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Music, Poetry, and Performance at the Court of James VI

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In early Scottish literature, the songs of Burns emerge as the culmination of a particularly strong musical tradition. The courtly "ballattis under the birkis" of the medieval makars are critically celebrated as is the popular folk-song and ballad tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Curiously, however, the "musick fyne" of the poets and musicians of those intervening centuries has not been afforded the same critical acclaim. The reasons for this strangely unfavourable reaction must precede analysis of their work—here, particularly in settings of the sixteenth-century poet Alexander Montgomerie.[1]

It is not, of course, only the lyric which has been treated in this manner. In most histories of Scottish Literature, *all* writing in the later sixteenth and entire seventeenth century is regarded with extreme suspicion. Indeed many critics explicitly or implicitly deny Scottish literary participation within the European humanist revival of that time. As a result, while "The English Literary Renaissance" inevitably indicates Shakespeare and his contemporaries, "The Scottish Literary Renaissance" usually refers to the twentieth century movement led by Hugh MacDiarmid. As one would assume that Scottish writers would find their most lenient assessors at home, this naturally causes concern

[1]Research for this study was kindly supported by the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. For a favorable brief entry and bibliography on Scottish Art Music of this early period, see Kenneth Elliott, "Scotland," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 22, pp. 906-08.

over the quality of Scottish writing during the golden age of English humanism. And that concern increases when one notes a second oddity: the recent disciplinary expansion in courses and departments devoted to the study of Scottish Literature has, if anything, cast the Scottish writing of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries into even deeper darkness.

The basic causes of this strange act of self-denial stem from the way in which the modern Scottish Critical Renaissance was initially defined by Kurt Wittig in *The Scottish Tradition in* Literature (1958). Aware of the educational control exerted by English Literature in Scottish schools in the 1940s and 1950s (and experienced by the present writer) he advocated a reaction, which would highlight non-English features:

> In Scotland, a different set of traditions has created a society which in many respects (though not all) is very different from that which exists in England. . . . In expounding these values I have picked out the ones which seem to me specifically Scottish and have largely ignored the rest.[2]

Scottish Renaissance writing was bound to suffer within a paradigm which evaluates literature in this nationalistically contrastive manner. The quality of Scottish Renaissance verse and prose is necessarily overshadowed by England's golden age of Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson and Donne. Neither the "Castalian Band" of James VI's Edinburgh court nor the Anglo-Scots poets after 1603 make an obvious patriotic case to be heard on these criteria. National differences do exist but they can only be detected against a European, aesthetic model, which takes into account shared rhetorical rules. And if, instead, the geographic focus is narrowed to Britain, it follows that critics who use only naturalistic criteria are doomed to disappoint by the limitations of their own methodology. Different poetic schools do exist but all have both Scots and English members, while the anglicisation of Middle Scots only looks

[2]Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), p. 3.

unpatriotic to those who are ignorant of the country's polymathic history and the rhetorical criteria governing linguistic choice.[3]

In the short term, Wittig's guidelines had some practical value as a counterbalance to the equally simplistic logic of F. R. Leavis's "Great [English] Tradition," which allowed the Anglo-Scots poets of the seventeenth century into anthologies of "English Verse" on solely English criteria. But a pragmatic paradigm should not outlast the attaining of its aims and Scottish Literature must now hasten beyond this narrowed canon, which tends unfortunately to pass over all writing between David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* in the mid-sixteenth century and Allan Ramsay's initiation of the so-called "Vernacular Revival" in the early eighteenth. Yet, the intervening period deserves revaluation on its own terms.

This essay is a contribution to that process. In focussing on music and performance at the court of King James from 1585 until 1603, it does not seek to make excessive claims for Scottish Renaissance writing. It does hope to offer reasons for paying serious attention to the artistic achievements of Britain's new monarch and his poet-companions in the period before they entered the London court. Ironically, any justification of this lyrical Renaissance involves opposing the critical opinions of Hugh MacDiarmid, the finest lyricist in Scotland's Modern Renaissance. In his view, James did nothing at all:

> At that time, Scottish culture was still vigorously but hopelessly without direction and becoming increasingly divorced from the real national situation. Owing to the difficulty of initiating what ought to be the task before the age in Scotland as it was elsewhere in Europe—namely the evolution of renaissance literature in the vernacular, incorporating the lessons learned from the Humanists . . . the literature became royalist and episcopalian as well as circumscribed in outlook.[4]

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[3]See R. D. S. Jack, "The Language of Literary Materials," in *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language,* ed. Charles Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 213-66.

[4]*Lucky Poet* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1936), p. 206.

There are four linked negations here. The first of these is that Scotland's court did not consciously align itself with the European Renaissance. If this is so, then whatever music survives is likely to be based on medieval models. Secondly, if there is no sense of nationalistic uniqueness, even the historical justification of charting a distinctive line, however hypothetically moribund, also disappears. Thirdly, the essentially royalist outlook of the court makes any simplifying of "musick fyne" for the needs of the folk seem unlikely. Finally, the religious constraints of the day—courtly episcopalianism, within a Calvinist land—presumably hold out little hope for the popularising powers of performance in dance or drama.

Shortly after MacDiarmid made these claims, James Craigie edited for the Scottish Text Society King James's *Ane Schort Treatise Conteining Some Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottis Poesie.*[5] As this is a self-consciously Scottish manifesto based on a thorough knowledge of recent European neo-humanist treatises, it calls into question the first of MacDiarmid's assertions. And as it was composed and published in 1584 and consciously advocated the use of vernacular Scots, it seriously challenges the supporting assertions. Further, as its author was the king himself, the authority of the text could hardly have been greater.[6]

In his "Preface to the Reader," James proves that he is well acquainted with other national guidelines for Renaissance poetics. Indeed, he feels it necessary to justify his own contribution precisely because "sa mony learnit men, baith of auld and of late, hes already written thairof in dyvers and sindrie languages."[7] As Vida, Du Bellay, Ronsard, Ascham and others have given us the benefit of their mature views, the teenage monarch (who was just 17) hopes that the limited scope of his essay will

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[5]Craigie, ed. *The Poems of King James VI of Scotland,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1948-52), I, 65-83. ("Cautelis" are "warnings.") The essay is part of James's *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584).

[6]For a full treatment of this topic see Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

[7]In *The Mercat Anthology of Scottish Verse*, ed. R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2000), p. 461. Quotations from the *Reulis* are taken from this revised text, cited as Mercat.

excuse him. It is only an introductory manual on the model of George Gascoigne's *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (1575) and as such is directed at "all thais quha hes already some beginning of knawledge, with ane earnest desyre to atteyne to farther. . . ." This confirms that a Scottish Renaissance was planned for a broadly defined audience by a monarch-poet. Throughout the work, echoes of and references to his European predecessors abound.

It is clearly a vernacular Humanist treatise. Its author had been taught by Europe's leading Latinist, George Buchanan, but had later protested that this meant he could speak Latin before he had mastered Scots. James expresses his continued reverence for the classics but, "lyke as the tyme is changeit sensyne, sa is the ordour of poesie changeit." Latin must now give way to Scots, especially in the lyrical arena, where most progress can be detected. Contemporary writers have more verse forms than their classical counterparts, being more skilled in rhythm and music: "For then they observit not flowing" (Preface, p. 461). The poet's "eare man be the onely judge and discerner" in modern composition, and representative examples of scanned lines which the king offers are vindicated by the criterion that "the cause . . . is . . . the musique" (ch. 2).

MacDiarmid's assumption that patriotism is lacking at this time does not find support in the king's essay either. Indeed, the second of the royal author's "twa caussis" of composition announced in the preface is overtly nationalistic. His essay, he admits, is the product of a youthful mind, but it will be the first to analyse the current state of poetry from a specifically Scottish perspective:

> For albeit sindrie hes written of it in English, quhilk is lykest to our language, yit we differ from thame in sindrie reulis of poesie, as ye will find be experience (p. 461).

MacDiarmid's charge that Scottish courtly writing was "hopelessly without direction" is also disproved. The *Reulis* are only one part of a conscious plan to control the poetic voice in the realm and so avoid the dire fate of James's mother, Mary Queen of Scots, who had been vilified by protestant versifiers. Their broadsheets regularly compared her to Delilah, Clytemnestra, Semiramis, Creusa and Dido—as in one of the

most virulent of these, a poem in *The Sempill Ballatis*, predicting her tortures in hell:

> And Cerbereus, that cruell hund sa fell
> Sall gar hir cry, with mony yout and yell,
> O, wallaway! that ever sho wes borne![8]

As Helena Shire has documented, the king's broader strategy implied assuming to himself the best rôles in the poetic game. As Apollo, David and Maecenas, he stood as divinely appointed king, poet and patron of the Castalians.[9] This "Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie," as he calls himself in the title of his *Essayes* as a whole, is quick to move from modesty to the more peremptory rhetoric appropriate to his rank. Especially when the poet's political role is at the centre of discussion, advice gives way to command. For example, while the vernacular may be fine for most topics, social welfare and politics are not among them: "Ye man also be war of wryting anything of materis of commoun weill or uther sic grave sene subjectis" (ch. 7). Government matters must only be dealt with indirectly by way of metaphor or in Latin, so that they remain a topic for learned rather than popular debate. It follows that an unusually high proportion of Scottish political verse in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (e.g. Thomas Craig's views on the Union of the Crowns and Robert Ayton's account of the Gunpowder Plot) is to be found in the major neo-Latin Renaissance anthology covering that period, the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*.[10]

James's linguistic arguments are also important, as they derive from a nice comparison between Scots and English. He accepts the fact that Scots is, historically, a branch of English but does so within a broader polymathic context. The idea, presented in the prologue to the *Reulis*, of

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[8]In *Satirical Poems of the Time of the* Reformation, ed. James Cranstoun, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1891-93), I, 37. See my article, "Mary and the Poetic Vision," *Scotia* 3 (1979): 41.

[9]Helena Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry at the Court of James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 93ff.

[10]*Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum Huius Aevi Illustrium*, ed. Arthur Johnston, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1637). For Ayton's "Heu Marti sacrata dies—quam paene fuisti" and Craig's "Dulcis amor populi, patriae lux unica, regum," see I, 65 and 266.

these languages being linked together yet distinct is supported by his indirect allusion there to Du Bellay's root and branch metaphor in the *Deffence* of 1549 (Bk. 1, ch. 3). Indeed, as Ronsard's *Abbregé* of 1565 also influences the *Reulis*, French rhetorical theory soon emerges as the major touchstone for Scottish practice.[11] Even in his critical vocabulary the king consistently prefers French to English forms. Thus, the caesura becomes the "sectioun" and the uneven, alliterative stanza used for Northern Romances is "callit rouncefallis or tumbling verse" (ch. 2, 8).[12] Alliteration, which Scottish poets are urged to practise because Scots adapts itself more easily to rough guttural and plosive sounds than English, becomes "Literall Verse" on the model of *vers lettrisé* (ch. 3).

James's advocacy of a French bias for the Scottish Renaissance stems in part from the current influence upon him of his elder cousin, Esmé Stuart, Sieur d'Aubigny. It did not preclude imitation and translation, but is part of a non-English leitmotiv in the *Reulis*. This makes the king as patron-critic urge his Castalians to emphasise the differences between the two cognate languages. It also results in his poetic rebuke to William Alexander, Earl of Stirling for not following those guidelines and continuing to write "harshe vearses after the Inglishe fasone."[13] After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, James would advise the adoption of a more accommodating linguistic policy. But even those poets who erased Scotticisms from their earlier verse in the first decade of the seventeenth century in order to draw linguistically closer to their newly acquired British allies were conditioned by that different cultural heritage which had defined the 1580s and 1590s.

William Drummond's account of his conversations with Ben Jonson (*c.* 1619) encapsulates both the Englishness and the Scottishness of this inheritance. Jonson's evidence confirms that, after the Union of the Crowns, British poets grouped themselves according to shared artistic

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[11]Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse*, ed. H. Chamard (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1948), Bk I, Ch. 3; Pierre de Ronsard, *Abbrégé de l'Art Poétique Francois*, in *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Paul Laumonier, 20 vols. (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1867-1949), XIV, 3-35.

[12]"Tumbling verse" translates Du Bellay's "vers tombant" (*Deff.* 2.vii). The battle of Roncevaux was a key event in Charlemagne Romances, and the Matter of France is well represented in Scottish Romances such as *Rauf Coilyear* (*c.* 1470).

[13]"A Sonett . . . ," in Craigie, ed. *Poems of James*, II, 114.

goals rather than dividing into nationally defined groups. When reviewing the major Scottish poets, Jonson places William Alexander and Drummond himself along with Spenser and Drayton while Robert Ayton is linked to the school of wit led by Donne. His personal observations—that "Sir W. Alexander was not half Kinde unto him & neglected him because a friend to Drayton" while "Sir R. Aiton loved him dearly"—confirm these poetic rivalries.[14] The letters of Alexander and Drummond witness the same allegiances, while the former in *Anacrisis* (*c.* 1637) warns critics against the sin of "affectioned patriots," who judge a work on its nationalist content rather than its rhetorical skills.[15]

In this context, poetic allegiances do override politics. This does not mean, however, that the Anglo-Scots poets after the Union of the Crowns can be assessed against solely English criteria. The self-conscious Scottishness demanded by James VI in the Edinburgh court necessarily conditions the way in which they adapt to his revised, British criteria. Indeed, Jonson's own misunderstanding of Drummond's position betrays the kind of critical error into which an easy amalgamation of Scottish writers into English literary history may lead. Drummond records, "His censure of my verses was that they were all good . . . save that they smelled too much of ye schooles and were not after the Fancy of ye time" (*Jonson*, I, 135). While in general terms Drummond's poetry *is* conservative and imitative, this still begs the question as to which schools and what fancy are being considered. Old fashioned sources and tastes in England need not be equally outdated for those whose inheritance was the Jacobean court in Edinburgh. Drummond's interest in the Petrarchists is a case in point. By the time Donne wrote and circulated his verses in the earlier seventeenth century, the Petrarchan fashion had had its day. The tendency in Scotland to prioritize French sources,

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[14]"Informations be Ben Johnston to W. D. when he came to Scotland upon foot 1619"; in *Ben Jonson* [Works], ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925-52), I, 137. On the mss. and printed versions see pp. 128-31.

[15]*Anacrisis*, opening paragraph (in Mercat p. 475). Thomas H. MacGrail contrasts the lengthy correspondence between Alexander and Drummond with the lack of communication between Alexander and Ayton (*Sir William Alexander of Stirling* [Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940], pp. 193-203).

however, makes Drummond's Italian imitations a more radical move in that context.[16]

James also suggests that the Scottish sonnet should avoid the mode's usual concentration on love and adopt a wider discursive range, more suited to its structure:

> For compendious praysing of any bukes or the authouris thairof or ony argumentis of uther historeis, quhair sindrie sentences and change of purposis are requyrit, use sonet verse of fourtene lynis and ten fete in every lyne (ch. 7).

This cleverly paves the way for the sonnet to become a vehicle for eulogising kings but it also provides a broader, more occasional compositional pattern, which delays the fashion for Scottish lyrical love sequences until the seventeenth century.[17] The major Scottish sequences by Drummond (*Poems*, Parts I and II, 1616), Sir William Alexander (*Aurora*, 1604), and Alexander Craig of Rosecraig (*The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies*, 1606) all belong to the post-Union period, and may be regarded as innovative when set against the Castalian norm.

If this proves that a Scottish Renaissance not only existed but had a direction of its own, the theoretical and practical position of music within that movement may now be more particularly assessed. James, for all his learning, had no claim to advanced musical expertise. His references to musical rhythm in the *Reulis* might simply be a scholar's acknowledgement of music's high place among the seven liberal arts. Undeniably, however, the king moves beyond medieval moral concern with the feelings music may arouse into a more technical discussion of

[16]From its origins in the late 1570s, writers of the Scottish sonnet such as Montgomerie also signaled their distinctiveness by normally adopting the interlacing ("Spenserean") rhyme scheme, which Drummond too would adopt together with the Petrarchan (and Spenserean) canzone.

[17]William Fowler's Petrarchan sequence *The Tarantula of Love* (written *c.* 1590) is an early exception. See *The Works of William Fowler*, ed. Henry W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society, 3 vols. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1913-1939), I, 136-211.

the relationship between words and rhythms, as encouraged by the academies of Italy and France in the sixteenth century.[18]

Essentially, James's interest in musical rhythm is identical to that argued by Trissino for Italian poets: "Rithmo e anchora quello, che risulta dal danzare con ragione, e dal sonare e cantare; il che volgarmente si kiama misura e tempo" ("rhythm, then, is what derives from measured dancing and music, that which is commonly termed measure and tempo").[19] This development from the classical manuals of Quintilian and Cicero was also advocated in France and England, where the "air de cour" and the "ayre" paid much more attention to the text than had hitherto been the case.[20] As seen above, the preface and first chapter of the *Reulis* urge attention to "flowing" or musical rhythm, and the second chapter emphasizes that James's reason for choosing one form of scansion against another, and for marking pauses in longer lines and selecting word order carefully, is in each case "for the musique." At the chapter's end, moreover, he repeats these phrasings with variation, anticipating his own rule (ch. 5) that repetition should be used not only for decoration but for argumentative effect.[21] This conclusion, that "youre eare man be the onely judge, as of all the uther parts of flowing, the verie tuichestane quhairof is musique" (p. 465)—a claim that recalls Ronsard's *Abbregé*—is nothing if not foreseeable. It is directed at would-be versifiers by a king who had himself been taught to sing verse.

To convert theory into practice, James gathered around him a côterie of artists. By the winter of 1583, the Castalian Band had begun its decade of major influence at court. The leader of this group, Alexander Montgomerie (1555?-98), had already made a name for himself at the court of Mary Queen of Scots. Her son bestowed upon Montgomerie the title of "maister poete" and, as the title of his own poetic collection suggests, accepted the rôle of apprentice ("prentise") under his guidance. (The post of laureate, or official poet to the monarch, was thus

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[18]See John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 391.

[19]Giovan Trissino, *La Poetica* (Vicenza, 1529), sig. xii.

[20]See Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), pp. 7-10.

[21]"Yea, quhen it cummis to purpose, it will be cumly to repete . . . a word aught or nyne tymes in a verse."

established earlier in Scotland than in England.) Within the courtly game there were nicknames for each other, the king being Willie Mow to Montgomerie's Rob Stene.[22] And the list of model stanzas which concludes the *Reulis* (ch. 8) draws heavily on Montgomerie's work.

Whether the master poet had any musical skills himself is unestablished. As about thirty of his texts have extant settings, however, he certainly wrote with accompaniment in mind, after the example of Ronsard. Helena Shire shows how his own Scots translations from Ronsard often fit the settings advised for the originals in the 1552 edition of the *Amours* (which itself contains a lengthy discussion on the association between sonnet and song), while even his long verse allegory *The Cherrie and the Slae* (1597) may have been sung as part of a court entertainment.[23]

Scotland's musical reputation had been so adversely affected during the regency period that, in 1562, Thomas Wode, vicar of St. Andrews, began to compile a Psalter in fear that music "sall pereishe in this land alutterlye."[24] To re-establish a performance culture, James encouraged musician-composers from his mother's reign to return to court. The Hudsons, a family of "Englishmen, violars" probably from York, who had provided entertainment at Mary's wedding to Darnley at Holyrood in 1565 and at James' own christening at Stirling Castle the next year, led this movement. Of the five Hudsons secured under the king's patronage at this time Robert and Thomas would play particularly powerful roles. Their brother William, for his part, was given the difficult task in 1579 of teaching the young king to dance.[25] As Shire comments, however, the very fact that the youth underwent such a training "bears witness to a planned introduction into the king's presence of dance-music; court-dances like the pavan or the galliard and dance-song tunes from

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[22]Shire, *Song* (above n. 9), pp. 88, 92; R. D. S. Jack, *Alexander Montgomerie* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), pp. 5-8.

[23]Shire, *Song*, pp. 150-63. For readings of the *Cherrie* see pp. 114-38, and Jack, *Montgomerie*, pp. 106-34.

[24]Cited by Kenneth Elliott and Helena Mennie Shire, eds. *Music of Scotland 1500-1700*, Musica Britannica XV (London: Stainer and Bell, 1957), p. xvi.

[25]Shire, *Song*, pp. 71-75. John McQuaid, "Musicians of the Scottish Reformation" (unpub. Ph.D diss., University of Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 31-73, provides a detailed account of the Hudsons' life at court.

Elizabethan England now sounded in Holyrood or Stirling, Linlithgow or Falkland Palace" (p. 73).

The evidence is not in harmony with the caricaturized view of the Castalians, which stresses only their erudition and élitism. Poetic learning was often channeled into the provision of dramatic entertainments in court and city, usually to the accompaniment of music. Indeed, C. S. Lewis, in summing up Montgomerie's work, chose to highlight its popular characteristics: "In Montgomerie we seem to hear the scrape of the fiddle and the beat of dancing on the turf."[26]

Why then does the pedantically pretentious image of the Castalians continue to have such force? In part, it is because one influential Scottish lyricist appears to add his support to another. In "The Jolly Beggars" (also known as "Love and Liberty—A Cantata"), Robert Burns's Bard anticipates Hugh MacDiarmid's view that the Castalians' practice is antipathetic to folk song. The Bard's own popular songs spring spontaneously from alcohol-induced emotion while theirs come pedantically from books. With glass aloft, he declares:

> I never drank the Muses' STANK,
> Castalia's burn, an' a' that,
> But there it streams an' richly reams,
> My HELICON I ca' that. (216-19)[27]

That Burns knew of the Castalian movement is not in question. The verse of James's followers was represented in the early eighteenth century by James Watson's verse anthology, the *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, while an edition of Montgomerie's *Cherrie and the Slae* dominates the second volume of Allan Ramsay's *Ever Green* of 1724.[28] Burns's rhetorical training and his own mingling of folk-tunes with "musick fyne" should, however, warn against over-hasty assumptions that he shares his Bard's scorn for the latter.

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[26]C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), p. 259.

[27]*Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969 [reprt. 1971), p.167.

[28]*A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems both Ancient and Modern*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1706-11); Allan Ramsay, *The Ever Green, Being A Collection of Scots Poems Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1724).

Similarly, an accurate assessment of the position of music at James's court, of his institutional reforms, and of Montgomerie's own lyrics must—without denying the artificial and scholarly assumptions with which the Castalians began—take into account popular elements in the courtly lyric in a period when native airs also flourished. A healthy and varied musical culture existed in sixteenth-century Scotland. However, like Gaelic song and instrumental music prior to 1700, the native airs, reflecting Celtic and Scandinavian influences, were part of an aural tradition. One should not, therefore, suppose that the lack of written sources in this area means the competitive silencing of folk song by the king. James was only concerned to strengthen the weakest musical link.

The court itself is the obvious starting point for an examination of how the king achieved his aims institutionally. In a small, mainly friendly environment, lighthearted performances were popular, as the following extract from Montgomerie's *Flyting* against Patrick Hume of Polwarth illustrates:

> Vyld, venymous vipper, wanthreivinest of thingis,
> Half ane elph, half ane aip, of nature denyit,
> Thow flyttis and thow freittis, thow fartis and thow flingis,
> Bot this bargane, unbeist, deir sall thow by it. (261-64)[29]

A flyting is, of course, still an exercise in artifice. The alliterative insults do not reveal actual hatred between the participants. Rather, the poet who proves himself the better "makar" will gain the master poet's chair by the king's hearth or "chimney nuik."[30] What this example does show is that court poets decorously practised all rhetorical levels of style from low to high, not the high alone. It therefore counters the absurd assumption that James encouraged deep thought for deep thinkers alone.

Writing in one performance mode (flyting), Polwarth calls attention to another, when mocking Montgomerie's appearance blackened up for a

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[29]*The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, ed. David J. Parkinson, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 2000), I, 143. Montgomerie quotations follow this text unless otherwise stated.

[30]"I shall debar the the kingis chimney nuik" ("Ane Flytting or Invective . . . ," 47; I, 143 and n.). See further Shire, *Song*, p. 80.

"gwyse," or disguising.[31] Masques, disguisings and interludes were encouraged by the king, and Montgomerie's narrative poem "The Navigatioun" may indeed represent the script for one such event. It describes a sea voyage from Constantinople to Scotland and has all the marks of an indoor performance centered on a movable ship and ending with a call to dinner for the chosen audience—"vnto your graces hall / That eftir supper we might sie the ball" (275-76).[32]

While Scottish Calvinism turned its face firmly against the popular theatre, currently flourishing in England, protestant lords and ministers could not oppose all performance modes within what was still a predominantly aural culture. In other areas of acting and ritual, they followed the normal Christian practice of controlling excess and making sure that any fictions and images served their own purposes. Michael Lynch, in an analysis of set-piece ceremonies and triumphs throughout James's reign, demonstrates the ways in which music and dramatic performance ("the instruments of splendour at court") were adapted to protestant monarchy in Scotland as well as England.[33] These lengthy ceremonies mingling tableaux, musical entertainment, poetry, jousting and dancing lasted for long periods and usually involved processional performance in the manner of the Miracle Cycles.

Processions moved from court to city when the king made his triumphal entry into Edinburgh in 1579, when his Queen Anne arrived there from Denmark in 1590, and when the birth of Prince Henry was celebrated at Stirling in 1594. Music played an important part in the accompanying entertainments. Shire believes that the drinking song "Nou let us sing" (*Music of Scotland*, no. 48), whose tune is preserved with altered words in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* of 1578, may have been used for the tableau of Bacchus which accompanied the handing over of the city keys to the king in 1579, when "Dame Musick and hir schollers

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[31]"Evill spirit, I will no langer spair the. / Blaid, blek the to bring in ane gwyse" ("The First Flyting in Forme of Reply . . . ," 29-30; I, 156). Part of this "gwyse" appears in Montgomerie's "Cartell of the thre ventrous knichts" (I, 97-98); see R. D. S. Jack, *Alexander Montgomerie* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), p. 23.

[32]I, 97. See Jack, *Montgomerie*, p. 18, and Shire, *Song*, pp. 83-84.

[33]"Court Ceremony and Ritual during the Personal Reign of James VI," in *The Reign of James VI*, ed. Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 72.

exercised hir airte with great melody" for the tastes of a wider audience.[34] As James was only thirteen at this time and as the spectacle ended with the pope's palace being set alight on the Water of Leith, it is clear that protestant factions anticipated the need to harness the musical skills of the court in their own cause.

James used his essentially peaceful reign to rebuild the kinds of institutional support which had been threatened during the Regency period. Entertainment, courtly and popular, was decorously adapted to élite or popular audiences, as the occasion warranted. The simpler, direct aesthetic premises of Calvinist orthodoxy, influencing town performances more than courtly standards did, and impinging little on the ostentation of presentation in either case, guaranteed that the "scrape" of Lewis's fiddle was not tuned to rarefied airs alone.

The two major musical institutions, which James reformed, were the Song Schools ("Sang Sculis") and the Chapel Royal. Both had suffered in the 1560s and 1570s. The schools were designed to provide specialised instruction in vocal and instrumental music as well as providing choir members for church services.[35] As their history connected them firmly with professional composition and catholic ceremonies, it is unsurprising that James's first attempts to resuscitate them were fiercely opposed. Nonetheless, the young king did succeed in opening the Edinburgh school in 1579. As others followed, moderate protestants came to see the advantage of having a pool of skilled musicians and singers whose roots lay outside the nobility. In the new power structure, their voices would, after all, be tuned to psalm singing rather than celebration of the mass.

If the "Sang Sculis" could claim to be a musically democratizing force and find some favour with the moderate protestant lobby on those grounds, the identity and history of the Scottish Chapel Royal made its case a harder one to argue. Founded by James III in the late fifteenth century, it was so obviously designed to advertise his own magnificence that it became one of the major focuses for discontent, in the events leading to his murder. As Norman Macdougall points out, continued

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[34]Shire, *Song*, pp. 73-75, quoting from the anonymous *Historie and Life of King James the Sext* (*c.* 1584), Bannatyne Club XIII (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 277-79.

[35]R. D. S. Jack, "The Lyrics of Alexander Montgomerie," *RES* 20(1969): 172.

opposition to the Chapel did not stem from an inveterate hatred of music *per se*. What the protestant lords objected to, in the sixteenth century as well as the fifteenth, was the confiscation of their church livings in order to glorify the monarch.[36] James IV and James V may have proved more adept at disguising that motivation but they did not change the institution's "Royal" rôle.

Modelled closely on the Chapel Royal in England, it had both religious and aesthetic aims. It was responsible for overseeing the interludes, triumphs and processions discussed above. But the direction and provision of music was its main aim. Theo van Heijnsbergen rightly identifies its first major flourishing with the reigns of James IV and James V. But if the Chapel successfully honed the talents of Robert Carver, John Fethy and the young Alexander Scott in those days, doubts about it grew as Mary's position weakened.[37] The degree to which protestants distrusted the institution as a bastion of catholicism was fully revealed after she resigned the crown in 1567.[38] On 28 August 1571, an act was passed, determining that "the said Chapell suld be purgit of all monumentis of ydolatrie."[39] It is, therefore, to James VI's credit that he matched his support for poetry in the early years of his reign with directions for the improvement and refurbishment of the Chapel.

More song schools and an extension of the activities of the Chapel offered the opportunity for talented musicians outside the nobility to develop their skills and then associate themselves with the court. James also continued to tempt Mary's musicians back to senior positions in

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[36]"Crown vs. Nobility: the Struggle for the Priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488," in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed, K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 254-69.

[37]"The Scottish Chapel Royal as Cultural Intermediary," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 309. On Alexander Scott see Shire, *Song*, pp. 44-66.

[38]A well documented account of the Chapel's history during Mary's reign and the early regency period is to be found in Charles Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882), pp. lix-lxxvii. See also H. G. Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London: Stockwell, 1947 [reprt., Da Capo Press, 1970]), pp. 127-29.

[39]*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, 3 vols. (London, 1882), III, 63. Cited by Rogers, *History*, p. lxxvi.

Edinburgh. One such, James Lauder, had left when the chaplaincy he had been granted in Mary's reign was revoked. At the start of the Castalian movement his name returns to the records as "servitor" to the king, and he is on one occasion sent to London to buy "twa pair of virginells."[40]

The songs of the Castalians, therefore, were mainly composed by professional or semi-professional poets and musicians. On the poetic side, Montgomerie, although a nobleman, was in receipt of a pension. He came from a powerful catholic family, whose roots lay in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire. But, as a younger son within a cadet branch, he had to forge another career outside the court, as a soldier.[41] He mingled courtly and professional, urban and rural within his own identity, and his work provides a good means of gauging whether the social breadth of James's patronage had any tempering effect on the complexity-in-artifice of the period. On the musical side of the equation, Montgomerie's senior counterpart, Andrew Blackhall, like the Hudsons and Lauder, was not a nobleman. Born in 1536, Blackhall learned his skills as a catholic canon in the Abbey of Holyrood but converted to protestantism during the Reformation. Subsequently, he became a protestant minister first in Musselburgh and then in Ormiston.[42] Like Lauder, he composed little music in the 1560s or 70s but found, in the more liberal climate of James's court, a renewed welcome.

Blackhall's setting of Montgomerie's poem "Adeu, O desie of delyt" makes a fitting start to more particular analysis of late sixteenth-century court music in Scotland, as it demonstrates the nice balance between subtlety and simplicity which characterised the Castalian lyric. There is no doubt that Montgomerie's stanza (which is the same as that used in his *Cherrie and the Slae*) is a complex one:

> Adeu, O desie of delyt;
> Adeu, most plesand and perfyt;
> Adeu, and haif gude nicht:

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[40]Shire, *Song*, pp. 75-79. McQuaid, "Musicians" (above, n. 25), p. 21 records a description of Lauder as "one of the Queen's [Mary's] musicians; composer, virginals player, prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Restalrig."

[41]See Parkinson, ed. *Montgomerie*, "Introduction," II, 11-15, tracing the eventual loss of the pension; and Jack, *Montgomerie*, pp. 8-12.

[42]Shire, *Song*, pp. 69-71; McQuaid, "Musicians," pp. 157, 162-66.

Adeu, thou lustiest on lyve;
Adeu, suete thing superlatyve;
  Adeu, my lamp of licht!
Lyk as the lyssard does indeid
  Leiv by the manis face,
Thy beutie lykwyse suld me feid
  If we had tyme and space.
    Adeu nou; be treu nou,
      Sen that we must depairt.
    Foryet not, and set not
      At licht my constant hairt. (1-14)[43]

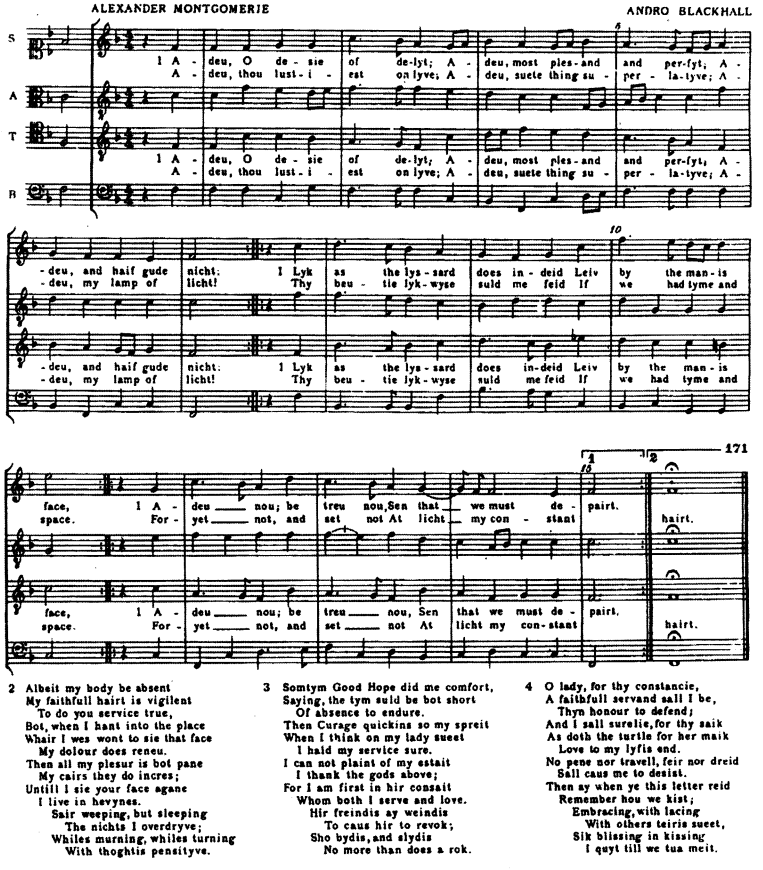
This intricate stanza—which in later Scottish literature would be called "bob and wheel," acknowledging its link with music and dancing—is matched to an equally varied iambic measure. It is, therefore, one of the new "kyndes of ballatis," which James describes in the *Reulis* as being "daylye inventit," and its "cuttit or brokin" stanza, mixing long and short lines (ch. 8) signals that it is to be set to music. Yet Montgomerie does not complicate his story line. As a "makar," he still "builds" according to the rules of rhetoric, but for a song of lovers parting, designed to accompany dancing, repeated figures of style underlining a simple argument are appropriate. Clearly enunciated rhythms guide the singing voice through even this most virtuosic of stanza forms. "Adeu" opens each of the first six lines, all of which are end-stopped. In this declamatory and repetitive style, the poet's situation could not be underlined more obviously, especially as the same word opens the concluding quatrain or "wheel," with its shorter lines and internal rhyme.

This complex yet clear text receives from Blackhall an appropriately "simple yet subtle chordal setting" (in the words of Kenneth Elliott), one based on "a widely current dance tune in pavan form (ABC, with each strain repeated) known under the title 'The Nine Muses' or 'The Banks of Helicon.'"[44] Blackhall's four-part setting, preserved in Thomas Wode's

[43]Text from *Music of Scotland* (above, n. 24), no. 49, p. 170. On uses of the "Helicon/Cherrie stanza" see Shire, *Song*, p. 165.

[44]See Kenneth Elliott, ed. *Songs for Voice and Lute*, Musica Scotica II (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Music Department, 1996), p. viii (with an arrangement for solo voice and lute, no. 2, p. 5). On uses of the tune see also Shire, *Song*, p. 35.

part-books (1562-*c.* 1590), has been put in score by Elliott in his *Music of Scotland*, no. 49 (Ex. 1):[45]



Example 1. "Adeu, O desie of delyt."

[45]Pp. 170-71 (and notes, pp. 202, 214). Copyright 1957, 1975 by the Musica Britannica Trust; reproduced by permission of Stainer and Bell Ltd, London N3 1DZ. In this edition, the old clef and time signatures are modernized, and changes of clef within a part are not noted (pp. xix-xx). "Adeu, o desie of delyt" is also found in William Stirling's Cantus Part-Book (*c.* 1639). On Wode's part-books see Shire, *Song*, pp. 23-25.

The poet's valediction ends affirming the lady's constancy and his own "till we tua meit" (56).

Classical learning—a *sine qua non* of Castalian writing—is also lightly introduced in Montgomerie's lyrics. Examples are briefly offered, not subtly argued, and the rhetorical figures which sustain them are designed to aid understanding. Another text that inspired musical settings, "Before the Greeks durst enterpryse," provides a good illustration of this. Here, the Greek consultation of the oracle at Delphi is treated in a simple, illustrative way:

> Before the Greeks durst enterpryse
> To Troyes town in armes to go,
> They set a counsell sage and wyse
> Apollo's ansuier for to know
> Hou they suld speid and haif succes
> In that so grit a business. (1-6)

The narrative continues in this unostentatious manner, depicting the sacrifices to Apollo and the joy of the Greeks when promised Trojan capitulation. Only the last stanza, which reveals the martial tale to be a mere vehicle for explaining the narrator's situation, tests the understanding of the audience. The Greeks may have rejoiced when their enemy yielded but the poet celebrates more intensely by recalling his own lady's promise of amorous submission—"thus spak Apollo myne: / All that thou seeks, it sall be thyne" (23-24).[46]

William Mure's four-part setting for this text, which appeared in his ms. lute book of *c.* 1615, is reconstructed by Elliott in his *Music of Scotland*, no. 50 (Ex. 2):[47]

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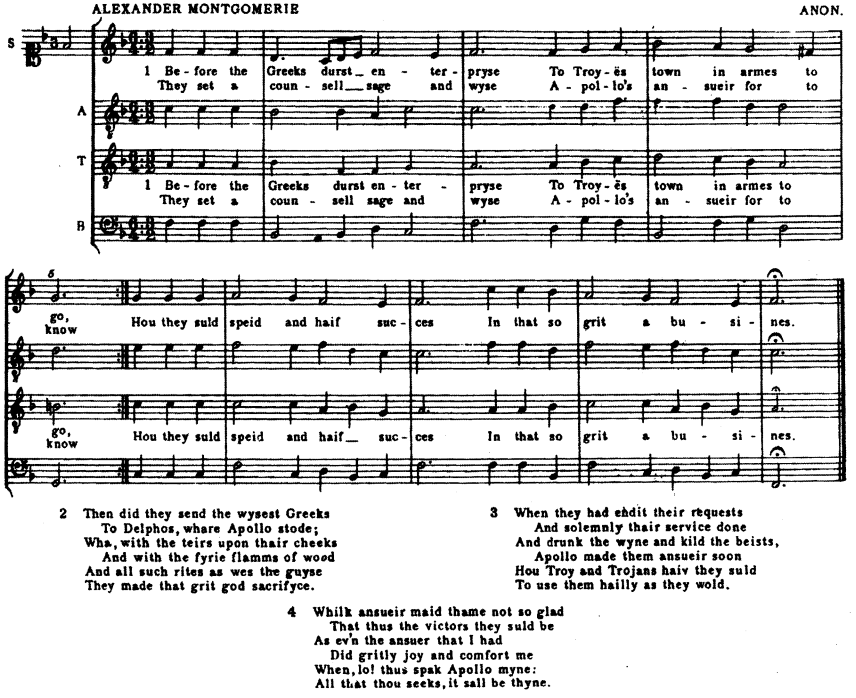
[46]Text (and music, below) from *Music of Scotland*, no. 50, p. 171. Shire believes the awarding of the poet's pension is meant, but notes DuBellay also uses Apollo as a figure for the lady (*Song*, pp. 94-95).

[47]Copyright 1957, 1975 by The Musica Britannica Trust; reproduced by permission of Stainer and Bell Ltd. Elliott provides the lower voices from the tablature in Mure's lute book, Edinburgh University Library Ms. La. III.487. Mure's setting reappears in Robert Edwards's commonplace book (*c.* 1630-65, now in the library of the Earl of Dalhousie, Penmure Ms.ll) and in John Forbes, *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* (Aberdeen, 1662); see notes, p. 201. Elliott gives an



Example 2. "Before the Greeks durst enterpryse."

Again, this is a relatively simple setting in which the normal three-strain form of the galliard rhythm has become two[48] and is designed to underline the sense of the words.

In attempting to refine a generalisation which consigns all Castalian lyricism into virtuosity and courtly self-absorption, it is important to avoid counterbalancing one exaggeration with another. Practically none of the songs emanating from the king's group of paid musicians employs

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arrangement for solo voice in *Songs for Voice and Lute*, no. 4, p. 14. (Compare four-part version in Parkinson, ed. *Montgomerie*, I, 289-90.)

[48]Elliott, *Songs for Voice and Lute*, p. viii.

the pentatonic or gapped scales favoured for Scottish popular song.[49] Some of them are overtly intricate, although usually the more elaborate chanson settings are counterbalanced by simpler verse forms and a lack of poetic virtuosity. However, an anonymous setting of Montgomerie's lyric "Melancholie, gryt deput of Dispair," provides a pavane and galliard pair as accompaniment to a text of alternating short and long lines in an elaborate rhyme scheme. Elliott rightly considers it to be suited to a *ballet de cour* or a masque in which dance rhythms become part of the complex contrapuntal tradition.[50] Other songs are not intended for dance at all. Contrapuntal music and complex stanza forms are also found in Montgomerie's "What mightie motion" and "Remember rightly when ye reid," both of which mirror the earlier, more rarified, earlier Franco-Scottish style.[51]

Verse translations of the psalms were usually written in complex "cuttit" stanzas to accompany intricate tunes. One might have expected the sober protestant services of the day to have preferred simple chordal settings, like Blackhall's of "Adeu, O desie of delyt," shown above, or the anonymous setting of Montgomerie's "Evin dead, behold I breathe."[52] Equally, one might have supposed Montgomerie's catholicism would have excluded him from such exercises. Yet Jean-Antoine de Baif's Parisian "Academie de Poésie et de Musique," influenced as it was by Ficinian neo-Platonism, gave to sacred song and psalmody in particular a high decorous position.[53] And it is this logic which prevails for the Castalians. Otherwise, why is Montgomerie's translation of Psalm 2 , the first elaborate verse of which is set down below, thought of by one slightly later contemporary, Margaret Ker, as fit to be matched to the

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[49]Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge, 1966), p. 4.

[50]*Songs for Voice and Lute*, pp. viii and 48 (no. 13); see Shire's discussion, *Song*, pp. 173-78.

[51]*Songs for Voice and Lute*, nos. 27 and 21 (pp. 109, 82), arranged for solo voice. Four-voice arrangement of the former in *Music of Scotland*, no. 56, p. 177 (from Thomas Wode's part-books and Robert Edwards; see notes, p. 216). See Shire's discussion, *Song*, p. 146.

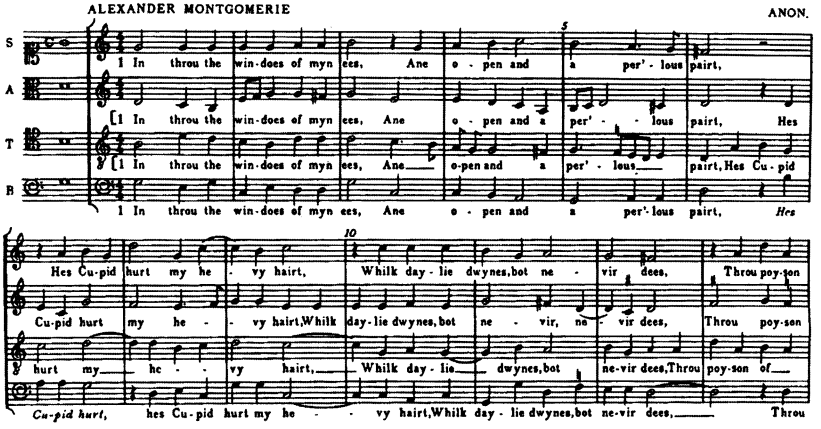
[52]*Songs for Voice and Lute*, no. 6, p. 20; part-song in *Music of Scotland*, no. 55, p. 176.

[53]Yates, *French Academies*, pp. 36-42.

intricate tune already used for his own love song "In throu the windoes of myn ees," when many simpler chordal melodies were available?

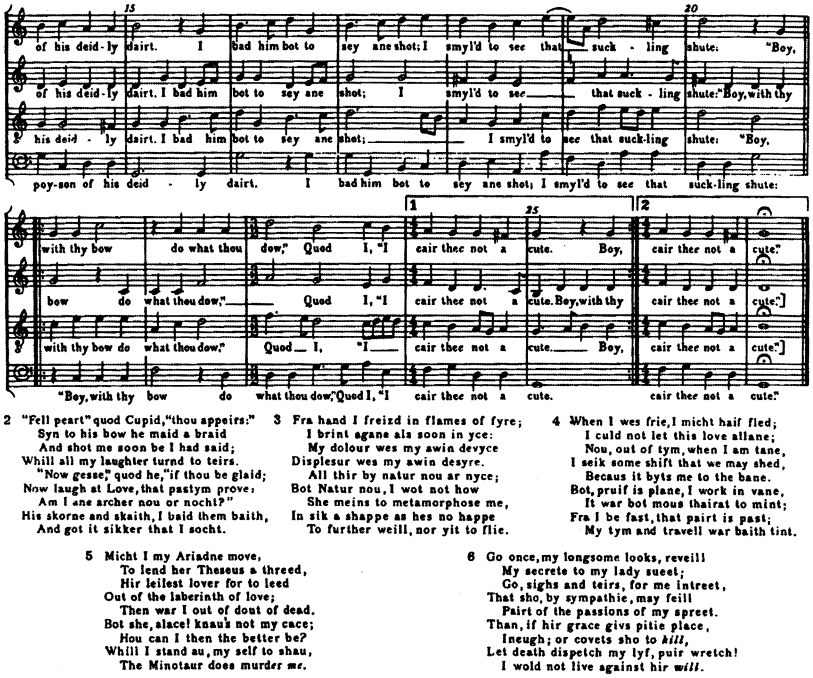
Here is the first verse of the love song, followed by its musical setting as given in Elliott's *Music of Scotland*, no. 53 (Ex. 3):[54]

In throu the windoes of mine ees,
  Ane open and a per'lous pairt,
  Hes Cupid hurt my hevy hairt,
Whilk daylie dwynes, bot nevir dees,
  Throu poison of his deadly dairt.
I bad him bot to sey ane shot;
  I smiled to see that suckling shute:
"Boy, with thy bow do what thou dow,"
  Quod I, "I cair thee not a cute." (1-9)



Example 3. "In throu the windoes of myn ees."

[54]P. 174. Copyright 1957, 1975 by The Musica Britannica Trust; reproduced by permission of Stainer and Bell Ltd. The song is found in David Melville's part-books (1604), Robert Edwards' commonplace book (*c.* 1630-35) and the Tolquhon Cantus (1611). (Another four-part version in Parkinson, *Montgomerie*, I, 297-99.)



2 "Fell peart" quod Cupid, "thou appeirs:"
Syn to his bow he maid a braid
And shot me soon be I had said;
Whill all my laughter turnd to teirs.
"Now gesse," quod he, "if thou be glaid;
Now laugh at Love, that pastym prove;
Am I ane archer nou or nocht?"
His skorne and skaith, I baid them baith,
And got it sikker that I socht.

3 Fra hand I freizd in flames of fyre;
I brint agane als soon in yce:
My dolour wes my awin devyce
Displesur wes my awin desyre.
All thir by natur nou ar nyce;
Bot Natur nou, I wot not how
She meins to metamorphose me,
In sik a shappe as hes no happe
To further weill, nor yit to flie.

4 When I wes frie, I micht haif fled;
I cuid not let this love allane;
Nou, out of tym, when I am tane,
I seik some shift that we may shed,
Becaus it byts me to the bane.
Bot, pruif is plane, I work in vane,
It war bot mous thairat to mint;
Fra I be fast, that pairt is past;
My tym and travell war baith tint.

5 Micht I my Ariadne move,
To lend her Theseus a threed,
Hir leilest lover for to leed
Out of the laberinth of love;
Then war I out of dout of dead.
Bot she, alace! knau's not my cace;
How can I then the better be?
Whill I stand au, my self to shau,
The Minotaur does murder *me.*

6 Go once, my longsome looks, reveill
My secrete to my lady sueet;
Go, sighs and teirs, for me intreet,
That sho, by sympathie, may feill
Pairt of the passions of my spreet.
Than, if hir grace gifs pitie place,
Ineugh; or covets sho to *kill,*
Let death dispetch my lyf, puir wretch!
I wold not live against hir *will.*

Example 3 (continued). "In throu the windoes of myn ees."

And here is the psalm text considered by Margaret Ker, in an entry in her manuscript or commonplace book,[55] as fit for this music:

The 2 Psalm to the Tone of In throu the windows of myn ees
Quhy doth the Heathin rage and rampe
And peple murmur all in vane?
The Kings on earth ar bandit plane
And princes are conjonit in Campe
Against the Lord and Chryst ilk ane.
"Come let our hands
brek all thair bands"

[55]Edinburgh University Library Ms. De.3.70. On Margaret Ker's identity and relation to this ms., see Shire, *Song*, pp. 141-42, and Parkinson, ed. *Montgomerie*, "Introduction," II, 1-4.

Say they, "and cast from vs thair yoks."
Bot he sall evin
That duells in hevin
Laugh thame to scorne lyk mocking stoks. (1-11; I, 4)

The institutional and practical advances proposed within James's largely professional Renaissance do not suggest anything like the sneering condescension to popular taste detected by many today on MacDiarmid's authority. It is also fair to say that those who made Montgomerie their model followed a writer who never allowed the virtuosity expected of a "makar" to obliterate his own very direct and personal voice. This was, after all, the poet who, after losing his pension in a court case, adapted the king's rules for argumentative sonnets in "literall" form to the task of condemning his own inept legal representative:

A Baxters bird, a bluiter beggar borne,
Ane ill heud huirsone lyk a barkit hyde,
A saulles suinger seuintie tymes mensuorne,
A peltrie pultron poyson'd vp with pryde. . . .
("Of Maister John SHARP," ii.1-4; I, 112)

This was also the poet who enthusiastically saluted the more democratically convivial life of his rural Ayrshire, among friends like Robert, lord Semphill:

Be mirrie men, feir GOD and serve the King
Syne "Welcome hame suete SEMPLE" sie ye sing,
"Gut ou'r and let the wind shute in the sea."
("The OLD Maister," 5-8; I, 134-35)

These lines naturally return attention to that other rhetorically self-conscious Ayrshire poet, Robert Burns. For all his "untaught ploughboy" image, he was every bit as much a product of an education based on stylistic *Reulis* as James or Montgomerie.[56]

[56]"I made an excellent English scholar; and against the years of ten or eleven, I was absolutely a Critic in substantives, verbs and particles." (Burns to Dr. John

His own musical expertise included a detailed understanding of art song as well as folk song, and the principle of balancing complexity with simplicity, detected in much Castalian composition, could equally be applied to him. Thus, it seems strange that he should use the cantata form, in particular, to vent antagonism against Castalian artifice. Inspired by one of the Stuart kings whose memory he so often lamented (Bonnie Prince Charlie) and by an earlier fellow Ayrshire lyricist (Montgomerie himself), why does he refer to Castalia's stream as a "stank" in "The Jolly Beggars"?

The answer of course is that he doesn't. It is a character within the poem, the Bard, who views the inheritance of Montgomerie, Blackhall, Lauder and the Hudsons in that way. By contrast, the poet's narrator opens his cantata with precisely the complex "Helicon" stanza we have seen Montgomerie using in "Adeu o desie of delight"—which was also the stanza of his *Cherrie and the Slae,* the most widely reprinted poem in early Scottish literature:

> When lyart leaves bestrow the yird,
> Or wavering like the Bauckie-bird,
> Bedim cauld Boreas' blast;
> When hailstanes drive wi' bitter skyte,
> And infant Frosts begin to bite,
> In hoary cranreuch drest;
> Ae night at e'en a merry core
> O' randie, gangrel bodies,
> In Poosie-Nansie's held the splore,
> To drink their orra dudies:
> Wi' quaffing, and laughing,
> They ranted an' they sang;
> Wi' jumping, an' thumping,
> The vera girdle rang.
> (1-14; ed. Kinsley 1971, p. 157)

Such an all-embracing viewpoint, accepting the value of folk song *and* art song, emotional directness *and* artistic contrivance is shared by James VI and Burns. The leaders of these two overtly Scottish lyrical revivals in the

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Moore.) *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. J. DeLancey Ferguson, 2nd ed. G. Ross Roy, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), I, 135.

late sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries are in many ways very different. But they share a generously comprehensive aesthetic outlook, each seeking the golden mean by counterpointing rather than excluding extremes.

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