



The Coronation of Charles 1 in Edinburgh and the Linlithgow Palace Fountain

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Abstract: The Linlithgow Palace fountain is currently understood to belong exclusively to the reign of James V of Scotland (b. 1512, r. 1513–1542). This paper draws attention to the documentary and material evidence of major changes made in 1633 in preparation for Charles I's coronation in Edinburgh and re-examines the significance of the fountain within multiple new contexts. The changes included a classical putto holding a banderole with the acclamation "God Save the King," which is traced to the coronation ceremony itself and its use in reference to the anointing of Solomon and the Divine Right of Kings. As the creation of a monumental fountain relies upon hydraulic engineering, this paper also draws attention to the issue of water supply and the command of nature as the magical demonstration of royal power. The masons employed in 1633 are identified by name and the fountain placed within a portfolio of examples which represent the post-Reformation recovery of stone carving in Scotland under court patronage, where the introduction of a classical language of architecture symbolised the order and harmony enjoyed under Stuart rule.

Keywords: fountain; sun; water; coronation; divine; alchemy; Scotland; mason.

Kings were of old Crowned neare some Fountaine, because they are Fountaines and common blessings, the streames of whose government do glad the City of God, and refresh his inheritance.¹

The fountain in the inner courtyard at Linlithgow Palace, dating from 1537–1538, manifested in stone the idea of the crown of Scotland, a synthesis of *imperium* and unrivalled antiquity. It may even have prefigured the later Stuart claim to the Divine Right of Kings.² Geometrically, it is located at the very centre of an Italianate quadrilateral fortress palace, a *palatium ad modernum castrum*, which

¹ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 18.

² Stuart, the French spelling of Stewart, was adopted by Mary Queen of Scots and thereafter by the Stewart dynasty.

is "remarkable for its symmetry and general regularity of planning."³ It completed the Renaissance character of the courtyard, overlooked by the new round-headed windows with broad cavetto mouldings (1511–1512) lighting the Great Hall or Lion Chamber, and was a transformative intervention into an existing space which otherwise offered few opportunities for sculptural, and so allegorical, display.⁴ It gathered into itself a century's worth of Stewart image making across the palace, acting as summary and conclusion. Hard stone was softened by the movement and music of water, playing to the idea of Linlithgow Palace as a "palyce of pleasance."⁵ As the first monumental splash fountain in Scotland, it was an object of wonder and a metaphor for Stewart power and patronage: through ingenious hydraulic engineering, nature was commanded to cast water from a great height and give it architectural form.⁶

There is no surviving documentary evidence for the original construction of the fountain or a contemporary statement of its intended meaning. By the time Linlithgow Palace came under the care of the Scottish Office of Works in 1827, only the lower receiving basin was still intact, with the fountain's other component parts either lost or scattered across the site.⁷ Over the following years individual stones were identified and assembled until, in the 1930s, it was thought that there was sufficient evidence to attempt a full restoration. By the early 2000s, the condition of the original fabric was a cause for concern and the most badly weathered and fragile stones were removed to safe storage and replaced. Major interventions were made both times, but at no point was art-historical research and analysis considered necessary.⁸

The history of the fountain has been rewritten to serve the priorities of heritage practice: Linlithgow Palace is a ruin and the restoration of the fountain, both aesthetically as a work of sculpture and technically as a water feature, was considered essential to the public's appreciation of the site's architectural and historic significance.⁹ In the early 2000s, the assumption was that the fountain was commissioned by James V in

³ Campbell, "Linlithgow's 'Princely Palace' and its Influence in Europe," 2.

⁴ The dating of these windows is linked to a payment for "the stane in maid werk," TA, 4:279–280.

⁵ Lindsay, "The Testament of the Papyngo," 79, line 638.

⁶ Magnusson, *Water Technology in the Middle Ages*, 103–104.

⁷ Grant, "Robert Reid and the Scottish Office of Works," 31, 36, 43, 44, and 46; *Linlithgow Palace*, 23.

⁸ The historic phases of restoration as understood in 2000 were identified by Christa Gerdwilker in "The King's Fountain, Linlithgow Palace: Conservation Report." The interventions made in final restoration are outlined in Hislop and Bain, "The King's Fountain, Upper Tier" and "The King's Fountain, Lower Tier."

⁹ Bridgeland, "The King's Fountain, Assessment of Significance," 4. The restoration was completed in 2005.

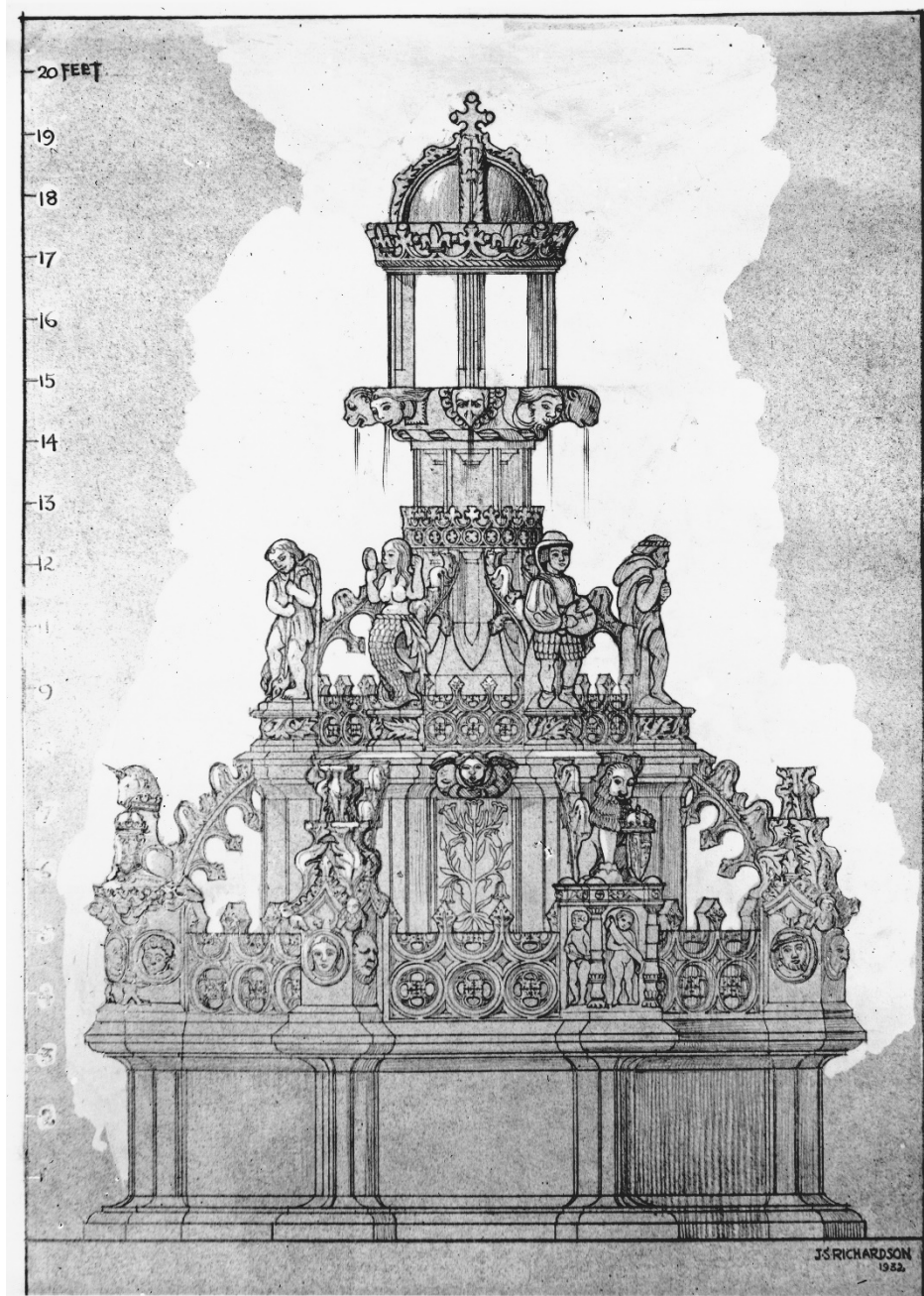


Figure 1: James Smith Richardson, Proposed reconstruction of the Linlithgow Palace Fountain, (1932). © Crown Copyright HES.

1537–1538 and remained fundamentally unchanged until its final destruction in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ The fountain is currently interpreted only as the assertion of

¹⁰ Historically, it has been assumed that the fountain was destroyed when the palace was ravaged by fire (1 February 1746) following its occupation by the British army. See, for example, Scott, *The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, 2:178. There is no documentary evidence for this. A comprehensive report

Stewart power at a time of exceptional dynastic success and confidence following James V's two marriage alliances with France, so locating it within the context of the Scottish Renaissance.¹¹ The present prioritising of a celebratory sixteenth-century narrative has distracted attention away from the clear documentary evidence of major changes to the fountain at the time of Charles I's coronation in Edinburgh on 18 June 1633. Without realising it, the last restoration removed, replaced, and re-invented the material evidence of the most significant changes made in 1633. The methodology adopted for the restoration was to furnish the carvers with a portfolio of sixteenth-century carvings at other Scottish royal palaces to be used as a "reference set of authentic material."¹² As the subjects of both the stones being replaced and those being used for reference were mostly unidentified, the carvers were working in an iconographic void. In consequence, the meaning of the most significant changes made in 1633 has been lost. This paper investigates what happened to the fountain in 1633 and relocates it within the new contexts of coronation, Divine Right, unionism, Stuart religious policy, and a seventeenth-century court school of Scottish carving.

Hydraulic Engineering

... in the Inner Court there is a Fountain, well adorned with several Statues and Waterworks, curiously wrought, which when they go, raise the Water to a considerable hight.¹³

Linlithgow was a high-ranking royal burgh and enjoyed the singular dignity of abundant fresh spring water.¹⁴ This was due to the presence of at least one spring emitting from a perched aquifer trapped within the rising ground south of the town. A small Carmelite monastery was founded near to this spring in 1401, and a water sharing system must have been negotiated with the monks. The local topography serves as an inverted siphon with the town and palace situated well below the source of the water: the Linlithgow Palace

on the history of the fountain which proposed multiple attacks of vandalism was compiled by Sally Rush for Historic Environment Scotland: Rush, "Absolute Desolation."

¹¹ James V married Madeleine of Valois on 1 January 1537 and Mary of Guise on 18 June 1538 (in person, by proxy on 9 May 1538).

¹² Bridgeland, "The King's Fountain, Assessment of Significance."

¹³ Sibbald, *The History Ancient and Modern*, 1:15.

¹⁴ Scotland's royal burghs were trading towns founded by the crown in the late twelfth century. See "Introduction," in *The Scottish Medieval Town*.

fountain was the end point of a water delivery system which benefited the health and wellbeing of both the burgh and the court. At present, the archaeological understanding of the hydraulic engineering is partial, but Linlithgow may be the unacknowledged earliest example of a Scottish town being supplied with spring water by means of airtight closed conduits.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the forces of gravity and water under pressure allowed for a uniquely magical display of the abundant blessings of Stewart kingship. The Linlithgow Palace fountain is what is known as a *splash* fountain, where water rises up a feed pipe hidden within a vertical column and splashes back downwards. Tiers of basins and multiple spouts amplify the visual drama and sound.¹⁶



Figure 2: Linlithgow Palace, view of the fountain through the original east entrance. © Crown Copyright HES.

¹⁵ Spearman, “Linlithgow Carmelite Friary”; Lindsay, “Linlithgow: The Excavations,” 53–54, 57–93.

¹⁶ Magnusson, *Water Technology*, 104.

The Composition of the Linlithgow Palace Fountain

... the beautifulest Fountain in the World; it's after the Shape of the Imperial Crown, adorn'd with Statues and other carved Work; each Statue pouring forth Water into a Cistern below them. This seems to have been the Work of King James the Fifth; for the Arms of Scotland and France, in one Escutcheon, are upon the Fountain.¹⁷

The Linlithgow Palace fountain has the traditional form of an eight-sided baptismal font, and is essentially Gothic in structure but Renaissance in some of its detail. The octagon symbolised the Eighth Day as the day of Christ's resurrection, and both the paradisiacal renewal of creation and rebirth through baptism.¹⁸ The junction points of the octagonal receiving basin are marked by eight plinths surmounted either by pinnacles with floriate ornament or heraldic beasts: a lion, two unicorns and a winged stag.



Figure 3: Linlithgow Palace fountain, plinth, north-facing, bearing a winged stag (winged stag 2005), supported by two male figures in court dress (c. 1538). [reconstruction of the fountain incomplete in this image]. © Crown Copyright HES.

¹⁷ Macky, *A Journey Through Scotland*, Letter 11, 220–221.

¹⁸ A key example is the fourth-century Lateran Baptistery in Rome. Jensen, *Living Water*, 184–188 and 244–247.

Although very badly weathered, the Renaissance portrait roundels displayed on the plinths most likely record the historic marriage alliances symbolised by the heraldic beasts above, showcasing the depth of ancestry which was the Stewart dynasty's primary asset and the cosmopolitan culture of the Scottish court. There was a conscious reference to the fifteenth-century sculpture over the east entrance where angels carry the royal arms aloft amidst the clouds of heaven, linking past and present royal image: each of the heraldic beasts sits within a crown also carried aloft by angels amidst clouds, as are some of the portrait roundels.



Figure 4: Linlithgow Palace, heraldic panel displaying the royal arms of Scotland supported by two angels with another angel amongst clouds above (c. 1430). © Crown Copyright HES.



Figure 5: Linlithgow Palace fountain, plinth, south-facing, bearing a unicorn within a crown supported by angels amongst clouds, with portrait roundels below (c. 1430). (image author's own)

Cusped flying buttresses rise from the base plinths to a second series of plinths clustered around a middle basin and supporting eight standing figures. Only fragments of the original figures have survived and the fictitious reinvention of three of them in the 1930s was contentious.¹⁹ Further cusped flying buttresses carry the eye to an upper basin encircled by human and animal heads. The upper basin is surmounted by a closed imperial crown which serves as the cistern supplying the fountain, and so the king becomes the fountainhead, prefiguring the later Stuart use of a fountain as a metaphor for the Divine Right of Kings: "because they are Fountaines and common blessings, the streames of whose government do glad the City of God, and refresh his inheritance."²⁰

¹⁹ The 1930s restoration was initiated by James Smith Richardson, the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland, but he objected strongly to the reinvention of the missing figures from around the middle tier while he was absent in Egypt. See NRS MW1/951; NRS DD27/333; NRS MW1/323.

²⁰ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 18.

The most important carved stone from the very heart of the fountain survives. More than any other detail, it speaks to the beauty of the original fountain. It is also the key to unlocking its symbolism. Water exits the cistern in the imperial crown through the mouth of a sun, and so the king becomes Sol, the solar king and ruler of the heavens.²¹ The symbolic mixing of water and fire is curious, suggesting that the restorative power of the Stewart kings was a form of magic and alchemy. Presumably the sun was gilded and would have flickered with light reflected off the water immediately below.



Figure 6: Linlithgow Palace fountain, sun face beneath the imperial crown with a lead pipe fitted into its mouth (c. 1538). © Crown Copyright HES.

The east plinth carrying the Lion of Scotland was fully replaced in 2005. It is markedly different compositionally and stylistically from the other three plinths supporting heraldic beasts evidencing an awareness of classical architecture and sculpture. At the time the palace came under the care of the Office of Works, Dr. Joseph Robertson (1810–1866), a curator of Scotland's national archives at Register House in Edinburgh, noted that it was "out of keeping with the others" and suggested that it had

²¹ Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, 155–188.

been damaged when the north quarter collapsed in 1607 and subsequently replaced. As shown, this acute observation was overlooked by the most recent restoration.²² The Lion of Scotland does not surmount a crown borne up by angels and there are no portrait heads. Rather, three naked figures stand in compartments framed by Mannerist columns supporting an entablature and frieze displaying a cherub's head or floriate ornament. On the original stone, the central figure holds a banderole on which only the word "king" remains legible while the other two play musical instruments. Although these figures are clearly classical putti, on the replacement stone the carver has re-modelled two of them on wood carvings from Stirling Castle, arbitrarily giving what were once young boys the vigorous hair and beard characteristic of Hercules. While there is no allegorical justification for the presence of Hercules here, putti typically acted as participants in depictions of classical triumph.²³ This plinth, and evidence that the text originally read as "God Save the King," is the focus of the following discussion.



Figure 7: Linlithgow Palace fountain, plinth, east facing, with Mannerist columns and putti, central putto holding a banderole with the word 'king,' (1633, in storage). (image author's own).

²² Waldie, *A History of the Town and Palace of Linlithgow*, 73–74; Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, 4:518.

²³ Rush, "The Identification and Interpretation of the Stirling Heads," 68–75.



Figure 8: Linlithgow Palace fountain, plinth, east facing (2005). © Crown Copyright HES.

Thomas French and John Roytell

One of the carvers working on the original fountain could have been Thomas French (d. c. 1550). His father, John, had worked at Linlithgow Palace and is buried nearby in Saint Michael's Church, but Thomas was enticed to Aberdeen to work for Bishop William Elphinstone where he built the bridge over the river Dee and an aisle within the cathedral c. 1530. He was impressed from the services of the bishop by James V and returned to commence work on Linlithgow Palace in February 1534. He worked continuously at Linlithgow for a year and James V was so pleased with the results that Thomas was rewarded with a bonus of £20 on 22 April 1535 and made Master Mason for life on 30 April

1535.²⁴ The crown spires of King's College Aberdeen, Saint Giles, Edinburgh and Saint Michael's, Linlithgow connect French to the architectural structure of the Linlithgow Palace fountain with its arching flying buttresses.²⁵ Thomas then moved on to work at Falkland Palace in 1537 where he was joined by a team of Frenchmen headed by Nicholas Roy who arrived in Scotland on 20 April 1539 with three assistants.²⁶ One of the new projects at Falkland Palace was a fountain, now lost. Given the quantity of lead delivered to Falkland for this, sourced from as far away as Hull, it may have been primarily of lead rather than stone construction. This time the plumber was Robert Murray.²⁷ There is a teasing reference to French and a French mason, known as John Roytell, being owed money in 1551 by Patrick Hepburn, 1st Earl of Bothwell for work on a fountain at Hailes Castle, East Lothian.²⁸ It has been suggested that John Roytell might have been the son of Nicholas Roy.²⁹

As it is not certain that the Linlithgow Palace fountain was completed before the death of James V in December 1542, it perhaps played most magnificently for James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran (1517–1575) as Governor of Scotland (until 1554). Roytell's appointment as Principal Master Mason for life in 1557 "to all her Hignes' works" may point to the involvement of Mary of Guise.³⁰ Thomas French, Nicholas Roy and John Roytell, therefore, may collectively have been involved in a pioneering programme of courtly fountain construction across Linlithgow Palace, Falkland Palace, and Hailes Castle.

²⁴ Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 36–44; *RPSS*, vol. 2, Item 1643 (30 April 1535), 231.

²⁵ Cooper, "Ornamental Structures in the Medieval Gardens of Scotland," 825; Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 15–16.

²⁶ *MWA*, 1:254–256 and 277–278; *TA*, 7:48, 184 and 330; Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 46 and 49. The French mason Moses Martin was already working there but died in 1538.

²⁷ *MWA*, 1:261.

²⁸ Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 44 and 52–53. Thomas French is described as "late" and so must have died recently. When John Roytell was made a Burgess of the City of Edinburgh in 1550, he was described as being French.

²⁹ Laing, "On the Monument to the Regent Earl of Murray," 51, n. 2.

³⁰ Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 53. Mylne mistakenly says under Arran not Mary of Guise. *RPSS*, vol. 5, no. 1, Item 81 (10 March 1556/7), 19–20; *TA*, vols. 9 and 10. Campbell suggests Roytell might have been an engineer brought over in the late 1540s to assist with fortifications during the Rough Wooing; Campbell, "Franco-Scottish Architectural Exchanges."

The Early History of the Linlithgow Palace Fountain

The first surviving record of the fountain is a modest payment to William Danielson for non-specific expenses related to it dated April 1542.³¹ The lead pipes supplying the fountain would have been made by a plumber using facilities already in place, a plumbery, for the casting of lead for roofing purposes.³² In the early years of the fountain's history there were three plumbers or lead workers working on the royal palaces: Robert Murray, Patrick Brown, and Robert Ross. It was Ross who worked specifically on the Linlithgow Palace fountain, suggesting that he was an experienced hydraulic engineer. For two years between November 1544 and May 1546 he was paid either every three or six months on the quarter days (Candlemas, Whitsunday, Lammas, and Martinmas) for maintaining the fountain.³³ Regarding the second half of the sixteenth century, the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* are silent on the subject of the fountain, suggesting that it either remained in excellent repair or was neglected. By 1618 the pipes were certainly starting to fail as Thomas Masterton was paid for repairing them.³⁴

1633

It is what happens next which prompts a new reading of the fountain, propelling attention from the late 1530s one hundred years forward to the 1630s. It is a problem of language, and an illustration of how interpretive priorities distract from the close reading of documentary evidence and blind the visual reading of the material object. In the report underpinning the restoration in the early 2000s, specific entries relating to the fountain in the *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, dated 24 June 1633 and under the separate heading *Dichteris and dresseris of the fontane*, are read as simple cleaning.³⁵ The verb to "dict" does mean to clean but, more poetically, it means to make ready, at times implying decoration or ornament. The verb to "dres" means to put in to put in good order, to furnish with some addition and, with regard to stone, to cut and smooth.³⁶ This simple misinterpretation meant that the entries were not interrogated. Most significantly, it meant that the replacement of the more weathered or damaged stones did not take into

³¹ TA, 8:72.

³² Magnusson, *Water Technology*, 64–72.

³³ TA, 8:386, 427 and 467.

³⁴ MWA, 2:130. The Masterton family were plumber-glaziers and makers of leaded lights for windows: MWA, 2:547.

³⁵ MWA, 2:347–348; Bridgeland, "Linlithgow Palace New Work," 27.

³⁶ *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. <https://dsl.ac.uk>.

account that some of them dated from 1633, not 1537–1538. Once this is understood, more is known about the fountain in 1633 than 1537–1538, down to the specific identity of the mason-carvers.

In 1633 the fountain was a century old. Evidently, it was in no fit state to receive a king and it would have been dishonourable for Scotland to leave it so. It was important to both James VI and I, and to Charles I, that the Scottish royal palaces represented their absent presence with appropriate order and decorum.³⁷ The Great Progresses of 1617 and 1633 were in part a building survey.³⁸ Following the visit of James VI and I on 30 June 1617, a warrant was issued to the Master of Works, William Wallace (d. 1630), for the rebuilding of the north range at Linlithgow Palace.³⁹ In 1633, Charles I was "the first king of Great Britain that ever was crowned in Scotland"⁴⁰ and preparatory works on the Scottish royal palaces were to ensure "His Majesteis more contented receptioun in this kingdome."⁴¹

The work that took place on the Linlithgow Palace fountain in anticipation of a royal visit was evidently significant. None of the mason-carvers named were part of the standing team of nine masons headed by the elder John Stewart who were working on the overall refurbishment of Linlithgow Palace. They are identified as: John Ritchie, William Ayton, Ralph Ronald, and William Forrest. Accordingly, this is a rare occurrence in which the names of mason-carvers are linked to a specific object and the potential for individual attribution.

For "dicht"-ing and "dres"-ing the fountain:

Johne Ritchie ten dayes at xxs. In the day is ...x lib
William Aittoune vi dayes at xx s. a day ...vi lib.
Item for ane horse to cary him home and afield ... iii lib.
Ralf Ronnald twa weikes thrie dayes at xx s. a day ... xv lib.
Item for his horse home and afield ... iii lib.
William Forrest ix dayes ilk day xiii s. iiii d. ...vi lib.⁴²

Taking in to account that craftsmen normally worked a six-day week, John Ritchie is recorded as working for ten days, William Ayton for six days, Ralf Ronald for two weeks

³⁷ Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 29.

³⁸ Keenan, *The Progresses, Processions and Royal Entries of Charles I*, 39–87.

³⁹ *RPCS*, Series 1, vol. 11, Warrant of 25 February 1619, 522.

⁴⁰ Sir James Balfour, Chief Herald, quoted in Shaw, "Scotland's Place in Britain's Coronation Tradition," 42.

⁴¹ The Privy Council of Scotland to the Marquess of Huntly (19 February 1633), *RPCS*, Series 2, 5:29.

⁴² *MWA*, 2:348.

and three days (fifteen days), and William Forrest for nine days, with two of them travelling especially by horse. At Linlithgow Palace, figures for the week starting 18 March 1633 give the highest weekly wage (six days) for a mason, the elder John Stewart, as 100 shillings or five pounds, but Ritchie, Ayton, and Ronald receive 120 shillings. This exceptionally high rate of pay points to specialised skills being deployed under pressure of time.

Prior to being sent to Linlithgow, in June 1633, Ritchie was working at the Palace of Holyroodhouse with his team of nine masons, among fifty-three masons and five carvers overall.⁴³ The preparations for the royal progresses of 1617 and 1633 garnered knowledge and ability from across Britain. Masons, carvers, painters etc were summoned by the Privy Council (Scotland) through the "prerogative of impressment," both locally and from distance, and these events were significant engines of collaboration, innovation and invention.⁴⁴

Ritchie and Ayton were Scottish mason-carvers rather than stand-alone sculptors. The iconoclasm of the Reformation and the absence of courtly patronage in the previous century broke the connection with schools of figurative carving and the transmission of knowledge and skill. Seventeenth-century Scottish figurative carving is stiff and clumsy in comparison to what was previously accomplished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The delicate grace and liveliness of two of the original figures on the north-facing plinth of the Linlithgow Palace fountain captured in a drawing by David Roberts (1796–1864) bears witness to this.⁴⁵ It does, however, represent a process of recovery and an emergent court school of mason-carvers, even sculptors. It is important to review their achievements in context and not simply measure their deficiency against the work of carvers and sculptors working at the Stuart court in England who were either from the Low Countries or had spent time on the Continent.⁴⁶

⁴³ MWA, 2:329.

⁴⁴ MWA, 2:lvii; RPCS, Series 1, 11:25–26, 31, 39–40, 48, 63.

⁴⁵ NGS: D 5630.34 C. Undated but probably made during David Robert's work on *Scotland Delineated* (1847–1854).

⁴⁶ Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830*, 1–3; Howarth, "Sculpture and Scotland, 1540–1700," 27–37.



Figure 9: David Roberts (1796-1864), 'From the Fountain in the courtyard of Linlithgow Palace,' (undated), pencil and wash. NGS: D5630.34.C. Creative Commons.

Ralph Rawlinson

The editors of *MWA* presume that references to "Ralff," "Ralp," "Ralf Ralinsone," and "Ralff Raleine" all refer to the same person, the English carver Ralph Rawlinson; as Ralph was such an unusual name in Scotland, he was recognised by his first name only. There is a separate entry in the Index for a Ralph Ronald relating to the Linlithgow Palace fountain.⁴⁷ As "Ralf Ronald" worked longer on the fountain than the other masons,

⁴⁷ *MWA*, 2:568 and 571.

fifteen days, he was presumably a specialist craftsman. Two highly skilled and sought-after carvers with the name Ralph seems unlikely and "Ronnald" is arguably another clerical mistranscription of Rawlinson. The MWA locate "Ralp the engthsmen" as working in Edinburgh at the time of James VI and I's return to Scotland in May 1617.⁴⁸ He can therefore be placed within the category of English craftsmen sent north to make regnal union and British identity a visual reality in Scotland, and to give the royal palaces "suche decent and comelie forme and maner as is aggreable to his Majesties princelie estaite."⁴⁹ This was particularly the case with the settings of religious ceremonial and the "decorous separation of the sacred and the secular."⁵⁰ James VI and I and Charles I believed that royal authority was divinely ordained and the idea of sacred kingship should be enacted through the performance of magnificence:

Remember then, that this glistering worldly glory of Kings, is given them by God, to teach them to preasse so to glister and shine before their people, in all workes of sanctification and righteousness, that their persons as bright lamps of godliness and virtue, may, going in and out before their people, give light to all their steps.⁵¹

A "ceremonious Anglicanism" and multi-sensory celebration of the "beauty of holiness" (Psalm 96:9) was masterminded by William Laud (1573–1645), as Dean of the Chapel Royal in England (1626–1633, after which point he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury).⁵² In Scotland, with the aim of restoring appropriate order and decorum, James VI and I ordered the refurbishment of the Chapel Royal at the Palace of Holyroodhouse and, in preparation for his coronation, Charles I ordered the redecoration and reordering of Holyrood Abbey and the refurbishment of the chapel at Falkland Palace.⁵³ This required the re-introduction of a visual language erased by the Reformation; skilled carvers of the necessary religious persuasion and cultural background had to be sent for as "this work could not be gottin so perfytlie and well done within this cuntrey as is requisite."⁵⁴ The

⁴⁸ MWA, 2:104.

⁴⁹ RPCS, Series 1, 10:593–594.

⁵⁰ Keenan, *The Progresses*, 43.

⁵¹ "Basilicon Doron," in Sommerville, *James VI and I: Political Writings*, 13.

⁵² Thurley, "The Stuart Kings," 238; Keenan, *The Progresses*, 39–87.

⁵³ Thurley, "The Stuart Kings," 241–242.

⁵⁴ RPCS, Series 1, 10:593–4; Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, 312–313; Mackechnie, "Scots Court Architecture," 246.

most notable was the London carver Nicholas Stone (1585/8–1647).⁵⁵ In 1616, new carved wooden fittings and furnishings for the Chapel Royal were made in his London workshops at Scotland Yard under the direction of Inigo Jones (1573–1652), Surveyor of the King's Works (1615–1643), and transported by sea to Edinburgh. These included a royal closet, a pair of organs, pews and stalls. Stone himself travelled north in July 1616 along with the painter Matthew Goodrich to oversee their installation and finishing.⁵⁶ No direct connection has been found, however, between Stone and Rawlinson.

Rawlinson carved life-sized models of Saint George and the Dragon (or parts of them). These were used in the street pageant, barrage of fireworks from Edinburgh Castle, and night-time spectacle at the Palace of Holyroodhouse on 19 June 1617, celebrating both the anniversary of James VI and I's birth and the return to his homeland fifty years after he became King of Scotland. The firework operatives were English and travelled overland from Berwick: John and Elias Pratt (father and son) and Ralph Dryden directed a team of five.⁵⁷ Reprising the pyrotechnic fort-holding staged for his baptism at Stirling Castle in 1566, two opposing fortresses were erected in the outer court of the palace: the Palace of Saint Andrew and the Castle of Envy.⁵⁸ Saint Andrew, with a spear of fire, rode out to defeat a fire-breathing dragon emerging from the Castle of Envy, whose occupants wore the badge of Saint George.⁵⁹ Saint George's exact role is unclear. Beyond simple splendour, was this meant to read as an allegory on the regnal union? The spectacle was an adaptation of the recent pyrotechnic fort-holding staged at Whitehall the night before the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Prince Frederick, the Elector Palatine, on 14 February 1613. Here, Saint George, representing the Order of the Garter into which Prince Frederick had just been inducted, opposed the Castle of Envy and fireworks emblazoned his badge on the night sky.⁶⁰ While he cannot be directly connected to the celebrations at Whitehall, Rawlinson seems to have been important to the culture of spectacle at the Jacobean court.

⁵⁵ Stone trained in Amsterdam under Hendrick de Keyser and worked on the Chapel Royal and Banqueting House in London under Inigo Jones. See Thurley, "The Stuart Kings," 241; Spiers, *Note-book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone*, 43–44; Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain*, 23–31.

⁵⁶ McNeill and McNeill, "The Scottish Progress of James VI," 38–51.

⁵⁷ MWA, 2:79, 84, 89, and 90.

⁵⁸ Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 1–21. For "sophisticated martial and firework theatre" within the court culture of Mary Queen of Scots see Carpenter, McGavin, and Walker, "Performing Diplomacies," 73–4.

⁵⁹ *The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*, 22–23.

⁶⁰ Bergeron, *Shakespeare's London 1613*, 150–192.

The moulded plaster ceiling was an English import gradually displacing the traditional Scottish painted ceiling and "frequently combined Scottish national symbolism and unionist symbolism within the same designs, and was thus a means of normalizing unionism by bringing it into the everyday domestic environment of the landed elite."⁶¹ At Edinburgh Castle, in the Laigh Hall and Presence Chamber, James VI and I celebrated the anniversary of his birth beneath new plaster ceilings. Rawlinson carved moulds for these, possibly assisting the Principal Master of Mason to the Crown and carver, William Wallace.⁶² Moulds were also fetched from Kellie Castle in Fife which had been recently acquired by Thomas, Viscount Fenton, and was being remodelled in advance of his journey north with the king.⁶³ The Edinburgh Castle ceilings have been lost but the Tudor rose and Scottish thistle appear together in the ceiling (dated 1617) of the former bedchamber at Kellie Castle and in contemporary plaster ceilings elsewhere.⁶⁴ Rawlinson may, therefore, have carved the Tudor rose and Scottish thistle to be found on the Linlithgow Palace fountain and been instrumental in its revision into an object symbolic of the regnal union.

⁶¹ Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 33.

⁶² Napier, "Kinship and Politics," 158 and 165. Napier misreads the entries in *MWA*, vol. 2, as evidence that Saint George featured in the plasterwork at Edinburgh Castle, as do Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 33. Wallace was appointed on 18 April 1617 on account of his skill as a carver. See Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 70.

⁶³ *MWA*, 2:79.

⁶⁴ Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 27 and 38; Napier, "Kinship and Politics," 139–141, 248, 251–252; Napier, "The Rise and Fall of Kellie Castle," 22–25. The plaster ceilings at Edinburgh Castle were reinstated in the 1990s using the Kellie Castle ceiling as a model.



Figure 10: Linlithgow Palace fountain, plinth, north-west facing, displaying a Tudor rose. (image author's own)

The MWA provide the documentary evidence that Rawlinson stayed in Scotland. He carved a unicorn for the Palace of Holyroodhouse sometime before 27 September 1618, where he still seems to have been working in 1622.⁶⁵ When his services were no longer required by the Crown, he became a carver sought after within Scottish court circles. There is a letter from Rawlinson to John Grant of Mulben (1596–1637), 6th Laird of Grant or Freuchie, dated 22 August 1629 and linking him to the improvement of Freuchie Castle (renamed Castle Grant in 1694). He was commissioned to carve a series of heraldic, monstrous, and exotic beasts (more than twelve) including a Gorgon and rhinoceros. This letter demonstrates that he must have been a man of some education: if he knew what a rhinoceros looked like, he had access to print sources, most likely Albrecht Dürer's broadside print drawn using written descriptions of the first live rhinoceros seen in Europe, sent from India to King Manuel I of Portugal in 1513.⁶⁶ When Rawlinson was summoned to Edinburgh in 1633, he was working for George Gordon, 6th Earl and 1st Marquess of Huntly (1562–1636). As Huntly was a Catholic, he may have had a particular

⁶⁵ MWA, 2:104 and 146.

⁶⁶ Fraser, *The Chiefs of Grant*, 1:211; BM 1895, 0122.714, (woodcut, 1515; final edition printed in 1620).

use for an English carver more "perfytlie" familiar with traditional religious imagery and amenable to his requirements. Catholicism seemingly kept figurative carving alive in post-Reformation Scotland, particularly in the north-east (Aberdeenshire).⁶⁷ In 1647, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland charged some of its members with inspecting the "Idolatrour Monuments brought from the late Marques of Huntlie's house," presumably Strathbogie (Huntly Castle) in Aberdeenshire.⁶⁸ As Rawlinson claimed expenses for hiring a horse and taking ship from the Chanonry in Ross (now Fortrose and Rosemarkie), he may have been working at Huntly's suburban villa in Inverness or smaller pendant house in Fortrose.⁶⁹ Huntly seems to have been reluctant to let go of Rawlinson and the Privy Council (Scotland) had to intervene, serving a notice of impressment.⁷⁰ Seemingly, much was expected of Rawlinson and his failure to appear would result in "that part of service quilk wes to have beene committed to the said Raufe is lyke to be shaikin louse and disappointed."⁷¹ Given his evident expertise as a carver of beasts, Rawlinson's further contribution to the Linlithgow Palace fountain may have been work on the heraldic beasts, particularly the new Lion of Scotland on the east plinth. He was paid a total of fifteen pounds for his work on the fountain. To give some sense of how much carved figurative work this might have amounted to it is helpful to refer to the carving of the five large stone figures for the buttresses of the chapel at Falkland Palace by Peter the "Flemishman" or "Ducheman" a century earlier in 1538. For such singular and highly skilled work Peter was paid fifty-six shillings per figure, amounting to fourteen pounds.⁷²

William Ayton (d. 1643?)

In 1633, William Ayton had been a Burgess of Edinburgh for two years.⁷³ He had recently moved to Edinburgh from Musselburgh in Midlothian, where the Ayton family were founder members of one of the earliest known Masonic lodges, the Aitchison's Haven

⁶⁷ Bryce and Roberts, "Post-Reformation Catholic Houses of North-East Scotland," 363–372.

⁶⁸ Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 482.

⁶⁹ MWA, 2:313 and 318; Brochard, "The Integration of the Elite and Wider Communities," 6 and n. 38. Charles McKean's suggestion that Rawlinson was working for Huntly at Strathbogie before 1617 has been dismissed. See McKean, "Finnart's Platt," 4.

⁷⁰ For notices of impressment see MWA, 2:lv.

⁷¹ RPCS, Series 2, 5:29. Rawlinson is referred to as "Rayling"; MWA, 2:312.

⁷² MWA, 1:256.

⁷³ Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 108.

Lodge (founded 1598).⁷⁴ His name appears in the early minutes alongside those of his father, also William, and brother John. Other family names were Alexander, George, James and Thomas.⁷⁵ A James and Thomas Ayton were working at Edinburgh Castle and the Palace of Holyroodhouse in the 1630s, with James occupying a house within the precincts of the latter.⁷⁶

The year before he began work on the fountain, Ayton had been contracted as Master Mason at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (begun 1628).⁷⁷ George Heriot (d. 1623/4) was goldsmith and jeweller to James VI and I and Anne of Denmark, and the hospital was a charitable foundation for the education and care of "poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh."⁷⁸ Ayton was appointed following the death of Wallace, and was sufficiently well-versed in classicism as the language of unionism and Stuart triumphalism.⁷⁹ Laud supported the project, and there is a tradition of Inigo Jones (1573–1652) being involved.⁸⁰ The Linlithgow Palace fountain, therefore, can be aligned with an "elite grouping" of Scottish court projects where, through the use of heraldry together with classical columns, "the aim was to combine a national-centred chivalry with cosmopolitan *humanitas*."⁸¹

Ayton's contract with Roger Haliburton, Treasurer to Heriot's Hospital, required him to move from Musselburgh to Edinburgh and gives a clear indication of his abilities as an architect and mason-carver. He was "to devyise, plott, and sett down what he sall think meittest for the decorment of the said wark and pattern thereof alreddie begun, when any defect is found", to carve some parts of the work with his "awin handis" and "als to mak and carve his Majesties portratt, or any uther potratt he beis requyrit to mak in that

⁷⁴ Bedford and Steven, *A History of George Heriot's Hospital*, 54; Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, II:365; Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 226–227. Modern freemasonry was invented in Scotland by William Schaw (1549/50–1602) in 1598. See Stevenson, *The Origins of Scottish Freemasonry*, 26–51 and 194.

⁷⁵ Meekren, "The Aitchison's Haven Lodge and Early Scottish Free Masonry," 159–160, 168–169, and 171–176. Meekren cites Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*.

⁷⁶ MWA, 2:109.

⁷⁷ Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 117 and 139. Mylne reproduces the *Contract betwix the Counsall of Edr and William Aytoun, meassoun* (5 December 1631–1632 and 15 February 1632).

⁷⁸ Bedford and Steven, *A History of George Heriot's Hospital*, 35.

⁷⁹ Guidicini, "A Scottish Triumphal Path of Learning," 65–96; Glendinning, MacInnes, and Mackechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, 65–66; Hart, *Inigo Jones: Architect of Kings*, 57–89.

⁸⁰ Bedford and Steven, *A History of George Heriot's Hospital*, 54–57; Cant and Hutton, "Two Letters of Archbishop Laud," 107–109.

⁸¹ He may have drawn the plans for Innes House in Moray (c. 1640) and Castle Gogar, Edinburgh. Mackechnie, "Skelmorlie Ailse, Largs," 213–214; Gifford, McWilliam and Walker, *Edinburgh*, 590; Glendinning, MacInnes, and Mackechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, 40.

wark.”⁸² The full-length portrait of James VI and I on the north wall of the inner courtyard stands within a niche flanked by Mannerist columns with an entablature bearing winged putti above. The proportions of the columns serve as a measure and symbol of the king’s “two bodies,” presenting him as both the natural and supernatural embodiment of order and harmony. Across Heriot’s Hospital, columns and heraldry are used together emblematically to convey the antiquity and *imperium* of the Stuart dynasty.⁸³ Henry Valentine (Vicar of Deptford, d. 1643; discussed further below) confirms the connection between full length portraits of kings, proportion, and Divine Right: “but Kings are the Pictures of God at length, and represent him in such due proportions, that as God is our invisible King, so the king is our visible God.”⁸⁴



Figure 11: William Ayton, *James I*, north side of the inner courtyard, George Heriot’s Hospital, Edinburgh (c. 1632). © Crown Copyright HES.

⁸² Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 116.

⁸³ Hart, *Inigo Jones*, 91–111, and 113–127; Hart, *Art and Magic*, 190. The theory of the king’s two bodies originates with Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*.

⁸⁴ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 6.

In 1636, Ayton designed and executed an exuberant monument to George Foulis of Ravelston (1603–1633), goldsmith and Master of the King's Mint, for Greyfriars' Church Yard in Edinburgh. The Foulis Monument has been described in this way:

Headless figures of Religion and Justice in shell-headed niches flank the Ionic aedicule containing relief portraits of Foulis and his wife [Janet Bannantyne], their hands clasped beneath a grinning skull. On top, a smaller aedicule with caryatid columns and broken pediment, carved with a cherub and hourglass.⁸⁵



Figure 12: William Ayton, Foulis Monument, Greyfriars' Church Yard, Edinburgh (1636), detail. © Crown Copyright HES.

Like the full-length figures of *Justice* and *Mercy* above the entrance of the new Parliament House in Edinburgh, carved in 1637 by Alexander Mylne (d. 1643) of the Mylne dynasty of master masons, Ayton's figures "show an awareness if not mastery of classicising drapery."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Gifford, *Edinburgh*, 159.

⁸⁶ Howarth, "Sculpture and Scotland," 29. The Parliament House figures were dismantled in 1824 and are now in the collection of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh.

The balanced contrapposto of the figures, projecting/recessed entablature, and use of putti and cherubs' heads link the east plinth of the Linlithgow Palace fountain to the portrait niche at Heriot's hospital and the Foulis Monument, suggesting Ayton as the author. Moreover, while Foulis's house at Ravelston no longer survives, in the garden there is an eleven feet-high splash fountain surmounted by a unicorn displaying the date 1630 together with the initials of George and Janet.⁸⁷

John Ritchie

By 1636, John Ritchie had become Master Mason to the new Parliament House commanded by Charles I (constructed 1632–1638, to designs by James Murray, Master of Works) and was made a burgess of the City of Edinburgh on 2 December.⁸⁸ Between 1628 and 1633, he was working for the burgh of Linlithgow, also on projects related to Charles I's coronation in Edinburgh: "John Ritchie, mason in Edinburgh, who had done himself so much credit in rebuilding the Cross-well was sent for 'to make ane unicorn for the head of the Market Cross.'"⁸⁹

Linlithgow's principal spring well, the Cross Well, was at the site of the market cross in the square or Cross that lies between the High Street and the palace. Although nothing more than a reasonable guess by the compilers of topographical gazetteers, a construction date of 1535 has become fixed in local tradition.⁹⁰ The original Cross Well was most likely a simple continuously flowing dipping well but, in 1628, it was transformed into a monumental splash fountain.⁹¹ Up until 1628, the palace fountain and the Cross Well may have shared the same spring and conduit, but the burgh records suggest a problem with supply and a need to identify a new source of water if the ambition for a splash fountain was to be realised.⁹² John Ritchie's fountain was created

⁸⁷ "The fountain is 11 feet in height from the top (where sits a unicorn just now hornless, and with a new pair of hind legs) to the ground. It consists of a rectangular shaft, above the basin, becoming conical towards the top with a dragonesque, half beast, half fish at each angle and conventional wings springing from the heads, and a leaden turtle's head and neck protruding from each of the four mouths through which the water flows into a small basin, supported below by a pedestal, resting on two wide and low steps": Fothergill, "George Foulis," 76–89. The design and execution of the fountain is unattributed.

⁸⁸ Mylne, *The Master Masons*, 137; Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 41–43.

⁸⁹ NRS B48/9/1 *Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book*, as quoted in Waldie, *A History of the Town*, 81.

⁹⁰ For example, the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* has "When the first structure was raised here is uncertain, possibly around 1535 when the palace fountain was constructed": Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* 5:520.

⁹¹ For the technology of spill versus splash fountains see Magnusson, *Water Technology*, 103–104.

⁹² Waldie, *A History of the Town*, 52; NRS B48/9/1 *Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book*.

specifically in anticipation of a visit by Charles I in 1628 (delayed), and was part of an overall programme of making sure the king found the royal burgh in a dutiful state of order and decorum. A fountain now both opened and closed the triumphal processional route created by James V from the Cross and up Kirk Wynd to the palace, amplifying the wondrous display of nature being commanded to cast water from a great height.

The history of the Cross Well fountain in Linlithgow is long and unhappy, with a complete replica being made in 1807. Being in the form of a closed imperial crown, it reflected the Linlithgow Palace fountain:

Outstandingly flamboyant crown-well sitting upon an octagonal plinth, grouped columns at each corner. Above there is a riot of strapwork, punctuated by amazing squashed stiff-flower finials sitting upon a plinth decorated with animal heads and other carvings. Cusped flying buttresses lead to the second tower in which the corners are marked instead by statues on strapwork plinths: cusped flying buttresses then lead to a domed top decorated with heads, surmounted by the Royal Unicorn.⁹³

Fragments from Ritchie's fountain are now in the collection of the Annet House Museum in Linlithgow, including a bearded man in a doublet and hose holding a banderole inscribed "God Save Ye King".⁹⁴ For the royal visit in 1633, to demonstrate their support of regnal union, members of the Town Council were outfitted in new silk clothes and the townspeople forbidden to wear their traditional plaids and blue bonnets.⁹⁵ A surviving plinth is carved with classicising ornament, a lion's mask, arabesques and acanthus leaves, and Ritchie seems to have been a more accomplished carver of ornament than figures.⁹⁶ The use of the visual language of classicism again demonstrated support for the regnal union.

⁹³ Eydmann, *West Lothian*, cited in Canmore, "Linlithgow, The Cross, Cross Well," <https://canmore.org.uk/site/49178/linlithgow-the-cross-cross-well>, accessed 11 March 2025. Like the palace fountain, the Cross Well fountain has been destroyed and rebuilt several times, lastly in 1807 by Robert Gray to a design by James Haldane. It was restored in 1997.

⁹⁴ Canmore, "SC 2037347 Linlithgow Palace Carved Stones," <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/2037347>, accessed 11 March 2025.

⁹⁵ Waldie, *A History of the Town*, 81.

⁹⁶ Canmore, "SC 2037341 Linlithgow Palace Carved Stones," <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/02037341>, accessed 11 March 2025.



Figure 13: John Ritchie, Figure holding a banderole saying "God Save the King," from the Crosswell Fountain, Linlithgow (1628), fragment. Now in the Annet House Museum, Linlithgow. © Crown Copyright HES.

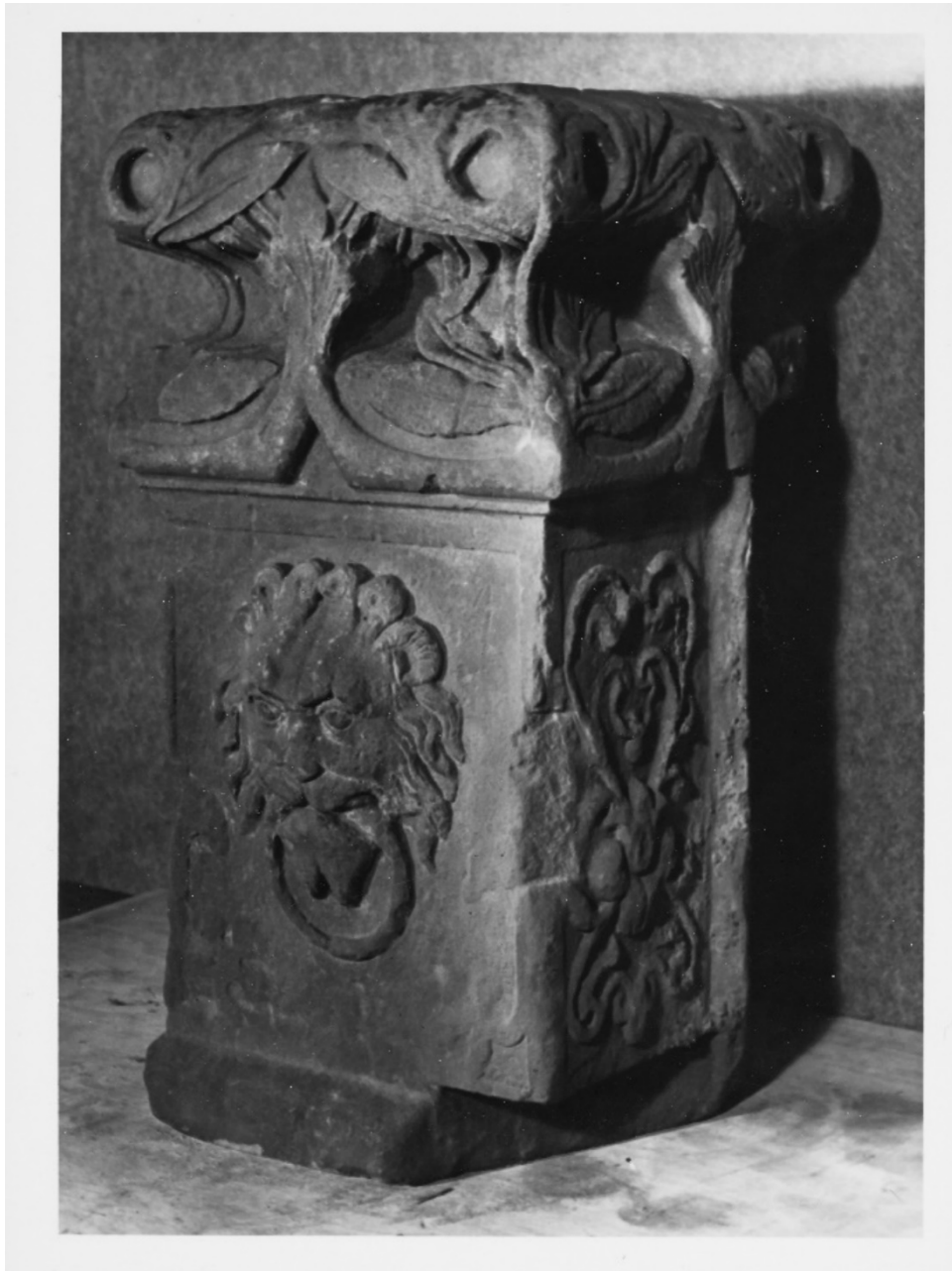


Figure 14: John Ritchie, decorative plinth from the Crosswell Fountain, Linlithgow (1628), now in the Annet House Museum, Linlithgow. © Crown Copyright HES.

To summarise, in 1633, four masons, three of exceptional knowledge and talent within a Scottish context, were diverted away from court projects in Edinburgh to work on the Linlithgow Palace fountain. Between them, they were masters of new classicising languages of ornament and figure sculpture, and heraldry. One, or maybe two of them, had recent experience of constructing a monumental splash fountain. The fragmentary

state of the Linlithgow Palace fountain makes it impossible to determine the extent of their interventions: how much could be achieved in 40 man-days? While it is only certain that they replaced the plinth bearing the Lion of Scotland, so making the fountain speak to the regnal union, their interventions must have amounted to more than this.

Understanding their contribution relocates the Linlithgow Palace fountain within an elite group of Scottish structures which manifested a golden age of Stuart court culture ended by religious conflict and the Civil War.

Acclamation: *God Save the King*

Charles I was crowned in the ancient abbey church at Holyrood, immediately outside the Edinburgh city walls. As in 1617, the royal progress of 1633 was about religious policy and uniformity across the two kingdoms: the promotion of Laudian religious reforms and commanding Scotland to conform to Anglican religious practice. During the 1633 progress Charles I used his arrival at ancient religious sites as opportunities to perform Divine Right and the obeisance due to God and the king as God made visible. Kneeling was an important demonstration of obeisance and, controversially, he knelt before the west doors of York Minster and Holyrood Abbey.⁹⁷ His use of Anglican ceremonial at his coronation in Edinburgh was "designed to enrage radical Protestants, specifically the Presbyterians."⁹⁸

While the veracity of an item of anonymous verse is open to question, a poem dated October 1641 offers the only description of the fountain in the seventeenth century:

And first to view the Pallace wee begin.

The gates were open, we went boldly in,
I th' midst of th' Court there stood a fountaine weeping,
And cryd, the Master of our workes is sleepeing.
Had we but here your watchfull Inigo,
Hee'd n'ere indure to see us perish soe
My pipes a[re] stopt, the Pleasants mouth is broken
For haveing once of reparations spoken.
Nay, see, these harmelesse angells are disgrac'd.
And by rude hands their visages defac'd.

⁹⁷ Keenan, *The Progresses*, 44 and 48.

⁹⁸ Shaw, "Scotland's Place in Britain's Coronation Tradition," 43.

For holding a premeditated thing
Betwixt their hands, which sayes God save the King,
For this sett prayer the rigid sect have found
Comes from a popish superstitious grownd.
But now appeares my good Lord Lithgoh's lad.
Who told us that the fountaine was runne mad ...⁹⁹

The introduction to the poem in the Scottish History Society *Miscellany* identifies the occasion as a visit to Linlithgow Palace by Montague Bertie, Baron Willoughby de Eresby (1608–1666) and his companions amusing themselves with a circular tour from Edinburgh to Glasgow and back.¹⁰⁰ They attended Charles I on his visit to Scotland between August and October 1641, and so we have an English royalist insight into the state of the regnal union. The "rigid sect" refers to the National Covenant, an agreement between the Scottish people and God, first signed by leading nobles in Edinburgh at Greyfriars' Church on 28 February 1638. The Covenanters were obedient to the King but not in everything, demanding free General Assembly and parliament and so were constitutionalist and anti-absolutist. The visit followed the signing of the Treaty of London on 10 August 1641 which abolished episcopacy in Scotland and ended the Bishops' Wars between Scotland and England.¹⁰¹

The fountain speaks for the king. It represents his absent presence. It also speaks to the period between Charles I's two Scottish progresses and, as a damaged material object upon which history has been written, to the changes that have taken place. By 1641, it had evidently become a "focus of opposition."¹⁰² War ended what has been described as the "high" period of the Mastership of Works.¹⁰³ Those who had overseen a significant episode in the history of the fountain were dead and the royal palaces had fallen into disrepair.¹⁰⁴ In consequence, the fountain is "perishing" as it is no longer being maintained. Moreover, the fountain has been deliberately silenced because of a demand for "reparations" by the king. Political and religious authority should descend from the

⁹⁹ "A Scottish Journie," 275.

¹⁰⁰ "A Scottish Journie," 271–273.

¹⁰¹ Goodare, "The Rise of the Covenanters, 1637–1644," 45–46 and 53–54.

¹⁰² Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 43.

¹⁰³ Glendinning and Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial*, 44.

¹⁰⁴ MWA, 2:xi, xxxii and lviii–liv.

king, as the water symbolically descended from the mouth of the fountain, not arise from the people. Duty lay in obedience, so reparations were due for the indignities suffered.¹⁰⁵

As it survives today, the putto on the eastern plinth holding the banderole has been defaced but the circumstances in which this might have happened between 1633 and 1641 are not clear. The angels elsewhere on the Linlithgow Palace fountain have also been defaced.¹⁰⁶ It is the poem which provides the evidence for the missing text on the original banderole. The acclamation "God save the King" belongs to the philosophy of Divine Right and comes from 1 Kings 1:39 as in the *King James Bible* (1611) within the context of the anointing of Solomon: "And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save king Solomon." This phrasing of the acclamation first appeared in the Geneva Bible (1560), and before that it was "Let the King live."¹⁰⁷ James VI and I modelled his kingship on that of Solomon as a divinely ordained law giver and bringer of peace to a divided nation, united under one king.¹⁰⁸

The coronation of Charles I on 2 February 1626 in Westminster Abbey was the first where the acclamation "God Save the King" was included in the coronation *ordines*, prior to the anointing and crowning.¹⁰⁹ This was repeated at Holyrood Abbey in 1633 where the Bishop of Brechin preached from 1 Kings 1:39 before the Archbishop of Saint Andrews presented the king to the people for the acclamation "God Save the King."¹¹⁰ The acclamation was written in stone on the Cross Well fountain and Linlithgow Palace fountain in confirmation of Charles I as the anointed King of Great Britain. In advance of Charles I marching north at the start of the Bishops' Wars, on 27 March 1639 Henry Valentine (Vicar of Deptford, d. 1643) preached a sermon at Saint Paul's in London with the title *God Save the King*. It was a biblically specific challenge to the Covenanters addressing the issue of the power of the people over the king.¹¹¹ The king is the *Imago Dei*,

¹⁰⁵ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 10–11.

¹⁰⁶ This may have been the work of the Lords of the Congregation when they cleansed Linlithgow of religious imagery on 2 June 1559. See Waldie, *A History of the Town*, 69.

¹⁰⁷ Crystal, *Begat*, 279. Valentine took as his text 1 Samuel 10:24: "And all the people shouted, and said, God Save the King."

¹⁰⁸ Knafla, "Britain's Solomon: King James and the Law," 240–241.

¹⁰⁹ Danbury, "'domine salvum fac regem': the origin of 'God Save the King' in the Reign of Henry VI," 122; "The Coronation Order of Charles I," 250 and 258.

¹¹⁰ Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, clxix–clxxii. Rogers's account is based upon an original by Sir James Balfour, Chief Herald. The Chapel Royal was translated from Stirling Castle to the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

¹¹¹ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 10–11; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 187–188.

the bright image of God and, with reference to the Linlithgow Palace fountain, the use of flowing water and light as metaphors to describe the king are telling: the king is both the fountain of government and order, and the sun whose beams dispel darkness and disorder.¹¹²

Given the symbolic reference to the Temple of Solomon within the mystery of Masonry and the Solomonic theme of Stuart kingship, did "God Save the King" have a particular meaning for a Scottish Mason and member of the Craft such as William Ayton? It is curious that early Scottish Masonic charter chests were inscribed with "God Save the King."¹¹³ The situation was complicated as, seemingly, a Scottish Mason could be loyal to the Crown and a Covenanter. Ayton himself was a signatory of the National Covenant: "two beautifully illuminated copies were made by the skilled calligrapher William Aytoun [sic], who signed himself 'maison.'"¹¹⁴

Fire and Water, Magic and Alchemy

"Had we but here your watchfull Inigo,
Hee'd n'ere indure to see us perish soe"¹¹⁵

With the later Stuart kings "Magic ... became the corollary of absolutism ... [and] ... led to the identification of the monarch with the ruler of the heavens, the sun."¹¹⁶ The Stuart kings presented themselves as alchemists to a troubled nation and a regenerative force, magically transmuting opposing natural elements into a golden age of peace and harmony.¹¹⁷ Charles I acted out this role repeatedly as the lead performer in the magic theatre of the court masque, designed and engineered by Inigo Jones:

All the masques express the power of the monarchy to bring harmony, the rich gifts of nature and the natural world into obedience. All move from initial statements of disorder and cosmic chaos towards revealing the king and court

¹¹² Valentine, *God Save the King*, 5.

¹¹³ Campbell and Mackechnie, "The 'Great Temple of Solomon' at Stirling Castle," 91–118; Stevenson, *The Origins of Scottish Freemasonry*, 194.

¹¹⁴ Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, 440. Mackechnie uses the modern spelling "Ayton" and this has been generally adopted for this paper.

¹¹⁵ "A Scottish Journie," 275.

¹¹⁶ Hart, *Art and Magic*, 191.

¹¹⁷ Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*, 102.

abstracted in emblematic form as gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines, sun and stars.¹¹⁸

When Charles I visited Linlithgow Palace in 1633, the creation of ordered gardens animated by allegorical water features was preoccupying the Stuart court in England as a "symbol of the halcyon years of the King's Peace, those years between 1629 and 1640 when Charles ruled without Parliament."¹¹⁹ As the "watchful" Surveyor of the King's Works (1615–1643) at the Stuart court in London, Jones was directly involved in the design and construction of water features for courtly gardens in collaboration with the French Huguenot hydraulic engineer Salomon de Caus (1576–1626) and his younger brother Isaac de Caus (c. 1590–1648).¹²⁰ The neglected state of the royal gardens and orchards in Scotland was perceived by Charles I to be "an imputatioun to that wholle kingdome" and in urgent need of remedy. In 1625, therefore, the "skilful and well experimented" English gardener William Watts was appointed Master Gardener and allocated considerable sums for "platting and contriving" anew the formal gardens below Stirling Castle. These were once viewed from an octagonal stepped mount known as the King's Knot; now, only ghostly traces remain.¹²¹ The gardens at both Falkland Palace (now lost) and the Palace of Holyroodhouse were given the addition of a sundial which continued the heliocentric symbolism of the Linlithgow Palace fountain.¹²² Hydraulic engineering may have been an alien science, but Scottish Masons were leading the way in the magico-mathematical science of gnomonics and dialling, not so much as a means of timekeeping itself but of mapping the passage of the sun to re-establish harmony between the ruling heavens and earth.¹²³ John Mylne (1585–1657), Principal Master Mason to the Crown (1631–1636) and Master of the masonic lodge at Scone, was paid an extraordinary sum to create a geometrically complex polyhedral stone sundial for the

¹¹⁸ Strong, *Art and Power*, 157.

¹¹⁹ Strong, *The Renaissance Garden*, 161.

¹²⁰ Strong, *The Renaissance Garden*, 74; Fisher and Newman, "A Fountain Design by Inigo Jones," 530–533; Duggan, "Isaac de Caus," 152–168.

¹²¹ *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*, 131; MWA, 2:230, 242, and 257; Brown, *Scotland's Lost Gardens*, 178–179.

¹²² Brown, *Scotland's Lost Gardens*, 183 and 186–187.

¹²³ Stevenson, *The Origins of Scottish Freemasonry*, 113–114; Ribouillault, "Sundials on the Quirinal," 128–129; Somerville, "The Ancient Sundials of Scotland," 251–254.

Privy Garden at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in advance of the Coronation in 1633.¹²⁴ It survives to this day and has twenty-nine triangular faces with metal gnomons (all fixed on the Pole Star).¹²⁵ A John Barton incised dials into the stone on each face and, given the importance of dialling to navigation, it is tempting to speculate that he was a member of the family of Scottish mariners famous for their exploits in the previous century.¹²⁶ The sundial displays the royal coats of arms, ciphers and badges, including the Tudor rose and the Scottish thistle, so merging a solar symbol with the idea of the newly anointed king as a unifying and regenerative force.

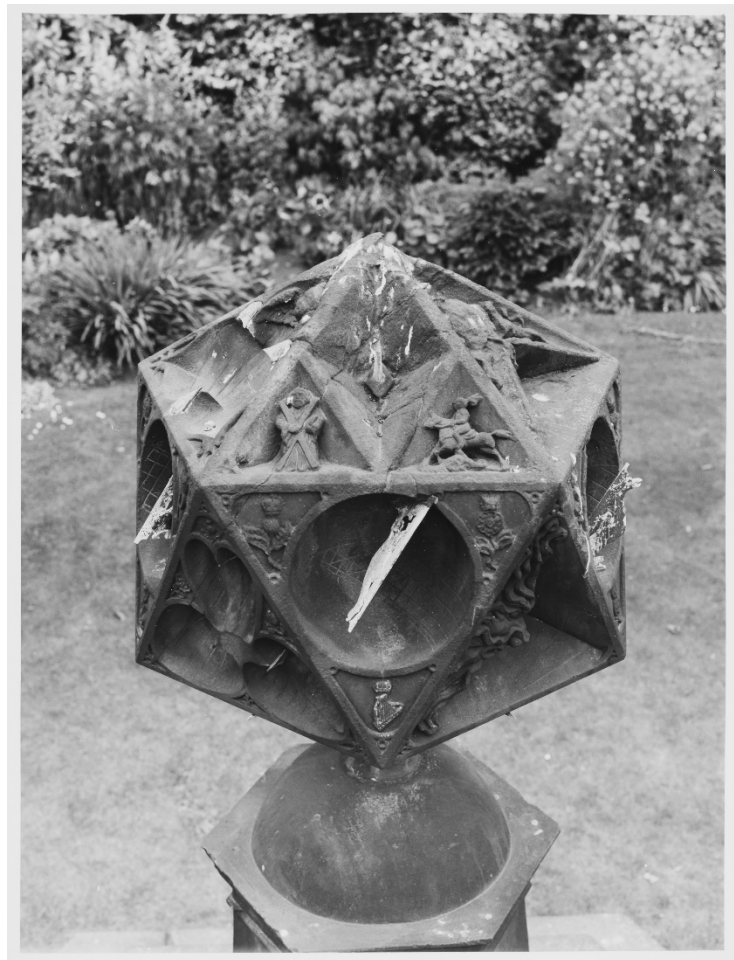


Figure 15: John Mylne and John Barton, Sundial, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh (1633). © Crown Copyright HES.

¹²⁴ MWA, 2:336; Porter and Howard, "Mylne, John." Mylne was paid £408 15s 6d, which covered the construction costs for the sundial, the pedestal and stepped base. This was equivalent to Stone's charge of £450 for refurbishing the Chapel Royal in 1617. See Spiers, *Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone*, 4.

¹²⁵ Sommerville, "The Ancient Sundials of Scotland," 252. The sundial is no longer in its original position and the pedestal was replaced in 1908. See <https://www.rct.uk/collection/44869/polyhedral-sundial>.

¹²⁶ MWA, 2:328; MacDougall, "Barton, Andrew."

As another key object in the performance of Stuart kingship in 1633, it would have been essential for the fountain at Linlithgow Palace to be in good order. The plinth with the Lion of Scotland and "God Save the King" faces the original east entrance (c. 1430), suggesting that this was the planned processional route, rather than through James V's new south entrance. Entering this way would have directly linked Charles I to his earliest Stewart forebears. On approach, the distant view of the fountain would have filled the archway with the royal arms above. The fountain itself would have been the terminus of that day's triumphant royal progress, the classicising language of the new plinth evoking order and harmony: "the King is the Fountain of *Government*, Government of *Order*, and Order of *Beauty*."¹²⁷ At his coronation in Edinburgh, Charles I was anointed with holy oil and so underwent a magical transformation. According to the idea of the king's "two bodies," unction "was the most highly prized distinction of the coronation ceremony at this time because it was deemed to confer a supernatural quality on the king, as God's representative on earth."¹²⁸ Charles I encountered the fountain, therefore, both as a natural man and a reborn supernatural king; both microcosm and macrocosm. As described above, the fountain has eight sides as so is, in part, a symbol of rebirth.

The fountain sits at the geometric centre of Linlithgow Palace and macrocosm. Symbolically, it is heliocentric, and the idea of Stewart monarchy is abstracted into that of the Sun as the ruler of natural forces.¹²⁹ There is a long association of alchemy and monarchy, and the very language of alchemy is monarchical, dealing with the magical and harmonious union of male and female elements, allegorised as Sol and Luna.¹³⁰ In *The Dreme* (1526), Sir David Lindsay (c. 1486–c. 1565), court poet to James V, guides his reader through the three Platonic spheres, the elemental human world, the celestial world of the planets and stars, and the supercelestial angelic world of God, and describes how as the ruling Sun rolls across the heavens he "Gevis the lyfe everilk erthlie thing."¹³¹ The Sun is ascribed the alchemic properties of fire (sulphur): "Bot of his nature he is hote and drye." Meanwhile the queen of the heavens, the Moon, is ascribed the alchemical properties of

¹²⁷ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 5.

¹²⁸ Shaw, "Scotland's Place in Britain's Coronation Tradition," 46.

¹²⁹ "While Neoplatonic philosophers were consistent in their conception of the sun as the ruler of the natural forces which could unite man with God, for the followers of Ficino the sun occupied the central orbit, at the middle of divine influences, whilst for the Copernicans the sun was the central point of the cosmos": Hart, *Art and Magic*, 157. Nicolaus Copernicus's (1473–1543) *de revolutionibus orbium coelestium* was not published until 1543.

¹³⁰ Hughes, *The Rise of Alchemy*.

¹³¹ Sir David Lindsay *Selected Poems*, nos. 61–63, 421–441; Hart, *Art and Magic*, 12.

water (mercury): "Of nature, wak and cauld and no thing clere." So, from the very beginning, one of the symbolic functions of the fountain was to make these Neoplatonic ideas visually apprehensible through the union of fire as sunlight, and water.¹³² If the face of the sun was gilded, light reflected off the unseen moving water in the basin immediately below would have made it "glisten and shine." The supernatural power of the sun animated the fountain and ruled over the natural force of water:

... this harnessing of nature itself, apparently to reveal the harmony of the macrocosm and thereby make occult relationships both visible and audible, the application of this technical magic in fountains and the like also provided a practical demonstration of the harmony of Stuart rule.¹³³

In this issue, Lucinda Dean examines the ampulla made to contain the holy oil used at the coronation in 1633 as a performative object within the multi-sensory ritual of kingmaking, noting the specific choice of gold.¹³⁴ The two horn-shaped spouts for pouring the oil are thought to be a Solomonic signifier. Gold is emblematic of the Sun and the final decision to stage the coronation at Holyrood Abbey rather than Saint Giles church in Edinburgh, where the post-Reformation partitioning of the interior had blocked off the east window, was due in part to the theatre of coronation traditionally being at the east end of a church set against the rising sun.¹³⁵ The shape of the ampulla is curious, but it is similar to that of an alchemical flask used for the transmutation of base metals into gold. When raised aloft against the morning light, the ampulla, therefore, may also have been a solar symbol instrumental in the magical transformation of the king into the supernatural embodiment of order and harmony.

Conclusion

The ruinous state of the original fabric of the Linlithgow Palace fountain speaks to time, religious conflict, and civil war. It is testament to its significance as a symbol of Stewart/Stuart kingship and the politico-religious philosophy that led to the downfall of Charles I. In 1633, after the temporary pageantry and oratory that greeted Charles I in the streets of Edinburgh, the fountain would have presented a permanent, eloquent and

¹³² Strong, *Art and Power*, 156.

¹³³ Hart, *Art and Magic*, 93.

¹³⁴ NMS H,JK 164. See Dean, "The Vessel Containing the Sacred oyle," in this issue.

¹³⁵ Shaw, "St Giles' Church and Charles I's coronation Visit to Scotland," 486 and 494; Gage, *Colour and Culture*, 12–13, 26, and 141.

beautiful exposition of Divine Right.¹³⁶ Charles I's sense how the "ancyent Beauty" of historic sites played a supporting role in the performance of Divine Right must have been acute when he encountered the pre-Reformation fountain rich with imagery within its architectural setting.¹³⁷ Greeting him with the acclamation "God Save the King," the fountain confirmed him as the anointed King of Great Britain. Being both ancient and newmade, it claimed a place within all the royal building projects where the innovative use of the classical orders symbolised the Neoplatonic harmony brought by Stuart rule. As expounded by Valentine, the fountain was his portrait, and Charles would have seen himself, as the "bright Image of God", reflected in it.¹³⁸ After he left Scotland, it would retain the memory of his presence and "the warme sunne of his illustrious countenance."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Bergeron, "Charles I's Edinburgh Pageant (1633)," 173–184.

¹³⁷ Keenan, *The Progresses*, 45–47.

¹³⁸ Valentine, *God Save the King*, 5.

¹³⁹ Hart, *Art and Magic*, 161.

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Abbreviations

BM: British Museum

EEBO: Early English Books Online

HES: Historic Environment Scotland

HMSO: His/Her Majesty’s Stationary Office

MWA: The Accounts of the Masters of Works

NGS: National Galleries of Scotland

NMS: National Museums of Scotland

NRS: National Records of Scotland

RPCS: Register of the Privy Council of Scotland

RPSS: Register of the Privy Seal for Scotland

TA: Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland

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