



Citation: S.J. Sprouse and S. Banschbach Valles (2025) Scottish Hands and Anglo-Centrism: The Politics of Canon-Formation and the Dalhousie Manuscripts. *Jems*. 14: pp. 71-88. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.36253/JEMS-2279-7149-16519>

Copyright: © 2025 S.J. Sprouse and S. Banschbach Valles. This is an open access, peer-reviewed article published by Firenze University Press (<https://oajournals.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-jems>) and distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

Editors: D. Pallotti, P. Pugliatti (University of Florence)

Scottish Hands and Anglo-Centrism The Politics of Canon-Formation and the Dalhousie Manuscripts

Sarah J. Sprouse

West Texas A&M University (<ssprouse@wtamu.edu>)

Sarah Banschbach Valles

Independent Scholar (<sarah.b.valles@gmail.com>)

Abstract

This article discusses the urgent matter of canonicity in early modern manuscript studies. It argues that the archipelagic turn, first articulated by John Kerrigan, encourages new analyses of manuscripts previously studied for their Anglo-centric canonical authors. By permitting the manuscripts to speak for themselves, new evidence for production and reading practices emerge. Our study centers the Dalhousie manuscripts; we examine the evidence for ownership, compilation, and use, ultimately suggesting the contents work together thematically in ways that highlight Scottish aristocratic reading interests in the early seventeenth century. Thinking archipelagically, this article explores Scottish interest in English poetry, examines thematic evidence in the manuscripts for Scottish provenance, and provides comparative examples of orthographical and lexical evidence.

Keywords: Canon, Punctuation, Scotland, Scribes, Verse Miscellany

1. Introduction

In the early 1980s, Peter Beal discovered a pair of manuscript poetry miscellanies in the Scottish Records Office in Edinburgh among the papers of the Earls of Dalhousie. Because forty-three of the eighty-nine poems in the manuscripts are by John Donne and said poems would have been transcribed during his lifetime, Beal reached out to Ernest W. Sullivan, III at Texas Tech University to see if the library would be interested in purchasing the so-called Dalhousie Manuscripts. Sullivan was heavily involved in coordinating the *Donne Variorum*'s editions of Donne's poetry, and thus arranged the sale of the miscellanies. The Dalhousie Manuscripts are closely related to Lansdowne MS 740, as well as to Haslewood-Kingsborough MS II, by virtue of the Donne

poems included and the replication of their sequential order.¹ Helen Gardner and Herbert Grierson thus believed that the Donne poems in these three manuscripts belong to the Group II Donne manuscript tradition² and must have been copied from a now-missing exemplar (see Sullivan 1988, 7). Despite the miscellany nature of these manuscripts (they contain poetry from many named and anonymous poets) the Dalhousie Manuscripts never became known beyond the Donne circle. Texas Tech hosted a symposium on these manuscripts, for which a festschrift was produced (Sullivan and Murrah 1987),³ and there has been some scholarly attention (see Pebworth 1989; Sullivan 2005; Eckhardt 2006; Bland 2014; Marotti 2016; Crowley 2018), but never beyond the context of John Donne.

Such a canonical focus led to the scholarly belief that the compiler(s) must have had a direct connection to Donne himself, which suggested an English provenance.⁴ Theo van Heijnsbergen argues that this kind of blindspot in early modern studies ‘made the Elizabethan Renaissance the norm for the whole of the British sixteenth century and ... thereby aligned Scottish early-modern culture to Anglo-centred cultural narratives that treated it as a “Prenaissance” of modern (English) civilisation rather than as an evolution of medieval into “Renaissance” with a dynamics of its own’ (Heijnsbergen 2004, 198). Once we set aside this Anglo-centered narrative and focus, however, we can see that there are names in the Dalhousie manuscripts that suggest Scottish ownership, if not origin: Scots Patrick Maule of Panmure and Andrew Ramsay both wrote their names in these manuscripts. As Sebastiaan Verweij observes, ‘Scottish audiences also played a significant role in the circulation of English verse, and they should therefore figure much more prominently in histories of reception and circulation’ (2016, 4). Further, based on orthography, we can now suggest that almost all of the nine scribes across the two manuscripts were Scottish. We believe it is critical to start from Maule and Ramsay since they are the only two identifiable figures associated with these manuscripts and, surprisingly, continue to go unaddressed by scholars.

In 1988, Sullivan published his facsimile edition of *The First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts: Poems and Prose by John Donne and Others*. In his introduction to the edition, Sullivan had to account for how the manuscripts containing almost exclusively English poetry from high-profile London poets came to be in Scotland. Because the manuscripts begin with copies of legal documents pertaining to the Earl of Essex’s divorce from Frances Howard and because many of the included poets were personally known to the Earl, Sullivan postulated that the poems comprising Dalhousie I (henceforth TT₁) ‘were very likely copied as a unit and taken to Scotland before August 1617’ (Sullivan 1988, 4). The primary poetic sequences of Dalhousie II (henceforth TT₂) were copied directly from TT₁ in Scotland. In this schema, TT₁ is a London manuscript, and TT₂ is a Scottish manuscript. Given the nascent state of early modern manuscript studies in the 1980s, such a provenance seemed possible. However, in the succeeding years, scholars such as Priscilla Bawcutt (2001b) and Verweij (2016) have demonstrated that poetry coterie were thriving in Scotland (albeit under quite different circumstances than their

¹ Full shelfmarks: London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 740; San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS 198.

² Manuscripts containing Donne’s poems that were produced during his lifetime are grouped according to contents, sequencing, and textual variants. Such groupings facilitate the search for the most ‘canonically pure’ poems (see Kneidel 2022, 883).

³ It should be noted that all the papers pertaining to the Dalhousie Manuscripts at this symposium were specifically also about John Donne.

⁴ For a history of Anglo-centric bias in scholarly study of early modern manuscripts and literature, see Schwyzer 2004, 1-12; Kerrigan 2008, 1-13; Verweij 2016, 6-12.

English counterparts).⁵ And while Scottish collectors always had an interest in English poetry (as evidenced by the Bannatyne Manuscript and the Maitland Folio, among others), it was especially after James VI's accession to the English throne that they actively sought out English poetry. James took many Scottish nobles to London, and with the increased traffic between London and Scotland, it is indeed possible that TT₁ was compiled in London and then taken to Scotland.

A second, possible hypothesis that we propose is that TT₁ was compiled in Scotland from manuscripts already in circulation. We base this proposal upon the Scottish orthography and unique punctuation found in the manuscripts. It is certainly possible that a Scot living in London could have collected the poems and used their own Scottish idiosyncrasies in copying. But given the missing exemplar, the number of copyists, the inclusion of a Scottish poet early on, and the fact that Scots such as William Drummond, Sir Robert Ker of Ancrum, and Sir William Alexander actively collected English poetry (see McDonald 1971; Bawcutt 2013), we believe it is more likely that TT₁ was compiled in Scotland. TT₂ contains copies of many, but not all the poems from TT₁ and includes additional poems of Scottish origin. In either case, we claim the manuscripts were created for a Scottish audience eager for news of scandal and gossip. For we have found that when we cease to view them through an Anglocentric and Donne-specific lens, the manuscripts no longer act as a showcase for a flashy diamond surrounded by lesser gems and instead reconfigure into a vibrant, kaleidoscopic dialogue featuring whores, cuckolds, lascivious men, unscrupulous churchmen, and lying courtiers. In this article we consider the contents of the manuscripts as a whole to suggest that such a reading brings the compiler(s) into focus. First, we examine the evidence for Scottish provenance based on the thematic picture that emerges when reading the full codices. In the latter sections, we demonstrate the varieties of Scottish orthography and lexicography of the scribes. This method of centering the manuscript itself, we argue, pushes past the barriers of the canon to develop a more complete literary history.

2. *Scottish Interest in English Poetry*

Though there is, as yet, little to no analysis of English interest in Scottish poetry in the early modern period, there is extensive scholarship on Scottish interest in English poetry (see Bawcutt 2001a). Using Chaucer as an example, Priscilla Bawcutt notes that James VI/I, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay all honor him as their ‘“master”’ (2001b, 6). Her research reveals a variety of English romances circulating in Scotland, as well as medical treatises and religious literature (4-8). While some Scottish writers intentionally incorporated dialect as part of a nationalistic, ‘self-conscious linguistic patriotism’ (Bawcutt 2022, 210), a heavy vernacular gloss is not a requirement for a manuscript or text to be of Scottish origin. In fact:

Lowland Scots and English were closely related, sharing a basic grammatical structure and common core vocabulary. Most Scots, whether anglophiles or anglophobes, recognized this... This undoubtedly facilitated the ready acceptance of English books; and if copies were desired, it was easy to make the small adjustments which would naturalise them into Scots.” (Bawcutt 2001b, 9)

Even the most famous Scottish miscellany, the Bannatyne Manuscript, contains verse from English authors such as Chaucer, Lydgate, Hoccleve, Walton, Heywood, Wyatt, as well as prose

⁵ Verweij points out that ‘not a single manuscript of vernacular literature survives that can be linked to a Scottish university’. Further, Scotland lacked the Inns of Court culture and commercial theaters that fostered coterie culture in England. Instead, overall, ‘manuscript production in Scotland tended to revolve either around amateurs ... or individually commissioned professional scribes’ (2016, 15-16, 245).

from William Baldwin's print edition *Treatise of Morall Philosophy* (Bawcutt 2005, 60, 62). Verweij proposes that 'it cannot be claimed that a quintessentially Scottish type of literary manuscript ever emerged, nor need such a thing be expected' (2016, 246). While there are general, material tendencies and features which designate a manuscript as Scottish, Verweij gestures to the broader, social context of Anglo-Scottish relations, connections, and interactions resulting from a porous border. English and Scottish cultures have always intermingled, whether through trade and geographic proximity or through aristocratic exchange and the reigns of the monarchs. Such interactions naturally lead to bilingualism and linguistic adaptation as well as literary exchange. Attributing an archipelagic literary interest (Kerrigan 2010) to Scottish readers thus allows for a more complex reading of a manuscript's contents – a reading focused on audience rather than on anachronistic, rigid, disciplinary notions of 'importance' or national boundaries.

3. *Thematic Evidence of Scottish Provenance*

Sullivan identified five scribal hands in TT₁. Scribe 1A dips into the manuscripts at three separate intervals: folios 1r-10r, 11r-20v, and 62v-63v. Scribe 1B has a brief contribution on folios 10v-11r. Scribe 1C contributes a majority of the contents, spanning from folios 21r-62r, while Scribe 1D interjects on folio 62v, and Scribe 1E on folios 64r-69v. In dating the manuscripts, Sullivan claims that

dating the transcription of the materials to folio 62 in TT₁ between the 12 May 1613 divorce proceedings and the return of James I to Scotland in August 1617 would be entirely consistent with the uniform paper, pattern of handwriting segments, early states of the texts ... the essentially chronological order of the datable originals represented by the copies, and the switch to poems of particularly Scottish interest at the end of the manuscript. (Sullivan 1988, 4)

While Sullivan's criteria for what might interest a Scot (poems about identifiable Scotsmen) are overly reductive, this article accepts his dating practices and handwriting analysis. As there are some unaccountable blank leaves, catchwords that have no correspondence, unmatched partial watermarks, and incomplete trial testimony, Sullivan believes that the arrangement of the manuscript quires may not be original (1988, 1-2). This evidence perhaps accounts for the shift from one hand to another, though this article proposes that such evidence applies more specifically to Scribe 1A than to the other hands.

Thematically, Scribe 1A's interest lies in the debauchery of the wealthy and powerful. The manuscript opens with the testimony of Archbishop George Abbot and King James VI/I from the Essex divorce trial. This scandalous affair of 1613 centered on the arranged marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Devereux, the 3rd Earl of Essex (see Lindley 2013). Howard had an affair with Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset (who was born to Scottish parents in England), leaving Essex a 'public cuckold' (Morrill 2004). The Howards requested an annulment of the marriage on the grounds of Essex's supposed impotence (see Luttfiring 2011). Archbishop Abbot's testimony contemplated how men are made 'Eunnches' and suggested 'The Earle to be inspected by Phisicōns' (TT₁, 1r-v).⁶ James VI/I discussed the matter in his testimony as 'alike defrawdinge of y^e woman, / when eyther he who is to be her husband is gelded or when y^e / vse / of y^e memb^r towards her, is by any vnlawfull meanes taken fro[m] her' (TT₁, 2v). After the divorce was granted, Howard married Somerset to the great dismay of Somerset's closest friend

⁶ Line numbers are from Sullivan's edition throughout, though all transcriptions are from the manuscripts.

Thomas Overbury. In the end, Overbury was imprisoned and poisoned, likely by Howard. In total, it was a sordid affair that captured the public attention, as can be attested by the many manuscript copies and broadsides about the trial.⁷

This opening material deposits the initial stratum for the verse collection: it becomes the form upon which the subsequent verses decoratively drape. In discussing manuscript verse collections, Michelle O'Callaghan writes that frequently verses chosen to be copied gave an account of their 'relationship to an event, individual, or group ... Such groupings of texts by historical occasion encourage a particular set of interpretive practices that invite readers to read intertextually and contextually' (2017, 313). The trial testimonies of Archbishop George Abbot and King James perform this work for TT₁. By way of counterpoint to the titillating trial accounts of witchcraft and infidelity, the scribe follows the testimony with a Catholic, Latin text used as a 'Preparatorie Prayer before Sacramentall Confession' (Primer 1616, 429). A six-line medieval Christological poem follows – a poem which appears in three other manuscripts, one of which is the preaching-book of John of Grimestone, a Franciscan friar from Norfolk, held at the National Library of Scotland with an ex-libris of 'Jacobi Stuart 1699'.⁸ Scribe 1A continues with a poem about contentment, 'My mind to me a kingdom is' (TT₁, 9r), which some (including Sullivan) attribute to Sir Edward de Vere, while others point to Edward Dyer.⁹ If Dyer is the poet, a Scottish connection becomes evident as Dyer's poetry was so well-known in Scotland that his name become synonymous with a type of 'amatory lament' in 'poulter's measure' – a specific meter of rhyming couplets in 12 syllable line followed by a 14 syllable line (Verweij 2013, 299). While 'My mind' is not in this meter, the association with Dyer is relevant to establishing Scottish interest in English poetry. Scribe 1A includes a poem unique to TT₁ lamenting a good brother's death. The blatant, stomach-churning misogyny in the manuscript can also be seen in an anonymous poem in this early part of the manuscript:

I could vnto my self a heauenlye creature shape
by whose excellencie, I could euen grace a second rape.
...
No outward beautie now, though nature ioyne with arte
can draw attendance from my eyes, lesse homage from my harte
Sutch seellie bonds as those, my hart could neuer bind.
I like not Helens face so mutch, as I abhorre her mind (TT₁, 19v, ll. 7-14)

Attending to Scribe 1A establishes both that items of 'Scottish interest' may be subtler and broader than an English, canonical focus allows for, and that TT₁ is compiled as a dialogue between accounts of lascivious behavior, and rebuttals, as it were, to such behavior. For Londoners are not the only people fascinated by scandal, nor does gossip limit itself by borders.

Scribe 1B interjects with a poem by Sir John Davies on the beauty that a good life and mind bestows on a woman, and a poem by Sir Henry Wotton on the means to attain a happy life. Scribe 1B's content speaks directly to the issues presented in the Howard trial testimony

⁷ Bodleian MS. Rawl. C. 63 and MS. Rawl. C. 64, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.36, and Lambeth Palace MS 663 are but some examples of manuscript witnesses of the trial testimonies. The database Early Stuart Libels documents 28 popular poems, anagrams, and ballads connected to the entire scandal, <https://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/overbury_murder_section/H0.html>, accessed 1 December 2024.

⁸ See <<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/15257>>, accessed 1 December 2024.

⁹ See Union First Line Index of English Verse, <<https://firstlines.folger.edu/search.php?val1=my+mind+to+me+a+kingdom+is#results>>, accessed 1 December 2024.

wherein the qualities of a wicked woman are on display, and the follies of men whose passions 'his maysters are' (TT₁, 11r, l. 5). Though Scribe 1A contributed earlier to the rebuttal theme, they shift gears when they next touch the manuscript and contribute erotic verse on loose women from Scottish poet Robert Ayton, John Donne, Josuah Sylvester, Sir John Harington, Jonathan Richards, and several anonymous pieces that advocate against constancy in love, such as:

for a louing constand harte
 my reward is greif & smarte
 she that kills me with disdayne
 takes a pleasur in my payne
 ...
 Dayes & nightes my woes improve
 whilst I languish for her love
 whilst her hart with rigors frawght
 scorninge setts my love at nawght: (TT₁, 18v, ll.1-4, 13-16)

Using the opening trial testimony as the touchstone of the manuscript newly illuminates these thematically stereotypical poems. Rather than stock characters, Frances Howard, Essex, Overbury, and Somerset populate the imaginations of readers. A gossip book, a long-running gag of poetic inside jokes, is born. Anonymous poems rubbing shoulders with well-known poets suggest that the compilers' 'aim was not to canonize the works of a particular set of authors; rather, authority is invested in the milieu defined by the collection' (O'Callaghan 2017, 322). In other words, the values of the socio-cultural world of the coterie for whom the manuscripts were made confers importance upon a poem instead of mere authorship. Furthermore, it points toward a 'publication event that captured not only texts at a certain point in their transmission history but also the coterie identity that they defined' (324). The interests of this coterie ran toward the push and pull of libidinous, misogynistic jocularity and moralizing reproof. Taken together, the poems satirize the court, play with the joke of 'cuckolds and whores', and mock ecclesiastical and courtly conventions.

The longest section in a single hand follows here with Scribe 1C's transcription of seventy poems. The hand is far more proficient than the preceding hands, as there is some attempt at decorative headings, ruling of the page, punctuation, and italicization of important nouns.¹⁰ John Donne's satires, elegies, and early amatory lyric poems comprise much of this section. However, they are interspersed with four poems by Thomas Overbury, two by Sir John Davies, seven by Sir John Roe, one by John Hoskyns, one by Francis Beaumont, three by Sir John Harington, one by Sir Walter Raleigh, one by Josuah Sylvester, and seven by anonymous poets. Marcy North posits that 'fashionable verse' would frequently be 'clustered, either near the beginning of the manuscript or at the beginning of a major stint ... [as] fashionable poems serve as anchors, having motivated both the transmission of a set of poems and the recording of it in the miscellany' (2011, 96-97). While Donne is clearly a 'fashionable' poet, his is not the only voice on display. Overbury's poems 'A Very Very Woman' and 'Her Next Part' are direct attacks upon Frances Howard:

¹⁰ Verweij notes that 'On the whole, manuscript production in Scotland tended to revolve either around amateurs (however gifted they may have been as penmen), or individually commissioned professional scribes (notaries public, "wrytars") who worked to order and on a select scale' (2016, 245). See also Wingfield 2015.

... She is *Mariageable* and *fourteene*

...

... She is hied

Away all but her face and that hangs about
With toys and devices like the sign of a *Tauerne*
To draw *Strangers* it is likely she traffiques flesh
And hangs it out of her shopwindowes ... (TT₁, 29r, ll. 14, 20-24)

The popular, anonymous 'Libell agaynst Bashe' appears at this juncture and elucidates the manuscript's theme:

And so he went to London walles
Where after sundry climbinge falls
He fell in *Consanguinite*
And linked in *Affinitie*
With *Bauds & Brothells whores* and *knaues*
Cutthroates: Enchanters Banckrupt slaues

...

Thatt att the last he scrapt so much mucke
and grewe so rich by *Cuckolds* lucke (TT₁, 34v, ll. 55-66)

After the Bashe libel, poet Sir John Davies chimes in on the marriage of Bishop Richard Fletcher to the very recently widowed Mary Baker (née Gifford). Using the trope of heraldry, Davies writes

And yet her *Ladishipp* were greatly shamd
If from her Lord no title she should take
Therefore they shall diuide the name of *Fletcher*
Hee my Lord *F* and she my *Ladie Letcher* (TT₁, 37r, ll. 11-14)

After a quantity of Donne elegies and lyrics, Sir John Harington rails against marriage and swindlers, while Sir Walter Raleigh replies with scornful reproof of worldliness and Josuah Sylvester chimes in with 'The fruites of a good conscience' (TT₁, 58r). Thomas Overbury follows with an invective against love and women. While bantering over cuckolds and whores, love and lust, constancy and falsehood, the spectres from the Essex divorce trial still haunt the pages, as in this anonymous poem where it seems Somerset's plight of the cuckold who becomes cuckolded is covertly recounted:

And more then that its said she tells him plaine
Sheele putt him to his hornebooke once againe

...

But wott yow why poore *Robin* is distrest
It was for breeding in the *Cuckoes* nest (TT₁, 37v, ll. 5-6, 23-24)

John Roe had some strong feelings about the sudden influx of Scots in the English court, complaining that 'Most of our Ladies with the Scotts doe lie' (TT₁, 43r, l. 8). He compares the Scots to smooth verses that are

... shallowe and wantes matter but in his handes
And they are rugged Her state better standes
And if that linth of misorie be hir lott
In briefe shees out of measure lost so gott (TT₁, 43r, ll. 11-14)

Roe mocks the Scotsmen and their ‘linth’ or ‘length’ of misery which ruins English women. To the point of our assessment of TT₁ as of Scottish origin, the word ‘linth’ is a localized Scottish variant that includes Ayrshire, but excludes much of southern Scotland.¹¹

While contemporary readers have mined TT₁ for Donnean transmission history, a macro-cosmic, whole-book view of the manuscript allows us to better ‘understand this rare or unique verse in the framework not of traditional literary history but of a social history of writing’ (Marotti 2017, 221). The coterie network responsible for TT₁, while clearly valuing Donne, recasts him as part of an elaborate joke where a variety of voices chime in to offer social commentary. While Donne’s verse may be superior according to technical standards, items like ‘Libel against Bashe’ contribute heavily to TT₁’s bawdy humor. Voices that appear but fleetingly do much of the work of shaping TT₁’s thematic contours.

The brief remainder of TT₁ consists of Scribe 1A’s contribution of a Thomas Campion ballad who urges his male readers ‘tis follie to be true’ (TT₁, 62v, l. 27). Scribe 1D provides an anonymous, reproving answer to Campion. Campion was a popular musician-poet, whose work included a court entertainment for the 1614 wedding of Somerset to Frances Howard: *The Somerset Masque*. Scribe 1E completes the manuscript in a purely italic hand, signaling a possible female scribe (see Wolfe 2009). Scribe 1E’s interests run toward the political with Richard Corbett’s elegy on the death of Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, and an anonymous elegy on the Duke of Richmond, Ludovic Stewart, second cousin to King James. While these last poems seem to depart from the thematic energy of the manuscript, it is not amiss to consider how readers would contrast Donne’s Ovidian elegies with these later funerary elegies. Remembering again that Essex, Somerset, Howard, and Overbury provide the faces which flesh out the poetic fun of the manuscript, Scribe 1E’s reference to two factual deaths offers an implicit criticism of their foolishness through a comparison with the more honorable lives of Effingham and Richmond. So, when the contents are considered in full, a startling and misogynistic aristocratic amusement emerges. Women are incorrigible, hardhearted whores; men are encouraged in the sport of adultery; prelates are mocked; and the exaggerated stereotypes are all part of an elaborate game of grins and giggles that derives its mileage from the ridiculous, the self-ignorant, and the self-indulgent.

While TT₁ functions as an integrated unit, TT₂ is less cohesive and far briefer than its parent manuscript. Many poems in TT₂ are copied directly from TT₁, but nearly one third of the manuscript contains poems distinct from TT₁. Sullivan acknowledges that at least ‘parts of TT₂’ were transcribed in Scotland and he notes a single occurrence of Scottish orthography, ‘wes’ for ‘was’ (1988, 10). We concur that TT₂ bears internal evidence for Scottish scribes and compiler(s). The manuscript begins with what the Scottish Records Office identifies as ‘notes’ in the hand of Patrick Maule of Panmure (1585-1661). The ‘notes’ are as follows:

Sett in the kitching gardine; the 28th of september
the year of our Lord 1622.
Apricok stones three scor
of peich and neckteriens stones a hunderith
and four, (TT₂, 1r)

Structured into lines of verse, these ‘notes’ seem to remark on the remains of a record harvest – the stones of sixty apricots and of one hundred four peaches and nectarines. However, if we place these ‘notes’ in their Scottish context, we find a joke here. The year 1622 heralded the

¹¹ See Dictionaries of the Scots Language (DSL), <https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/linth_n>, 1 December 2024.

conclusion of a tumultuous thirty-year weather pattern that brought extreme flooding, drought, snow, and storms (see MacDonald and McCallum 2013). Records from the Jedburgh Presbytery from late August 1622 note the parishioners fasting for an end to the ‘tempestuousnes of the present wedder’ and ‘for temperance of the wether to cuir the fruictis of the grund’ (quoted in MacDonald and McCallum 2013, 506). The bountiful harvest gestured at in the lines from Patrick Maule could not come to pass in this year after a stormy spring and poor, tempestuous summer. We argue that this little poem from Maule helps to situate the Dalhousie Manuscripts not just in Scotland, but more specifically to the east in either Kincardineshire or Angusshire, where Maule’s barony was located. Further, these lines establish the humorous tone we suggest is pervasive across both manuscripts.

On the verso of the same folio, Sullivan identifies a ‘Prayer’, which includes the name Andrew Ramsay at line 4:

In my defenc god me defend and bring
 my soull to ane good end guhen I am sick and
 Lyk to ye father of heauens heauie mynd amene
 andreae RAMsey Andrae RAMsey finis amene
 god
 seaue and defend thy chosen flok
 floke which now (TT₂, 1v)

This opening invocation has unique ties to Scotland, as it regularly appears on flyleaves and margins of only Scottish manuscripts. While the verse mimics the motto of the Royal Arms of Scotland (Mackenzie 1680, 100), it varies from manuscript to manuscript and functions as a ‘formula’, a kind of ‘mixture of prayer and good-luck charm’ (Bawcutt 1990, 65). Sullivan proposes John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington and Earl of Holderness (1580-1626), as one of the scribes, though we suggest multiple Ramsays were involved in the compilation of the pair of manuscripts. The basis for this theory seems to be that Ramsay ‘would have had an interest in the particular poetry in the collection as well as access to the poetry in circulation through his membership in the Inner Temple (where several of the poets represented in the Dalhousie collection studied law) and as a favored member of the court of James I’ (Sullivan 1988, 5). John Ramsay was the second son of John Ramsay of Dalhousie and brother of George Ramsay, the First Lord of Dalhousie. Andrew Ramsay was kin to the Dalhousies via his father David (Wells 2004; Wright 2004). The Ramsays were located in Kincardineshire, just bordering Angusshire. Thus, Patrick Maule’s comment about the weather and Andrew Ramsay’s ritualistic, Scottish verse corroborate each other in locating TT₂ in Scotland.

Sullivan identifies four hands in TT₂: Scribe 2A on folio 1r, Scribe 2B on folios 1v-2v, Scribe 2C on folios 3r-4v and 21v-34v, and Scribe 2D on folios 5r-21r (1988, 3). No longer in a limp velum cover, TT₂ was given a modern board binding before it was auctioned at Sotheby’s in 1981 (*ibid.*). Scribe 2A and 2B provide notes on provenance, while the remaining two scribes provide the verses. Scribe 2C contributes iterations of a ballad by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose advising against infidelity. Scribe 2D next commands the page for a long stint of Donne elegies copied from TT₁, along with three Donne pieces not found in TT₁: ‘Love’s Progress’, ‘The Curse’, and ‘The Message’. Sir John Davies, Josuah Sylvester, Sir John Harington and Sir John Roe reappear to populate the manuscript, as well as one poem by new-comer Jonathan Richards. There are eight anonymous poems which either bemoan unrequited love, or elaborate on the sentiment ‘Loue hath winges and loues to range / I loue those that loue to change’ (TT₂, 14r, ll. 5-6). One of the more unique poems in TT₂ is an anonymous piece which allows for the reader to insert their own name:

If kinges did heretofore there loues indite
 as they now personate, those kinges doe write,
 Then why not I; ...

...

... knowest thou who I am
 () thy devoted servant princely dame (TT₂, 7r, ll. 1-3, 11-12)

Though TT₂ lacks any overt mention of the Essex trial, so prominent in TT₁, it is nonetheless clear that the compilers selected content based not just on continuity of authorship, but also along the lines of a general sense of cruel mistresses and inconstant men.

Scribe 2C's musical interest returns on folio 21v with an anonymous, melancholy '*Carold for new yeeres day 1624*'. This carol appears again on folio 33r. The depressing mood continues in italic with Francis Bacon's pronouncement that '*The worlds a buble, and the Lyfe of man / Lesse then a spann;*' (TT₂, 22r, ll. 1-2). The Scribe then includes some of John Donne's popular lyrics copied from TT₁. One poem each from Raleigh, Beaumont, and Sylvester are also copied from TT₁. The remaining poems (three of which are anonymous), pertain to the cruelty and slavishness of love. The manuscript concludes with a George Morley poem in italic on the death of King James (d. 27 March 1625), and an anonymous 'Epitaph · vpon the Duke · off Buckingham' (d. 23 August 1628) (TT₂, 34v). These closing poems bring TT₁ and TT₂ full circle: Buckingham replaced Somerset as James's favorite (and possible lover). The long-running wit of TT₁ reprises the cuckold/whore dynamic in TT₂, as the king himself becomes indicted in a web of illicit love.

4. Scribe 1C and the Shared Exemplar

Following Bawcutt's assessment of Scottish scribes as readers making 'small adjustments' (Bawcutt 2001b, 9) to naturalize an English text, Scribe 1C must be discussed in greater detail. This is the scribe who has received the most scholarly attention since the publication of Sullivan's edition and is also the scribe who exhibits the least Scottish orthography and lexicography. However, this singular scribe offers the most evidence of Scottish interest in English poetry as well as, potentially, information about how Scottish readers consumed English poetry. As noted above, the contributions of this scribe share a sequence similar to several other manuscripts in the Group II Donne manuscript tradition (see Gardner 1978, lxiv-lxv; Sullivan 1988, 7-8; Eckhardt 2009). Sullivan (1988), Bawcutt (1991), Considine (2000), and others have all argued that these manuscripts share an exemplar, a claim we find persuasive.

Comparison with B78 (Lansdowne 740) demonstrates Scribe 1C's mostly faithful copying from his exemplar. As a sample case study, we compared the wording and orthography of Donne's 'Satyre IV' across five total manuscripts of Group II, including TT₁, the O'Flahertie MS, B78, the recently discovered Melford Hall MS, and the Drummond MS.¹² While each manuscript has its own idiosyncrasies, they largely match what we find in TT₁. The one substantial difference is punctuation, which led us to reconsider Scribe 1C entirely. The other four manuscripts feature regular and relatively modern punctuation systems; by contrast, Scribe 1C offers substantially more punctuation in a more archaic system resembling the medieval punctus.

¹² Shelfmarks: O'Flahertie is Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Eng.966.5 (Norton MS 4504); Melford Hall is London, British Library, Egerton MS 3884; and the Drummond MS is Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS 2067.

In addition to the extensive use of the punctus, Scribe 1C includes punctuation that we can only describe as hearkening back to medieval Latin usages. In addition to more modern marks such as the comma, semi-colon, and question mark, Scribe 1C also, remarkably, includes the punctus elevatus, punctus interrogativus, and punctus flexus. We initially theorized the unusual punctuation system found with Scribe 1C was a holdover of a Scottish medieval or perhaps a regional punctuation system. However, comparative study with roughly contemporary Scottish manuscripts such as the 1568 Bannatyne miscellany of Scottish poetry suggested that Scribe 1C's punctuation system was not common enough to constitute a Scottish practice. Indeed, Jeremy J. Smith notes that practices of punctuation in Scottish manuscripts 'vary widely' (2012, 33). Our early theory was that the farther one was from an epicenter of printing, the more likely a scribe might be to employ Latin manuscript punctuation rather than more modern 'simplified' systems. However, the lack of similar punctuation in other Scottish manuscripts suggests Scribe 1C operated independently of more common practices. In what follows, we demonstrate the comparison via Donne's 'Satyre IV' and then consider the grammatical functions of Scribe 1C's puncti as well as how this unusual system might further suggest a Scottish origin for the Dalhousie Manuscripts.

The first lines of 'Satyre IV' show the substantial differences between TT₁ and the other manuscripts. The O'Flahertie MS has:

Well I may now receaue and dye, my sinne
 Indeed is greater, but yet I haue bin in
 A Purgatory, such as fear'd Hell is
 A Recreation, and scant Mapp of this. (O'Flahertie, 69r, ll. 1-4)

While Melford Hall features different forms of punctuation, they largely emphasize the same levels of pause:

Well, I may now receyue, and dye; my sin
 indeed is greate, but I haue bin in
 a purgatorie, such as feared hell is
 a recreation, and scant mappe of this; (Melford Hall, 4r, ll. 1-4)

As do the Drummond MS:

Well, I may now receaiue and die, ~~indeed~~ my Sinne
 Indeed is great, but haue been In
 A purgatorie, such as fear'd Hell is
 A recreation and scant Mapp of this: (Drummond, 15r, ll. 1-4)

and B78:

Well; I maye not receyue and die; my sinn
 indeed is great, but I haue byn in
 a purgatorie such as feared Hell is
 a recreation, and scant mapp of this. (B78, 59v, ll. 1-4)

All four iterations feature punctuation after 'die' in line 1, after 'great' in line 2, and after 'this' in line 4. All four witnesses agree on the level of pause in the second line, a short pause signaled by a comma. Similarly, all four agree on a significant level of pause in the fourth line, though represented alternately by a semi-colon, a period, and a colon.

TT₁ agrees on none of these positions nor on the kinds of punctuation:

Well I may now receiue and · die my sinne
 Indeed is great but I haue been in
 A · Purgatorie such as feard Hell · is
 A Recreation and scant Mappe of this (TT₁, 22r, ll. 1-4)

The punctus consistently appears directly before a word that other manuscripts punctuate just after. In that first line, Scribe 1C punctuates just before 'die' rather than after it. This occurs again across several lines of the poem. These marks seem to interrupt the sense of the line, as in line 35: 'This thing hath · travelled and Saith speaks all tongues' instead of 'this thing hath travelled, and saith speaks all tongues'. In B78, the comma in line 35 separates the clause 'this thing hath travelled', which is grammatically a complete thought. The scribe offers a weighted pause before 'die', placing emphasis on the word as it emerges with a new breath. Scribe 1C instructs the reader on how to read this line, encouraging them to wait a moment and then add emphasis to the verb, whether for performance aloud or for oneself. Line 3 is further demonstrative of how Scribe 1C places emphasis. A measured pause is applied to 'Purgatorie' and again to 'is'. Together, the two marks encourage the reader to sit with the connections between purgatory and hell.

While it is possible that a later reader could have placed midline punctus marks in the poem, the deliberate spacing of words so as to include the punctus seems to indicate that it was the scribe who included the marks and, importantly, did so because they had an audience in mind – an audience for whom the scribe was interpreting the poems. This is significant, because the stemmatically related manuscripts not only do not have the archaic, Latin punctuation, they also do not have the midline punctus and thus do not have directive, performance marks. Scribe 1C continues a little further in the poem:

A thinge more strange then on Nilus slyme the Sunne
 Ere **bredd**, · **Or** all which into **Noahs** · **Arke** · **came**
 A thinge w^{ch} would haue posed Adam to name
 Stranger then seauen Antiquaries studies
 Then Affrick monsters Guianaes rarities
 Stranger then strangers one who for a Dane
 In the Danes massacre had sure beene slaine
 If he had **liued** · **then** and without helpe dies (TT₁, 22r, ll. 18-25, emphasis added)

At line 19, Scribe 1C marks the possessive for Noah's ark, but also two moments of pause. After 'bredd' there is both a comma and a punctus. The punctus after 'Arke' seems to prepare the reader for what follows. From 'came' in line 19 to 'liued' in line 25, there is not a single punctuation mark. Reading these lines aloud while following the marks of punctuation requires a sharp inhalation after 'Arke' in line 19 and then a steady ramble through the subsequent couplets without pause until the reader reached 'liued' at line 25. These lines are significant for their lack of punctuation. For comparison, here is how the B78 scribe punctuates these lines:

ere bredd; or all *which* into Noahes Arke came;
 A thing *which* would haue posed Adam to name;
 Stranger then seven Antiquaris studies,
 Then Affrik monsters, Guiana's rarities;
 Stranger then strangers; one whoe for a Dane
 in the Danes massacre had sure byn slayne,
 if he had lived then; and w[i]thout help dies, (B78, 59v, ll. 18-25)

The B78 scribe includes punctuation in each line, encouraging the reader to pause at almost each rhyming word. In several cases, they use a semi-colon. The other manuscript witnesses offer similar moments and levels of pause, even when using different kinds of punctuation. It is TT₁'s Scribe 1C who again stands out for their unusual marking.

Scribe 1C's preferred mode of punctuation is the midline punctus. Not only do they include a surprising quantity of puncti, but they seem to serve multiple grammatical purposes, including showing possession (the mark occurs after the possessive noun), setting off proper names, indicating a change of speaker, and establishing a sequential list of words. To continue with Scribe 1C's copying of Donne's 'Satyre IV', there are examples of the punctus being used for both possession and change of address:

He names mee and comes · to mee · **I whisper · God**
 How haue I sinned that thy wraths furious rodd
 This fellowe chooseth mee he **saith · Sir**

...

My lonelinesse is but **Spartanes · fashion**

...

Kings only the way to itt is **Kings · street** (TT₁, 22v, ll. 49-51, 68, 79, emphasis added)

At lines 49 and 51, it is clear the punctus marks the shift from the speaker to the 'fellowe'. Rather than using quotation marks or commas, the scribe relies on his multipurpose punctus. Moving forward a few leaves, there are occurrences of the sequential punctus, as in the following line of Donne's 'Eligia 1' ('The Bracelet'): 'Which as the soule quickens head · feet · and hart' (TT₁, 27r, l. 37). These punctus features appear across the contributions to TT₁ from Scribe 1C.

The heaviest use of the punctus appears in TT₁'s copies of Donne's satires, all of which were copied by Scribe 1C. The satires are part of the sequence TT₁ has in common with the other manuscripts in Group II, but none of the other manuscripts feature the above-mentioned kinds of punctuation – either the medieval forms or the midline punctus. Jeremy J. Smith suggests that prose texts required more punctuation for the guidance of the reader than poetry because prose carries less intrinsic rhythm and patterns of stress (2013, 186). Given that the Donne satires and elegies are far more 'prosey' than the other poems in the manuscripts (see Corthell 1982, 156),¹³ it may well be that the superabundance of punctuation stems from a desire to remind the reader, speaker, or hearer that these are poems after all.

The excess of punctuation suggests that though Scribe 1C may be 'accomplished',¹⁴ they may not be a paid professional because it seems unlikely for a career scribe to engage in such a time-consuming, interpretive activity. M. B. Parkes, the expert on premodern punctuation styles, offers some useful language for the phenomenon of scribal editing via punctuation marks. He uses the terms 'deictic' and 'equiparative' and describes them in this way:

[P]unctuation can prescribe a particular interpretation by means of selective pointing, by indicating certain emphases, and hence attributing greater value to these than to other possible emphases. Punctuation used in this way has ... 'deictic' qualities ... [M]ore extensive pointing can produce a more neutral interpretation which attributes equal value to all the possible emphases in the text. Punctuation used this way has ... 'equiparative' qualities. (1992, 70)

¹³ Corthell notes that William Drummond of Hawthornden specifically thought of the satires as a book.

¹⁴ See CELM entry for the Dalhousie Manuscripts: <https://celm.folger.edu/repositories/texas-tech-university.html#texas-tech-university_id678860>, accessed 1 December 2024.

Judging from the regular use of the midline punctus, Scribe 1C is anything but a neutral party since the extensive marking ventures beyond mere grammatical necessity and boldly enters the territory of rhetorical style, thus shifting the grammatical punctus into a type of rhetorical marker. Indeed, Smith remarks that Older Scots puncti 'tend to reflect rhetorical structures rather than grammatical ones' (2012, 33). Scribe 1C's consistent and precise deictic punctuation practice demands further investigation of audience and reader. Because the Donne satires are centered on London life, court drama, international politics, and religious mudslinging, an audience reading these satires on the margins of that social environment, such as Scottish readers away from the urban center of Edinburgh or English readers in the provinces, may need more direction in who or what to emphasize when reading either to themselves or aloud for others. The combinations of punctus marks could, as Smith states of the use in other cases, 'reflect gradations of pause in oral delivery' (*ibid.*). The satires were an intentionally complicated genre; lack of familiarity with the intrigues of the urbane possibly warrants a slower, more pointed reading.

5. *Scottish Orthographical & Lexical Evidence*

While Scribe 1C offers little Scottish orthography, likely due to careful copying of an English exemplar full of English poetry, the other scribes were not so restricted. The scribe who opened TT₁ and added the Essex trial testimony, identified by Sullivan as Scribe 1A, copied several poems in the first manuscript across a wide range of folios (1-10, 11-20v, 62v-63). Recognized poets in these sections include Edward de Vere, Robert Ayton, John Donne, Josuah Sylvester, and John Harington. There are also many anonymous poems and, notably, a Middle English poem. Examining all the work of this particular scribe reveals a likely Scottish hand. We will consider as a comparative example Scribe 1A's copy of Sylvester's 'A Caveat to his Mistris'. This poem was first printed in 1654 as part of a collection titled *The Harmony of the Muses* (Donne, King and Strode 1654). It also appears in a verse miscellany at Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson poet. MS 117, at fol. 28v. It is the printed edition against which we will compare Scribe 1A's copy. Scribe 1A's spelling patterns regularly feature the long monophthong <ei> in place of the English <ee>, as in the line 'Eache greidie hande...' (l. 7).¹⁵ The printed edition features the more English 'greedy'. The monophthong <ei> is limited in the Sylvester poem, but appears in other folios, 'seike' for 'seek' and 'yeildes' for 'yields' in de Vere's 'My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is', 'cheike' for 'cheek' in Harington's 'Of a Lady that gives the Cheek', and elsewhere 'neids' for 'needs', 'heire' for 'here', 'beine' for 'been', and so on. Scribe 1A also regularly uses the <wgh> construction, a holdover from Older Scots, as in 'thowghe' for 'though' (l. 21; see Bann and Corbett 2015, 25; Smith 2012, 32-33). This construction is observed in other folios with 'owght' for 'ought', 'enowghe' for 'enough', 'rowghe' for 'rough', 'browght' for 'brought', and others (see TT₁, 2v, l. 53; 16r, l. 5 and l. 6; 63r, l. 6). Scribe 1A similarly regularly employs the <tch> trigraph (see Bann and Corbett 2015, 34), as in 'mutch' for 'much', 'teatch' for 'teach', 'ritch' for 'rich', and elsewhere (see TT₁, 1r, l. 1; 2v, l. 41; 9r, l. 23).

Crucially, Scribe 1A also uses a Middle Scots word for 'fruit'. Where the printed edition has 'Let none taste fruit, unless he take the Tree', Scribe 1A writes, 'Lett none take fruite, vnlesse y[e] take y^e tree' (17v, l. 12). The Jedburgh Presbytery records mentioned above preserve a contemporary use of this word: 'for temperance of the wether to cuir the fructis of the grund' (quoted in MacDonald and McCallum 2013, 506). Another contemporary Scottish use of the

¹⁵ For common Scots monophthongs in Middle Scots (the period approximately 1450-1700), see Bann and Corbett 2015, 46-47. See also Smith 2012, 31.

term may be found in the poems of King James VI/I: 'These my first fruitis, dispyse them not at all' (l. 11).¹⁶ Variations of 'fruitie' appear across James VI/I's sonnets. Josuah Sylvester was English and the print edition, as noted, reads 'fruit', so it's unclear whether Scribe 1A unthinkingly wrote 'fruitie' from habitual use or whether the term was in his exemplar for the poem. Either way, the evidence strongly suggests that Scribe 1A was Scottish.

Scottish orthography and lexical variants appear throughout the first manuscript, which features the hands of five distinct scribes. Because Scribe 1E copied non-canonical poems, they have not yet been examined by scholars. This scribe contributed two poems to the manuscript: Richard Corbett's 'An Elegie upon the death of the Late Lord Howard Baron of Effingham dead, the 10. Dec. 1615' and an anonymous elegy, 'On the Duke of Richmonds fate an Elegy:' (TT₁, 64-67).¹⁷ Corbett's poems circulated exclusively in manuscripts and did not appear in print until the nineteenth century; the anonymous elegy for the Duke of Richmond similarly circulated in manuscripts.¹⁸ Scribe 1E shares many of the same Middle Scots spellings as Scribe 1A, such as <ei> where English has <ee>, as in 'heire' for 'here' and 'greife' for 'grief' (64v, 67r). Scribe 1E also incorporates such orthographical variants as the dental <t> for <ed> as in 'wisht' for 'wished' and 'trencht' for 'trenched' (67r), and <sh> to express the /ʃ/ phoneme as in 'ishue' for 'issue' (65v).¹⁹ Like Scribe 1A, 1E also includes Scottish lexical variants. At line 47 of Corbett's elegy, there is the word 'quaere' (l. 47), meaning 'A (more or less formal or elaborate) question put publicly during a debate or legal hearing or in a literary work' (DSL). The English equivalent is 'query'. Finally, in the anonymous elegy, Scribe 1E writes 'skriching' at line 10, which the DSL report as a Scottish variant of 'screeching'. While Scribe 1E only copied two poems into the manuscript, we can observe from this brief sample that he was also likely Scottish.

As all these examples demonstrate, the scribes of the Dalhousie manuscripts can be located in either northern England or Scotland. By starting from the two named figures in the manuscripts, Patrick Maule of Panmure and Andrew Ramsay, and then considering the internal evidence across all the folios of these manuscripts, we can start to sketch the contours of a likely Scottish coterie group with a demonstrable appetite for the popular poems of the day as well as a prurient sense of humor about current events in the aristocratic culture of James VI/I's court.

6. Conclusion

The English and the Scottish have a shared, archipelagic past, including their literary histories. National borders matter little when it comes to the enjoyment of poetry, particularly in a mostly shared language. More recent scholarship and the evidence presented here counter the lingering assumption that Scottish readers would have little interest in English poetry. We have argued that the Dalhousie Manuscripts serve as important evidence for Scottish literary interests and compilation efforts. As demonstrated, a canonical focus creates a distorted view of an author's manuscript milieu. Further, it obscures the story of how readers encountered, used, and connected to literary conversations. Such a focus also prevents scholars from appreciating each manuscript

¹⁶ James VI, Sonnet 015A, *Sonnets by James VI*, STARN: Scots Teaching and Resource Network, University of Glasgow, <<https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/aboutus/resources/stella/projects/starn/poetry/james-vi/>>, accessed 1 December 2024.

¹⁷ Dalhousie I, 64-67.

¹⁸ See the CELM entry for Richard Corbett, <<https://celm-ms.org.uk/authors/corbettrichard.html>>, accessed 1 December 2024; the Folger Library's First-Line Index lists only one extant copy, British Library Additional MS 21433. Notably, the Folger does not list the Dalhousie manuscripts.

¹⁹ See the DSL entry for 'trin(s)ch, tren(s)ch.'; and Bann and Corbett 2015, 32-33.

as a singular item with its own, internal narrative. The method of assessing the full contents of a manuscript miscellany is a means of avoiding these distortions. If we can examine how anonymous and non-canonical poems interact with canonical authors within the same folios of a bound manuscript, we can start to see the rationale for a miscellany. Further, this approach can begin to illuminate the compilers themselves and thus articulate a more complete picture of the past.

Works Cited

Archival Sources

- Bodleian Library, Oxford
 MS. Rawl. C. 63.
 MS. Rawl. C. 64.
 British Library, London
 Melford Hall, Egerton MS 3884.
 B78 (Lansdowne 740).
 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
 MS Dd.12.36.
 Lambeth Palace MS 663.
 Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge
 O'Flahertie MS Eng.966.5 (Norton MS 4504).
 Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
 Haslewood-Kingsborough MS II (MS 198).
 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
 Drummond MS 2067.
 Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Special Collections Library
 Dalhousie Manuscripts.

Printed Sources

- Bann Jennifer and John Corbett (2015), *Spelling Scots: The Orthography of Literary Scots, 1700-2000*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (1990), 'The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell', in A. Gardner-Medwin and J. Hadley Williams, eds, *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England, & Poems Previously Unpublished*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 59-68.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (1991), 'A First-Line Index of Early Scottish Verse', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26, 1, 254-269.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (2001a), 'Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century', in S. Mapstone and J. Wood, eds, *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Totnes, Tuckwell Press, 59-76.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (2001b), 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture* 14, 1-12.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (2005), 'Scottish Manuscript Miscellanies from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in P. Beal and A.S.G. Edwards, eds, *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 12, 46-73.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (2013), 'John Donne: The Scottish Connection', in D.J. Parkinson, ed., *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567-1625*, Lueven, Peeters, 323-337.
 Bawcutt Priscilla (2022), 'Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563-1640): Antiquary, Book Collector, and Owner of the Scottish Devotional Manuscript British Library, Arundel 285', in J.H. Williams, ed., *Textual and Bibliographical Studies in Older Scots Literature*, Edinburgh, Scottish Text Society, 197-210.
 Bland Mark (2014), 'Stemmatics and Society in Early Modern England', *Studia Neophilologica* 86, 1, 29-47.

- Considine John (2000), 'The Invention of the Literary Circle of Sir Thomas Overbury', in C.J. Summers and T.-L. Pebworth, eds, *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, Columbia and London, University of Missouri Press, 59-74.
- Corthell R.J. (1982), 'Style and Self in Donne's Satires', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 24, 2, 155-184.
- Crowley L.M. (2018), *Manuscript Matters: Reading John Donne's Poetry and Prose in Early Modern England*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Dictionaries of the Scots Language (DSL), DSL Data Version 3.0, <<https://dsl.ac.uk/>>, accessed 1 December 2024.
- Donne John, R.C., Henry King, and William Strode (1654), *The Harmony of the muses, or, The gentlemen and ladies choicest recreation*, London, Printed by T.W. for William Gilbertson, <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A31143.0001.001/1:2>>, accessed 1 December 2024.
- Eckhardt Joshua (2006), ' "Love-song weeds, and satyrique thornes": Anti-Courtly Love Poetry and Somerset Libels', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, 1, 47-66.
- Eckhardt Joshua (2009), *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Early Stuart Libels*, <<https://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html>>, accessed 1 December 2024.
- Gardner Helen, ed. (1978), *John Donne: The Divine Poems*, second edition, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Heijnsbergen Theo van (2004), 'Paradigms Lost: Perceptions of the Cultural History of Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in A.A. MacDonald and M.W. Twomey, eds, *Schooling and Society: The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*, Leuven, Peeters, 197-211.
- Kerrigan John (2010), *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Kneidel Gregory (2022), 'John Donne and Overbury's "A Wife" in the New Melford Hall Manuscript', *The Review of English Studies* 73, 312, 882-904, doi: 10.1093/res/hgac018.
- Lindley David (2013 [1993]), *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James*, Abingdon and New York, Routledge.
- Luttfring S.D. (2011), 'Bodily Narratives and the Politics of Virginity in *The Changeling* and the Essex Divorce', *Renaissance Drama* 39, 97-128.
- MacDonald A.R. and John McCallum (2013), 'The Evidence for Early Seventeenth-Century Climate from Scottish Ecclesiastical Records', *Environment and History* 19, 4, 487-509.
- Mackenzie George (1680), *The Science of Heraldry, Treated as a Part of the Civil Law, and Law of Nations Wherein Reasons are Given for its Principles, and Etymologies for its Harder Terms*, Edinburgh, Printed by the heir of Andrew Anderson.
- Marotti A.F. (2016), 'The Circulation of Verse at the Inns of Court and in London in Early Stuart England', in W. Bowers and H.L. Crummé, *Re-evaluating the Literary Coterie: 1580-1830: From Sidney to Blackwood's*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 53-73.
- Marotti A.F. (2017), 'The Verse Nobody Knows: Rare or Unique Poems in Early Modern English Manuscripts', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, 2, 201-221.
- McDonald R.H. (1971), *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Morrill John (2004), 'Devereux, Robert, Third Earl of Essex (1591-1646), Parliamentarian Army Officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- North M.L. (2011), 'Amateur Compilers, Scribal Labour, and the Contents of Early Modern Poetic Miscellanies', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 16, 82-111.
- O'Callaghan Michelle (2017), 'Collecting Verse: "Significant Shape" and the Paper-Book in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, 2, 309-324.
- Parkes M.B. (1992), *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Aldershot, Scolar Press.
- Pebworth Ted-Larry (1989), 'John Donne, Coterie Poetry, and the Text as Performance', *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 29, 1, 61-75.

- Primer or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie, in Latin and English* (1616), St. Omers, John Heigham.
- Schwytzer Philip (2004), *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Smith J.J. (2012), *Older Scots: A Linguistic Reader*, Rochester, Boydell & Brewer.
- Smith J.J. (2013), 'Punctuating Mirk's *Festial*: A Scottish Text and Its Implications', in M.W. Driver and V. O' Mara, eds, *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 161-192.
- STARN: Scots Teaching and Resource Network, *Sonnets by James VI*, University of Glasgow, <<https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/aboutus/resources/stella/projects/starn/poetry/james-vi/>>, accessed 1 December 2024.
- Sullivan E.W., ed. (1988), *The First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts: Poems and Prose by John Donne and Others, A Facsimile Edition*, Columbia, University of Missouri Press.
- Sullivan E.W. (2005), 'What We Know Now about Donne's Texts That We Did Not Know Before', *Text* 17 187-196.
- Sullivan E.W. and David J. Murrah, eds (1987), *The Donne Dalhousie Discovery: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Acquisition and Study of the John Donne and Joseph Conrad Collections at Texas Tech University*, Lubbock, Friends of the University Library.
- Verweij Sebastiaan (2013), 'Poulter's Measure, Sir Edward Dyer and the Dier in Jacobean Scotland', in D.J. Parkinson, ed., *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567-1625*, Lueven, Peeters, 299-321.
- Verweij Sebastiaan (2016), *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560-1625*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Wells V.T. (2004), 'Ramsay, Andrew (1574-1659), Church of Scotland minister', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Wingfield Emily (2015), 'Lancelot of the Laik and the Literary Manuscript Miscellany in 15th and 16th-century Scotland', in M. Connolly and R. Radulescu, eds, *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 209-230.
- Wolfe Heather (2009), 'Women's Handwriting in Early Modern England', in L.L. Knoppers, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 21-39.
- Wright Stephen (2004), 'Ramsay [Ramsey], David (d. 1642), courtier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.