these individuals were all public figures makes them the most likely candidates for what Meikle termed Fowler’s “favourite recreation”. Their public status makes it possible for their occurrence in the Hawthornden manuscripts to represent the result of idle hours on the part of Fowler, who could have spent some time composing anagrams of the kind of famous foreigners that were talked about in his circles, for one reason or the other. Without further evidence, it is impossible to reach a final verdict, or to point at the specific conditions of production and use of these items.

A second possibility is that the name of so many foreign royals could be connected with events involving their respective ambassadorial entourages in England, since ambassadors often found themselves at the centre of social and political events at court. Many exchanges, such as the

⁵²⁶ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, pp. 230, 332.

⁵²⁷ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, pp. 211-216.

⁵²⁸ See *ODNB*, s.v. “Lady Arbella Stuart”.

⁵²⁹ *CSP Venice*, XI, p. 50 and Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 171 (12 January 1610). The Episode was satirized in Jonson’s play *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman* of 1609-10.

afore-mentioned Garter ceremony for the King of Denmark in 1605, and the oath of peace between England and Spain in August 1604, were performed by ambassadors as proxies of their King.⁵³⁰ Foreign ambassadors are another category of people that features prominently in Hawthornden, confirming that they too played a part in the cultural economy of the court; moreover, they were less universally famous, and it is thus easier to link their names in Hawthornden to their presence in the capital and to the sort of occasion that would have called for ephemeral compliments. The material related to foreign ambassadors is probably the best example of the interlacing of literature and politics at the Jacobean court, and of how literature could become entangled in affairs of state. In the Hawthornden manuscripts, these texts make up a small corpus that includes about fifteen items, distributed among ten separate leaves, out of the about 270 that make up the first volume in the series. Several foreign ambassadors make an appearance among the scribblings in Hawthornden, mainly from the ambassadorial establishments of Spain, France and Venice.

The list that follows is an attempt to relate their presence in the Hawthornden volumes to some of the specific political circumstances during the decade between 1603 and 1612. This period includes several politically charged events that called upon the skills for negotiations of foreign delegates in England, starting with the death of Queen Elizabeth and the Scottish succession to the throne of England, to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, which saw a wave of anti-Catholic sentiment sweep through the country and through James' English court. A direct consequence of the plot was the introduction of the Oath of Allegiance in 1606; the introduction of the Oath in turn prompted the Catholic reaction, and the controversy soon reached European proportions.⁵³¹ James wrote an "Apology" for the Oath that was first published anonymously in England in 1607 and went through eleven editions until 1609. In this year, the Apology was reissued in Latin, English, and French with a prefatory address by James to European monarchs.⁵³² The book circulated in the European courts thanks to James' ambassadors and was generally met with coldness on the part of Catholic princes, and with suspicion by most

⁵³⁰ Harrison, *Jacobean Journal*, pp. 230 (31 August 1605), 156 (19 August 1604).

⁵³¹ On the Oath of Allegiance, see Michael C. Questier, "Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance", *The Historical Journal* 40 (1997), pp. 311-329. On James' Apology, see for instance Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, pp. 121-23 and Marcy L. North, "Anonymity's Subject: James I and the Debate over the Oath of Allegiance", *New Literary History* 33 (2002), pp. 215-232.

⁵³² First edition: James I, *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus. Or An apologie for the Oath of allegiance, against the two breues of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the late letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackvvell the Arch-prieSt Authoritate regiâ*. Imprinted at London: by Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, anno 1607, ESTC: S121305.

others.⁵³³ The controversy, too complex to be explained in a few lines, involved many theologians in England and on the Continent, among whom are people connected to Fowler and the Hawthornden manuscripts, such as the Scot John Gordon, James' Bishop of Salisbury, a supporter of James' Unionist project and the author of *Antitortobellarminus*.⁵³⁴ Gordon appears in several anagrams in Hawthornden as *Johannes Gordonius*, and his published verse (a short Latin Epigram on Mary Queen of Scots) was copied by Fowler among his papers. Towards the end of the decade, foreign diplomats were also busy in the negotiations (and counter-negotiations, as in the case of Spain) of possible matches for both Princess Elizabeth and the heir apparent to the English throne.⁵³⁵

The Venetian ambassadors are the most frequently mentioned, appearing in Hw 2063 on ff. 147r, 134v, 150r and 191. The mentions concern ambassadors active in diplomatic service in England between 1603 and 1611. Nicolò Molin was sent to England in 1603 to congratulate James I on his accession, and was then confirmed as an ordinary ambassador, his first dispatch to the *Serenissima* being dated 4 November of that year. He remained in England until the beginning of 1606 (his last dispatch is dated 25 January), and his name appears in Hw 2063 on ff. 150r and 191v in its Latinized form as *Nicolaus Molinus*, anagrammatized in *uno culmina solis* (putting his name in relation to the sun's zenith) on both leaves. His successor was Zorzi (or Giorgio) Giustinian, whose first report is dated 6 January 1606, indicating that the two men's presence in London overlapped for a matter of a few weeks.⁵³⁶ Giustinian's name appears only on Hw 2063 ff. 191 (both *recto* and *verso*) as *Giorgius Iustinianus Venetae Reipub. Legatus* (or "ambassador of the Venetian Republic"). The leaf is the same containing the anagrams of Mary Middlemore in draft, and is dated 14 February 1609 on the top-right margin of the *recto*. The last dispatch from Giustinian to Venice is dated early November 1608, when he apparently exchanged places with the next ambassador, Marcantonio Correr (or Corraro).⁵³⁷ Correr is present on the same f. 191v (*fig.* 19), which encourages dating this page

⁵³³ An example is the reception in Venice in 1609 of the Italian translation of James' *Premonition*, attached to the *Apology*, as presented by Henry Wotton, the resident ambassador: Melanie Ord, "Venice and Rome in the Addresses and Dispatches of Sir Henry Wotton: First English Embassy to Venice, 1604–1610", *The Seventeenth Century* 22 (2007), pp. 1–23, pp. 11–12.

⁵³⁴ John Gordon, *Antitortobellarminus, siue Refutatio calumniarum, mendaciorum, et imposturarum laico-Cardinalis Bellarmini, contra iura omnium regum... per Ioannem Gordonium Scoto-Britannum*. Londini: [S.n.], 1610. On Gordon, see Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "The Career of John Gordon Dean of Salisbury, 1603–1619", *Historian* 6 (1943), pp. 76–96.

⁵³⁵ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 170–71.

⁵³⁶ For a list of Venetian ambassadors in England, and the dates of their dispatches, see the tables provided in *British History Online*, available at: < <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol1/cxxii-cxxxix> > [accessed 12 July 2016].

⁵³⁷ For biographical details of both Giustinian and Correr, see *DBI*, s.v.

between the end of 1608 and the beginning of 1609. The leaf seems to have originally been meant as a fair copy, which was later re-used for drafts. The names of Giustinian and Correr are written in an italic full *formata* or book-hand belonging either to Fowler or, less probably given the flair, to his son Ludovic. Other scribblings and items on the same page in Fowler's mixed current hand seem to have been added later, since they overlap with the text in Italian *formata* at several points. The page reads: *Anagramma/ Georgius iustinianus/ augusto insigni vires/ Ill[ustrissi]mus Venetae Reipub. Legatus/ dignissimus de se ipse composuit* (or: "Anagram/ Giorgio Giustinian/ similar in strength to noble Augustus (?)/ most honourable ambassador of the Venetian Republic/ made of himself"). A short space below, the name of Giustinian's successor Correr also appears as: *Marcantonius corrarus/ Marcus, Turcas conculcauit* ("Mark has defeated the Turks"). The anagram is followed by a date in roman numerals (MCCCCCLVVVVI, 1571); the date is the year of the Battle of Lepanto, where the Ottoman forces were successfully dispersed by the naval powers of the Holy League, headed by Venice (whose banner bears the winged lion of St Mark).

The unusual format of the date (the more widely used form would read instead MDLXXI for 1571) could be due to the attempt at making this into a chronogram, which would require the use of C and V instead of D and X since these letters are absent in Correr's name. The events of Lepanto were well known to the English audience, also considering that James had published a poem on the events with his own *Poeticall Exercises* of 1591, for which Fowler had written a prefatory sonnet.⁵³⁸ Giustinian and Correr were probably both in London between late 1608 and early 1609, when they exchanged functions.⁵³⁹ Moreover, given the presence of an anagram apparently written by an ambassador (as the phrase *de se ipse composuit* indicates) and collected by Fowler, the page could represent evidence of a personal exchange of micro-textual material between Fowler and the Venetians. Certainly, Fowler's knowledge of Italian and his personal acquaintance with the area around Venice would have endeared him to the Italians. If this is the case, this piece confirms the impression that anagrams and similar ephemera were a widespread pastime among professional cultured men in court circles, and were popular outside of the Jacobean court at this point in time. An interest in such material could have prompted personal exchange in an international setting, and points to the strong

⁵³⁸ James I, *His Maiesties poeticall exercises*. For information on *Lepanto*, see Peter C. Herman, "'Best of Poets, Best of Kings': King James VI and I and the Scene of Monarchic Verse", in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds.), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002, pp. 61-103. The sonnet "To the onely royal poet" is printed in Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, I, p. 5.

⁵³⁹ See *British History Online*, available at: < <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol1/cxxii-cxxix> > [accessed 12 July 2016].

cultural ties between different places in Europe which shared the same court-culture and had similar tastes. Fowler can be seen as improving upon Giustinian's name, that he renders as *in signo augusti veris* ("under the spring sign of Augustus"), with a reference to the zodiac sign of Emperor Augustus and Charles V, the Capricorn (the word "Capricorn" is noted in the margin in Fowler's current hand).⁵⁴⁰ The last ambassador from Venice to be found in the Hawthornden papers is Francesco Contarini, whose mission to England only lasted a month, between the beginning of February and the beginning of March 1610, allowing to date his anagram on Hw 2063 f. 134v (*Franciscus Contarinus/ confractiis scrinia cresco*, possibly meaning "the treasure chest broken, I grow") with more precision.⁵⁴¹ Contarini had been sent to England as ambassador extraordinary specifically to deal with the issue of the King's *Apology*. Specifically, Contarini's task was to settle the differences that had been engendered by the Venetian council's cold reception of the book, and to ensure England's continuing support in Venetian struggles against the Papacy. Contarini was officially received by the King and his family along with Correr, the ordinary ambassador, on 2 February, which could explain the presence of his name in the company of Henry (whose creation as Prince of Wales was at the time under consideration) on the *recto* of the same leaf. On this occasion, Contarini declared that "the only reason for his sending was the good understanding between the Crown of England and the Republic, and their good regard for the King's favour to the Republic" and then presented a letter to the Queen.⁵⁴² A few days later, the Venetians and the new French ambassador la Boderie dined together "in full state" in the company of the King.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ For a similar use of the image in Europe, see for instance Marcello Fantoni, "Il simbolismo medico del potere fra Cinque e Seicento", in Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (ed.), *L'arme E Gli Amori: Ariosto, Tasso and Guarini in Late Renaissance Florence*. Firenze: Olshki, 2004, pp. 17-26, p. 18.

⁵⁴¹ See *British History Online*, available at: < <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol1/cxxii-cxxix> > [accessed 12 July 2016]. For information on Contarini's mission, see *DBI*, s.v.

⁵⁴² Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, pp. 154, 174; *CSP Venice* XI, p. 792.

⁵⁴³ *CSP Venice*, XI, pp. 801-803.

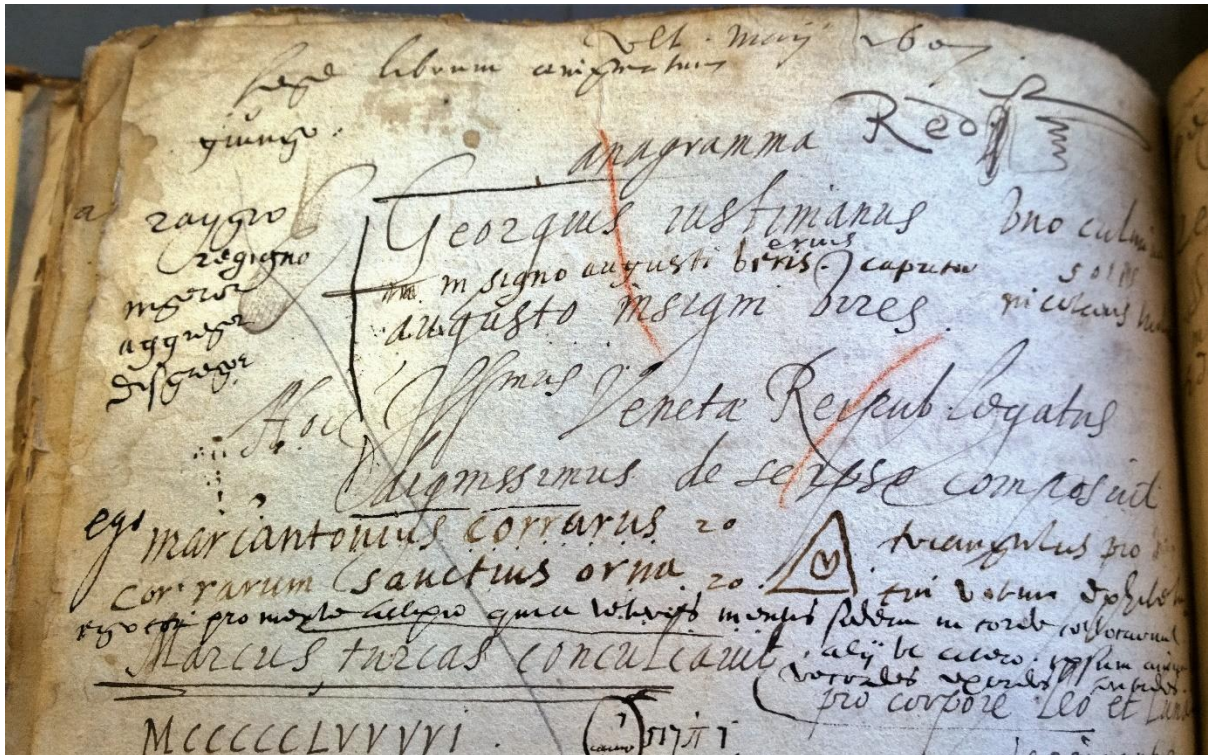


Figure 19: Hw 2063 f. 191v, top-half, displaying the names of Zorzi Giustinian and Marcantonio Correr, fairly written.

After the Venetians, it is the Spanish ambassadors that appear more frequently in Fowler's scribblings. Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana, had been sent to England in 1603 to negotiate a durable peace between the latter and Spain, and he remained there until September 1605, when he was relieved by don Pedro de Zuniga.⁵⁴⁴ Tassis' name appear only on Hw 2063 f. 127r, as *comes villamediana*, although the anagram seems to be incomplete. His successor, who remained in England until May 1610, seems to have caused some problems to Fowler the anagrammatist. His name appears isolated on Hw 2063 f. 150v, followed by the words *zusa* (with the explanation in Latin "in the language of the Africans, a seed very potent against scorpions") and *zariaspa* ("a city in India"). A brief search reveals that the two words are consecutive entries in Calepino's dictionary, under the letter "z".⁵⁴⁵ This latter anagram gives an indication of Fowler's method for composing anagrams, which involved the use of a multilingual tool such as Calepino's book to supply him with words, especially for those names that were most difficult to anagrammatize. Zuniga's, with the uncommon letter, seems to have

⁵⁴⁴ Salisbury Papers, XXIII, p. 366.

⁵⁴⁵ It is not possible at this stage to determine which one of the many editions was used by Fowler. The library of Drummond of Hawthornden apparently included a copy of the *Dictionary*, which is not among the books in the Drummond collection in Edinburgh University Library. See the dedicated section in Chapter One.

been one of them; accordingly, there is no anagram under his name, only the words from Calepino, and an incomplete attempt. Aside from the frivolities of ephemeral literature, the presence of the Spaniards and their relationship with the court is a significant theme running through Jacobean London. The house of the Spanish ambassador was a safe place for English recusants, who could hear the Catholic mass there. In 1610, English subjects were officially forbidden to attend the ceremony, which suggests that doing so had been common practice for some time.⁵⁴⁶ Moreover, Spanish ladies in the ambassador's retinue were known to have communicated with incarcerated Jesuits in 1611.⁵⁴⁷ Lady Jean Drummond, Anna's Scottish companion and the one who allegedly converted her to Catholicism, was thought to be "a pensioner of Spain" (that is, she was receiving money from the Spanish crown), possibly in exchange for a foothold in Anna's court.⁵⁴⁸

The name of the Spanish ambassador Alonso de Velasco y Salinas appears often in Hawthornden as *alonsus de velasco* (Hw 2063 f. 104r, 147r, 176r, 206r and 222r). The anagram reads either *sola salus caelo* or *sola salus celso* (a minor variation, the meaning being almost identical: "the only salvation is in heaven" or "above"), which is a reference to Velasco's Catholic faith. On f. 104, his name is in the company of a series of anagrams for the word "Jesuit". On f. 222r (fourth fragment on a composite leaf), Velasco's name and anagram are accompanied by another short phrase (*Christe tuo fuso sanguine sola salus* or "Christ, the only salvation is through your blood"), possibly following the same pattern of other anagram plus longer verse pieces in Hawthornden. It seems obvious to link Velasco's name and the mention of his professed Catholicism to Anna and her conversion, especially considering the contemporary suspicion that Anna was among the ladies taking communion at Velasco's house.⁵⁴⁹ Accordingly, Anna seems to have displayed a marked preference for Spain over France, as far as the tastes of her own court were concerned, and modern scholars have highlighted her "blatantly Spanish politics".⁵⁵⁰ Anna's preference for Spain over France caused her apartments in Greenwich to become a debating forum for a Spanish match for the Prince, a thing that would have undoubtedly drawn the Spanish ambassador to her place and increased conflict with the French ambassador.⁵⁵¹ However, as noted by Barroll, this is not necessarily

⁵⁴⁶ Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 201 (May 1610).

⁵⁴⁷ *CSP Domestic, James I, 1611-18*, IX, pp. 10-12 (February 1611).

⁵⁴⁸ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 171. Records show she lost the pension in 1617 (*CSP Venice*, XIV, p. 6).

⁵⁴⁹ See MacManus, *Female Performance and Cultural Agency*, p. 83.

⁵⁵⁰ Quoted from Lewalski, "Subversion of Masquing", p. 341.

⁵⁵¹ MacManus, *Female Performance and Cultural Agency*, p. 345, see also a letter from Nicolò Molin to the Doge and Senate (13 January 1605) in *CSP Venetian*, X, pp. 208-9.

the consequence of a conversion on her part, and her behaviour as regards France and Spain is probably best attributed to political and economic reasons, which steered Anna towards a Spanish match for Henry and away from France.⁵⁵² Similarly to what happens in the case of Fowler, religious affiliation in the case of Anna does not seem to have acted as a motive for her choice of allies, which were more probably motivated by more pressing concerns. However, her favouring of the Spanish legate appears to have caused some friction, as Anna's preferences drove her to exclude the French ambassador from her entertainments on more than one occasion before James pressured her to invite him.⁵⁵³ To put things in perspective, Samuel Daniel's masque *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* on Twelfth Night 1604 occasioned "an ambassadorial melee for precedence", as summarized by MacManus, with the French ambassador threatening to kill Tassis with his own hands if he could not get into the entertainment.⁵⁵⁴ The disproportionate reaction of Antoine Lefevre de la Boderie, ambassador ordinary to England between 1606 and 1610, only makes sense in a context where Anna's entertainments are seen by contemporaries as vehiculating political statements.⁵⁵⁵

After one of these masques (Jonson's *Masque of Beauty*, 14 January 1609), Anna's ladies who had taken part in the spectacle were entertained by the Spanish ambassador, suggesting that the two establishments often shared their pastimes.⁵⁵⁶ La Boderie had been excluded from the masque while the Spaniard and the Venetian ambassador had received official invitations, which had caused some outrage on the part of both the French ambassador and the King.⁵⁵⁷ The quarrel over the Queen's masque had political implications, and had involved high-ranking courtiers such as Lennox, Salisbury and Dunbar.⁵⁵⁸ Other quarrels between ambassadors in the context of balls, banquets and masques at the London court seem to have been more common between roughly 1608 and 1610, which could indicate the polarization of the court into two opposite factions in connection to the royal marriages being discussed.⁵⁵⁹ The Hawthornden manuscripts seem to confirm this state of things for what concerns the people, such as Fowler, who were part of Anna's orbit. The only French ambassador mentioned in his scribblings is la

⁵⁵² Barroll acutely points out that all of possible marriage prospects for Henry were Catholics, and as such, Anna's choice must have been prompted by other considerations, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 168-69.

⁵⁵³ Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, pp. 29-36.

⁵⁵⁴ MacManus, *Female Performance and Cultural Agency*, p. 184.

⁵⁵⁵ Martin Butler, "Politics and the Masque: The Triumph of Peace", *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987), pp. 117-141, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁶ Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, pp. 69, 71.

⁵⁵⁷ Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, p. 33.

⁵⁵⁸ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 110

⁵⁵⁹ The *Jacobean Journals* list several quarrels between ambassadors at court, see for instance Harrison, *Second Jacobean Journal*, p. 68 (January 1608), 129 (February 1609).

Boderie.⁵⁶⁰ There is no trace of his predecessors, which could suggest that Fowler's links with the French ambassadorial establishment were less close than in the case of the Venetians or the Spaniards. La Boderie's name is made into the anagram *Antonius faber/ non a fastu Iber* (about the arrogance of Spain, possibly incomplete) in several places in Hawthornden. The same anagram is repeated on Hw 2063 f. 190r, accompanied with the explanation "the frensh ambassador", which confirms the identification with la Boderie. On f. 127r, dated September 1610 on the top margin, in particular, this anagram is followed by another *urna nobis fata*, connected to the anagram *Antonius faber/ urna nobis fata demonstrat* (possibly an attempt at a *memento mori*, "the urn shows us our fate") on the first fragment of f. 176r of the same volume. A *marginalium* on the left side (partially hidden in the gutter) reads: "the frensch ambassador la bodery".⁵⁶¹ The appearance of foreign ambassadors in Hawthornden is not surprising, as they were often at the centre of state ceremonies, such as, but not limited to, the kind of occasion mentioned above. In the polycentric context of the early Jacobean court, ambassadorial establishments and foreign embassies in general can be regarded as another locale of cultural production in London in the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁵⁶²

As with many other pieces in Hawthornden, it is difficult to establish a solid connection between Fowler's micro-texts and specific circumstances in the case of the fragments related to the Jacobean court. However, all these texts do form a somewhat detailed bigger picture, with insignificant morsels of literature, collectively considered, exhibiting as a slice of the contemporary social scene at court. As established by others, public events spurred the production of Latin poetry, and consequently of Latin ephemera, a tendency which seems to become even more visible in the Jacobean period.⁵⁶³ At a time when "the interdependence and interpenetration of culture and politics" is not only acknowledged openly, but "deliberately pursued" the link between the two can hardly be ignored on the part of modern scholars.⁵⁶⁴ Court events such as the official visit of Christian IV naturally envisioned political relationships, and so do the ephemeral literary and artistic productions that were an integral part of these proceedings. In the case of Fowler, the writing of Latin ephemera on contemporary events can be seen transcending national boundaries, as in the case of the material related to

⁵⁶⁰ For la Boderie at Anna's court, see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 110-113.

⁵⁶¹ Also on f. 127r, a short text in Latin seems to be a reference to Anna's revels (*at in se sua per vestigia voluitur Anna/ turbatque mutata fuligine barbam*).

⁵⁶² As anticipated by Smuts, "Cultural Diversity", pp. 105-6.

⁵⁶³ Cairns, *History of Scottish Literature*, I, p. 218. See also Reid, "Print Trends in Scottish Latin Literature".

⁵⁶⁴ Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 1.

the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 (most notably in Hw 2064 ff. 76-78).⁵⁶⁵ In this climate, the social relations of those individuals who had a public role were linked *perforce* with the policies they were pursuing. Their political allegiances, in turn, exerted a heavy influence on the kind of social circles they belonged to, or tried to approach, as in the case of the Spanish and French ambassadors at the Queen's court. The fact that Fowler could have had a part in all this can be somewhat expected, since official occasions at court were also often occasions for entertainment and public display to which all the royal entourage was expected to contribute.⁵⁶⁶

The micro-texts presented in this last chapter can offer us a glimpse of the kind of activities that a Secretary could be called to perform in the public sphere, which included the production of ephemera for social circulation as well as for practical use on specific occasions, and very possibly personal contact with diplomats and representatives of foreign powers. Moreover, the Hawthornden material testifies to the presence of loosely defined international audiences for this kind of material that, as in the case of printed occasional publishing, seems to point outwards from the hypothetical centre represented by James and towards a multi-lingual, international community linked by similar tastes and cultural references.⁵⁶⁷ Even if Fowler's ephemera cannot be proven to have been used during some of these events, they still testify to the level of attention that was devoted to the workings of the court on the part of those people, such as Fowler, who lived in its shadows.

The presence of a book of commendatory verse on the most prominent Scottish and English courtiers in James' entourage among the volumes owned by Fowler (Thomas Ross' *Idea*) also testifies to the exchange of such material among the intellectuals connected to the court at various levels, and to a direct interest on the part of Fowler and his colleagues in clerical service.⁵⁶⁸ Finally, items such as the epitaphs and inscriptions dedicated to Stewart and Wharton speak about the engagement with the Unionist project on the part of Fowler and more generally of mid-tier clerical servants at court, which is also reflected in the arrangement of subjects in *Idea* and connects the memorializing effort for the two young men to the arranging of marriages between James' Scottish and English nobles.

⁵⁶⁵ Also discussed briefly in Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁶⁶ See Smuts, "Cultural Diversity", p. 104, who claims that "many forms of court culture were bound up with the public and ceremonial aspects of royal life".

⁵⁶⁷ Calcagno, *Occasional Literature*, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁶⁸ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland RB.s.1965. Fowler's books are discussed in more detail above, in Chapter Two.

The issue of Union was being tackled by many in several different ways, intellectually with historical research and more practically with the joining of James' Scottish and British subjects by combining marriages and by appointing them to the bedchambers of members of the royal family.⁵⁶⁹ All those issues were an integral part of the climate at court, and as such can be expected to be on the minds of those who, like Folwer, lived their lives enmeshed in the vagaries of courtly politics and actively participated in the related textual exchanges.

⁵⁶⁹ On the practical consequences of the Union for James' courtly nobles, and the composition of his bedchamber, see for instance Neil Cuddy, "Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603–1625 (The Alexander Prize Essay proxime accessit)", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 39 (1989), pp. 107-124.

CONCLUSIONS

FRAGMENTS OF A CULTURAL DISCOURSE

*Accipe verba mea, da mihi dona tua.*⁵⁷⁰

The opening quotation of this study can serve as a starting point to draw the conclusions of this research. The lines by Martial, which Jonson “always had in his mouth” according to the notes Drummond took of their conversation in Hawthornden Castle in 1618, denote a dismissive attitude on the part of the new generation of Jacobean writers towards the kind of “literary trifles” this study has engaged with, while at the same time reminding modern scholars that this kind of material was quite popular, and the practice of composing anagrams a widespread one among contemporary writers.⁵⁷¹ As for us, what, if anything, have we gained from a more thorough investigation of the Hawthornden material? Can we use the information we have acquired to make inferences that can potentially have a more general meaning? Or should we instead agree with Martial’s (and Jonson’s) viewpoint, and look at this research as a cautionary tale against overestimating *nugae* and putting effort into nonsense?

This study started as an attempt to apply the critical stance of New Historicism and New Bibliography to the literary environment represented by Fowler’s volumes in the Hawthornden manuscripts. These critical viewpoints have been paired with more traditional methods of enquiry, mostly derived from hard philology and codicology, which focus primarily on the conditions of the written texts. The challenge was to produce a study that would contain critically valuable knowledge and a broad understanding of a cultural phenomenon that is often overlooked, while still being firmly grounded in material evidence (palaeographical, codicological and bibliographical). The question this research has posed can be summarized using the words of Steven May, by saying this study, as other before it, has primarily been looking at “what poetry did” at the Jacobean court in London.⁵⁷² Such a question can be assimilated to what David Carlson has termed “the art historian question”, that is to say, a critical approach focusing on the conditions of production as well as on the choices and motives that informed works of art, instead of examining the literary content and stylistic features, as is

⁵⁷⁰ “Receive my words, and give me your rewards”, from Hw 2063 f. 153r.

⁵⁷¹ Quoted from *Ben Jonson’s Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, London: Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 29: “He scorned Anagrams; and had ever in his mouth “*Turpe est difficiles amare nugas/ Et stultus labor est ineptiarum*” (the exact quotation is: “*turpe est difficile habere nugas, et stultus labor est ineptiarum*”, or “it is low to treat trifles as difficult things, and only a fool puts effort into nonsense”, *Epigrams*, II, 86, ll. 9-10; quoted from Giuliana Boirivant (ed.), *Marziale, Epigrammi*, Milano: RCS, 2000, p. 54).

⁵⁷² Quoted from Steven May, ‘Manuscript Circulation at the Elizabethan Court’, in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, pp. 273-80 (p. 274, as quoted in Verweij, *The Production and Circulation of Literary Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 25).

the case for more traditionally-oriented literary criticism.⁵⁷³ In this, this research has been looking at a specifically defined subset of what is normally referred to as “ephemeral literature” with the eye of the cultural historian, and considered them to be part of the wider cultural landscape of Jacobean literature, instead of dismissing them as extra-literary texts and only useful from a topical point of view. This study also started out with a declaration of its inherent limitations, in that the object of investigation is represented by a self-contained set of volumes, however complex and multifarious; similarly, this study has been largely concerned with the production of a single author. However, as this last section will make clear, a closer inspection of Fowler’s manuscript material has added to our understanding not only of Fowler himself and of a complex manuscript such as Hawthornden, but also of an important, if often under-represented, slice of Jacobean literary history and early British society.

Hawthornden represents one of the most substantial hoards of holograph material from a Jacobean courtier, which has long been singled out as an important, albeit barely accessible, repository of information on contemporary literary practices.⁵⁷⁴ Despite this, the extent of information that can be extracted from the volumes had never been probed fully. As such, the primary aim of this project has been to offer a partial account of the unedited material in Hawthornden that would allow subsequent scholars to look inside the manuscripts for evidence of specific literary facts. With its mass of material that challenges modern definitions of a literary product, Hawthornden represents the ideal place to investigate the interpenetration of society and literature in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Britain, and a testing ground for further redefining the concepts of “literature” and “literary” in the early modern period.⁵⁷⁵ In this spirit, this study has mainly attempted to accumulate a critical mass of material evidence, which could ideally yield additional clues as to the localization of the Hawthornden material within its historical, social and intellectual circumstances. The scope of the Hawthornden manuscripts being relatively limited to Fowler’s production, the Hawthornden texts often only encode very specific information on Fowler himself and his immediate surroundings. However, this information can be read in a more general sense with an eye to the

⁵⁷³ Quoted from Carlson, *Humanist Books*, p. 3, who asks the question “why is the thing this way, rather than some other?”

⁵⁷⁴ See the studies exploring issues of local literary networks, by Shire, van Heijnsbergen, Verweij and others that have been quoted at different junctions through this study.

⁵⁷⁵ For the close link between literature, society and specifically politics in this period, see the material quoted in the Introduction to this study.

place occupied by restricted ephemera within the intellectual economy of the Scoto-British court at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Posing the “art historian question” on conditions and modes of production presupposes a willingness to set aside all concerns for intrinsic literary value. This is particularly important considering the kind of writing this study has engaged with, that is, a specific kind of Neo-Latin ephemera produced in the early years of the seventeenth century. As has been pointed out, while polished neo-Latin occasional poetry was quite widespread in the period, “[its] content rarely matched form”.⁵⁷⁶ This is all the more true in those cases where the type of restricted ephemera and micro-texts that is found in Hawthornden is considered, which are even more topical than occasional poetry. Significantly for the aims of this study, the lack of “poetic value” in this kind of texts has instead allowed to shine a brighter light on their function; under the lens of New Historicist critical thought and its subsequent developments, true ephemera, restricted ephemera and micro-texts can serve as an indication as to the function of literature within Jacobean culture.⁵⁷⁷ Finally, there is a theoretical point to be made, in relation to the strand of literary criticism that focuses programmatically on fragmentary texts. Although mainly a modern and post-modern phenomenon, fragmentary literature can be shown to exist in the pre-modern era as well, as the micro-textual material in the Hawthornden manuscripts can easily confirm. Fragments can be looked at as a genre in themselves, and a genre deserving of critical interest on the part of scholars as a consequence of the specific problems it poses and of the detailed questions it can answer. As I hope the research detailed in this thesis has shown, dealing in the hermeneutics of textual fragments in the early modern period is a worthwhile scholarly pursuit within the larger realm of literary criticism. As the material collected in Hawthornden proves, there is value in micro-texts, and such literature can (and likely should) be used as a source of information, especially for what concerns minor and seemingly insignificant phenomena. Paradoxically, the kind of restricted topical verse that was generally considered, in the words of Carlson, “disposable, negligible and unremarkable” can sometimes be of more use to modern scholars than more traditionally “literary” texts.⁵⁷⁸ Due to the close ties between these kinds of texts and the specific circumstances that originated them (both material and related to concerns of occasion and audience), fragmentary occasional texts often

⁵⁷⁶ Quoted from Tore Janson, Merethe Damsgård Sørensen and Nigel Vincent, *Natural History of Latin: The Story of the World's Most Successful Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 147.

⁵⁷⁷ Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, p. 33 talks about “an art history dominated by the concepts of originality and connoisseurship” that has neglected ephemeral forms. Although Sharpe is talking specifically of engraving as an art form, his claims can be easily applied to the study of ephemera in literature.

⁵⁷⁸ Quoted from Carlson, *Humanist Books*, p. 128.

retain unique information on a section of the contemporary literary environment, and as such can be potentially revealing. While the material implications of such work on fragments can seem minimal at first sight, they can easily acquire a wider meaning when put into the proper context, especially when juxtaposed with other similar pieces of evidence.⁵⁷⁹ Thus, it becomes evident how the true value of these kinds of material can only be perceived when a critical mass of information is acquired on several such hoards of ephemera, which should always be seen in the context of other, similar collections.

Therefore, the results of this study have both specific and more general applications, concerning respectively the canon and biography of William Fowler and the makeup of his manuscripts on one hand, and the canon and perception of the literary and cultural *milieu* in the first decade of united Britain on the other. With regard to the first type of results, this study has succeeded in accumulating material evidence directly related to its dual object, the Hawthornden manuscripts and William Fowler. In doing so, this research has hopefully contributed relevant information on several points in the field of Scottish literary criticism. For instance, thanks to a detailed inspection of the Hawthornden manuscripts we can now gauge the fate of Fowler's papers with some more accuracy, instead of assuming a literary legacy going directly from Fowler to his poet-nephew Drummond of Hawthornden. Similarly, we have now more information on Fowler's sources, and we do not need to rely exclusively on the Drummond collection in Edinburgh University Library as the sole repository of clues on this subject. At several points, these findings have backed up the work of others, confirming their intuitions, and helped to broaden the critical perspective, for instance by putting Fowler's *Baptism of Henry* in direct relation with Continental public festivals in the Renaissance.⁵⁸⁰ Moreover, the transcription of new material has allowed for a definition of Fowler's writing hands, including his mixed current and italic scripts that had not been authenticated before.

⁵⁷⁹ I am heavily indebted to Michael Bath, University of Strathclyde, for pointing out some of the paradoxical aspects in this research during private conversations.

⁵⁸⁰ For Fowler's European outlook, see in particular the work of Bath and Petrina, quoted at various instances throughout this research.

Furthermore, this research has expanded Fowler's scholarly canon to include his ephemeral production, allowing for a critical reappraisal of his writing career especially for what concerns the last decade of his life. Finally, a trickle of biographical and bibliographical information has helped flesh out the picture of Fowler as a truly "burgess humanist", closely enmeshed in a network of peers, relations and professional friends, which information cannot but reflect on the critical view of Fowler as a literary author.⁵⁸¹ While relevant in a codicological or bibliographic perspective, and significant in relation to the critical appreciation of Fowler's poetry from the point of view of author-centred studies, these results also have further ranging implications for the perception of the Jacobean cultural environment. In this sense, the most significant (if less visible) result of this project has probably been the amassing of a wealth of material clues regarding contemporary scribal culture, albeit in a scattered form. Due to the Hawthornden manuscripts' unique status as a *brogliaccio* (a rough book or a scrapbook) from the early modern period, its contents are one of very few witnesses for a series of contemporary intellectual habits. As such, the evidence resulting from a survey of the Hawthornden manuscripts of William Fowler can be applied *outside* the direct scope of this study, to substantiate inferences about contemporary manuscript production and circulation. The information accumulated on the Hawthornden manuscripts and on William Fowler, can be shown to have a much wider bearing, providing precious morsels of material evidence that can be used to further our understanding of the Jacobean cultural and intellectual landscape in its wider sense.

⁵⁸¹ Quoted from Petrina, "Buccleuch, Italian Poet?", p. 674.

Plate 6: Hw 2063 f. 191r, containing the names of many people at court, among which: James Hay, Robert Cecil, Mary Middlemore and Elizabeth Norris. On the verso of the same leaf are the names of the Venetian ambassadors Correr and Gustinian, of Mary Queen of Scots, and John Florio.

Through its fragmentary evidence, the Hawthornden manuscripts of William Fowler function as a broken mirror of the middling and lower echelons of the Jacobean court, reflecting the specific circumstances of their composition, and offering occasional fragmented glimpses of a much larger picture.⁵⁸² This statement takes on an additional meaning if we consider that the early Jacobean literary *milieu* has suffered considerable neglect by scholars, due to several factors, first of all the preference on the part of historians to focus on the later years of James' reign or on the subsequent Caroline period. As a result, the cultural environment of the first decade of the Jacobean reign has rarely been the focus of specific studies until very recently.⁵⁸³ When investigated, the early Jacobean period has often suffered from a generalized tendency to split James' figure between his two realms, and to erase the markers of continuity in favour of narratives that focus on the opposition of English vs Scottish. Often, these views have brought to a picture of the English Jacobean period as opposed to, or detached from, the Scottish Renaissance. This perspective is being challenged more and more frequently by modern scholars. Roderick Lyall, for one, has underlined how the contemporary court culture (as expressed in the poems of Robert Ayton) reflected James' cultural preferences for "stylish, elegant pieces", looking forward towards Cavalier poetry and rooted in the pervasiveness of neo-Platonic modes of thought and in the cultural experience of the "Castalian" period.⁵⁸⁴ As the life- and career-parable of Fowler makes clear, the early Jacobean reign in England is more truthfully portrayed as a continuation and an organic development of the Jacobean Renaissance in the Edinburgh court, which intermixed with the English cultural *milieu* to form a complex cultural landscape.

From the point of view of the fragments collected in Hawthornden it is only possible to glimpse at such a wider picture, although some of its main features are starting to emerge. From a broadly cultural point of view, the Hawthornden material registers a series of cultural shifts that have been pointed out by scholars as some of the defining features of the Jacobean era. First, with its uncategorized mass of Neo-Latin ephemera and micro-texts, the Hawthornden material points to a change in the intellectual status of the Latin language at the turn of the seventeenth century, from the specialized language of humanistic learning and intellectual communication, to the language of compliment and courtly occasions. Interestingly, this shift

⁵⁸² Similarly, Verweij, "The Manuscripts of William Fowler", p. 10: "[the Hawthornden manuscripts contain] a dizzying amount of miscellaneous material, and are an unrivalled resource. Fowler's manuscripts uniquely document the life and works of a Jacobean courtier-poet".

⁵⁸³ This tendency is rapidly changing. For a reappraisal of the Jacobean cultural environment, see for instance Smuts, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I", and Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*.

⁵⁸⁴ Lyall, "The Paradox of Culture in (post-) Jacobean Scotland", p. 93.

in the perception (and consequently in the use and preferred audience) of Latin texts has been put in relation specifically with James' court in London, for instance by Craig Cairns, who claims that the Jacobean period sees a shift of neo-Latin away from the scholarly purposes of humanism and towards the realm of amateur literary practice.⁵⁸⁵ At the same time, the research group headed by Steven Reid has evidenced a surge in Latin production immediately following the Union of the Crowns, and related it to the drive for international recognition of the new state as a cultural entity.⁵⁸⁶ These claims match with the systematic practice of heteroglossia in the Hawthornden micro-texts on the part of Fowler, which for the most part employ European Continental languages. The localization of the beginning of this changed attitude towards the classical languages within James' court could suggest a link between this phenomenon and the privileged relationship that contemporary Scottish intellectuals had with the Latin language.⁵⁸⁷ This in turn could represent one of several examples of the cultural influence exercised by James' Scottish subjects in the new capital, and further proof of the presence of strong cultural links between James' northern and southern courts. The situation represents more evidence in favour of the continuity between the cultural policies enacted during James' Scottish and English reigns, a point that is often discounted by literary historians in favour of oppositional narratives, as stated above. Furthermore, the change in the status of Latin from "language of learning" to "language of service" overshadows a more important historical watershed, *i.e.*, the one between humanistic/early modern and pre-modern Europe. Paradoxically, the deluge of original writings in Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth century foreshadows the definitive demise of Latin as a literary language in favour of national vernaculars at the beginning of the eighteenth century, another cultural marker of the modern era.⁵⁸⁸ The shift towards the modern era is the defining feature of the seventeenth century, and some of the phenomena connected to it (the rise of the burgess classes and of party politics, the dawn of the age of scientific thought *etc.*) are already active processes at the Jacobean court, where they can be observed in their initial stages.

⁵⁸⁵ Cairns, *History of Scottish Literature*, pp. 219-220. See also Spiller, "The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet at the Union of the Crown", who similarly claims a watershed in literary taste manifested itself around 1603.

⁵⁸⁶ See the overview of print trends contained in See also Reid, "Print Trends in Scottish Latin Literature". See also Tristan Marshall, "James VI and I: Three Kings or Two?", *Renaissance Forum* 4 (1999), who similarly points at a surge of (printed) publications expounding Britishness.

⁵⁸⁷ For the relation between Scottish intellectuals and Latin, see the material quoted in the Introduction, and especially the detailed work by Jane Stevenson.

⁵⁸⁸ Janson et al., *Natural History of Latin*, p. 148, suggest that the Renaissance movement "may actually have accelerated the trend towards the abandonment of Latin and the shift towards national languages".

Conversely, Fowler's collection of scribblings in the Hawthornden manuscripts offers several material representations of what Richard Cavell has appropriately termed "the emblematic age" in the sixteenth century.⁵⁸⁹ With their mass of annotations of various nature (mottoes, emblems, *imprese*, *sententiae*, proverbs and classical puns) Fowler's manuscripts testify to a penchant for sententious phrasing, a partiality for dichotomies and oppositional symmetries, and a tendency to organize one's knowledge in lists, references and easily retrieved nuggets of information. From this point of view, Fowler can be seen as a representative of the older generation of intellectuals, rooted in humanistic learning and deeply attached to the habit of commonplacing.⁵⁹⁰ Many of his more famous contemporaries, from John Dee, the Elizabethan intellectual *par excellence*, to the poet John Donne and the historian William Camden, mirror Fowler's engagement with similarly fragmentary forms of knowledge.⁵⁹¹ According to William Sherman, these individuals represented a new sort of people in the second and third ranks of court service, a hybrid between an intellectual and a pragmatist, fostered in the previous generation's ethical mind-set of civic humanism.⁵⁹²

These clerical humanists, as this research has chosen to term them, were linked with their superiors and peers elsewhere in a dense intertextual network that relied on semi-private circulation of manuscript material as its main avenue of dissemination. As with the people mentioned above, Fowler's intellectual interests ranged from the classics to hermetic tendencies and occult sciences, and included a penchant for Latin mottoes used as headings.⁵⁹³ The "fashionable Neo-Platonism of the Jacobean court" in Edinburgh is likely the main responsible for Fowler's interest in anagrams and emblems, and in the numerological and astrological correspondences that can be found in them.⁵⁹⁴ In his essay, Cavell put the use of "hieroglyphs" and emblems in the sixteenth century in a direct relation with the pervasive neo-Platonic thought, with its emphasis on *nomina* as *consequentia rerum*.⁵⁹⁵ Fowler was not alone in attributing cognitive value to these practices. Other contemporary practitioners of such verbal ingenuity were the Lady Anne Clifford (apparently an obsessive maker and collector

⁵⁸⁹ Richard Cavell, "Representing Writing: The Emblem as (Hiero) glyph", in Bernard Scholz, Michael Bath and David Weston (eds.), *The European Emblem. Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference, 11-14 August 1987*. Leiden: Brill, 1990, pp. 167-185.

⁵⁹⁰ Spiller, in his "The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet at the Union of the Crowns" also singles out Fowler as a representative of the older generation of Petrarchist Elizabethan poets, and as opposed to Ayton and the other sonneteers who published their sequences in London after 1603.

⁵⁹¹ Brown, "Courtly Reading and Secretarial Mediation", pp. 835-36.

⁵⁹² Sherman, *John Dee*, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁹³ Sherman, *John Dee*, p. 135.

⁵⁹⁴ Quoted from Lyall, "The Paradox of Culture in (post-) Jacobean Scotland", p. 96.

⁵⁹⁵ See Cavell, "The Emblem as (Hiero) glyph".

of chronograms) and the Scot John Maxwell, who left several examples of name-play and other ephemera in his commonplace book.⁵⁹⁶ These tendencies are not only an inheritance from the humanistic period, but can also be seen as anticipating the cultural tendencies of the Caroline age and the playfulness and witticism of the Baroque period. These tendencies are often linked to an interest in the original sources of (specifically English) national history as connected with the “British problem” at the beginning of James’ reign. This is particularly evident in the case of Francis Thynne, a colleague of Camden, whose interest in British antiquity merged with an equally developed taste for emblems, “hieroglyphs” and more generally occult knowledge in a curious mix that increasingly appears to be one of the defining features of the *forma mentis* of British intellectuals in the very early seventeenth century.⁵⁹⁷ The thematic connection with the Camden circle is relevant for the purposes of this research, as Camden’s *Remains of Great Britain* contains one of the only two contemporary identified citations of Fowler’s ephemera in print (the other being in the work of Thomas Dempster). That the items quoted by Camden are Fowler’s production is evident from the many drafts of these anagrams that can be found scattered in the Hawthordnen volumes. Furthermore, recent scholarship has highlighted Camden’s links to Scottish intellectuals in the 1590s, which, along with Drummond’s interest in historiography and his close contacts with Drayton, provide a connection between the English and Scottish intellectual environments at this point in time.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁶ For Lady Anne Clifford as a writer and collector of chronograms, see Scott-Warren, “Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book”, p. 372. For an appraisal of Maxwell’s commonplace book, see Priscilla Bawcutt, “The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell”, in Alisoun Gardner-Medwin (ed.), *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry, and History of Scotland and England & Poems Previously Unpublished in Honour of Helena Mennie Shire*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990, pp. 59-68, claiming that Maxwell displays an interest in both “traditional and fashionable knowledge”.

⁵⁹⁷ On this rather unknown individual, see David Carlson, “The Writings and Manuscript Collections of the Elizabethan Alchemist, Antiquary, and Herald Francis Thynne”, *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 52 (1989), pp. 203-72. Similar work has recently and extensively been undertaken by Angus Vine, see for instance his article “Search and Retrieval in Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts: the Case of Joseph Hall’s Miscellany”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80 (2017), pp. 325-343.

⁵⁹⁸ The connections between Camden and the Scottish *milieu* are discussed in Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 100-108.

The bulk of the Hawthornden manuscripts contains more information on the afterlife of Fowler's material, as well as more generally on some of the cultural trends of the early-seventeenth century. As is well known, Fowler's list of emblems belonging to Mary queen of Scots was transmitted by Drummond of Hawthornden to Ben Jonson, when the latter manifested an interest in Scottish emblem practices.⁵⁹⁹ Moreover, Drummond himself partially followed in his uncle's footsteps, composing a treatise on *imprese* dedicated to the Earl of Perth, and including anagrams and other name-based forms of puns in his manuscript jestbook.⁶⁰⁰

From the point of view of social histories of literature, moreover, Fowler is a representative of the first generation of Scottish court-poets originating from a burghess background.⁶⁰¹ Like many of his contemporaries, his main assets were his cultural capital and his family and professional connections. These he put to use in trying to ascend the social ladder, first by being employed as an informer for the English government, and then through his literary production and service to the crown. Thanks to the different patrons he appealed to during his literary career, Fowler was able to obtain a post in the service of the Scottish Queen consort, Anna of Denmark, and later maintain his post in the London environment. The appointment to Anna's household represents the highest point in his career, and the zenith of his social ascent. The personal assets he could put to use in Edinburgh (but also in France, Italy and Denmark, where he spent shorter periods interacting with the local intellectual scene) between the 1580s and the 1590s were his cultural capital (mainly his language skills and knowledge of literature) and his connections. The latter probably involved burghesses (his father had been a merchant in luxury goods in the Scottish capital) as well as people connected to the court at various levels (through his mother who, as a money-lender to the aristocracy, could claim personal acquaintance to some of Scotland's great and powerful, and through the Gibsons who were related by marriage).⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ Michael Bath, "Ben Jonson, William Fowler and the Pinkie Ceiling", *Architectural Heritage* 18 (2007), pp. 73-86.

⁶⁰⁰ For a detailed discussion of Drummond's jestbook or *Democritie*, also collected in the Hawthornden volumes, see MacDonald, *The Manuscripts of William Drummond*, I, pp. 128-179 and II, pp. 276-333 (selected texts).

⁶⁰¹ Lynch ("Reassertion of Princely Power", p. 238) describes Fowler and John Burel as the representatives of a new class of Edinburgh burghess poets.

⁶⁰² For the latter family as related to the burghess literary culture in Edinburgh, see Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 30.

Fowler made use of both his intellectual achievements and his connections to extend his network of allies and patrons, whom he courted assiduously using presentation manuscripts and commendatory poetry during the first part of his career. This strategy had been successful in Scotland, leading Fowler to his post at court, and as such, he likely chose to follow a similar path after he moved to London in 1603.

Thus, Fowler is also a representative of the generation of Scoto-British intellectuals, *i.e.*, one of a number of Scots who chose to seek their fortune in England after the Union of the Crowns. This heterogeneous group was mainly composed of such people whose main advantages lay in their personal closeness to members of the ruling classes and in their personal accomplishments.⁶⁰³ Alternatively, they were younger sons and aspiring courtiers whose main avenue to fame and fortune was represented by service to the crown: these were the people more likely to move to England, while most Scottish nobles chose to remain in Scotland after 1603, as their interests were firmly tied to their territorial holdings. This is the case for instance of Robert Ayton, who would inherit Fowler's post as secretary to the Queen after 1612, but also of other Scots in the London environment, such as James Halkerston or Patrick Hannay, who both participated in the intellectual life at court.⁶⁰⁴ John Owen, the Welsh epigrammatist, who mainly wrote in Latin, might have followed a similar thought pattern, which made him decide to search for advancement among the people at court instead of in his native Wales, and encouraged him to use his written material to support James' Unionist project. The points of contact between Owen and Fowler are numerous, from their burgess origins, which forced them to make a living using their own talents, to the circle of patrons and prospective patrons, which included Bedford, Queen Anna and Arbella Stuart, and the preference for elaborate displays of ingenuity and specifically name-play.⁶⁰⁵ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Anna's London court, with its prominent focus on the arts, represented "the most promising and prestigious atmosphere available to successful and aspiring artists".⁶⁰⁶ As mentioned before, Anna's cultural interests and the involvement of members of her court in

⁶⁰³ See both Maurice Lee, *ODNB*, s.v. "Alexander Seton" and Wormald, "The Impact of the Union", who both underlined the difference in social and economic status between the Scots who followed James to London and those who stayed behind.

⁶⁰⁴ For a parallel between Fowler and Ayton, see Lyall, "The Paradox of Culture in (post-) Jacobean Scotland". For an account of Halkerston, see Roderick J. Lyall, "Kinship, Kingship And Latinity: The Surprising Career Of James Halkerston", in Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, pp. 237-256. Patrick Hannay is mentioned in Calcagno, *Publishing the Stuarts*, p. 27.

⁶⁰⁵ See Byron Harries, "John Owen the Epigrammatist".

⁶⁰⁶ Quoted from Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 10.

the patronage system made her household the centre of early Stuart culture.⁶⁰⁷ In this context, the impact of the influx of Scoto-British intellectuals on the cultural environment of the London court and on the courtly periphery is still largely an under-investigated subject, and as such, the field could definitely benefit from an increase in available information on this specific subset of British writers. The importance of these mid-tier intellectuals in the creation of the modern British cultural identity cannot be underestimated, enmeshed as they were in the Unionist project, to which they vocally subscribed.

In his quest for social ascent, Fowler courted a multitude of different patrons, in Scotland as well as England. This study adds to previous explorations of Fowler's network of supporters by introducing a first tentative map of his English connections. A first survey confirms a degree of continuity in the strategies Fowler enacted over the years. For instance, his production in the later part of his career displays a marked bias towards a female audience, which matches similar preferences for powerful women as a preferred audience during Fowler's Scottish period. At the same time, his occasional production in London as in Edinburgh speaks of a man courting multiple sources of patronage at the same time, and with little concern for the political and religious affiliations of his patrons and allies. His political opportunism again tallies with similar behaviours exhibited by his contemporaries, a consequence of a state of things that allowed intellectuals to access people and places that were precluded to other individuals, more firmly situated in the rigidly organized social hierarchy of the period. Moreover, others have highlighted how a distinguishing feature of an early modern humanist was the presence of extended overlapping networks of patrons, sub-patrons, peers and relatives, which constituted these people's main advantage when competing for preference in a variety of positions. In this context and among these people, a degree of "volatile political behaviour" was rather common.⁶⁰⁸ Viewing Fowler as a representative of the early modern "secretarial class" of clerical humanists helps clarifying the vexed issue of his religious affiliation: while Fowler was most certainly a Protestant, as pieces such his letter to John Foxe in Hw 2064 f. 136 clearly show, his religious beliefs did not preclude him the friendship and acquaintance of powerful Catholics. This only makes full sense in a cultural environment where "the religious situation seems to have been a complex amalgam of personal belief and social politics".⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 35.

⁶⁰⁸ Quoted from Keblusek, "Double Agents in Early Modern Europe", p. 3. claiming that this "volatility" was a direct consequence of their professional role as "agents" whose main asset was being able to switch between multiple networks.

⁶⁰⁹ See the last section in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 162-172, quoted from p. 164.

Selling one's knowledge of things, people and places to the state-sponsored networks of informers, courting multiple patrons and dealing freely with individuals of opposite political or religious affiliations, these behaviours were the norm for Fowler's contemporaries in similar walks of life. The job of the intellectual was a precarious one, and one that strongly hinged on the presence of (ideally multiple) powerful protectors, and as such having several different sources of preferment represented a sort of insurance policy for early modern intellectuals whose living depended heavily on their professional and networking skills. On the other hand, being an intellectual could afford some individuals a chance at social ascent in an extremely rigidly organized society that did not allow for social mobility as a rule. This because the role of an intellectual was informal enough to slip through the hierarchically rigid, tightly woven fabric of early modern society.

Robert Cecil, with whom Fowler was in close contact, represents a perfect example of what a clerical court servant could aspire to, given enough time and the right social connections. Cecil, who had started working in court business under his father, Lord Burghley, had been rubbing elbows with the Elizabethan court aristocracy for more than a decade when James became King of England and rewarded him handsomely for his support. Cecil was raised to the peerage in 1604 as Viscount Cranborne, and again in 1605 he was made Earl of Salisbury. His son, the younger Viscount Cranborne, became a close friend of the young prince Charles, later King Charles I, and had a role in his bedchamber.⁶¹⁰ Starting from 1608, Cecil remodelled the old royal palace of Hatfield House into one of the most impressive residences in England. The fate of Cecil might have suggested to Fowler that he too could ascend as far as the peerage, or that his son Ludovic could have gained something from his father's career. Fowler's testament seems to suggest as much, with the entrusting of Ludovic's education and career to Sir John Fullerton, then attached to the royal court. Fowler's hopes, however, did not materialize, and if it is true that Cecil died an Earl, it is also true that he died despised by the larger public and broken from his years spent in tireless service of the court.⁶¹¹ Cecil's life-parable shows how class barriers, if they were easier to overcome for somebody provided with the necessary skills, were still strong enough to bar access to the highest echelons of society to everyone but the very few.

⁶¹⁰ *ODNB*, s.v.

⁶¹¹ Croft, "Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court", pp. 145-47, who however challenges the general perception that sees Cecil as loosing personal favour with James in the last years of his life. Wormald ("The Impact of the Union", p. 72) highlights how there was no equivalent of Cecil in Scotland "whose rise to landed peerage depends on court service".

Finally, Fowler is also a representative of the Jacobean army of secretaries, readers and factotums that made up the contemporary *curia media*, i.e., the class of people employed in the middling ranks of government establishments (including in this definition other peripheral places such as noble households and embassies) that has here been referred to as “clerical humanists”.⁶¹² These people have been often identified as the material and cultural mediators and brokers of the European Renaissance, a terminology that underlines their important role in the economy of cultural transfer.⁶¹³ Renaissance cultural brokers used their familiarity with languages and their pen to pursue clerical and diplomatic careers, or to become artistic and cultural advisors to the rich and powerful. With their multiple networks of contacts that spanned a wide section of contemporary society, their knowledge of ancient and contemporary languages and their international background, these individuals had the access and cultural means to participate actively in the exchange of cultural products.

These exchanges were both material, with secretaries being at the centre of transactions involving books, paintings and objects of art, and metaphorical, involving the transfer of cultural products from one *milieu* to another, for instance through translation and imitation from the ancient and modern languages.⁶¹⁴ In the material sense, these individuals helped to create what is arguably the most *avant-garde* of contemporary artistic achievements and the most descriptive of contemporary tastes at the same time, i.e., the *wunderkammer* or late Renaissance “cabinet of wonders”, a staple of contemporary court culture.⁶¹⁵ Renaissance cultural brokers formed an international network of literary and artistic entrepreneurs that had a fundamental role in facilitating cultural transfer between countries, languages and social classes. This informal international community of cultural agents was clearly possessed of something akin to a modern class-conscience, and formed the basis of the so-called *Respublica*

⁶¹² For a description of the Jacobean *curia media*, see Juhala, “Shifts and Continuities”, p. 8.

⁶¹³ See Keblusek, “Double Agents in Early Modern Europe”, pp. 1-5. For a definition of Fowler as a “cultural middleman”, see Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 82.

⁶¹⁴ For the description of art brokerage with secretaries at its centre, see for instance Timothy Wilks, “Art Collecting at the English Court from the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales to the Death of Anne of Denmark (November 1612—March 1619)”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997), pp. 31-48. See also Susan Bracken and Robert Hill, “Sir Isaac Wake, Venice and Art Collecting in Early Stuart England: a New Document”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 24 (2011), pp. 183-198. For the role of “cultural translation” in the Early Modern period see for instance Brenda Hosington, “‘If the Past is a Foreign Country’: Neo-Latin Histories, their Paratexts, and English Cultural Translation” *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 41 (2014), pp. 432-455.

⁶¹⁵ A research project is in progress, headed by Dr. Lisa Skogh at the Victoria and Albert Museum and focusing on *wunderkammern*, which should soon touch on Anna of Denmark and her own cabinet: *The Kunstkammer and the Early Modern Consort: Knowledge, Networks and Influences*. More information is available through the project’s website, at: <<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/k/the-kunstkammer-and-the-early-modern-consort-knowledge,-networks-and-influences/>> [retrieved 28 October 2017].

Literarum, or the “Republic of letters” that would develop in the course of the seventeenth century. This community was based on a series of loosely connected international sub-networks involving peers and patrons alike, and had heteroglossia as a fundamental tenet. The practice of multiple languages was essential to the dealings of an international community, allowing its members to transcend local boundaries. In the early Jacobean period, struggling with definitions of national identity (insular and Protestant) in opposition to an “other” (Catholic and Continental), these people collectively provided Britain with a vital link to European cultural trends. In this context, Fowler’s multilingualism in his occasional poetry (using the local vernacular as well and classical and modern foreign languages) suddenly stops being surprising, especially when compared to contemporary examples.

The historian William Camden is a good comparison, as he and Fowler shared some distinctive features. Both belonged to the Jacobean *curia media* (Fowler as secretary, Camden as royal herald) and had a multilinguistic attitude to literature.⁶¹⁶ Both, like many others of their contemporaries, had a penchant for antiquarian studies, and for the collection of historical witnesses, especially in the form of epitaphs and inscriptions, tendencies that have been connected by Anthony Grafton to the same cultural *milieu* that gave life to *wunderkammern*.⁶¹⁷ In the early years of United Britain, this attitude took on nationalistic aims, as material evidence from the past was increasingly used to back up ideas of nationality.⁶¹⁸ As pointed out by others before, the Scottish subjects of the new British King were particularly sensitive to the topic of national identity, as it is to be expected. Contemporary literary networks have been shown to have a nationalistic bias, as literature was used as a way to strengthen the bonds within a community.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁶ On “Camden’s own strain of linguistic pluralism”, see Paul Cantrell, “Bibliographical Detective Work: William Camden’s Remains Concerning Britain”, *Scholarworks@Georgia State University* (2009), pp. 1-15, p. 2.

⁶¹⁷ For a discussion of antiquarian tendencies in the age, see the dedicated chapter in Grafton, *The Footnote*: pp. 147-189. See also the book-length study by Vine, *In Defiance of Time*.

⁶¹⁸ For the link between antiquarians and contemporary politics on the Union, see Graham Parry, “Introduction”, in his *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 1-21; see also the discussion of antiquarian response to Union contained in Parker, “Antiquarian Responses to the Proposed Union of Crowns, 1603–1607”.

⁶¹⁹ For another example of Scots in England using poetry to strengthen the sense of a national community, see the poems discussed in Sebastian Verweij, “Ten Sonnets from Scotland: Text, Context and Coterie Writing in Cambridge University Library MS Kk.5.30”, *English Manuscript Studies, c. 1450-1700* 16 (2010), pp. 141-169.

Something similar could have been going on in the first decade of James' English reign among the Scottish courtiers who resettled in Scotland, and it is possible to look some of the pieces in the Hawthornden manuscripts with an eye to the Scoto-British community that arguably made up one of Fowler's audiences.⁶²⁰

It is only when put in such a context of varied and unstable relationships, multi-lingual culture and fleeting audience that the kind of ephemeral poetry collected in Hawthornden acquires its full meaning. In this environment, ephemeral manuscript copies represented the perfect mode of promoting one's cultural assets within a wide circle, especially in the case of someone like Fowler, who had been "willing to write to order" for a long time in Edinburgh.⁶²¹ Elegant yet portable, carefully dressed for presentation yet light enough to suggest *sprezzatura* (the attitude of elegant disdain that is a staple of educated *elites* in the Renaissance) and intellectual amateurism, ephemeral material could find itself in most contemporary social occasions, slipped into a patron's hand during dinner or attached to a letter as a token of friendship. Ephemeral manuscript copies have some distinct advantages over presentation manuscripts, mainly from the point of view of their cost in terms of effort and time, and on account of their easy reproducibility and portability. The unstable nature of the extended networks of Fowler's patrons and prospective patrons in London, compared to his stable network of family and professional contacts in the Scottish capital, could be one of the reasons behind Fowler's switching from presentation manuscripts (in the first part of his career, when he was trying to establish a foothold in Edinburgh) to ephemeral presentation copies. In the new London environment, where he was ostensibly trying to set up a network almost *ex novo*, presentation copies afforded Fowler the variety and ease of production that allowed him to court multiple entities at once, and with comparatively little effort.

The careful presentation, the elegance of the (Latin) composition and the use of multiple languages at once would suggest the author's intellectual qualities, and serve as an advertisement of his talents to prospective patrons and well-wishers. At the same time, restricted ephemera could be employed as private tokens of affection to strengthen relationships between the colleagues and friends who formed one's core network of peers. In a world where personal contacts were one of the main assets an intellectual could make use of,

⁶²⁰ These items have been discussed elsewhere, see Allison Steenson "'Nusquam Audita' Literary Footprints of Mary Queen of Scots in the Hawthornden Manuscripts", paper presented to the conference "Saints and Sinners: Literary Footprints of Margaret and Mary, Queens of Scots", organized at the University of Edinburgh in October 2016.

⁶²¹ Quoted from Lynch, "Reassertion of Princely Power", p. 233.

personally produced manuscript copies of compliments became a viable option for maintaining contact, reinforcing personal relationships between clients and patrons and between peers, thus paving the way for (hopefully) more lucrative associations.⁶²²

As mentioned before, the results of this research are relevant for both Scottish and British literary history. These kinds of studies can contribute to bridging the gap between Scottish and English literary scholarship, with Scottish-ists tending to confine themselves north of the border and inside the imaginary boundary represented by 1603 and the Union of the Crowns, and English critics almost uniformly ignoring the Scots in London, whose contribution in the first decade of the new British state is particularly important. The interplay between these different groups, *i.e.* the English, the Scots, and the Scoto-British, in the first decade of James' reign has as much to do with the development of British national literature as (if not more) do the works of Shakespeare, Jonson and Donne for which the decade is largely known to the non-specialized audience. Given the hybrid status of its object, this research could lead future studies in several different directions. First, a complete and detailed inventory of the Hawthornden material is in order. There is many more texts inside the manuscripts that have not been taken into consideration in this dissertation, which only focused on a specific aspect of the manuscripts (*i.e.*, the way they encode Fowler's social relations and scribal practices in London), that are nonetheless deserving of proper scholarly notice. Among these, there are booklets which display similarities with contemporary commonplace books, multiple pages containing short Latin verse quoted from classical as well as neo-Latin authors, pages of prose, and a more than sizeable quantity of letters and Epitaphs. All of this material has not been examined in detail yet, and would likely reward any scholar who chose to do exactly that with a wealth of additional evidence. Tracing the quotations could offer more information about the intellectual makeup of a man of Fowler's background, and the kind of reading contemporary culture was based on.

⁶²² On the importance of proximity and access in the contemporary economy of favour, see Keblusek, "Double Agents", p. 8, terming them "the key notions in the Early Modern agency process".

Moreover, given Fowler's annotation habits, it is possible to trace single copies (as has been done in this dissertation in several instances) and thus reconstruct a good part of his working library. This would allow this research to "branch out" from the relatively restricted environment provided by Hawthornden, with the consequence of improving our knowledge in the fields of author-centred studies and cultural studies in general by providing detailed evidence-based information about an early Jacobean author's intellectual *milieu*. Moreover, Hawthornden contains a series of clues pointing to documents by Fowler in different locations, in the United Kingdom as well as abroad, which should be similarly explored to provide a full picture of the author's activities. In this context, the link between Hawthornden and the Laing manuscripts needs to be explored in more depth. This in turn would help substantiating or dismissing several critical claims, first of all concerning the close collaboration between Fowler and King James. For similar reasons, a complete foliation of the manuscripts that took into account the nature and number of gatherings would be of great help for what concerns the material aspect of Hawthornden, providing additional information as to its composition and helping to achieve at least relative dating of the items collected in it.

The creation of a computer-based inventory (possibly within the framework of an indexed database) of the material in Hawthornden would make the search for specific information much easier and greatly facilitate future studies.⁶²³ A computer-based index would not only make it possible to search the database for historical (names, dates, place-names) and palaeographical/codicological information (script, hand, type of paper, watermark), but also to cross-reference data from different sections of Hawthornden, with the consequence of accumulating more quantitative information on the manuscripts and the items they contain. Such a cross-referenced reading of information would make clear which names/authors/hands cluster together with others, and where exactly in the Hawthornden volumes this material can be found. This would allow future scholars to put a more detailed timeline on some of the events described in this dissertation, and could possibly allow for the identification of smaller clusters of people inside Fowler's network. This information could in turn be cross-referenced with what we know about courtly coteries in the Jacobean era, and help in filling up the picture of the early Jacobean court in London, with possible repercussions on author-based studies

⁶²³ Similarly to what has been recently done, for instance, for contemporary libels in *Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources*, available at: <<http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs>> [accessed 09 January 2018]. On the recent re-appraisal of libels as a genre, see Alastair Bellany, "Railing Rhymes Revisited: Libels, Scandals, and Early Stuart Politics", *History Compass* 5 (2007), pp. 1136-1179.

concerned with the other, “major” authors of the period, some of whom shared the same networks with Anna’s Scottish secretary. Finally, it would be ideally possible to release such a database as an “open” research product (using open-source database-managing software and making both the data and the structure available freely online), thus allowing future researchers to update it with new data, and even intervene on its structure when it would inevitably become obsolete. Such an open research product would comply with current European guidelines on research, which encourage the use of free software and the publication of results in an open format.

As mentioned before, this study had a restricted object and focussed on the manuscript material belonging to a single representative specimen of a Scottish Jacobean intellectual.⁶²⁴ An in-depth analysis of this specimen, more remarkable for its rarity than for any of its specific features, has been performed, and the results have been proven relevant both for the field of author-centred literary criticism and for the history of courtly literature in general. I believe that this study has largely succeeded, at least in that it embraces its own limitations. The evidence contained in the Hawthornden manuscripts in a fragmentary form has allowed for a glimpse into the Jacobean court that is sometimes detailed enough to allow for a view of the bigger picture. As Fowler's previous editors have noticed, "the mere practice of such activities and their variety were of more than ordinary value" in the contemporary cultural environment.⁶²⁵ Based on the manuscript fragments contained in the Hawthornden volumes, the "small world" of Jacobean courtly affairs can sometimes be conjured from the vantage point of Master William Fowler, a Scot in service to the new Queen of England.⁶²⁶ Fowler has been shown to be quite representative of the group of Scoto-British intellectuals who followed King James in his new reign.

Like many of them, he was caught between several different worlds, between humanism and baroque, Scotland and United Britain (and between those and Continental Europe), literature and politics, the burgess and the aristocracy. His re-workings of Petrarch, his preference for *sententiae* and sonnets and his love for proverbial antinomies make him a product of the late humanistic curriculum; on the other hand, his use of Latin ephemera as compliments, his amateurism and his production of ephemeral manuscripts for restricted circulation locate him somewhere close to the *forma mentis* of later "Cavalier" culture. As such, Secretary Fowler's manuscript fragments witnessing the comings and goings of the Jacobean court from a personal point of view have a more general bearing, as his circumstances, struggles and survival strategies were shared with many of his contemporaries. Thus, a better knowledge of Fowler the man and writer can help us paint a more satisfactory picture of the varied society that included such "clerical humanists" and give us a better understanding of the complex cultural environment in which they operated.

⁶²⁴ Quoted from Verweij, *Literary Culture*, p. 82.

⁶²⁵ Quoted from Meikle et al., *Works of Fowler*, III, p. xlii.

⁶²⁶ Quoted from Lyall, "The Paradox of Culture in (post-) Jacobean Scotland", p. 92.

Post-revisionist studies have had the merit of promoting a “literary turn” in historical studies of the seventeenth century, taking literature into consideration as an historical fact, with the result of establishing a closer relation between literature, art, history and politics.⁶²⁷ This has been coupled with a sustained interest in marginalia, commonplace notes and issues of book ownership and use over the course of the last twenty years, which have added important information on the reception of literary works and have contributed to flesh out the picture of the early modern cultural context. Moreover, recent rise in manuscript and bibliographical studies that consider ephemeral, miscellaneous and fragmentary material has finally managed to put this kind of previously neglected texts into the spotlight of scholarly research. It is to be hoped that even more studies on similar material will be encouraged in the future, and the information they reveal made available in full in the format of raw data, thus making this kind of research both easier and more rewarding.

⁶²⁷ Quoted from Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, p. 17.

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