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## THE MODEL OF POESY

*The Model of Poesy* is one of the most exciting literary discoveries of recent years. A manuscript treatise on poetics written by William Scott in 1599, at the end of the most revolutionary decade in English literary history, it includes rich discussions of the works of Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, and their contemporaries. Scott's work presents a powerful and coherent theoretical account of all aspect of poetics, from the nature of representation to the rules of versification, with a commitment to relating theory to contemporary practice. For Scott, any theory of literature must make sense not of the classics but of what English writers are doing now: Scott is at the same time the most scholarly and the most relevant of English Renaissance critics. In this groundbreaking edition, Gavin Alexander presents a text of *The Model of Poesy* framed by a detailed introduction and an extensive commentary, which together demonstrate the range and value of Scott's thought.

GAVIN ALEXANDER is a University Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of English at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of Christ's College. His publications include *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586–1640* (2006), *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism* (2004), a co-edited volume *Renaissance Figures of Speech* (2007), and numerous articles and book chapters on literary and musicological topics. He teaches at undergraduate and postgraduate level across a wide range of topics, from ancient to modern literature, with a particular emphasis on Renaissance literature, the history and theory of literary criticism, and textual studies. His online early modern palaeography course 'English Handwriting' is widely used around the world. In 2008 he was awarded a Pilkington Teaching Prize for excellence in teaching at the University of Cambridge.



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WILLIAM SCOTT  
THE MODEL OF POESY

*Edited with an introduction and commentary by*

GAVIN ALEXANDER



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*In Memory of F. W. Walbank (1909–2008)*

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## PREFACE

*The Model of Poesy* (c.1599) by William Scott is one of the more significant literary manuscripts to come to light in recent years. Its existence and authorship were known to E. K. Chambers in the 1930s but the manuscript was not heard of again until Stanley Wells announced its rediscovery in 2003. It is now British Library Additional Manuscript 81083 and is edited here for the first time. I have included a substantial Introduction and Commentary, since the *Model* is a scholarly work with a rich context, and because I have been able to discover a great deal about its author that was not previously known. The Introduction and the Commentary work in tandem, the latter supplying the details and the former offering more continuous narrative and broader brushstrokes. I recommend any reader to begin with the text itself, however: the *Model* must earn attention because of its (I believe) very considerable interest and importance as a work of Elizabethan literary criticism.

‘For things once finished well, soon enough finished are’, says Du Bartas in William Scott’s English translation, a wisdom perhaps lost in this era of research measurement. I am indebted to the AHRC for a research leave award and to the Isaac Newton Trust for two short-term research assistance grants; these have enabled me to complete this edition both sooner and better than would otherwise have been possible. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of the skilled and knowledgeable curators and staff of the British Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, and the departmental and college libraries of Cambridge, especially the English Faculty Library. I am grateful for the support, interest, and stimulation of my wonderful colleagues and students at Cambridge, and especially to Hester Lees-Jeffries, Sarah Howe, and above all Michael Hetherington, who acted as my occasional research assistant and from whose forthcoming work on Scott and logic I have very much benefited. I owe a great debt to Sarah Stanton at Cambridge University Press for fostering this project, and to her team for their superb work. Many colleagues and friends have helped by asking or answering questions and making suggestions, or by reading portions of my work. I should particularly like to thank Sylvia Adamson, Peter Auger, Joseph Black, Abigail Brundin, Colin Burrow, Alec Cobbe, David Colclough, Andrew Hadfield (who earns especial thanks for drawing my attention to a miscellany at the Folger that proved rather useful), Paul Hammer, Robert Harding, Nick Hardy, Roger Kuin, Micha Lazarus, Rhodri Lewis, Celia Pilkington (Archivist at the Inner Temple), Nigel Ramsay, Lisa Sampson, Sue Simpson, Tiffany Stern, Dorothy Thompson, Andrew Thrush, Philippa Walton, Stanley Wells, Alison Wiggins, and Andrew Zurcher. I also gained much from responses to talks about Scott that I gave at the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Sheffield, and Sussex; at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst); at the Folger Shakespeare Library; and at the Renaissance Society of America annual meeting.

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*Preface*

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I began working on this project shortly after the death, at the age of ninety-eight, of my grandfather Frank Walbank. From him I got the love of puzzling out what words and texts mean that has made this project so absorbing and enjoyable. He taught me the small Latin and less Greek without which many of Scott's sources would have been closed books. And he showed me what scholarship, and the scholar, should be. This edition is dedicated to his memory with love and gratitude.

## REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations includes the works most frequently referred to in the Introduction and Commentary, but is not a complete bibliography. See ‘A note on sources and references’ below for further details of referencing conventions and the texts of certain authors. Dates of composition and/or original publication are given in square brackets for vernacular works of rhetoric and poetics, where these are cited in modern editions.

### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Adagia</i>	Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Adages</i> , ed. and trans. Margaret Mann Phillips <i>et al.</i> , 7 vols. (Toronto, 1982–)
<i>Ad Herennium</i>	Anon., <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i> , in Harry Caplan (ed. and trans.), <i>Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1954)
<i>ALC</i>	D. A. Russell and M. Winterbottom (eds.), <i>Ancient literary criticism: the principal texts in new translations</i> (Oxford, 1972)
<i>Ars poetica</i>	Horace, <i>Ars poetica</i> , in H. Rushton Fairclough (ed. and trans.), <i>Satires, epistles and ars poetica</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1929)
<i>Art</i>	George Puttenham, <i>The art of English poesie</i> [1589], ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca, NY, 2007)
Babrius	Aesopic fables, in Ben Edwin Perry (ed. and trans.), <i>Babrius and Phaedrus</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1965)
<i>BCP</i>	Brian Cummings (ed.), <i>The book of common prayer: the texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662</i> (Oxford, 2011)
Binns	J. W. Binns (ed. and trans.), <i>Latin treatises on poetry from Renaissance England</i> (Signal Mountain, Tenn., 1999)
Blundeville	Thomas Blundeville, <i>The art of logike</i> (1599)
Burton	Robert Burton, <i>The anatomy of melancholy</i> , ed. Thomas C. Faulkner <i>et al.</i> , 6 vols. (Oxford, 1989–2000)
Butler1	Charles Butler, <i>Rameae rhetoricae libri duo</i> (Oxford, 1597)
Butler2	Charles Butler, <i>Rhetoricae libri duo</i> (Oxford, 1598)
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
Chambers	E. K. Chambers, <i>Sir Henry Lee: an Elizabethan portrait</i> (Oxford, 1936)
Cox	Baldassare Castiglione, <i>The book of the courtier</i> [trans. Thomas Hoby], ed. Virginia Cox (London, 1994)
<i>CWBĴ</i>	David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (eds.), <i>The Cambridge edition of the works of Ben Jonson</i> , 7 vols. (Cambridge, 2012)
Dethick	Henry Dethick, <i>Oratio in laudem poëseos</i> [c.1575]: text in Binns
Diomedes	Diomedes, <i>Artis grammaticae libri tres</i> : text in Keil, 1; translations mine
<i>Directions</i>	John Hoskyns, <i>Directions for speech and style</i> [written c. 1599], in Louise Brown Osborn, <i>The life, letters, and writings of John Hoskyns, 1566–1638</i> (New Haven, 1937)
Donatus	Aelius Donatus, <i>De comedia</i> : Latin text in Wessner; English translation in Preminger

*References and abbreviations*

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- DP* Sir Philip Sidney, *The defence of poesie* [written c.1580; first published 1595]: text in *SRLC*
- Du Bartas Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr, et al. (eds.), *The works of Guillaume de Salluste Sieur du Bartas*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1935–40)
- Durling Robert M. Durling (ed. and trans.), *Petrarch's lyric poems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976)
- ECE* G. Gregory Smith (ed.), *Elizabethan critical essays*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1904)
- ERLC* Brian Vickers (ed.), *English renaissance literary criticism* (Oxford, 1999)
- Evanthius Evanthius, *De fabula*: Latin text in Wessner; English translation in Pre-minger
- FQ* Edmund Spenser, *The faerie queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, 2nd edn, revised (Harlow, 2007)
- Fracastoro Girolamo Fracastoro, *Naugerius, sive de poetica dialogus*, trans. Ruth Kelso (Urbana, Ill., 1924)
- Fraunce Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike* (1588)
- Gascoigne George Gascoigne, *Certain notes of instruction* [1575]: text in *SRLC*
- Gentili Alberico Gentili, *Commentatio ad Legem III Codicis de professoribus et medicis* [1593]: text in Binns
- Gilbert Allan H. Gilbert (ed. and trans.), *Literary criticism: Plato to Dryden* (Detroit, 1962)
- Goyet Francis Goyet (ed.), *Traité de poétique et de rhétorique de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1990)
- Gravell Thomas L. Gravell watermark collection at the University of Delaware Library ([www.gravell.org](http://www.gravell.org))
- Hannay et al. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan (eds.), *Domestic politics and family absence: the correspondence (1588–1621) of Robert Sidney, first Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester* (Aldershot, 2005)
- Harington Sir John Harington, 'A preface, or rather a briefe apologie of poetrie, and of the author and translator' [1591]: text in *ECE*
- Hart, *Methodé* John Hart, *A methodé or comfortable beginning for all unlearned, whereby they may bee taught to read English, in a very short time* (1570)
- Hart, *Orthographie* John Hart, *An orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature* (1569)
- Haydocke Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge carvinge and buildinge*, trans. Richard Haydocke (Oxford, 1598)
- Heawood Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum, 1950)
- HMC De L'Isle *Report on the manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place*, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 6 vols. (London, 1925–66)
- HMC Hatfield *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House*, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 24 vols. (London, 1883–1976)
- Holland Pliny, *The historie of the world. Commonly called, The naturall historie*, trans. Philemon Holland, 2 vols. (1601)
- HoP* *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1558–1603*, ed. P. W. Hasler, 3 vols. (London, 1981)

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## References and abbreviations

- HoP2* *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1604–1629*, ed. Andrew Thrusch and John P. Ferris, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 2010)
- Keil Heinrich Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1855–80)
- KHLC Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone
- Kuin Roger Kuin (ed.), *The correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2012)
- Leech John Leech, *Certaine grammar questions for the exercise of young schollers in the learning of the accidence* [c.1590]
- Liddell and Scott Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek–English lexicon*, rev. Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford, 1940)
- Lomazzo Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura*, in Roberto Paolo Ciardi (ed.), *Scritti sulle arti*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1974), II
- MED* *Middle English Dictionary* (2001), online version, September 2012 (quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med)
- Meres Francis Meres, *Palladis tamia, wits treasury* [1598]: text in *ECE*
- Mulcaster Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the elementarie which entreateth chiefeleie of the right writing of our English tung* (1582)
- NA National Archives
- NA* Sir Philip Sidney, *The countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1593)
- Natalis Comes John Mulryan and Steven Brown (trans.), *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*, 2 vols. (Tempe, Ariz., 2006)
- North Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North (1579)
- OA* Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (the old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973)
- ODEP* F. P. Wilson (ed.), *The Oxford dictionary of English proverbs*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1970)
- ODNB* *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, online version of September 2012 (www.oxforddnb.com)
- OED* *Oxford English dictionary*, online version of June 2012 (www.oed.com)
- On animals* Albertus Magnus, *On animals*, trans. Kenneth F. Kitchell and Irvn Michael Resnick, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1999)
- Oratio* John Rainolds, *Oratio in laudem artis poeticae* [c.1572], ed. William Ringler (Princeton, 1940)
- Padelford Frederick Morgan Padelford (trans.), *Select translations from Scaliger's 'Poetics'* (New York, 1905)
- PCC National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury
- Peletier Jacques Peletier, *Art poétique* [1555]: text in Goyet
- Phaedrus Aesopic fables, in Ben Edwin Perry (ed. and trans.), *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965)
- Physiologus* Michael J. Curley (trans.), *Physiologus* (Austin, Tex., 1979)
- Pigman George Gascoigne, *A hundreth sundrie flowres*, ed. G. W. Pigman III (Oxford, 2000)
- Pliny Pliny the Elder, *Natural history*, ed. and trans. H. Rackham *et al.*, 10 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1938–62)
- Poetics* Aristotle, *Poetics*: translation in *ALC*
- Porphyry Porphyry, *Introduction*, trans. Jonathan Barnes (Oxford, 2003)
- Preminger Alex Preminger, O. B. Hardison, Jr, and Kevin Kerrane (eds.), *Classical and medieval literary criticism: translations and interpretations* (New York, 1974)

*References and abbreviations*

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- Prose* Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (eds.), *Miscellaneous prose of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1973)
- Quintilian Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1920–2)
- Reardon B. P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected ancient Greek novels* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989)
- Rhetoric* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*
- Ringler W. A. Ringler, Jr (ed.), *The poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962)
- Ronsard Pierre de Ronsard, *Abrégé de l'art poétique français* [1565]: text in Goyet D. A. Russell, *Criticism in antiquity* (London, 1995)
- Russell D. A. Russell, *Criticism in antiquity* (London, 1995)
- Scaliger Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon, 1561); for details of editions used see 'A note on sources and references' below
- Scott* James Renat Scott, *Memorials of the family of Scott, of Scot's-Hall, in the county of Kent* (London, 1876)
- Sébillot Thomas Sébillot, *Art poétique français* [1548]: text in Goyet
- Shepherd Sir Philip Sidney, *An apology for poesie*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd; 3rd edn, revised R. W. Maslen (Manchester, 2002)
- Shorter poems* Edmund Spenser, *The shorter poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (London, 1999)
- Sieben Bücher* Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem. Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, ed. Luc Deitz and Gregor Vogt-Spira, 6 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1994–2011)
- Skretkowicz Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (the new Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford, 1987)
- Smith Sir Thomas Smith, *De recta et emendata linguae Anglicae scriptione, dialogus* (Paris, 1568)
- Snyder Susan Snyder (ed.), *The divine weeks and works of Guillaume De Saluste Sieur Du Bartas, translated by Josuah Sylvester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1979)
- Spingarn J. E. Spingarn (ed.), *Critical essays of the seventeenth century*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1908)
- SRLC* Gavin Alexander (ed.), *Sidney's 'The defence of poesie' and selected Renaissance literary criticism* (London, 2004)
- STC* A. W. Pollard et al., *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (London, 1976–91)
- Summa theologiae* St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Blackfriars' edn, 61 vols. (Cambridge, 1964–81)
- Talaeus Audomarus Talaeus [Omer Talon], *Rhetorica* (Paris, 1572)
- Tilley M. P. Tilley, *A dictionary of the proverbs in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950)
- Vida Ralph G. Williams (ed. and trans.), *The 'De arte poetica' of Marco Girolamo Vida* (New York, 1976)
- View* Edmund Spenser, *A view of the state of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997)
- Viperano Giovanni Antonio Viperano, *De poetica libri tres* (Antwerp, 1579); English translation in Philip Rollinson (trans.), *On poetry* (Greenwood, SC, 1987)
- Webbe William Webbe, *A discourse of English poetrie* [1586]: text in *ECE*
- Weinberg Bernard Weinberg, *A history of literary criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961)

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*References and abbreviations*

- Wells Stanley Wells, 'A new early reader of Shakespeare', in Richard Meek, Jane Rickard, and Richard Wilson (eds.), *Shakespeare's book: essays in reading, writing and reception* (Manchester, 2008), 233–40; revised version of 'By the placing of his words', *The Times literary supplement*, 5243 (26 September 2003), 14–15
- Wessner Paul Wessner (ed.), *Commentum Terenti*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1902–8)
- Wills Richard Wills, *De re poetica* [1573], ed. and trans. A. D. S. Fowler (Oxford, 1958)

## A NOTE ON SOURCES AND REFERENCES

In direct quotations from early printed sources, usage of i/j and u/v has been regularised, 'ß' has been replaced by 'ss' and ampersand by 'and' or 'et', and contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded. In direct quotations from manuscript sources, supplied letters are italicised, but otherwise a similar approach is taken. The exceptions in both cases are certain examples in the Textual Introduction, which are treated more diplomatically. Lost or illegible manuscript text is given between curly brackets. Place of printing for pre-1700 books is London unless otherwise indicated. Page or leaf numbers are used in references to early printed books, where present and reliable; otherwise references are to printed signatures. References to poems are to (i) poem number or book and (ii) line number(s) in the form '2.278–9'. Similarly, references to acts and scenes of plays or to books, chapters, and sections of prose works are standardised to a sequence of arabic numerals separated by full-stops (e.g. 'Quintilian, 12.10.6'). References to classical texts are to their conventional numbering and only (additionally) to page numbers where a reference to a modern edition is also given.

Certain categories of source need further explanation:

**1. Works of reference**

Extensive use has been made of Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin dictionary* (Oxford, 1879); Liddell and Scott; *ODNB*, for all British biographical details, unless otherwise indicated; and Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford classical dictionary*, revised 3rd edn (Oxford, 2003), for all ancient biographical details.

**2. Bibles**

There is no certain evidence of what English Bible Scott used, but the Geneva Bible is the likeliest; all quotations come from that source, in a modern facsimile of the Cambridge edition of 1591: *The Cambridge Geneva Bible of 1591: a facsimile reprint* (Cambridge, 1992). Greek and Latin texts consulted are: *Septuaginta*, ed. Alfred Rahlfs, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1949); *The Greek new testament*, ed. R. V. G. Tasker (Oxford, 1964); and *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1969).

**3. Classical texts**

Greek and Latin texts in the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library series have been used unless otherwise stated in the Commentary or here. The Loeb translations are also used, unless otherwise stated, though sometimes these have been silently adapted for clarity. Other texts and/or translations are used instead or in addition as follows:

*(i) Plato*

English translations: John M. Cooper (ed.), *Plato: complete works* (Indianapolis, 1997).

## References and abbreviations

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### (ii) Aristotle

Greek text of *Poetics*: Rudolf Kassell (ed.), *Aristotelis de arte poetica liber* (Oxford, 1965).

English translation of *Poetics*: M. E. Hubbard in *ALC*; with occasional use of Stephen Halliwell's translation in the Loeb volume *Aristotle, Poetics. Longinus, On the sublime. Demetrius, On style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

English translation of *Rhetoric: The art of rhetoric*, ed. and trans. J. H. Freese (Cambridge, Mass., 1926).

All other English translations: Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The complete works of Aristotle: the revised Oxford translation*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1984).

### (iii) Horace

Loeb texts and translations are used, but textual information is supplemented by D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Opera* (Stuttgart, 1985).

### (iv) Plutarch

I have made use of the contemporary translations of the *Lives* ('North') and the *Moralia* ('Holland'). The important essay *De audiendis poetis* is quoted in the translation in *ALC*. Otherwise, the relevant Loeb volumes are used.

### (v) Plotinus

I have used Stephen MacKenna (trans.), *The enneads*, abridged John Dillon (London, 1991).

## 4. Continental texts

Translations from early modern texts are mine unless otherwise indicated.

### (i) Scaliger

I have used Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poeticæ libri septem*, facsimile of 1561 edn (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1987), checking against the edited text with German translation in *Sieben Bücher*; the text of the 1561 edition is printed in two columns, with marginal letters dividing the page into quarters, enabling reference by page number, segment of page, and column: '168d2' thus refers to the bottom quarter of the second column of page 168. *Sieben Bücher* includes the page numbers from the 1561 edition, so either edition can be used to follow up references given here. It should be noted, however, that chapter references to Book 3 are to the numbering in the 1561 edition, which lacks a tenth chapter, and not to the corrected numbering in *Sieben Bücher*. Where a passage is translated in Padelford, that translation is used and a reference will be found. Otherwise, English translations are my own.

### (ii) Viperano

See the list of abbreviations above, 'Viperano', for bibliographical details. Translations are Rollinson's unless otherwise indicated. Page references are to the English translation except where the Latin text is quoted, when the reference is to both texts, in the form '[Latin page]/[English translation page]'. These are often preceded by references to book/chapter.

### (iii) Lomazzo

Italian text: Lomazzo; English translation: Haydocke for Books 1–5; otherwise mine. The frequent italics in quotations from Haydocke's translation are original.



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*References and abbreviations*

(iv) *Ariosto*

English translations are taken from: Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, trans. Guido Waldman (Oxford, 1974).

(v) *Tasso and Guarini*

Scott's translations from Tasso have been checked against Ettore Mazzali (ed.), *Opere*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1970); for Guarini's *Il pastor fido* I have used the parallel text with Richard Fanshawe's English translation of 1647: J. H. Whitfield (ed.), *Il pastor fido* (Edinburgh, 1976).

## 5. English texts

(i) *Chaucer*

All references are to the texts and line numbering in Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford, 1988).

(ii) *Wyatt*

All references are to the texts in Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson (eds.), *Collected poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool, 1969).

(iii) *Sidney*

Quotations from the *Arcadia* are taken from *NA*; the corresponding pagination in Skretkovicz or *OA* is also given. I have used Ringler for all poems.

(iv) *Spenser*

All references are to the texts in *FQ* for *The faerie queene* and *Shorter poems* for the other poems.

(v) *Shakespeare*

All references are to the texts and line numbering in G. Blakemore Evans (ed.), *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd edn (Boston, Mass., 1997).

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## INTRODUCTION

### William Scott (c.1571–c.1617)

The author of *The model of poesie* was the product of two leading Kentish families: the Scotts and the Wyatts. His mother was Jane Wyatt, daughter of Sir Thomas Wyatt the rebel, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet. His father was Charles Scott, the second son of Sir Reginald Scott of Scot's Hall. The Scott family had been based at Scot's Hall in Smeeth and the neighbouring parish of Brabourne since the early fourteenth century and its past generations had included prominent servants of the county and the country.<sup>1</sup> The Wyatts were not William Scott's only connection to the world of literature: Reginald Scott, the enlightened author of *The discoverie of witchcraft* (1584), was his father's cousin;<sup>2</sup> he may even have had a distant family connection to the clown Will Kemp.<sup>3</sup>

Scott's date of birth has been reported as c.1579,<sup>4</sup> which would make the *Model* the work of a younger man than it is. In fact, Scott was born in the early 1570s, possibly in 1571. We know that he had been born by 1574, because the visitation of Kent in 1574 recorded a William as the second son of Charles Scott and Jane Wyatt.<sup>5</sup> 1574 was also the year in which Charles Scott acquired the manor of Eggarton, above the village of Godmersham in the Stour valley, and related lands. When he bought Eggarton he was living at Challock,<sup>6</sup> but a search of the Challock parish register between 1560 and 1574 finds no Scotts,<sup>7</sup> so the family must have been living elsewhere before this when their first children, including William Scott and his older brother Thomas, were born. The parish records for the area of Kent dominated by the Scott family are patchy for these years. Godmersham, for example, is represented only by the Bishop's transcript, with a gap between 1571 and 1576/7. The baptism of a William Scott on 20 April 1571 is, however, recorded in the parish register (and the Bishop's transcript of the same) for Boughton Aluph parish,

<sup>1</sup> ODNB, 'Scott family (per. c.1400–c.1525)'. <sup>2</sup> ODNB, 'Scott [Scot], Reginald (d. 1599)'.  
<sup>3</sup> See ODNB, 'Kemp, William (d. in or after 1610?)' for the putative connection of Kemp to the Kempes of Ollantighe, near Ashford in Kent. Scott's paternal grandmother was Emmeline Kempe: ODNB, 'Scott, Sir Thomas (1534x6–1594)'.

<sup>4</sup> 'SCOTT, William (c.1579–aft.1611), of Godmersham, Kent', in *HoP*, III, 358–9, and thence by Stanley Wells (Wells, 234). It is not clear where the date of 1579 originates, but it is also associated with another William Scott, the distant kinsman from Chigwell, Essex who became the Blessed Maurus Scott: see Bede Camm, *Nine martyr monks: the lives of the English Benedictine martyrs beatified in 1929* (London, 1931), 186–7.

<sup>5</sup> W. Bruce Bannerman (ed.), *The visitations of Kent, taken in the years 1574 and 1592*, Harleian Society 75 (London, 1924), 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Scott*, lxviii: record 87, 22 May 1574.

<sup>7</sup> CCA-U3/27/P154B. I have searched the registers of a number of adjacent parishes without finding anything other than what is detailed here.

but this child is described as a son of Sir Thomas Scott (Charles Scott's older brother).<sup>8</sup> There is no other record of a son of Sir Thomas Scott named William,<sup>9</sup> and that this William should be baptised in Boughton Aluph is perplexing, since it is close to where Charles Scott was living at this time (it is the parish between Challock and Godmersham) and rather further from Scot's Hall, where Sir Thomas lived. The William Scott born at Boughton Aluph is more likely to be the son of the as yet itinerant Charles Scott, living in that area, than of Sir Thomas Scott, firmly ensconced in Scot's Hall several parishes away. But that would require a slip of the pen from the parson.

William Scott, then, may have been born in 1571 and was certainly born no later than 1574. He was brought up at Eggarton in Godmersham, a village that would be well known to Jane Austen 200 years later.<sup>10</sup> Scott's brother Thomas (c.1566–1635) 'probably went to Canterbury grammar school as a commoner and afterwards to university', and we can assume a similar path for William.<sup>11</sup> There are records of a Thomas Scott being admitted as a pensioner (that is, self-funding) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1582, and an unnamed Scott being admitted fellow-commoner at the same college in 1583.<sup>12</sup> Either or both of these may be William Scott's brother, an attractive possibility as it would see him following two years behind Christopher Marlowe from The King's School in Canterbury to Corpus Christi in Cambridge.<sup>13</sup> But the evidence is inconclusive, and the only William Scott recorded at Cambridge in the period is another man entirely: the future Maurus Scott, Catholic martyr, a sizar at Trinity in 1594, who transferred to Trinity Hall in 1596 and received the LLB law degree in 1600.<sup>14</sup> We know that many Scotts of the Scot's Hall branch studied at Oxford, especially at Hart Hall (now Hertford College); in the Oxford records, however, the only Williams in the period are from other counties.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, Oxford seems more likely than Cambridge, not only in view of the family connection but in the light of William Scott's interests in the intellectual culture of Oxford, which are explored below.

From university William Scott went to the Inns of Court in London, a typical path for a gentleman. He was admitted to the Inner Temple on 21 May 1595, and the admission was confirmed by the Inner Temple Parliament on 1 June 1595.<sup>16</sup> While he was a law student, he produced the scribal manuscript, now British Library Additional Manuscript 81083, that contains his treatise on poetics, *The model of poesie*, along with a partial translation of the poem of the Creation by the French protestant poet Du Bartas,

<sup>8</sup> Parish register: KHLC-P36/1/5. Bishop's transcript: CCA-DCA/BT/22.

<sup>9</sup> For pedigree see Robert Hovenden (ed.), *The visitation of Kent, taken in the years 1619–1621*, Harleian Society 42 (London, 1898), 128–9.

<sup>10</sup> As the home of the Knights, who adopted her brother Edward: see *ODNB*, 'Austen, Jane (1775–1817)'.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Clark, 'Thomas Scott and the growth of urban opposition to the early Stuart regime', *Historical journal*, 21 (1978), 1–26 (3). There are no records of commoners (as opposed to scholars) at The King's School, Canterbury before the eighteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 1, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–6), IV, 33.

<sup>13</sup> See *ODNB*, 'Marlowe [Marley], Christopher (bap. 1564, d. 1593)'.

<sup>14</sup> Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, IV, 33; Camm, *Nine martyr monks*, 188–91.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses . . . 1500–1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891), IV, 1324–5.

<sup>16</sup> The Inner Temple Admissions Database ([www.innertemple.org.uk/archive/itad](http://www.innertemple.org.uk/archive/itad)); F. A. Inderwick (ed.), *A calendar of the Inner Temple records*, 1 (London, 1896), 405.

*La sepmaine*. He dedicated the latter to his mother's brother, George Wyatt of Boxley. The *Model* he dedicated to Sir Henry Lee, the former Queen's champion and a kinsman from whose patronage Scott might hope to gain, if he was not benefiting already. It is important that the manuscript given to Lee contains both the *Model* and the *Du Bartas*, since they combine to demonstrate Scott's linguistic abilities (French, Latin, Italian, some Greek) as well as his intellectual power and Protestant commitment. Aside from the considerable importance and interest of the contents, then, we can see the manuscript as a demonstration to Lee of Scott's qualifications for employment, either on Lee's business or that of England. And the demonstration was successful: we can surmise that Scott's future career was guided by Lee's hand, and we find Scott close to Lee a decade later when the older man died. How much the two men had to do with each other in the meantime we can only conjecture. But Scott's next appearance in the historical record is a certain demonstration of Lee's patronage, for he served, once only, as Member of Parliament for New Woodstock in the Parliament of October–December 1601.<sup>17</sup> Lee was high steward of New Woodstock, and the borough's two seats were in effect in his gift. The two members had been Lee's kinsmen John Lee and Lawrence Tanfield in the Parliaments of 1588, 1593, and 1597 (Tanfield had filled one of the places in 1584 and 1586 too), and Lee's half-brother Richard would get a chance in 1604, but in 1601 it was Tanfield and Scott, the latter clearly a kind of temporary substitute for a Lee.<sup>18</sup>

Our next certain reference to Scott comes a few years later,<sup>19</sup> when we find him benefiting from a connection to another prominent Kentish family, the Smythes, and travelling to Russia. Thomas 'Customer' Smythe (1522–91) was a wealthy merchant and financier, with dealings in Muscovy and a specialisation in collecting import taxes and duties. He had married into a Kentish family and bought further lands in Kent, where his principal property was the manor and castle of Westenhanger (or Ostenhanger), a few miles south-east of Scot's Hall along the Folkestone road. His second son Sir Thomas (c.1558–1625) followed him into business, becoming a governor of the Muscovy and Levant companies, and first governor of the East India Company.<sup>20</sup> In June 1604 Sir Thomas Smythe was sent on a special embassy to the Tsar of Russia Boris Godunov, returning around June 1605; William Scott went with him. The Smythes and the Scotts were close: when William Scott's cousin Sir John Scott married for the second time it was to Katherine Smythe, sister of Sir

<sup>17</sup> *HoP*, III, 358–9; W. R. Williams, *The parliamentary history of the county of Oxford* (Brecknock, 1899), 197. Scott's brother Thomas would later be an MP for Canterbury; his manuscript discourse on parliamentary reform of c.1626 starts from a premise of disgust that the Commons includes so many burgesses who never live, much less hail from, the counties they represent (Clark, 'Thomas Scott', 16).

<sup>18</sup> *HoP*, I, 227–8 (New Woodstock); II, 447–50 (the Lees); III, 475–6 (Tanfield).

<sup>19</sup> We can discount the following: one William Bird wrote in around January 1604 to Cecil about a William Scott in Hertfordshire who had said a few scurrilous things about Cecil and recited a doggerel 'jest'; Cecil endorsed the letter 'An idle information' (HMC Hatfield, xvi 14). *HoP*, III, 359, mentions this as a possible reference to Scott, but the name is common enough for us to assume that it is a different William Scott.

<sup>20</sup> *ODNB*, 'Smythe [Smith], Thomas (1522–1591)' and 'Smythe [Smith], Sir Thomas (c.1558–1625)'. See also 'SMYTHE, Sir Thomas (c.1558–1625)', in *HoP2*, VI, 363–8.

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Thomas Smythe; their brother Sir Richard Smythe, in turn, married Elizabeth Scott, Sir John Scott's sister.<sup>21</sup> The Smythes were not Scott's only connection to Muscovy, however. Sir Henry Lee's (illegitimate) brother Richard had travelled to Muscovy and was likely engaged in trade as a member of the Muscovy Company. He had been an earlier ambassador to Boris Godunov in 1600–1,<sup>22</sup> and would take Scott's place alongside Tanfield as the second Member of Parliament for New Woodstock in the 1604 Parliament when Scott in turn went to Russia. Although the patronage of Sir Henry Lee must have been ongoing – as we shall see – the Smythe connection seems to have been fruitful too. It explains why William Scott was living in Westenhanger – the Smythe manor – in 1611–12, after Sir Henry Lee's death.

The Russian embassy is the occasion of Scott's only surviving letter, and raises some intriguing questions about his literary activities over which we should pause. Sir Thomas Smythe's embassy was an eventful one, for a civil war came almost from nowhere within days of their arrival, and would drag on long after their departure. Scott wrote about the embassy in a letter to Robert Cecil, King James's secretary of state; that letter survives in the National Archives (SP 91/1) and is transcribed in Appendix 2 (249–53). Somewhat implausibly for a man in his early thirties who had already served as an MP, Scott claims that this embassy represents 'the maidenhood of my travell, the first frutes of my reducing my study to matter of accion' (250). Scott tells Cecil that he has written an extensive discourse about the embassy: 'Because of the strange accidentes (strange even to prodigeousnes) falling out this yeere of Sir Thomas Smyths negociacions in Russia, and because of the manifold differing surmisses and rumers thereon, me thinkes it worth labour to doe somewhat to assure and informe the world of soe important an affaire.' What he presents in the letter is a sort of executive summary, which he describes in the language of *The model of poesie*:

The summe and argumente of the discourse is the Image of the ambassadors negociacion, the discription of the Landes and Territories under and adjoining to the Russe Empier, the mappes of their mannors and facions and last the story of theis Two last confercions in govermente, or rather in the governers, of all which (dedicated to your Lordshippe in private) I thought good to offer this summery following Comprizing the breefe of the mayne or Cardenall accident that fell out betwene theis turns (as understanding by Sir Thomas Smyth your Lordshipps desire that waye) till the larger Can be trancescribed. (250)

The long reign of Ivan the Terrible, the first Tsar, had ended with his death in 1584. His son, Feodor I, succeeded him but, because of his physical or mental ill health, the *de facto* ruler was his wife's brother Boris Godunov. Feodor's younger brother Dmitry and his mother were sent away from the court and Dmitry died of a (possibly self-inflicted) knife wound in 1591. When Feodor died childless in 1598 Boris became Tsar. What happened in 1604–5 was extraordinary. A pretender to the throne had appeared a few years earlier, claiming to be Dmitry (an imposter having

<sup>21</sup> ODNB, 'Scott, Sir Thomas (1534x6–1594)'; Scott, 215n., 222, 226.

<sup>22</sup> Chambers, 177, 204, 205–6; HoP, II, 449–50.

been substituted and having died in his stead in 1591, the story went). Having gathered support and a small army this Dmitry moved against Boris in June 1604, just after Smythe and Scott had arrived. The first of two engagements with Boris's army went Dmitry's way, the second decisively against him, but then Boris died in April 1605 and Dmitry's cause gained new energy. Boris's wife and only surviving son, the new Tsar Feodor II, were imprisoned and then murdered in June 1605, and Dmitry acceded to the throne, to reign for less than a year. There Scott's story ends, though the 'Time of Troubles' had many twists and turns yet (including two more 'false Dmitrys').

Schiller, Pushkin, and Mussorgsky were not the only ones to see the literary potential in these events. In 1605 appeared a fascinating volume offering an account of the embassy that deserves some consideration because of its similarity to the longer work that Scott promises Cecil. It also happens to be a major source for John Milton's *A brief history of Moscovia* (possibly written in 1648).<sup>23</sup> Its full title is 'Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rushia. With the tragicall ends of two Emperors and one Empresse, within one Moneth during his being there: And the miraculous preservation of the now rainging Emperor, esteemed dead for 18. yeares.' This recognition of the literariness of events, here packaged as the sort of combination of tragic death and romance rebirth interesting Shakespeare at this time, is continued in the work itself. An anonymous editor who was not on the embassy has pieced together his account 'from the mouths of divers gentlemen that went in the Journey, and having som good notes bestowed upon me in writing, wrought them into this body', and he makes clear, too clear perhaps, that he has published the account without the permission of these gentlemen or of Sir Thomas Smythe.<sup>24</sup> The work is a patchwork, first a rather dull travelogue occasionally (and probably subsequently) seasoned with purpler prose and literary allusions, and then an account of the sensational events very much in the style of the regime-changing narratives of Book II of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Its range of contemporary literary allusion is impressive – Sidney,<sup>25</sup> Shakespeare, Jonson, Greville – and is exemplified in one of the few passages of this work to have received much notice.<sup>26</sup> It describes Feodor II's demise:

his fathers Empire and Government, was but as the *Poeticall Furie in a Stage-action*, compleat yet with horrid and wofull Tragedies: a first, but no second to any *Hamlet*; and that now *Revenge*, just *Revenge* was comming with his Sworde drawne against him, his royall Mother, and dearest Sister, to fill up those Murdering Sceanes; the *Embryon* whereof was long since Modeld, yea digested (but unlawfully and too-too vive-ly) by his dead selfe-murdering Father: such and so many being their feares and terrours; the Divell advising, Despaire counselling, Hell it selfe instructing; yea, wide-hart-opening to receive a King now, rather than a Kingdome; as *L. Bartas* devinely sayth: *They who expect not Heaven, finde a Hell every where.* (KI<sup>r</sup>)

<sup>23</sup> See the list of sources in *A brief history of Moscovia* (1682), 109.

<sup>24</sup> *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rushia* (1605), A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Examples of allusions: *The defence of poesy* (C2<sup>v</sup>); *Arcadia* (D4<sup>r</sup>, E1<sup>r-v</sup>).

<sup>26</sup> See, e.g., Margreta de Grazia, *Hamlet without Hamlet* (Cambridge, 2007), 45–8.

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Shakespeare, Sidneian compounds, Du Bartas, the use of *model* as a verb, the (Aristotelian) dramatic plot as embryo: these are, as we shall see, all things found in Scott's *Model* as well as in this brief passage, and it is hard to imagine that they could come together very often. The impression that Scott is hovering close to this writing is only made firmer by another extraordinary passage, which follows almost immediately:

Oh for some excellent pen-man to deplore their state: but he which would lively, naturally, or indeed poetically delyneate or enumerate these occurrents, shall either lead you thereunto by *a poeticall spirit*, as could well, if well he might the dead living, life-giving *Sydney Prince of Poesie*; or deifie you with the Lord *Salustius* devinity, or in an Earth-deploring, Sententious, high rapt Tragedie with the noble *Foulk-Grevill*, not onely give you the *Idea*, but the soule of the acting *Idea*; as well could, if so we would, the elaborate English *Horace* that gives number, waight, and measure to every word, to teach the reader by his industries, even our Lawreat worthy *Benjamen*, whose Muze approves him with (our mother) the *Ebrev* signification to bee, *The elder Sonne*, and happely to have been the *Childe of Sorrow*: It were worthy so excellent rare witt: for my selfe I am neither *Apollo* nor *Appelles*, no nor any heire to the *Muses*: yet happely a younger brother, though I have as little bequeathed me, as many elder Brothers, and right borne Heires gaine by them: but *Hic labor, Hoc opus est.* (KI<sup>v</sup>)

The examination of 'Benjamen' traces the etymologies and biblical allusions that Jonson manipulates in the as yet unpublished Epigram 45, on the son who had died in 1603.<sup>27</sup> Scott was of course a 'younger brother' literally as well as figuratively (translator and critic, not original poet), but was he in a position to read Jonson in manuscript? If we knew Scott to be the writer of this passage we would be encouraged to imagine him, in 1605 as well as in the late 1590s when he wrote the *Model*, not looking at the contemporary literary scene from the outside but belonging to it. The pairing of Sidney and Du Bartas ('Lord *Salustius*') was not Scott's alone: Sylvester saw his Du Bartas translation as a continuation of Sidney's work (see below, xxxiv). Nor is the kind of knowledge of contemporary literature shown here something we should only expect from Scott, remarkable though it is. An appreciation of Jonson's Horatianism would be more more generally shared a decade or two later, but it is not so very prescient in 1605; knowledge that Greville wrote tragedies was more uncommon before the pirated publication of *Mustapha* in 1609; and any reader of Sidney's *Defence* might talk of Platonic ideas and quote Virgil, equating the reading and writing of fiction with Aeneas' journey back from the underworld (*DP*, 9, 22). We cannot, therefore, quite claim to see Scott's signature on this passage. Indeed, the style here and elsewhere is too enthusiastically Sidneian to convince one that it might be Scott's: the sort of precise and yet exaggerated imitation of Sidney's style managed by the Arcadian continuators like Gervase Markham and William Alexander is something Scott quite deliberately

<sup>27</sup> *CWB7*, v, 134.



avoids in the *Model*.<sup>28</sup> But it is difficult to believe that Scott has nothing to do with this volume. If it is not by him, might it have been written *for* him? If he is not the editor, might he not at the very least be one of the witnesses collated by the editor?

We know little of Scott's activities in the years following the voyage to Russia, though evidently he worked more closely with Lee in the old man's last years, witnessing his will on 6 October 1609,<sup>29</sup> and composing (and signing) the beautiful biographical epitaph for Lee's funerary monument at Quarrendon after Sir Henry's death in February 1611, 'being a Sharer in his blood as well as in many his honourable Favours and an honourer of his vertues'.<sup>30</sup> Scott did not join the procession at Lee's funeral in April 1611, but 'Mr Scott's man' is first in the section of servants of Lee's family and retainers, walking alongside the servant of the chief mourner, Lee's son Henry, near the front of the procession.<sup>31</sup> That implies that Scott had by now some central importance in Lee's life and household. Scott received no specific legacy in Lee's will, but his own will tells us that he had already been granted a thirty-year lease on a farm (he does not say where) by Lee. Scott may, then, have been based for some of the period 1605–11 in Oxfordshire, with or close to Lee, but in an indenture of 6 November 1609 he is 'of Godmersham', evidently choosing to live close to his brother, and perhaps on family lands.<sup>32</sup>

In the visitation of Kent of 1619–21, Scott is recorded in his family tree as 's.p.' or *sine prole*, without issue, and therefore also dead.<sup>33</sup> But he did attempt to start a family in what turned out to be his last years. Scott married Barbara Tomlyn probably in 1610 or early 1611. Her father was a brewer and jurat (a Kentish alderman) in the town of Faversham, half a dozen miles north of Godmersham. The dowry included seven acres of land in Faversham, and seems to have involved some further complicated financial arrangements. An indenture of 24 February 1611 'Betweene William Tomlyn of the towne and Porte of Faversham in the County of Kent Beerebruer of thone parte and Thomas Scott of Egarton in the said County esquier and william Scott of Westinghanger in the fore said County gent of thother partie' sees the Scotts giving Tomlyn what is in effect a one-year loan of £100 at 10 per cent interest, secured against his brewhouse and orchards in Faversham, 'diuerse other good causes and consideracions him movinge'.<sup>34</sup> The terms of the indenture give Tomlyn the option of coming in person, or sending his assigns, to Eggarton, a year and a day later to redeem his property for £110, but an endorsement records that William Scott was there on 25 February 1612 and no one came. There was never any intention of taking over Tomlyn's business; it must just have been a gentle way of improving his father-in-law's liquidity, and Tomlyn continued to live and work at the brewhouse.

Scott, as that indenture indicates, had evidently moved with his new wife to live in Westenhanger, among the Smythes. A stillborn son was buried at Stanford (the parish

<sup>28</sup> On imitations of the *Arcadia* see my *Writing after Sidney: the literary response to Sir Philip Sidney*, 1586–1640 (Oxford, 2006), esp. 262–82.

<sup>29</sup> PCC, NA-PROB 11/117, 326<sup>v</sup>–328<sup>r</sup>. <sup>30</sup> Chambers, 305. <sup>31</sup> Chambers, 298.

<sup>32</sup> *Scott*, lxxiii, record 114, a land conveyance between Thomas and William Scott, and Ralph Ward (a family retainer who witnesses the Tomlyn indenture discussed below).

<sup>33</sup> Hovenden (ed.), *The visitation of Kent . . . 1619–1621*, 128. <sup>34</sup> NA-E44/263.

into which Westenhanger had been merged in the sixteenth century) on 12 April 1611,<sup>35</sup> and a son William was baptised at Stanford on 2 August 1612. On that same day a son, John, of Scott's cousin Edward was buried there.<sup>36</sup> Edward Scott was a younger brother of Sir John Scott, and he would inherit Scot's Hall in 1616 when Sir John Scott died without issue.<sup>37</sup> At this date he was living in Postling, the adjacent parish to Stanford, and is mentioned as such in Scott's will (see Appendix 3, 255). He evidently offered William Scott some financial support, as the will makes clear, and his presence may have been another reason for Scott's living in this area in 1611–12. It was another temporary residence, however: we can sense that the Scotts' accommodation was not permanent in the Stanford parish register entry recording their son's baptism in 1612 ('William Scot, sonne to Mr William Scot of Eggertone'),<sup>38</sup> but it was in fact not back to Eggerton or Godmersham but to Brabourne that the family moved next, for the same son was, sadly, buried at Brabourne on 3 February 1614.<sup>39</sup> Evidently, Scott was also on good terms with his older cousin Sir John Scott, who had recently inherited Scot's Hall from his childless older brother Thomas,<sup>40</sup> and he may at that point have offered Scott somewhere to live nearby. Sir John is recorded shifting his lands and leases round from early 1611,<sup>41</sup> and an indenture of 6 October 1611, intended 'for the advancement and preferment of the heirs male of his brothers' and of his cousins, makes clear the order of succession to all the Scott lands, with Thomas and William Scott and their younger brother Antony bringing up the rear.<sup>42</sup>

Scott's date of death had been uncertainly placed at 'after 1611',<sup>43</sup> when the last thing known about him was his involvement in the commemoration of Sir Henry Lee. But in fact the date can be pushed back several years. Scott was alive on 13 June 1613 when his mother Jane made her will and left him plate, hangings, furnishings, and andirons.<sup>44</sup> Scott made his own will on 2 June 1615; here he is William Scott of Brabourne.<sup>45</sup> He leaves things to his wife 'and to the yssue of her, and my bodye (yf any be)', and, again, 'to the yssue of her and me (yf god send any)' and 'the yssue that may be yf yt please god of our bodyes'. At this point, the Scotts were childless and, after the death of young William, evidently a little desperate, but they had a daughter later in that year: Kathryn was baptised on 10 November 1615 in Brabourne.<sup>46</sup> Names were often taken from godparents, and a likely candidate is Sir John Scott's wife Katherine, the sister of Sir Thomas Smythe. Scott was still alive in 1616: Sir John Scott, in his will of 18 September 1616, gives 'unto my lovinge Cosen William Scott of Brabourne,

<sup>35</sup> Stanford/Westenhanger parish register: CCA-U3/253/1/1, 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> CCA-U3/253/1/1, 17<sup>r</sup>; Bishop's transcript: CCA-DCB/BT1/222, 15.

<sup>37</sup> See 'SCOTT, Edward (c.1578–1645/6)', in *HoP2*, VI, 242–3.

<sup>38</sup> CCA-U3/253/1/1, 29<sup>r</sup>; CCA-DCB/BT1/222, 15.

<sup>39</sup> Brabourne parish register: KHL-C-P41/1/1.

<sup>40</sup> See *HoP*, III, 356, for Thomas Scott's death on 24 September 1610. On Sir John Scott see 'SCOTT, Sir John (c.1564–1616)', in *HoP2*, VI, 243–6.

<sup>41</sup> *Scott*, lxxiv, records 115, 116, 117, 119. <sup>42</sup> *Scott*, lxxiv, record 116. <sup>43</sup> *HoP*, III, 358.

<sup>44</sup> Consistory Court of Canterbury will register: CCA-DCB/PRC/32/44/348a.

<sup>45</sup> Archdeaconry Court of Canterbury will register: CCA-DCB/PRC/17/60/399. See Appendix 3.

<sup>46</sup> Brabourne parish, Bishop's transcript, CCA-DCB/BT1/31. From Thomas Scott's will we can infer that she must have predeceased her father.

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Introduction

my best geldinge'.<sup>47</sup> Sir John Scott died almost immediately, so we can hope that Scott got the horse.<sup>48</sup> Scott's mother Jane was buried at Godmersham on 3 March 1617,<sup>49</sup> and the will was proved on 17 April, but Scott may not have been around to collect that legacy. Scott's own will was proved on 12 August 1617, and Scott had evidently died before June 1617. Thomas Scott's will of 31 October 1633 includes a crucial detail. At some point in the Easter law term of James I's fifteenth regnal year (that is, between 7 May and 2 June 1617), 'because all my said Fathers sonnes except my selfe weare then deceased without issue' the various lands he had inherited from his father in fee-tail (that is, to pass to his brothers or their heirs if he died without issue) were transferred to fee-simple, making them his to bequeath without complicated entails.<sup>50</sup>

There is no record of Scott's burial and he may well have died abroad, since he made his will 'beinge then readye to take my Joyrney into the partes beyond the Seas' (254). 'Beyond the Seas' simply meant 'abroad',<sup>51</sup> so this may have been a trip to the continent, but in view of Scott's connections it was more likely to be the new world. Sir Thomas Smythe, with whom Scott had travelled to Russia in 1604–5, and in whose family's manor Scott had lived in the period 1611–12, was the treasurer of the Virginia Company and was heavily involved in Bermuda (known then as the Somers Islands). He had become governor of the Somers Islands Company, which was formed in 1615, the year of Scott's voyage, to oversee the Bermuda venture separately.<sup>52</sup> The American project was struggling both as a result of internal conflicts and because of dwindling numbers of colonists, and it is certainly conceivable that Scott might have been deputed to do some work there on Smythe's behalf. The Wyatts too had interests in the new world: we might note that Scott's younger cousin Francis Wyatt (the son of George Wyatt, to whom Scott's *Du Bartas* was dedicated) would in 1618 marry Margaret Sandys, the niece of Sir Edwin Sandys, a key member of the Virginia company, and go on to become governor of Virginia in 1621;<sup>53</sup> those travelling there with him in 1621 included his brother Hawte Wyatt and William Scott's nephew Henry Fleete, the son of his sister Deborah.<sup>54</sup>

A daunting trip to the new world and the contemplation of long separation from his family may explain the amplification of Scott's own sincere religiosity into the fervent opening sentences of what is his last literary composition – that part of the will where writers might compose their own variations on the necessary theme of the soul's and the body's separate destinations. Scott wills the latter '(yf I dye in England) to be buried among my Ancestors in Brabourne' (254), maintaining the loyalty to his family

<sup>47</sup> PCC, NA-PROB 11/131, 57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Not 'about 28 December 1616' (*ODNB*) since Robert Sidney mourns him in a letter of 25 September 1616 (see below, li); the Brabourne parish register records his burial at Brabourne as 17 September 1616, one day before [*sic*] the date of his will: KHLc-P41/1/1.

<sup>49</sup> Godmersham parish register: CCA-U3/117/1/1.

<sup>50</sup> Consistory Court of Canterbury will register: CCA-PRC/32/51, 217<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>v</sup> (219<sup>r</sup>); reproduced in G. D. Scull, *Dorothea Scott* (Oxford, 1883), 199–203 (201–2).

<sup>51</sup> *OED*, *sea*, n., 11. <sup>52</sup> *ODNB*, 'Smythe [Smith], Sir Thomas (c.1558–1625)'.

<sup>53</sup> *ODNB*, 'Sir Francis Wyatt (1588–1624)'.

<sup>54</sup> *ODNB*, 'Fleete, Henry (c.1602–1660/1)', stressing the strong Kentish component of the Virginia Company.

and his county that is the basis of his career and one message of his literary work. What little we know of Scott's later life, then, ties him closely to Sir Henry Lee and to Sir Thomas Smythe and gives him global horizons, but it also keeps him based firmly in Kent, the home of the Sidneys, the Scotts, the Smythes, and the Wyatts. That is the trajectory of a career that begins with an essay on poetics and a translation of Du Bartas.

### The *Model* in context

#### SCOTT IN THE 1590S

It is possible to date *The Model of Poesy* with some precision to the summer of 1599. (The evidence for this dating is presented below, xxxvi–xxxvii.) The *Model* therefore belongs to a particular, and a particularly exciting, moment in Elizabethan literary and political history. It is also possible to place its author William Scott in more precise relation to the events, texts, and personalities of the late 1590s, thanks to evidence internal to the manuscript of the *Model* as well as external to it, and in particular to a family miscellany on which Scott seems to have worked in these years.

The Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC has in its manuscript collections a 'Miscellany on religion and state affairs', MS v.b.214. Still in its original binding, it includes, among pen exercises, doodles, and jottings on its front and rear endleaves, the names of William Scott and his elder brother Thomas, who helpfully writes on the front endleaf (and contents page) 'Thomas Scott of Eggerton Gent'. The miscellany evolved in three distinct stages, confirmed by changes in hand, blank pages, and a contemporary contents page that lists only those texts copied into the miscellany before the third stage of compilation. The first stage must have been the work of Scott's father Charles, since it shows a particular interest in church politics of the 1580s. We can surmise that the volume was inherited by Thomas Scott after Charles Scott's death in 1596, because most of the documents in the second stage of transcription date from between 1597 and the brink of the Essex rebellion of early 1601; this stage includes a copy of Spenser's *A view of the present state of Ireland* (dated 1597 in the manuscript), and is likely to have involved William and Thomas directly. The third stage has an even more intent focus on Essex and Ireland, raking over the events of 1599–1601, and may, also or instead, have been the work of other names written in the volume – including John Knatchbull (a kinsman and Thomas Scott's future father-in-law), and a Richard Greene who signed the front pastedown and dated it 1 July 1601. The manuscript itself is complex and will repay further study.<sup>55</sup> Because we lack an extended specimen of William Scott's hand (we have only signatures in his italic hand at the end of the *Model* and Du Bartas dedications and of the letter to Cecil; short corrections in both documents, which in any case mimic his scribes' hands; and a signature in his secretary hand in the Folger miscellany), it is not possible to identify his with certainty as one

<sup>55</sup> An earlier study is interested primarily in the Essex context and does not identify the Scotts: James McManaway, 'Elizabeth, Essex, and James', in *Elizabethan and Jacobean studies*, ed. Herbert Davis and Helen Gardner (London, 1959), 219–30.

of the hands responsible for the volume's contents. However, his contribution is very likely indeed. I shall return to this volume at several points in this section.

The miscellany throws light on Scott's religious background. The first thing to be copied into it (though since lost or removed) was the 'Bishops' Articles'; seven items that follow respond to the Articles or concern the immediate fallout from this key episode in the history of Elizabethan puritanism. The three Articles were formulated by John Whitgift, on becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, and clerics were required to subscribe to them.<sup>56</sup> The first Article asserted the supremacy of the Queen in ecclesiastical matters and the third stated that the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563 were agreeable to the word of God; endorsing these two Articles was unproblematic for most. But the second Article was the sticking point. In asserting the authority of the 1559 Prayer Book and the episcopal hierarchy, and insisting that only the Prayer Book could be used in services, it reignited tensions between the bishops and the hotter sort of protestants who came to be known as puritans. Many in Parliament and the Privy Council objected, seeing in the Articles an Inquisition-style trap, since those puritans unable to endorse the second article were *de facto* failing to endorse the other two. The Articles reduced the room for manoeuvre of nonconformist or puritan clerics, led to the suspension of some churchmen, and were accompanied by a subtle crackdown on subversive religious publications.<sup>57</sup> The Scott family were against them: William Scott's father Charles Scott has been described as 'a committed puritan' who 'patronized young radical clergy and joined other sympathetic gentry in defending the county's godly ministers against Whitgift in 1584';<sup>58</sup> and his uncle Sir Thomas Scott addressed the Privy Council and led a delegation of Kentish gentlemen in a meeting with Whitgift at Lambeth Palace.<sup>59</sup> That puritan heritage has a long legacy. Scott's brother Thomas's 'life was dominated by an intense commitment to godly religion',<sup>60</sup> witnessed in the diaries and unpublished writings surviving from his later life; his daughter Dorothea Gotherson was to be a Quaker pamphleteer and preacher in the 1650s and early 60s.<sup>61</sup> A puritan tone can be heard in some passages in the *Model*, such as the long digression on pagan deities in literature (41–3), but also the pragmatism in William Scott's case of a man who respects bishops and other mainstream churchmen when they are pious or learned. Thomas Scott may have been a committed puritan, but the religious politics inherited by William Scott were those of a gentry family with local loyalties and responsibilities. Scott's is a pure kind of protestantism, most evident in his love of Du Bartas, but he shows no signs of a puritan dislike of poets and players.

<sup>56</sup> Henry Gee and William John Hardy (eds.), *Documents illustrative of English church history* (London, 1896), 481–4.

<sup>57</sup> For an extended discussion of this episode see Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan puritan movement* (London, 1967), esp. 243–88.

<sup>58</sup> Clark, 'Thomas Scott', 3.

<sup>59</sup> Collinson, *Elizabethan puritan movement*, 257, 258–9.

<sup>60</sup> ODNB, 'Scott, Thomas (c.1566–1635)'. See also 'SCOTT, Thomas (c.1566/7–1635)' in *HoP2*, vi, 246–52.

<sup>61</sup> ODNB, 'Gotherson [*née* Scott; *other married name* Hogben], Dorothea (*hap.* 1611)'.

*Model of Poesy*

[xxx]

The Folger miscellany also helps to fill in the gaps in Scott's biographical record, lending support to the hypothesis that he studied at Oxford (see above, xx). The second section of the miscellany includes a Latin speech of the Queen to the Polish ambassador from 25 July 1597. Squeezed into the blank space left on the opening that contains it, in an italic hand that may be Scott's, is a copy of a Latin speech delivered by the Queen to the heads of Oxford colleges on a visit in September 1592.<sup>62</sup> As discussed above, we have no record of the university education of Thomas (who would have been around twenty-six in 1592) or William (who would have been between eighteen and twenty-one), but if one of the two was at Oxford in 1592 it would have been William. William would have appreciated the speech's scholarly Latinity, and seems the more likely to have added to this politically minded volume an oration whose interest is limited to its occasion and literary quality; the same could be said of the inclusion of Henry Savile's oration for the same royal visit (71<sup>r</sup>). There was no standard age for university attendance, but twenty-one was old to be studying for the BA, just as twenty-four was old to begin legal training. The evidence is of course thin, and depends to an extent on our leaning towards a date of birth in 1571 rather than one closer to 1574, but it suggests the possibility that Scott stayed at Oxford for more like the seven years required for the MA; that possibility in turn helps to make sense of the scholarly depth demonstrated in the *Model*. Also related to Oxford is an interest in the Calvinist-leaning theologian John Rainolds, who from the late 1580s had held a special lectureship at Oxford in controversial theology and in the 1590s was to become engaged in an ongoing exchange with first William Gager and then Alberico Gentili which was printed in 1599 as *Th'overthrow of stage-playes*, and which William Scott read (see Commentary, 48.30–2n.). Two short controversial pieces by Rainolds, including his response to Richard Bancroft's 1589 sermon on the divine origins of episcopacy (57<sup>r</sup>), mark the start of the miscellany's second section, and a little later come Rainolds's arguments against Whitgift's position that Christ's soul (and not his body only) descended into hell (68<sup>v</sup>). In that visit to Oxford in 1592 Elizabeth 'schooled Doctor Reynalds for his precisenes, willing him to follow her lawes and not to run before them'.<sup>63</sup>

By the time of his father's death in 1596, William Scott was already a law student at the Inner Temple. This is a location of particular significance to our understanding of the *Model*, since Scott tells us explicitly that he wrote the *Model* and the Du Bartas translation during one of the law vacations (see Appendix 1, 248); as will become clear, this was probably the long vacation between 28 June and 8 October 1599.<sup>64</sup> The Inner Temple gave him access to works in manuscript. Scott quotes from a manuscript tractate by Richard Hooker (see Commentary, 66.24–5n.) that was not to be printed

<sup>62</sup> Folger MS v.b.214, 67<sup>v</sup>–68<sup>r</sup>; see Elizabeth I, *Collected works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago, 2000), 332–4 and 327–8 (English), and Elizabeth I, *Autograph compositions and foreign language originals*, ed. Janel Mueller and Leah S. Marcus (Chicago, 2003), 168–9 and 163–5 (Latin).

<sup>63</sup> ODNB, 'Rainolds [Reynolds], John (1549–1607)'.

<sup>64</sup> During the law terms students would attend the courts; during the vacations they would study and receive tuition (Inderwick, *Calendar*, 1, xxxvi).